

THE LEAGUE.

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[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their addresses as well as their names, to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, 67, Fleet-street, London; or to Newall's-buildings, Manchester.

The Council would respectfully suggest to those subscribers who may not wish to file their LEAGUE newspapers, the propriety of forwarding them to parties whom they know to be either indifferent, or hostile to, the principles of Free Trade.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, or subscriptions for The League Newspaper, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders, or by orders on houses in London.

CONTINUED PROGRESS.

The Anti-Corn-Law Agitation is, in the best and highest sense of the terms, a Democratic movement. It aims at asserting the rights and securing the interests of the great mass of society. Its object is the common good, and its means the purification of the electoral body, so as to bring the theory of representation as at present legally constituted, and its practical operation, into harmony. Further than this, which is not less undeniably just than popular, it meddles not with political creeds or parties. Hence the growing recognition of its safe, peaceful, and constitutional character. The League has been called the work of wealthy manufacturers. It certainly possesses their countenance and aid. But how does this comport with the charge of stimulating disorder and outrage? The Greggs, Philipsons, and Ashtons, with others whose names adorn our subscription list, are not people to profit by confusion, or to be secure in convulsion. They have most undeniably evinced their earnestness for the object, and their confidence in the conduct, of this agitation. The names of Marshall of Leeds, and Strutt of Derby, carry with them a well-earned moral influence, the full weight of which they confer upon the League by the munificence of their donations. On the other hand, as Mr. Cobden truly observed at the Bolton meeting, "The League has already the oldest and best families of the Aristocracy, the largest and wealthiest landowners with them; the Fitzwilliams, the Spencers, the Ducies, the Bedfords, the Radnors, and the Grosvenors." To the excellent letter of the Marquis of Westminster, accompanying a contribution of £500, we direct the reader's attention in another part of our paper. It is well calculated to allay the fears of alarmists; and to silence, if anything can silence, those who ascribe anti-property doctrines to a body which numbers in its ranks, under the names of Mr. Marshall, Mr. S. J. Loyd, and the Marquis of Westminster, three men who probably combine the characters of the wealthiest manufacturing capitalist, the wealthiest commoner, and the wealthiest peer of the realm.

It is worthy of remark that the great meetings at Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby, were all presided over by neighbouring landowners, unconnected with trade. The union of class is complete, whether we trace its descent from the richer to the poorer, or its extension over different forms of property or of industry. How futile, then, are the fears, whether of agriculture or of aristocracy. And how firm may be the hopes of the many, for whom such alliance of the different orders of society, in the pursuit of a common object, has always been the forerunner of legislative relief and improvement.

The meetings to which we have referred show the enthusiasm of the middle classes, and of the people generally to do their part. They continue the splendid series of gatherings, which we had previously recorded and noticed, in the large towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire; and have been already followed by others in that locality, as at Oldham, Bolton, Bury, Bacup, &c. Exertions like these deserve the gratitude of the country. They are a manful attempt to put down a great public wrong. The extent of the wrong is manifest by the occasion for such exertions. Legislation has been made subser-

vient to a predominant class-interest. The people can only obtain due attention to their suffering, wants, and wishes, by an agitation backed by a large subscription. For a chance of redress, there must be an overwhelming "pressure from without." Thanks to those who furnish the materials for rendering it sufficiently cogent. In the northern and midland counties, the zeal is that of a crusade. It is rich in the noble qualities of liberality, sacrifice, energy, and union. Were hostility towards the Corn Laws confined to those counties, we might safely predict their downfall. No such spirit has ever been displayed, merely to be vanquished; and the interest with which the reports of these meetings are everywhere read evinces that they are secure of their just meed of admiration, and that they possess the additional worth of stimulating other districts to their duty. Through Southern England they are regarded with a sympathy that will soon aim at more tangible expression. And Scotland is ripe and ready for co-operation. "I mak sicker," said the Kirkpatrick, when he dealt the stroke that left the traitor no chance; and such will be the blow of Scotland at the Corn Laws.

The coming of the end is plain from the desperation and disgracefulness of the means resorted to for obtaining that procrastination which is now all that remains to be obtained. Neither repeated exposure nor hopeless failure, has yet convinced some parties that the League is not to be checked by the employment of hired bullies for the disturbance of public meetings. Something of this sort was attempted at Leicester; and that the attempt was premeditated and prepared, was very unwittingly put in evidence by the *Leicester Journal* in its anticipatory article. Mr. Ferrand's tongue seems to be considered a "chartered libertine." People treat his statements of events and character as Charles Lamb did Coleridge's theology: "Never mind what he says, he is so full of his fun." But the extravagance of calumny, while neutralising its power, does not exculpate its motive; nor does it leave those blameless for the support of whose sinister interests calumnies are invented and propagated. Personal slander is now systematically employed against the active enemies of monopoly. The Corn Laws are defended by a weapon which has hitherto been generally deemed too base for the purposes of partisan warfare. The taint of the agent is on the party that profits. Acquiescence is disgrace. Public opinion will, and rightfully, cry shame on those who, tacitly though it be, consent to have their cause supported even by a voluntary mission of mendacity.

Other movements are devoid of this degrading character, though not more hopeful for their promoters. Sussex is following the example of Essex in the attempt to form an Anti-League Confederacy. A requisition for a county meeting has been signed at Chichester, which is worth insertion as a curiosity. Apart from the report, it might be taken for a bill of indictment:—

"We, the undersigned owners and occupiers of land, tradesmen and others, whose welfare mainly depends on the prosperity of British agriculture, observing with regret the unchecked progress of certain dissatisfied self-interested persons, denominating themselves the Anti-Corn-Law League, chiefly headed by master-manufacturers of wealth and influence, subscribing large sums of money for the purpose of disseminating their views and opinions through the agency of the press, as well as by the exertions of paid itinerant orators, for the purpose of exciting public opinion in favour of their object—that of rendering null and void one of the laws of the land, originating in the wise views of our ancestors for the protection of British agriculture, feel it to be our duty, collectively and individually, to recommend a meeting of all persons holding these our opinions, at the White Horse Inn, Steyning, in the county of Sussex, at eleven for twelve o'clock, on the day of , there to confer upon and consider what steps may be peaceably and legally pursued to arrest and counteract the machinations and misrepresentations of the dissatisfied and calumnious parties for the purpose of depriving agriculture and agricultural labour of their due reward, by letting in at all times, free from duty, the fruits of foreign capital and labour. On these grounds we do not hesitate to affix our signatures to this requisition, with the full intention of proving our support, and, if possible, our personal attendance at Steyning, at the hour on the day herein appointed."

No farmer ever penned this sarrago. It smells of a different shop. The hand of some legal hanger-on of the Duke of Richmond is very visible. We scarcely know which to admire most, the history, the logic, or the language. The antiquity of importation duties on corn; the need of great exertion to oppose "certain dissatisfied self-interested persons;" and the professional verbosity, "rendering null and void one of the laws" of Lindley Murray, combine to liken it to the razors in Peter Pindar's well-known story, which were made to sell, and not to shave. This preamble was made, not to be un-

derstood, but to be signed. Signed it was, and the blanks, we hope, filled in with an early day, that we may soon see what comes of it.

In spite of their professions of hostility, we take the formation of such associations to be a step in the progress of our cause. Let the farmers get together, and talk, and compare notes, and sharpen one another's wits: it is the very thing we want. Let them see who are the Leaguers. Our victory only awaits their general perception of their own interests. Even at this Chichester meeting, as soon as the attorney-slang of the requisition had been read, and the usual commonplaces gone through in a mover's speech, we are informed by the report that "a desultory conversation ensued." Those are the things; those desultory conversations of the farmers. The cut-and-dry oratory of owners and agents—their hashed-up extracts from *Post* and *Standard* leaders—will be only the outer surface of the meeting. Its core and pith will be got at in the aside colloquies, the under-toned confidential grumbings, and the interjections fired at the platform from a distance. On this occasion we read of their "complaining greatly of the fall in prices, resulting from the new Corn Law and Tariff, and from the great uncertainty that hung over them as to its continuance." What, then, are they going to make a club for? and how is it that they sign their names to an angry manifesto against the League, which cares little for the Tariff, and is also "complaining greatly of the new Corn Law," and of "the great uncertainty?" Sir Robert Peel complained greatly of that same "great uncertainty" in his speech on the Corn Laws, in the House of Commons, five years ago. Very much, truly, have "farmers' friends" mended the matter since that time. How many more years will it take for tenant-farmers to discover that finality is neither bred by Birmingham hells at Tamworth, nor grown in the gardens of Goodwood? They will never find finality but in freedom. These clubs, with the "desultory conversations," will help on the discovery. All increase of information and excitement of the wits, helps it on. We regard them as an initiatory process of League membership. We reckon upon their future co-operation. If they last twelve months, they will be growing into branch societies of the League. Thanks to their founders, who will thus do good when they mean mischief, and add a new power to the cause of justice, while they only purposed to band their unbefitted retainers in defence of their own monopoly.

The intention, nevertheless, indicates a determination to resist to the last. In some respects, so much the better. There will be the less encouragement for politicians of any class to dream of compromises by which the food of the poor would be permanently taxed, and the interests of the industrious community permanently damaged. The infatuation that cries "no surrender" is a stimulus to the assault. Its continuance strengthens the spirit it has aroused. Hired ruffianism, systematic slander, and confederated Anti-Leagueism, are calling forth ampler contributions, stimulating the adhesion of the noble and the wealthy, and ministering to a zeal and determination that needed no such excitement. By no means that Monopoly possesses, but least of all by such means, are the people of this country to be put down in the pursuit of their just rights,—that of the merchant to the free exchange of his commodities, and that of the labourer to the food, untaxed, which he earns in the sweat of his brow.

COMPROMISE.

Hints are given in various quarters that the League is considered by some influential persons as too impracticable a body, and that it would be well if its leaders showed something like a conciliatory disposition towards the landed interest, so that a compromise might be effected by substituting a low fixed duty for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. Some of these hints go further, and take the shape of insinuations that the Council of the League would be disposed to open negotiations on the basis of compromise; and it has even been asserted that Lord John Russell was authorized to propose his eight-shilling fixed duty. We know not who the parties are that gave his lordship such authority, but we do know that no such measure was ever sanctioned by the Council of the League; and furthermore, that such a proposition never will be, and never can be entertained by that body. We are told that the mercantile interest will be satisfied with a fixed duty, which would remove all the uncertainties and impediments to trade arising from the sliding scale. Granting this for the sake of argument,

we deny that the Corn Laws are a question merely between the landed interest and the mercantile interest; they are still more palpably in issue between the landed interest and the agricultural interest, using the latter phrase, in its true sense, to designate the farmers and farm-labourers; on them the system of protection—whether sliding or fixed—must continue to inflict the double injustice of uncertainty of tenure and exorbitancy of rent. Protection is not wanted, and never was wanted, for British capital, British industry or British skill; it was and is sought for land alone, "to pay mortgages," says my Lord Mountcashel; "to provide rent-charges for younger children," says Sir Edward Knatchbull; "to prevent the unprotected and unprivileged classes from treading too closely on the heels of the protected and the privileged," means, and sometimes says, his Grace of Wellington,—

"Their good, ill, health, wealth, joy, or discontent, Being, end, aim, religion—rent! rent! rent!"

This national injustice must continue so long as there are any discriminating duties imposed on the national food, whether they be fixed or variable; and if there be any of the mercantile class willing to consent to its perpetuation, provided that they obtain for themselves facilities of interchange, they may be assured that the League will consent to no such compromise, but will continue to maintain the claims of the agricultural interest, as well as those of the mercantile interest, against the unjust privileges conceded to, or demanded by, what is called the landed interest.

We are not ignorant of the charms which compromise would have for many of the mercantile classes, who now complain bitterly of the Corn Laws solely or chiefly on account of their operation in preventing the interchange of commodities, and thus limiting and fettering the commercial transactions of England with the principal exporting countries of the world. The Corn Laws are not the only monopoly under which the nation suffers; and hence we have many ready to offer a fixed duty to the landlords, not so much as a compromise, but rather as a bribe for their supporting a discriminating duty on sugar, coffee, timber, and other colonial produce. A discriminating duty on corn means a discriminating duty on a multitude of other things besides; and hence Free Traders should be prepared for a more arduous struggle than any in which they have yet engaged, when the sliding scale, now all but universally condemned, will be abandoned to its certain and unhonoured fate; for then will come the crisis when the interested and the timid and the careless, and the men bound by trammels of party, and the men having hopes from the success of party, will all join in raising the cry of "compromise," and endeavour to change a national victory into a party triumph. Appeals will be made to the hopes of one, the fears of another, and the compassion of a third; it will be said that the League can form no Ministry of its own; that the dictation of such a body, though asserting a right principle, is an evil precedent; that it is not wise to press advantages too far, nor humane to triumph too completely; and that a more gradual rather than immediate abolition would afford means for reconciling many opponents to the proposed alteration. This is the danger which we have most reason to dread, and it may be nearer than many of us imagine.

It requires no gift of prophecy to foresee what will be the consequence if this plan of compromise meets anything like general acceptance. The fixed-duty Minister will gravely declare his adhesion to the principles of Free Trade, expose some evils of the sliding scale, allude to conciliation as a great element of policy, and propose the admission of foreign corn at a duty of five shillings per quarter. Should this pass by a majority of fifty or upwards, the matter is settled so far as the House of Commons is concerned; but should the majority be less, the Minister will hint to the Free Traders the folly of endangering the settlement of such a great question for a few shillings one way or the other, and the fixed duty goes up to eight or ten shillings at the instant. When the bill goes to the Lords there will be a smart debate on the second reading;—if the bill be thrown out (which is pretty certain), the compromisers will have to raise the figure of fixed duty for the next year. The Minister again seeks the compromisers: he tells them that something must be sacrificed to ensure the tranquillity of the country and preserve the balance of the constitution; they are forced to acquiesce, and the country is saddled with a fixed duty of a pound a quarter, while those who have been duped into consent have the further satisfaction of knowing that they have forfeited for ever all claim to the confidence of their country. Now, does any one of those who hint at the propriety of compromise imagine that the League will ever stultify itself so far as to take a part in such a farce as that which we have described? If any one entertains such a notion he is most egregiously mistaken: we are not disposed to act the part of knaves to our own manifest injury, and be laughed at as fools into the bargain. We know, not only that a fixed duty is a fixed injustice, but that it includes in its scope a

whole legion of fixed injustices; and it is because the tax on food is the great strength and bond of all the rest that we shall never abate one jot from our original demand, THE TOTAL AND IMMEDIATE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.

IRELAND.

We have received several letters commenting on the condition of the Irish peasantry as described in Reuben's letters, and directing attention to the confirmation of his statements by the conduct of the magistrates in the West Riding of the county of Cork, particularly Alexander O'Driscoll, Esq. All our English correspondents seem to regard these statements with a kind of sceptical surprise, while our Irish friends are not less astonished that any one should express wonder about the matter. The truth is, that oppression of tenantry is the rule in Ireland, and justice to the peasantry so rare an exception, that we have known a challenge to be sent to a magistrate for daring to grant a labourer a summons against "a gentleman." Alexander O'Driscoll is very undeservedly regarded as "the black sheep" among the Irish landlords; on the contrary, he is

"Knight of the shire, and represents them all."

Aristotle mentions an ancient oligarchy, the members of which bound themselves by oath to do all the mischief which they possibly could to the commonalty; the Irish landlords, placed by a combination of circumstances in the position of an irresponsible oligarchy, take no oath to injure the peasantry, but perform that duty as faithfully as if they had been bound by the most solemn of sacraments.

The present relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland are precisely the same as those between the Norman baron and Saxon serf in England under the Plantagenets. Both sets of landowners acquired their estates by conquest, and were supported by foreign aid in secure possession. So long as the Plantagenets retained their conquests in France, the Norman barons had a support for their tyranny in foreign aid, which rendered all the efforts of the Saxon peasantry to obtain any amelioration of their condition utterly hopeless. The loss of French dominions to the English sovereigns was the gain of their just rights to the English people. Joan of Arc was the emancipator of the English peasantry.

The Irish proprietary generally date the tenure of their lands from the grants made by Oliver Cromwell, subsequently confirmed by the Act of Settlement. In Cromwell's time it was held that Irish papists, being idolaters, stood in the same relation to the Puritans that the Canaanites of old did to the Israelites, and were, therefore, justly driven out to make room for the "people of the Lord." The tale that these forfeitures were a punishment for the alleged massacre of 1641 was an afterthought, and was an exceedingly clumsy contrivance, though it has proved wondrously successful; for the murders of 1641, whether few or many, were confined to Ulster, and the forfeited estates were for the most part in Leinster and Munster. It is sufficient to glance at the rules of forfeiture passed by the English Parliament, to see that the real crime of which the Irish proprietors were guilty was their steady adherence to the cause of Charles I. It may be asked, then, how it happened that these forfeitures were so readily confirmed by Charles II.? The answer is, that, from the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, it had been the great object of English policy to establish what was called an English interest in Ireland; Cromwell accomplished this object; and the Stuarts, proverbial for their perfidy and ingratitude, regularly bargained with the intruders to keep the lands which had been wrested from loyalty to reward treason. It is not generally known that James, Duke of York, afterwards James II., though himself a Romanist, obtained a large share of what might be called the Protestant plunder under the Act of Settlement.

The Cromwellian proprietors felt that they owed the acquisition of their lands to military force, and they looked upon the Irish as enemies eager to seize the first opportunity of recovering these estates. Hence the Irish landlords look for their security not to the esteem of their tenantry, or the confidence of their dependents, but to the support of British bayonets, and the protection of British cannon. They are an alien oligarchy supported by a foreign power, and hence they have no sympathies with the soil or with the native inhabitants. English law arms them with power, and English protection exonerates them from responsibility. From the beginning of the world power without responsibility has been invariably abused, and it will continue to be so until human nature is regenerated by some moral miracle.

It is neither consistent with the honour or the interests of England to support the predial tyranny of the Irish landlords; but to withdraw such support is, at the present moment, one of the greatest difficulties that could be placed before a wise and beneficent statesman. The landlords of Ireland have almost exclusive possession of all the agency by which the English Government can be brought to act on the Irish

people; and their protracted resistance to municipal reform—mischievous as the scanty amount of it granted to Ireland was—proves how highly they appreciate such an advantage. The Ministers of the Crown cannot even make an inquiry except through persons interested in hiding the truth from them. Even the present commission for investigating the state of the law respecting landlord and tenant in Ireland is essentially a court of landlords, and the tenants in vain exclaim—

"A fox should not be of the jury
Upon a goose's trial."

It is through the power of England that Irish landlords play those fantastic tricks before high heaven of which Mr. Alexander O'Driscoll has just given the world an edifying example; and it must be confessed that we, the good people of England, are not wholly without blame in the matter. More than thirty years ago the Rev. Sidney Smith declared that "so soon as the name of Ireland is mentioned, the people of England seem to bid adieu to common decency and common sense, and to act at once with the barbarity of tyrants and the fatuity of idiots."

Never was there greater fatuity than to assign the insurrectionary spirit of the Irish as a reason for refusing redress of grievances. The great Sully long ago declared that masses of the people are never driven to commotion and revolt by fickleness or passion, but only by intense suffering. The discontented and insurrectionary spirit of the Irish is decisive evidence against the administration of the laws under which they live. The laws themselves may be the perfection of wisdom; but the best laws are utterly worthless when the power of dispensing them is intrusted to the corrupt and the selfish. The legislation which God himself gave from Sinai remained unaltered during all the vicissitudes of the Hebrew commonwealth; but it made all the difference in the world whether it was administered by a David or a Jezebel.

The history of the world has been written in vain, if it has not taught us that far greater tyranny can be practised with impunity under the forms of constitutional law than under the most absolute despotism. The Irish have to pay the expenses of the forms of British liberty, and to endure all the severities of Turkish servitude.

Circumstances have freed Irish landlords from the moral responsibility to which the landed proprietors of England are subject; and to restore the balance between them and their tenantry, the Irish occupants of land ought to have greater security of tenure than is found to be necessary in England. We do not, however, anticipate any great remedial measure being propounded until the English Government and English people are thoroughly aware of the vast amount of the evil with which they have to grapple. The *Times* has done good service by its manly exposure of the iniquitous system pursued by the majority of the Irish landlords; whatever causes of complaint on other points the Irish people may have against the "monster-journal," this is a national service the amount of which cannot easily be exaggerated. Since the *Times* has opened the case on behalf of the people, local journals have begun to drag the dark doings of magistrates in petty sessions into the light of day, and to follow the honourable example of the *Tipperary Free Press*—one of the few provincial journals in Ireland which has merited the character of fearless integrity in exposing magisterial delinquency, and legal talent in maintaining popular right. The Irish landlords require to be taught that the English people will not countenance the systematic infliction of wrong, and will not support expensive military establishments for the purpose of protecting Irish squires in the full enjoyment of the luxury of tyranny. Already the people of England are beginning to ask what are the causes of Irish insurrections and predial revolts; and the exposures of every intelligent traveller who has visited the land, and has been unblinded by the influence of its multitudinous parties, have gone far to convince them that these causes are the wrongdoings of the landed oligarchy. Such was the testimony of the patriotic Lord Gosford, and every day brings fresh confirmation to the truth of his memorable words:—"THE CAUSES OF IRISH INSURGENCY ARE, MISERY! OPPRESSION! AND FAMINE!" The sooner three such agitators are prosecuted to conviction, and deprived of political power, the better will it be for the peace of Ireland and the prosperity of England.

PUTTING ON THE SCRIBW.

Everywhere the landlords are resorting to intimidation and analogous methods of persuasion, to induce the tenant-farmers to take up a position of active hostility to the League. They know that doubts of the policy of the Corn Laws have been widely spreading amongst the farmers during the past year; they begin to apprehend a wholesale conversion of the industrious agriculturists to Free-Trade opinions; and they are endeavouring to get up the appearance, if not the reality, of that ardour for "protection," that sinking of all political opinion

to uphold the Corn Laws, which carried the monopoly elections in 1841.

Hence proceeded the desperate speech of the Marquis of Salisbury to his tenants at Hatfield; though the effects of that speech have been directly the reverse of what was intended, for the most determined supporters of monopoly amongst the Hatfield tenantry are disgusted and offended by such an insolent act of dictation.

From the same source proceeds the transparent juggle of the land-valuers and lawyers of the Essex "squires" to get up a tenant-farmers' "Protection Society" in that county. And lastly, we have a declaration or protest, signed by 160 East Lothian farmers, that the resolutions passed at the Anti-Corn-Law meeting at Haddington, on the 27th of October last, against the Corn Laws, were "calculated to give a false impression of the feelings of the tenantry of the county of East Lothian on the subject of the Corn Laws."

This declaration is perhaps one of the strongest proofs we have yet had of the prevalence of Free-trade notions—for they are scarcely matured into opinions—having made way amongst the East Lothian farmers, as the following brief history of that protest will show. That the farmers should have dared to act for themselves in relation to the Corn Laws was deemed an overt act of treason against landlord supremacy, and the tenant-farmers of East Lothian were, soon after the Anti-Corn Law meeting, required to declare that, though apparently concurring in the resolutions at the meeting, they really dissented from them; but only *eighteen* of more than a hundred farmers who had been present could be induced to stultify themselves by signing that most humiliating statement. This move was therefore a failure, and the East Lothian lairds went upon another tack. Copies of the protest we have first mentioned were forwarded by the factors of the proprietors to one or more farmers in every parish, with instructions to carry it round and get as many farmers' signatures to the document as possible. Now, the result of this effort, in which every means of influence were exerted, furnishes the most satisfactory evidence of the progress of Free Trade in East Lothian. It must not be supposed that the delusions cherished for thirty years by the Legislature and the landlords can be entirely dislodged from the tenants' minds in a few months, or that even the mass of Scotch farmers can at once be brought to abandon that most fascinating delusion, the expectation of permanently high prices by act of Parliament. The state of the agriculturists' minds is, therefore, essentially one of doubt and uncertainty. They doubt now, what was previously in their imagination an incontrovertible axiom, whether Parliament really can perform its promises, whether it can, in fact, secure permanently high prices; they are beginning to question whether, if prices could be kept permanently high, they, the tenants, would profit thereby; or whether the landlords might not sack as rent all beyond the very lowest farming returns. Moreover, they are uncertain how long the present Corn Laws can be maintained; whether they will weather the next session, or whether the delusion of a fixed duty may not then be attempted. But, beyond all, they feel that the future existence of any restriction on the Corn Trade must be dated by months, or possibly weeks only. Then they have lost all faith in their political leaders, for classes of men do not readily forget such wholesale tergiversation as occurred amongst the political landlords in 1841-42; and with a very large, perhaps the largest, certainly an increasing portion of the tenant-farmers, an earnest desire for a complete and final settlement of the question is taking the place of their recently entertained doubts and uncertainties. That such changes should have been effected by the simple but persevering efforts of the League to create inquiry and discussion amongst the farmers as to the operation of the Corn Laws, is a matter of triumphant congratulation to the advocates of national industry. But let not the sanguine Free-Trader jump to too hasty a conclusion, that his work is done; we have scotched the monster Monopoly, not killed him; and it is not improbable that, in the writhings of his expiring agonies, he may exhibit a convulsive energy which will delude some superficial observers into the belief that what is really a death throes may be the recovery of vital power.

We must remember that the changes of opinion amongst farmers to which we have alluded are only complete with the most intelligent: the mass, the average farmers, are only in a state of transition; they instinctively recur with a lingering fondness to the delusion of act-of-Parliament high prices, to profit without the labour of thought, or the necessity for intelligent exertion. They do not readily forget their old associations. Then, although they have lost all confidence in their landlords as public men, there are local and personal influences, the habit of exacting and guidance on the one part and of blind deference on the other, which render it difficult for a farmer—especially one who has not committed himself publicly—to refuse to sign such a declaration as that got up by the East Lothian lairds, when peremptorily presented by the landlord's factor.

Again: notwithstanding the standard of farming is higher in the Lothians than in most parts of England, it would be quite a mistake to suppose that all the land in East Lothian is well farmed. Thus, Mr. Pusey, M.P., in an excellent paper on "the Agricultural Improvements of Lincolnshire," in the just published number of the English Agricultural Society's Journal, tells us: "along the seacoast are some of the famous farms of East Lothian. It is an extraordinary soil, for which the tenants, farming admirably, pay the well-known rents of £4 and £5 the acre, which some suppose to be the common rents of East Lothian. But ride two or three miles only inland, and you find some land very well farmed at £2 an acre; then land at £1 per acre—some of it very ill farmed, foul, and out of condition."

Now, in these few sentences, we have notice of various circumstances which would be likely to render the East Lothian farmers fearful of a change. The best farmers, on the best lands, are bound to pay extraordinary rents. They are chiefly wheat growers, and, like most wheat-growing farmers, probably rely too exclusively on that crop; and there is much land in East Lothian, as elsewhere, badly farmed, the occupiers of which of course dread a change. If, therefore, nine-tenths of the tenant-farmers of East Lothian had signed the protest thus forced upon them by the landlords, we should have been neither disappointed nor surprised. But, what is the fact? Why, that with all the pressure, and all the influence of the East Lothian proprietors, and the intimidation, cajolery, and persuasion of their factors, they have only succeeded in obtaining the signatures of 160 farmers out of the 430 tenants who occupy the land of that county. Truly may we say, in the words of a local contemporary (the *Scotsman*), that "the efforts made by the landholders to bolster up the Corn Laws by a fictitious show of support, only afford fresh triumphs to the League;" triumphs which are only valuable because they indicate the progress of true and just economical opinions, which have a most important influence on national prosperity and human happiness.

MEETINGS.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING AT OLDHAM.

(From the *Manchester Guardian*.)

On Tuesday evening, pursuant to placards and advertisement, a public meeting was held in the Town-hall, at Oldham, in aid of the great Anti-Corn-Law League fund of £100,000. Mr. Joseph Gillham, senior head-constable, presided. Though admittance was only had by tickets, price 6d., the large room, which is capable of holding upwards of 1100 persons (having an area of 242 square yards) was well filled with a respectable assemblage, including a number of ladies. The room, which was tastefully decorated, was brilliantly lighted by three handsome candelabra, of bright and burnished gold, each containing eight argand gas burners. These candelabra have just been fixed in the hall, and greatly improve its appearance. They cost £150.

Owing to a delay in the starting from the Manchester station of the railway, of the principal speakers of the evening, caused by the immense number of Oldham persons returning from Manchester (so that the train which should have started at five o'clock was three-quarters of an hour later), the chair was not taken until seven o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, read letters from Mr. Alderman Brooks, Mr. Brotherton, M.P., and Mr. James Lees, of Delph Lodge, expressing their regret at being unable to attend.

The meeting was then addressed by Colonel THOMPSON, in his usual quaint and pithy style; by Mr. COBDEN, in a powerful and argumentative speech, addressed chiefly to the working classes, and considering the Corn Laws as a wage- and labour question; and by Mr. R. R. MOORE, who showed by details, respecting the hat trade of Oldham, and the exports of hats, that, with high prices of wheat, our exports fell off, but increased when wheat fell. He also explained the progress of the League, and how it had employed the large sums previously contributed, and concluded by calling on the meeting to begin the new year well.

The CHAIRMAN said he was not able this year (as his losses had been severe,) to double his subscription. He would give £100. (Applause.)

Mr. MOORE then announced other subscriptions:—Messrs. Lees and Mills, Waterhead Mill, £40 (double last year's subscription); Messrs. Gartside and Mayall, £40; Messrs. J. and H. Nelson, £30 (double); Mr. G. Barlow, £20 (double); Mr. Jas. Cheetham, £20; Mr. James Butterworth, Greenacres Moor, £20 (quadruple); Messrs. Seville and Wolstenholme, Lower Moor, £20; Messrs. Marsden and Collings, of Hollins Mill, £20 (double); Mr. John Bentley, head constable, £10; Mr. Eli Lees, Soho, £10; Messrs. Whitaker, of Royton, £10 (double); Messrs. John Holden and Brothers, Holden Fold, £10; Messrs. George Holden and Son, Royton Lane, £20 (double); Messrs. Lees and Barnes, Soho, £20; Mr. John Peatt, Hartford Iron Works, £10 (double); Mr. James Greaves, Dircar, £30 (double); Mr. John Chadwick, Rhodes Mill, £10; Mr. William Wilde, Bel-field, £10; Mr. James Wilde, Mumps, £10; Messrs. James Cheetham and Sons, Clough Mill, Crompton, £10 (new); Mr. Thomas West, Union-street, £5 (last year £2); Mr. Joseph Baxter, Hollinwood, £5 (new); Mr. Thomas Mellor, Royton, £5 (five-fold); Mr. Samuel Riley, Market Place, £5 (last year £2); Messrs. Dyson and Brother, Greenacres, £10 (double); Miss Chadwick, Rhodes, £1 (paid); Miss Susanah Brierley, 5s. (paid); Mr. William Hull, Manchester-street, £1; Miss Ann Walton, 5s. (paid); Miss Mary Mellor, 5s. (paid); Miss Elizabeth Walton, 5s. (paid);

Mr. Thos. Holden, Royton, £4 (double); Mr. John Chadwick, Royton-street, £2; Mr. Daniel Mago, Church-street, £1 (paid, new); Mr. Jas. Fletcher, King-street, £1 (paid, new); Jos. Taylor, Primrose Bank, a working man, 1s. (paid); a working man, £1; Mr. Joseph Ogden, Fallsworth, £1 (new); Messrs. Brierley, Brothers, Union-street, £15 (last year £10); Mr. David Walton, cotton-dealer, £10 (double); Mr. Henry Radcliffe, Bank, £5; Mr. James Radcliffe, Hollinwood, £5 (five-fold); Mr. H. Hodson, Shaw-street, £1 (new); Mr. Benjamin Wilson, tailor and draper, Yorkshire-street, Oldham, £5 (new); Mr. George Green, Werneth Iron Works, £5 (new); Messrs. John Wainwright and Sons, King-street, £20; Messrs. Horwood and Monkman, £10 (double); "Anti-Monopoly," £1 (new); Mr. Thomas Melladew, Moorside, £5 (five-fold); a friend, per H. Nelson, £5 (new); Mr. Joseph Byrom, Priory-street, £2 (double); Mr. James Platt, Hartford Iron Works (15 years of age), £1 (new); Mr. John Hall, Mumps, £2 (double); Mr. John Hanson, leather-cutter, £1 (new); Mr. James Wilde, Turf Lane Mill, Royton, £20 ("new, and double what he intended to have given last year"); Rev. William Cooper, Oldham, £2; James Lees, New Earth, £1 (double); Mr. James Scholesfield, Bank Side Mill, £2 (new); Mr. James Stott, Edge Lane, £2 (new); Mr. Abraham Evans, Manchester-street, £2 (new); a friend from Royton (new, paid), £2; James Mellor, 5s. (new); Thomas Hanson, a friend, Chat Moss, 5s.; John Buckley, Greenacres Moor, £1 5s. (new); Joseph Wainwright, King-street, £5; John Frith, High-street, £1 (new); Peter Roscoe, Mumps, £1 (new); William Wrigley, Mumps, 2s. 6d. (new); David Heyes, Phoenix Place, £1 (new); a friend, £1 (double); Alexander Taylor, Mumps, £5 (five-fold); James Taylor, £1 1s. (new); a friend, £2 2s. (new); James Riley, Market Place, £1 (new); James Potter, Cheapside, £10 (double); a friend, £1 (new, paid); Samuel Mason, a new landlord, Albion Inn, £1 (new); George Collis and James Wilde, Church-street, £1 (new, paid); James Brooks, Broadway Lane, £1; Richard Fitton, Shaw, £1 1s. (new, paid); George Travis, Manchester-street, £1 (new); William Richardson, Side-o'-th'-Moor, £1 (new); James Newton, Scout Head, £1 (new); Abraham Milne, Primrose Mill, £1; Emanuel Whittaker, North Moor, £1 (new); Samuel Grindrod, Side-o'-th'-Moor, 10s. (double); John Taylor, Glodwick Lane, 5s. (new); John Dronfield, New King-street, 5s. (new); Henry Hopkins, Croft Bank, 5s. (new); John Mills, Lord-street, 2s. 6d. (new); Thomas Bardley, 2s. 6d. (new); John Ashton, Fow Leach, 2s. 6d. (new); Philip Bury, Yorkshire-street, 2s. 6d. (new); R. Thatcher, sen., Hope-street, 2s. 6d. (new); Edward Wright, Yorkshire-street, £2 (double); James Wrigley, 2s. (paid, new); a friend, 1s. (paid); J. Grindrod, 1s.; James Dixon, Beckett Meadow, 2s.; John Ashton, Fow Leach, 2s. 6d. (new); John Harper, Hollinwood, 1s.

The CHAIRMAN having challenged the ladies, on behalf of Mrs. Gillham, to give £5 if any other lady would give £1, the challenge was accepted by Mrs. John Bentley, £1, and Mrs. Clegg, £1; Mrs. Gillham, in answer to these ladies, £10.

Mr. MOORE then announced—John Clegg, Manchester-street, £1; Mrs. Wainwright, King-street, £1; Mr. Henry Radcliffe, solicitor, £5; Mrs. Brierley, Market Place, £1 (new); Mrs. Jos. Mellor, High-street, £1 (new); John Stansfield, Austerlands, £1 (new); Robt. Yates, Grosvenor-street, £5 (double); Jos. Whitehead, Greenacres Moor, £1 1s. (new); J. H. Mellor, High-street, £1; a friend, £1 (new). Mr. MOORE then, about a quarter past ten o'clock, announced that the total amount subscribed in the room, during the evening, was £716—(great applause);—last year not £500. Messrs. Sam. and Jas. Mago, Union Mill, £5; Frederick Blensby, Bath Bank, millwright, £1; Thomas Kershaw, High-street, £1; John Ascroft, solicitor (the secretary to the Oldham Anti-Corn-Law Association), £5; Thos. Armstrong, joiner, Waterhead Mill, £1 1s. (new); J. Schofield, Broadway Lane, £1 (new); Miss Gillham (as a challenge), £5; Mr. Nelson, as the reply, £10; John Taylor, Glodwick, 1s. (new); Isaac Taylor, Greenacres Moor, £1 (new); a friend, 5s. (new); W. J. 5s.; a friend, 2s. 6d. (new); James Nelson, Manchester-street, £1 (new); a friend, £1; Isaac Wilde, Mumps, £2 (double); Adam Whitworth, Royton, £1; Samuel Grindrod, a second 5s.; a friend, a working man, 2s. 6d. (new); Josh. Clegg, Ferney Bank, 5s. (new); Thomas Pollitt, Ferney Bank, 1s.; Kinder Smith, Side-o'-th'-Moor, 5s.; Isaac Dunkerley, 1s.; James Dunkerley, 1s. (both working men); James Lees, 1s. 6d. (new); a friend, 1s. (new); John Earnshaw, Mumps, £1 (new); Edmund Clegg, Mumps, £1 (new); "A Lady near Royton will give £5 if any gentleman will give £10;" Mrs. Edwin Jackson, Manchester-street, responded £10; John Hall, Mumps, second subscription this evening, £1; "A bolus for Peel," £20; "Totu" and immediate repeal, and no compromise," £20; a friend, £10; a few friends from Waterhead Mill, £30; making a total of eight hundred and sixty pounds. (Immense cheering.) A friend, 2s. (new); John Dronfield, 1s. (new). This was at eleven o'clock,—when Mr. MOORE concluded by proposing "Three cheers for repeal," which were given with hearty good will.

The CHAIRMAN proposed a vote of thanks to the gentlemen who had addressed the meeting, which passed by acclamation, and was acknowledged by Mr. COBDEN, who said he felt grateful pleasure and some astonishment. For the size of the meeting, he had never attended one with more spirit than the present one. He moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, which passed with three cheers.

The CHAIRMAN called for "three cheers for the Queen," which were given with spirit.

Mr. ALEXANDER TAYLOR moved a resolution of sympathy with Mr. Alderman Brooks, whose absence was caused by the serious illness of his only daughter.

Mr. MOORE moved a vote of thanks to the ladies, which being passed by acclamation, the proceedings terminated a few minutes after eleven o'clock.

FREE-TRADE SOIREE AND MEETING AT BOLTON.

A splendid *soirée* and meeting in aid of the great League fund took place at the Temperance Hall, Bolton, on Wednesday night. Mr. Cobden, M.P.; Colonel Thompson, Mr. R. R. Moore, and Mr. W. Evans attended as a deputation from the League, and, on making their appearance on the platform, were greeted with loud and long-continued plaudits. Mr. Henry Ashworth and

Mr. Edmund Ashworth, members of the Council of the League, were also present. The meeting was crowded, and we should think there were at least a thousand persons present.

THOMAS GRUNDY, Esq., mayor of Bolton, presided, and said he believed that the minds of people in the manufacturing districts had long been made up that the Corn Laws were unjust, and, thanks to the exertions of the leading members of the League now present, another large portion of the community—the farmers and farm labourers—had begun to see that these laws were not good for their interests. (Hear.) Now, seeing that this was the case—seeing that one portion of the community had come to the conclusion that the Corn Laws ought to be repealed, and that another portion of the community—the farmers, the very class for whose advantage the laws were professedly passed, had begun, at least, to doubt the policy of retaining these laws, he thought the day could not be far distant when they should triumph in the overthrow of this monstrous injustice—at least it ought not. (Applause.)

Colonel THOMPSON was then called upon, and was received with loud cheers. He said, to show the enormity of the Corn Laws, to show their monstrous injustice, they might be compared to a law which should be passed to put an end to the wine trade with Portugal, in order that wine might be made from grapes grown in our hothouses at home. He said the thing was perfectly practicable, and would, no doubt, for a time work well for gardeners, joiners, and glaziers; but would the community stand it? (Hear, hear.) Yet the law for the protection of British industry, as it was called (laughter), was just such a law in effect. Such a law could not long stand; the agriculturists themselves began to see that, and were preparing to give up the game.

Mr. COBDEN next came forward, and was received with loud cheers. After passing a high eulogium upon Colonel Thompson in this cause, whose efforts he said had been directed to the subject long before either he or his friends were alive to its importance, he said he did not come there to-night to argue the question. He thought the people of Bolton, after the suffering, destitution, and misery to which they had been so recently subjected, did not want to be convinced of the impolicy of the Corn Laws. The people of Bolton had suffered most severely from the effects of monopoly; few towns, scarcely excepting Stockport, had suffered more; and if the experience of the past did not read them a sufficient lesson, it would be in vain that he should talk to them, for they would not be convinced, even "though one should come from the dead" to tell it them. (Applause.) But they were convinced both of the injustice and the impolicy of monopoly. The respectable and numerous attendance he saw around him spoke to that too plainly for any mistake. (Applause.) There were those who were ready to tell them that trade had somewhat recovered; but let there be no mistake. It was a gleam of prosperity, which could not last if these laws were suffered to continue. (Hear, hear.) The very first bad harvest would put an end to it, and down would come the trade and prosperity of Bolton again. (Hear, hear.) There could be no avoiding it; they were but now undergoing what might be called the fattening process, with a certain prospect of a speedy sacrifice. What, then, ought they to do? Seeing that they could not have anything like permanent prosperity with such laws as these, was it rational for human beings to sit with folded arms, and await the return of these vicissitudes without any effort to save themselves? (Applause.) Having remarked on a class of men who still held aloof from the agitation, although they had long ceased to believe that the Corn Laws were good for trade, Mr. Cobden said:—The League had already the oldest and best families of the aristocracy, the largest and most wealthy landowners with them—the Fitzwilliams, the Spencers, the Ducies, the Bedfords, the Radnors, the Westminsters, and the Grosvenors. (Cheers.) Yes, they had, and would have, the best of all classes with them; they were fast flocking round their standard—every day brought with it an accession of strength; and having obtained the assistance of such men as these, what need they care about the rest? Mr. Cobden went on to speak of other topics, and addressed the meeting for nearly an hour, frequently interrupted by loud and long-continued bursts of cheering.

Mr. R. R. MOORE made a powerful and fervently eloquent appeal to the meeting. He then announced the following subscriptions as already received in Bolton, and as intended to head the subscriptions in the room:—

Messrs. Callender, Bickham, and Cross (double their subscription of last year), 200l.; Messrs. H. and E. Ashworth, 200l.; Messrs. J. R. Barnes and Son, 100l.; Messrs. Robert and Joseph Lord, 50l.; Mr. Thomas Thomason, 100l.; Messrs. Arrowsmith and Sons, 50l.; total 700l. Subscriptions immediately began to flow in from the body of the room, and Mr. Moore announced the following:—Messrs. J. Crook and Son, 50l.; John Cutler (or Cotterill), Market-street, 2l.; collected by ditto, 12s. 6d.; Joseph Haddock, 1l.; John Barnes, 1l.; — Baxter, Blackburn-street, 1l.; Hervey and Southwark, 5l.; Wm. Barlow, 5s.; Jos. Arrowsmith, 10l.; J. and J. Brierley, 10l.; Thomas Kirkham, 5s.; James Shuttleworth, 10s.; Geo. Mee, 5s.; John Mitchell, 5s.; James Taylor, 3l.; Thor. Ormrod, 1l. 1s.; John Brown, 1l.; Jos. Brown, 1l. 1s.; Jonathan Settle, 5l. (double his last subscription); William Settle, 1l.; a Friend, 1l.; another Friend, 1l.; Rev. Mr. Fyfe, 1l.; Rev. J. Whitehead, 10l.; H. Levy, 1l.; R. Edwards, 10s.; J. Crossland, 10l.; a Lady, 10s.; A. R. Brierley, 2s. 6d.; Mary Greenwood, 1l.; J. B. Rawthorne, 1l.; a Friend, 1s.; John Harwood, 2l.; W. W. Cook, 1l.; R. R. Holt, 2l.; Workmen of Messrs. H. and E. Ashworth, at the new mill, 14l.; John Manchester, 2l.; John White, 1l.; a Widow, 1s. 6d.; A. Fletcher, 5s.; J. Hindley, 5s.; a Lady, 5s.; a Friend, 2s.; Henry Hollins, 25l.; J. Monk, 10s.; Mr. Little, 1l.; J. Yates, 2l.; R. Harwood, 1l.; Isaac Wright, 2l.; John Haslam and Co., 10l.; R. A. Hibbert, 2l.; R. Cunliffe, 3l.; George Biggs (double), 10l.; John Robinson, 1l. 1s.; C. J. Darbishire, 10l.; A Friend, 2s. 6d.; A Chartist and Repealer, 2s. 6d.; William Blinkhorn, 10l.; D. W. (treble), 3l.; D. Taylor, 6s.; Jos. Higgin, 1l.; John Entwistle, 1l.; James Nelson (double), 10s.; T. Woodcaton, 2l.; A Friend, 1l.; James Hazeldine, 5l.; A Corn Advocate, 18s. 1d.; Roger Haslowe, 1l.; Peter Haywood, 2l.; An Enemy to any Act-of-Parliament-ised Loaf, 1s.; J. C. Bramwell, 5s.; John Thurwell, 5s.; A Female Teetotaler, 5s.; A. Dyson, 10s.; John Gordon, 1l.; George Gannon, 1l.; D. Cordingley, 5s.; Robert Green, 5s.; H. Farhurst, 5s.;

W. Yates, 5s.; N. Ebrington, 1s.; George Bell, 1l.; C. Wiggins, 1l.; Moses Scott, 1l.; A Friend, 2l. 2s. 6d.; Anthony Thistlewaite, 1l.; A Lady, 1s.; A Widow's mite, 1s.; A Friend, 2s.; James Crooks, 2l. 2s. 6d.; Alexander Pettigrew, 1l.; A Lady, 5s.; John Gerrard (double), 6s.; Andrew Knowles and Sons, 10l.; John Mosley, 5s.; L. Witton, 5s.; Jos. Shuttleworth, 5s.; John Marsden, 5s.; James Nathan, a Friend, 2s. 6d.; D., 1s.; A New Subscriber, 1l.; An Apprentice, 1s. 6d.; W. Vickers, 1l.; S. Walmsley (new), 5l.; Henry Bate, 2l. 10s.; A Farmers' Friend, 2s. 6d.; Dr. Rawthorne, 2l. 2s.; R. Danderdale, 2l. 2s.; John Knowles, 1l.; James Knowles, 1l.; D. Haddock, 1l.; George Orrall, 5s.; R. H., 1l.; A Friend, 2s. 6d.; Thomas Birley, 5s.; Thomas Wild, 5s.; John Wilts, 10s.; R. Tonge, 5s.; John Crane, 5s.; William Blackburne, 5s.; James Knowles, 5s.; J. Stone, 5s.; Wm. Walmsley, 5s.; J. Loder, 1l.; A. Haigh and Son, 20l.; C. Heaton, 1l. 1s. 1d.; Poor Man, 2s. 6d.; Robert Haslam, 1l.; S. Haslam, 1l.; S. Howarth, 5s.; A Friend, 1l.; W. Ackroyd, 10l.; W. Taylor, 2l. 2s.; John Brown, 5l.; Henry Wilkinson, 1l.; Hugh Mackinson, 2l.; John Openshaw, 10s.; Samuel Hancer, 1l.; John Hoyle, 10s.; O. Smith, 2l.; H. Forbes, 5s.; Ralph Alman, 10s.; a hand-loom weaver's day's work, 1s. 6d.; James Morris, 1l., and 10s. each for his children—5l.; a Friend to the large porridge dish, 1l.; a Chartist, 2s. 6d.; a Lady, 5s.; a Friend, 5s.; Robert Heywood, 52l. 10s.; John Dean, 25l.; R. Lomax, 1l.; Mrs. G. Wynn, 10s.; A Farmer's Daughter, from Yorkshire, 10s.; E. H. King, 5s.; a Factory Girl, 1s.; O. Earnshaw, 2s. 6d.; a Friend, 2s.; William Hesketh, 1l.; William Darbishire, Hugh Horrox, 2s. 6d.; — Sewell, 2s. 6d.; — Morris, 2s. 6d.; Joseph Sewell, 2s. 6d.; John Sefton, 2s. 6d.; T. and J. Gregson, 26l.; M. Mather, 1l.; a Family of Ten, 10s.; a Farmer's Son, 2s. 6d.; a Lady, 10s.; a Cold Water Drinker, 2s. 6d.; a Friend, 1l.; George Banks, 2s. 6d.; John Sewell, R. Ainsworth, John Hebdon, John Heath, John Entwistle, Charles Mayo, John Harrison, and John Dean, 2s. 6d. each; a young Tradesman, 1l.; Thomas Nuttall, 1l. 1s.; a Friend, 1l.; an Englishman and a Scotchman, 1l.; Joseph Baron, 10s.; a Servant Girl, 2s. 6d.; I. O. U., paid, 1l. (laughter); a Friend, 1l.; Joseph Metcalfe, 1l.; John Mosley, 2s. 6d.; William Hudson (double), 1l.; Mary Emmett, 10s.; Richard Walworth (double), 1l.; Come Freely, 2s. 6d.; Peter Martin, 20l.; a Lady's table, 8s.; Robert Roberts, 5s.; James Manker, 1s.; a Friend from the Backbone of England, 1l.; Thomas Cullen, 10l.; a Well-wisher to the Working Man, 1l.; a Lady, 2s. 6d.; Henry Hall, 1l.; James Crompton, 1l.; William Morrison, 1l.; W. Morrow, 1l.; a Friend, 2s. 6d.; Henry Rothwell, 5s.; a Table Subscription, 1s. 10d. We did not catch the names of several small subscribers.

Mr. MOORE announced, at half-past ten o'clock, that the subscription in the room had reached 505l. 4s. 9d., making, with the 700l. to head the list, a total of 1205l. 4s. 9d.

The announcement was received with loud cheers; and, after votes of thanks to the chairman and to the deputation, the meeting separated.

THE LEAGUE AT BURY.

A meeting of the friends of Free Trade at Bury, in aid of the Great League Fund, was held on Thursday evening, in the school-room of Brunswick Chapel. About 500 persons sat down to tea previous to the meeting, and the company comprised nearly all the families of consideration in or about the town. Amongst the heads of these families we recognised—Mr. Richard Walker, M.P. for the borough; Mr. Edmund Grundy, of the Wild; Mr. Edmund Grundy, of Park Hills; Mr. John Walker, of Belle Vue; Mr. St. Grundy, of Lark Hill; Mr. John Grundy, of Belle Vue; Mr. Edmund Grundy, of Bridge Hall; Mr. Richard Ashton, of Limefield; Messrs. R. and T. Grundy; Mr. Robert Heaps, Rochdale; Rev. Franklin Howarth; Mr. James Wrigley, Ash Meadow; and Mr. Richard Walker, jun. (son of the member). The deputation from the Council of the League comprised—Mr. John Bright, M.P., and Colonel Thompson. Mr. W. J. Fox was expected, but was unable to attend. The chair was taken, after tea, by Mr. RICHARD ASHTON, who congratulated them on the progress which Free-Trade principles had made since they last met together. The sliding scale was now completely down, at all events—it had now no friends, and they might kick it as they liked. (Laughter.) The agriculturists themselves, for whose benefit the sliding scale was granted, were repudiating it: its failure there was announced in the suffering and degradation of the farm labourers; and the incendiary fires which nightly blazed over the stack-yards of their employers told that endurance had reached its boundaries. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. RICHARD WALKER, the member for the borough, then came forward, and was received with loud cheers. The hon. member has been suffering from bad health; and his presence had hardly been expected. He said:—Once more to the breach, my friends. (Loud cheers.) Once more. (Renewed cheering.) The outworks of monopoly are giving way: the citadel will soon surrender. The friends of truth, through the untiring energies of the Anti-Corn-Law League, have reached an eminence from which they will soon batter down all the power that can be brought against them; and a glorious victory will be the result. (Applause.) How can we repay the distinguished leaders of this mighty movement? (Applause.) We can best repay them by granting them the means to carry on the war with vigour. (Hear, hear.) They ask for £100,000. The call must be answered. You know how they laid out the £50,000 in the past year; and their application of that money is a sufficient guarantee of a more ample fund, which I sincerely hope they will be able to raise. (Applause.) The result which may be expected to follow is easily calculated by the result of last year; it is but a rule-of-three question. We want to educate some of the constituencies. (Hear, hear.) You know how large a sum it takes to educate your families—at least, those who have large families know that it is a great expense; how much more may it not be expected to cost to educate a family of some four or five hundred thousand electors? (Applause.) They are in great ignorance on the merits of this question, and must and ought to be educated. When they have learned their lessons, not only the Corn Laws, but all other selfish interests will vanish like the rainbow before the storm. (Applause.) I ask, then, that every manufacturer, that every merchant, that every artisan, that every farm-labourer, and more particularly every tenant-farmer, should co-operate with us in our mighty project; I ask them all to give money if they

can, and, if they have not money, their co-operation and good wishes for the removal of these laws from the statute book of the land. (Loud cheers.) I am not in health, ladies and gentlemen, to speak to you at any great length, but I can assure you that the Corn Law has not a greater enemy in England than I am. (Cheers.) I opposed its passing with all my might, in 1815. A friend of mine on my right, however we may have disagreed in other questions, co-operated strongly with me on that occasion; and I have the singular felicity of being able to tell you that I drew up a string of resolutions on that day against the passing of the bill, and I have been ever since that time a consistent and determined opponent of it. (Applause.) Co-operate with us, then, in this one more effort, and depend upon it that victory will crown our efforts. I have had a resolution put in my hand, which I beg leave to move for your adoption. It is—

"That this meeting most emphatically denounces the Corn Law, which increases the price of food and cripples trade, as unjust and odious, and therefore is a law which ought to be abolished." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. EDMUND GRUNDY, of the Wild, seconded the resolution. He said they had been told by a statesman, standing high in her Majesty's councils, that the doctrine of Free Trade was the doctrine of common sense, and if so, then was the object of this meeting valid. (Hear, hear.) They were assembled to subscribe to a fund for diffusing common sense by means of pamphlets and lectures to those who had not the means of informing themselves on this question; and he seconded the resolution in the hope that this appeal would be liberally responded to. The resolution was put, and carried with applause.

Mr. EDMUND GRUNDY, Park Hills, moved the second resolution—

"That this meeting, impressed with the importance of Free-Trade principles, pledges itself to follow the noble example of Manchester and other towns, in their attempt to repeal the Corn and Provision Laws, and thereby advance the commercial prosperity of the empire." (Applause.)

He said there was no other question before the country of half the importance of the present question. He held it to be the first duty of a Government to provide sustenance for its people; and that for any Government to set up a barrier to the free exchange of labour for the necessities of life, was a wicked and cruel attempt to exterminate the people. (Applause.) His language might be strong, but eight and twenty years' experience of the evils arising from the working of the law had increased his dislike of it to a most perfect hatred (loud cheers); and he felt that it was beyond the reach of language to speak too harshly of it. If they agreed with him to exert themselves for the repeal of these laws, let them provide themselves with ammunition then. It was of no use firing blank cartridge. Let every man be prepared to furnish his quota of powder and ball to the League, and they might then hope to make a successful impression. (Applause.)

JNO. WALKER, Esq., brother of the hon. representative of the borough, seconded the resolution, and said that a great debt of gratitude was due to such men as Cobden, Bright, Col. Thompson, and other members of the League, to whom their present certain prospect of success on this question was mainly owing.

The resolution was carried with great applause.

Col. THOMPSON then came forward and addressed the meeting in a humorous but argumentative speech.

Mr. JNO. GRUNDY, Belle Vue, proposed the next resolution, one of thanks to Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Col. Thompson, and other members of the League, which was seconded by the Rev. FRANKLIN HOWARTH, and adopted with applause.

Mr. BRIGHT then came forward, and spoke for upwards of an hour. His speech was one of the most brilliant and effective ones we have heard him deliver. When he had concluded, the Chairman headed the subscription with a contribution of £200.

The subscription was then proceeded with, but the lateness of the hour at which the report reached us precludes us from giving the items as they were handed in: the total announced was £1120, to which it is expected there will be considerable additions. The names and contributions of the subscribers shall appear next week.

ANTI-CORN-LAW DEMONSTRATION AT PUDSEY.

A public demonstration in favour of the total abolition of the Corn Laws, and in aid of the great League Fund of £100,000, was held on Wednesday evening in the Methodist Chapel, Pudsey. The attendance of the operatives was large, and the enthusiasm displayed throughout the proceedings of the meeting showed the hearty zeal with which the working classes of the town were willing to aid the League in the accomplishment of its great object.

On the platform we observed the following gentlemen:—Archibald Prentice, Esq., a member of the League, the deputation from Manchester; Thomas Plint and H. H. Stansfeld, Esqrs., the deputation from Leeds; John Varley, Esq., manufacturer, of Stanningley; Samuel Field, Esq., of Bank House, Pudsey (in politics a Conservative); Samuel Musgrave, Esq., of Pudsey Town-end; Charles Lofthouse, Esq., of Bank House; and William Hinings, Esq., of Pudsey.

JOHN VARLEY, Esq., was called to the chair, and opened the business of the meeting.

SAMUEL FIELD, Esq., proposed the first resolution, approving of the object of the Anti-Corn-Law League, the means by which it proposes to effect it, and especially its vast efforts to enlighten the population on the principles of Free Trade; and resolving to aid it by contributing to the great Fund of £100,000.

SAMUEL MUSGRAVE, Esq., seconded the resolution, which was carried with great cheering.

A Committee was then appointed to receive and collect subscriptions, after which the CHAIRMAN called upon H. H. STANSFELD, Esq., and Mr. A. PRENTICE, of Manchester, who severally addressed the meeting.

SAMUEL MUSGRAVE, Esq., then read, amidst great applause, the subscription list, which was headed by the following donations:—50l., John Varley, Esq.; 10l. 10s., Wm. Musgrave and Sons; 10l., Richard Elward, Esq., Rooker-lane; 5l., Mr. Charles Moss, clothier.

Mr. PLINT next addressed the meeting, and, during a long and effective speech, was much applauded. Mr. MUSGRAVE again announced the donations received, which, before the close of the meeting, amounted to upwards of 112l.; we understand that a great effort will be made to raise this sum to 200l.

FREE-TRADE DEMONSTRATION IN SHROPSHIRE.—On Friday morning last, the inhabitants of the village of Coalbrookdale, in Shropshire, and the immediate vicinity, were astonished by the announcement, by placard, that a meeting would take place that evening, in the New Lecture Room, for the purpose of commencing subscriptions in aid of the great League Fund of £100,000. Notwithstanding the very short notice, and the smallness of the population, the room was comfortably filled. Abraham Darby, Esq., ably filled the chair, and conducted the proceedings of the meeting. The audience was addressed very forcibly by Wm. Henry Darby, Esq., of Liverpool, who was attentively listened to throughout, and loudly cheered. He was followed, in a capital speech of some length, by Samuel Naleh, Esq. Joseph Robinson, Esq., of Liverpool, proposed the resolution calling upon the meeting for subscriptions, and was seconded by William F. Sim, Esq., of Liverpool, who particularly called upon the working-classes to show their adhesion to the League by even the smallest contribution. Eloquent addresses were also delivered by Mr. Hill Evans, and Mr. Randall, during the latter of which the subscription cards were handed in, and the amount and names were afterwards read out by Mr. Sim. The first was the ladies' subscription of Coalbrookdale (anonymous), £150; then came Abr. Darby, Esq., £50; Alfred Darby, Esq., £50 (these gentlemen having already given £200 this year at the Liverpool meeting); Henry Dickinson, Esq., £50; Richard Darby, Esq., £50; W. H. Darby, Esq., £5 (in addition to his donation at Liverpool); Joseph Robinson, Esq., £2 (besides a subscription at Liverpool); William F. Sim, Esq., £5; Edward Edwards, £2 2s.; ten of £1, besides various smaller sums, making in all 148 subscribers; the total amount being about £350. The whole amount of last year's subscriptions, in this part, was under £90; and when we consider that this year nearly four times that sum was subscribed in about twenty minutes, at a meeting called at about ten hours' notice, in a district famed for monopoly; that the whole population of the parish is only about 7000;—that there was none of the apostles of the League present; but that it was, emphatically, a speaking out of the people;—it is not too much to say, that it was one of the most, if not the most remarkable demonstration of the kind that has yet taken place.—*Liverpool Albion*.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING AT LEIGH.—An Anti-Corn-Law meeting was held at Leigh, on Monday last (New Year's Day), at two o'clock, which was addressed by Col. Thompson, Mr. R. R. R. Moore, and the Rev. Dr. Harrison of Chowbent; and a subscription was then commenced, which, before the meeting closed, amounted to £82, a great proportion of which consisted of very small sums, many of them from working-men. This amount, it is expected, will ultimately reach £140 or £150. Most of the subscriptions from parties who have given before, were doubled, and there were many new ones. Indeed, last year the amount ultimately raised was only £45.—*Manchester Guardian*.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING AT OSSETT.—A meeting, in aid of the League fund of £100,000, was held in this spirited little town on Monday evening last. The place of assembly was the Wesleyan school-room, and the audience was numerous and enthusiastic. The chair was taken by Mr. Thos. Phillips, who, after some appropriate observations, marked by strong sense, kind feeling, and enlarged benevolence, introduced, in succession, to the meeting Mr. Shaen and Mr. Plint, as a deputation from the Leeds Anti-Corn-Law Association. These gentlemen addressed the meeting at considerable length, and were listened to with deep interest, and the most marked and intelligent attention. At the conclusion of their addresses, a subscription in aid of the League fund was commenced, which amounted to £26 11s. before the meeting terminated. The committee appointed to canvass the township are sanguine that they shall double the last year's contributions to the League, of £35, and, from what we saw of their energy and zeal on a former occasion, we have no doubt they will succeed.—*Leeds Mercury*.

THE FREE-TRADE BANQUET AT GLASGOW.—We learn that the following distinguished individuals are expected to be present and take part in the proceedings on this interesting and important occasion:—The Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P.; the Hon. Fox Maule, M.P.; the Hon. E. J. Stanley, late M.P. for North Cheshire; Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; Andrew Rutherford, Esq., M.P.; Patrick Maxwell Stuart, Esq., M.P.; Colonel Thompson, late M.P. for Hull; Robert Wallace, Esq., M.P.; George Duncan, Esq., M.P.; James Oswald, Esq., M.P.; John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P. Invitations have, we also understand, been sent to several others, from whom replies have not yet been received; but it is evident from this list of names, that an intellectual feast will be presented in the City-hall, on the 10th, such as has rarely been witnessed in Glasgow.—*Glasgow Argus*.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE. — ANTI-CORN-LAW TEA PARTY.—The committee for making arrangements for the great Anti-Corn-Law meeting in this town have determined upon holding a grand tea party in the New Town-hall, on Monday, the 8th of January. Mr. Villiers, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and Colonel Thompson are expected to attend.

FREE-TRADE LECTURE AT THE TOXTETH-HALL.—On Wednesday evening, a meeting of the electors of North Toxteth Ward was summoned by the Anti-Monopoly Association, principally for the purpose of hearing Mr. Murray, of Manchester, on the advantages of Free Trade and the evils of Monopoly. The notes to the electors, inviting them to the meeting, were distributed indiscriminately, without reference to their political sentiments, and about one hundred and eighty persons attended. A deputation from the Anti-Monopoly Association accompanied Mr. Murray, and on opening the proceedings explained to the audience the anxious desire

of the association to secure a calm and full discussion of the merits of the question, and requested them to appoint a chairman in whom they could have confidence, to preserve order during the discussion, and whose sentiments might be either opposed to, or in accordance with, those of the deputation. Dr. Harbord was immediately nominated to the office, and was warmly urged by the deputation to accept it, but determinately declined. Mr. Frankland was then called to the chair, and Mr. Murray commenced his lecture, but had not proceeded far before he was assailed by whistling and other interruptions, proceeding chiefly from a group of individuals apparently organised and led on by Dr. Harbord. This gentleman persisted in putting questions to Mr. Murray having no bearing upon the subject of discussion, but evidently with a design of attacking the character of several members of the League. The questions were answered satisfactorily, but interruption again arose from other quarters, and at length reached such a pitch that it became impossible for the lecturer to proceed. The chairman appealed to the meeting whether Mr. Murray should continue, and it was decided in the affirmative by a large majority. Every attempt, however, to resume was frustrated by a renewal of the disturbances, in which Dr. Harbord rendered himself very conspicuous, and the meeting broke up, after resolving, by a large majority, that the Corn Laws were unjust, and ought to be immediately repealed. Poor Dr. Harbord! Why do not his friends take care of him?—*Liverpool Mercury*.

"The work goes bravely on." Every day adds to the power and the influence of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Even Hull, hitherto so apathetic, has caught a spark of the patriotic fire which burns so brightly in Manchester, in Leeds, in Liverpool, in London, in Bradford, in Edinburgh, and in Glasgow; and it now requires but a stir on the part of our leading Free-Trade advocates to set this borough in a blaze. The preparations now on foot for holding a public meeting in the town, to be attended by a deputation from the Council of the League, consisting of Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and Col. Thompson, are exciting the liveliest interest.—*Hull Advertiser*.

BRIGHTON ANTI-CORN-LAW AND FREE-TRADE ASSOCIATION.—We are glad to be enabled to state that this Association has been reorganised, and that it is preparing to open the campaign for 1844 with renewed vigour. We have no doubt that a large proportion of the voters in this borough are Free-Traders, and that the association has but to make itself and its objects known to induce them to join its ranks.—*Brighton Guardian*.

FREE-TRADE MEETING AT NEWARK.—On Friday evening a meeting was held in the Methodist New Connexion Chapel, Barnby-gate, Newark, to hear an address from Col. Perronet Thompson, on the benefits that will arise from free intercourse with all the world, to every town in England, and more especially to the borough of Newark. Mr. T. H. Massey, a maltster and a highly-respectable inhabitant of the borough, was called to the chair. The chapel was crowded by an audience composed, for the most part of the middle and working classes, including a large number of the electors of Newark. The veteran champion of Free Trade addressed the meeting in a speech of an hour's duration, in the course of which he was frequently and warmly cheered. Several other persons briefly addressed the meeting; after which a vote of thanks to the gallant colonel was moved, and carried unanimously. One of the results of this meeting was the announcement of the formation of an Anti-Corn-Law Association for the borough of Newark.—*Nottingham Review*.

The Young Men's Anti-Corn-Law Association, Gatehead, were busily engaged on Monday last in distributing Anti-Corn-Law pamphlets in Tanfield and the surrounding districts.

INCREASE OF THE DUTIES ON BRITISH GOODS IN BRAZIL.—Advices have just been received from Rio to the 31st October, from which we learn that the Brazilian Government has adopted a course with regard to several kinds of British goods imported into that country which will have the effect of raising the amount of duties to which they are liable immediately, and that, as it believes, without any breach of the terms of the treaty, and, consequently, without creating any right of complaint on the part of this country. According to the treaty between England and Brazil, as originally agreed upon, British goods were to be admitted into the Brazilian empire at an *ad valorem* duty of 15 per cent., which rate of duty was afterwards raised by mutual agreement to 20 per cent. These terms the Brazilians were very anxious to have changed in November, 1842, but to this the English Government would not consent; and they therefore agreed, though with very bad grace, that the present rate of duty should remain unchanged until November, 1844. They have since, however, discovered that an *ad valorem* duty may be as effectually raised by increasing the valuation of the goods taxed, as by increasing the per centage raised upon them, and have therefore greatly increased the valuation of British goods of several kinds. In some cases the increase is 10 per cent. on the old valuation, in others 20, in others 30, in some 50, and in one or two 75 per cent. This is exactly the same thing, in effect, as if the rate of duty had been increased from 20 per cent. *ad valorem* to 22, 24, 26, 30, and 35 per cent. Whether this is or is not a breach of the treaty, we do not pretend to say, but it is evident that it is precisely the same thing, so far as the commerce of this country is concerned. Amongst the articles thus subjected to new and increased valuation are flannels, barragons, boots and shoes, several descriptions of cottons and silks, cassimeres, varnished hats, cutlery, steel, Irish linens, gunpowder, and several kinds of woollen goods. We shall next week give a list of the articles whose valuation is charged, showing the extent of the increase on each article.—*Liverpool Times*.

FOREIGN SUGAR FROM THE BRITISH COLONIES.—It is generally known that our enlightened and consistent

Government, although it will not allow the sugars of Brazil and Cuba to be consumed in the three kingdoms, allows them to be refined in this country in bond, and to be sent to the West Indies to be eaten there by the free negroes and their employers. In consequence of this permission, foreign sugars refined in this country are sent out to the West Indies and the Mauritius almost every day, and along with the refined sugars there go out also considerable quantities of bastards, that is, of the inferior kinds of sugar, separated from the better parts in refining. This bastard sugar is in appearance very like unrefined sugar, and as the bastards can be bought in Liverpool for 14s., whilst the raw West India and Mauritius sugar is worth 80s. per cwt. in this country, there is a great temptation to mix them in the colonies, and to send the mixture to this country as plantation sugar. We have reason to believe that this kind of fraud has been practised more than once of late, especially in a case of which we heard last week, and we do not doubt that if the law continues in its present state it will become more common every year. In some descriptions of sugar it is scarcely possible to tell the difference between bastard and raw sugar by the eye, so that it is not detected if the sugar is sold in an unrefined state, though it becomes quite evident if the attempt is made to refine the mixture, when the *residuum* of the previously refined sugar is easily detected, as it was in the case which we have mentioned above.—*Liverpool Times*.

THE NEW TARIFF.—At the Leicestershire agricultural dinner the other day, the Earl Howe, who took the chair, made the following statement:—"The importation of stock, according to a document he had received from the Customs, throughout the whole of the United Kingdom, between the 5th of January and the 5th of September, was 873 oxen, 32 calves, 164 sheep, and 241 swine. During the year before the new tariff 42,980 cwt. of beef, and 45,310 cwt. of pork, had been imported; while, during 1842, after the new tariff, it was 29,921 cwt. of beef (about half the quantity), and 54,163 cwt. of pork." We leave our readers to calculate (which they must do on some infinitesimal theory) what a microscopic effect upon prices in this kingdom such an importation must have had. 873 oxen, 32 calves, 164 sheep, and 241 pigs, in the space of eight months! Why, the whole lot would not have sufficed for two days' consumption of the metropolis, while there is actually less pickled meat imported under the new tariff than before its enactment. The reduction of prices caused by the tariff was to enable the hard-wrung consumers to pay Sir Robert Peel's income-tax. All we have to say is, get your income-tax out of that gentleman—if you can!—*Worcester Chron.*

ROYAL AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND.—It is the intention of the Council of the Royal Agricultural Society to give premiums of 50 guineas each for the best prize essays (during the present year, on the agriculture of Norfolk, Cheshire, Essex, and Wiltshire).

EXETER.—At a late agricultural meeting at Kington Sir Robert W. Newman is reported to have said (*Western Times*, Nov. 4, 1843):—

"As an agriculturist he wanted no protection at the expense of any other portion of the community." "They were at least entitled to demand an investigation into the burdens which fell exclusively upon the land, and from which the other portions of the community were exempt; their parochial burdens and local taxation ought duly to be ascertained, and a balance struck between them, before any further alteration should take place."

The candid position which the honourable baronet here assumes is exactly that on which the advocates of Free Trade desire to meet a fair and unprejudiced opponent. We therefore hear with pleasure that Mr. Brown, on behalf of the Anti-Corn-Law League, has announced his intention to deliver a lecture in this city on "The Burdens on Land;" in the course of which we confidently expect that he will prove that, so far from land being subject to any peculiar and exclusive burden, it is really the subject of privileged exemption, or bonus to the amount of nearly, if not more than, three millions per annum.

INDISPOSITION OF MR. BRIGHT, M.P.—We regret to say that the honourable member for Durham has been obliged to suspend his labours for a time, and to place himself under medical treatment, arising from over-exertion and exposure to the weather. We are happy, however, to be able to announce that he is at present much better, and we hope will be sufficiently recovered to accompany the deputation of the League in their tour into Scotland.

Mr. Cobden, we are happy to say, notwithstanding his incessant exertions, continues in good health and spirits.

SCOTLAND.—The first route, as announced last week, of the League deputation to Scotland, has been changed. The following arrangement was subsequently fixed upon:—Glasgow, 10th; Edinburgh, 11th; Perth, 12th; Aberdeen, 15th; Dundee, 16th; Cupar, 18th (day meeting); Leith, 19th; Jedburgh, 20th. The deputation going west will be at Greenock on the 15th (a day meeting); Paisley, 16th (evening meeting); Ayr, 18th (a day meeting); Kilmarnock, 19th (evening meeting); and Dumfries, 17th (day meeting).

LIVERPOOL LEAGUE FUND.—Total subscriptions up to Saturday night last, £6003 4s.

ANOTHER "GREAT FACT."—A landowner in South Derbyshire has sent a contribution of £100 to the Derby subscription to the League fund, from "an opponent to the sliding-scale." The Derby subscription, which last year amounted to £400 only, has already reached to between £1100 and £1200! Before the books are closed, it will reach from £1200 to £1300. Derby has hitherto been rather apathetic, but the spirit is moving. The speech of Mr. Cobden has produced a prodigious effect.

THE LEAGUE FUND.—To the Editor of the *Liverpool Albion*.—Sir,—Perusing a letter, addressed to you, in the last *Albion*, on the subject of the League Fund, allow me to pen a few lines to you in reply. I can

most feelingly and truly testify to that part of it relative to man's amiability of disposition being visited by no very pleasant feelings for not contributing his share to the great League Fund, when experiencing great benefit from a freedom of trade. Now, Sir, I must candidly confess to you, that, when the last subscription for £50,000 was closed, I was guilty of great neglect in not subscribing to it; and the impression on my mind was, that I had committed a great sin, and it was a considerable time before I could remove the unpleasant feelings that both my heart and mind were visited with. I now, therefore, wish to indelibly impress on every man's mind, who feels interested in this great Free-Trade question, to make it one of the most essential purposes of his life to subscribe, before it is too late, to the best of his abilities, and to consider it as the very best transaction he ever made or entered in his day-book or ledger. I remain, dear Sir, your obedient servant, A CONSERVATIVE FREE-TRADER AND NO MISTAKE. Dec. 21, 1843.

MORE CORN WILFULLY DESTROYED.—On Saturday last, an additional quantity of corn was taken out of bonded-warehouses in this town and destroyed, having by being kept too long become unfit for human food! Had the Corn Laws been repealed, this corn would have been brought into the market, and purchased by some of our fellow-townsmen who are now probably on the borders of starvation. And yet there are men who profess and call themselves Christians and friends of the poor who advocate a law which permits—nay, compels—the wilful destruction of food in a country where tens of thousands are lacking bread!—*Sunderland Herald*.

A Kendal letter-carrier has been turned out of his place, merely from being recommended to it by two gentlemen who voted at the late election for the Free-Trade candidate. The *Kendal Mercury* ably exposes these disgraceful transactions.

MR. RAND'S SPEECH on the Corn Laws has been reprinted, from the *Leeds Mercury*, at Wakefield, for distribution by the Anti-Corn-Law Committee there.

PREFERENCE.—It is said of Mr. Wm. Rand, the chairman of the late Anti-Corn-Law meeting at Bradford, that at the time of the last Parliamentary election for the West Riding of the county of York, he preferred his politics to his trade, but that now he prefers his trade to his politics. This proof of wisdom is, we hope, taking place very extensively amongst the conscientious Conservatives; and the only wonder of all reflecting men is that it did not occur long since. We could mention many lamentable instances where merchants and manufacturers in Yorkshire have adhered to a political party, while they have seen their trade gradually slip out of their hands, and their affairs reduced to ruin by the anti-commercial policy of that party, and while, as Mr. Henry Hall very justly observed, at the Leeds Anti-Corn-Law meeting in 1815, their foreign customers retired from them in disgust at the higher prices asked for their merchandise, to give their orders for the rival manufactures of the Continent, produced by the labour of workmen who are fed on untaxed bread.—*Leeds Mercury*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the LEAGUE.

SIR, I have no wish to see my name in print; but I am actuated by the ambition, which the humblest may gratify, of adding a stone to the cairn. I wish to give a fact, a fraction of a fact, or, if you please, a particle of fact to the "great fact"; and if the information I send be available in your forthcoming observations upon the Essex Protection meeting, I will feel gratified.

Mr. Oliver Copland at that meeting remarked—"Mr. Hope came from Scotland; and did they know what economising labour meant in Scotland? It meant, discharge your labourers, and let them starve."

Now, Sir, I know something both of the English and Scotch labourer. I have been brought in contact with the latter, in this and adjoining counties, for the last five or six years; and if I were to form an estimate of his condition during that period, I would say that it never admitted so great an amount of comfort as it does at the present moment. Of late years his moral and physical condition has greatly improved, and is decidedly superior to that of the English labourer. Labourers here are at present fully employed, and that by farmers who are as much alike to the perils which the political horizon threatens as the English farmer is. But Scotch farmers know that they are exposed to keen competition; they are fully aware that they enjoy no monopoly, and they seem to be actuated by the noble ambition of writing to their landlords upon the broad fields of their farms, and in characters which may be read by all, "That change their tenants they may, but they shall not improve the cultivation of their land by doing so." Within the last few years improvements in cultivation have rapidly increased, while the profits of cultivation have greatly decreased. I need not say that the result has been increased rents to the landlord, and increase of comfort to the labourer, effected mainly by a sacrifice of capital on the part of the tenant.

I hear of no largesses of beef being distributed in any of the parishes of this county, and would be sorry to hear of it. We do not pay our labourers with gratuities, but with justice.

I have had good opportunities of forming an opinion of English cultivation and English labourers. The good lands are well cultivated. And there also, I believe, the poor may enjoy an abundance of physical comforts. But farming upon the bad lands, which offer no inducements to men of capital or spirit to sacrifice their independence, is wretched. In the western counties the sorrowful and dejected look of the peasant, combined with the wretched cultivation which allowed the permanent grass to be overrun with thorns, reminded me of the melancholy description given by

travellers of that portion of Syria which is said to be under the ban of the Almighty. I am aware, however, that these remarks are not applicable to Essex. I know that the labourer there is an active and comparatively intelligent man; and as he is so, I would like very much to know the feelings of his mind as to the 200 stones of beef which he and his co-parishioners share once a year. Is not the parson the distributor of it? and does he not take it upon him occasionally to remind him of his ingratitude? If the parson enjoys the sunshine of aristocratic favour, does it not sometimes happen that through his means the mischievous propensities of the urchins of the village in robbing a partridge or pheasant's nest are visited with a penalty due only to a graver offence? When the labourer reflects upon these things, it is not improbable that he may arrive at the conclusion that his Christmas beef costs more than that which he eats at other periods of the year—the purchase of his daily toil—an opinion which is shared by, Your very obedient servant,

East Lothian, Dec. 2, 1843. JOHN RUSSELL.

To the Editor of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—If you have room, and think it worth while, do me the favour to insert in your paper the underneath part of a letter, addressed to me from Berlin, with my answer to it. You will thereby, I think, serve your cause, and oblige

DIODORUS.

Berlin, Dec. 26, 1843.

"It is likely that a duty of 10 silver groshen per cwt. will, after all, be imposed on pig iron, and an additional half-dollar on bars. It is also not unlikely that the Belgians may have an exemption from this advance, on the ground that some return is due to them for their concession in regard to German wines. To England will be held out the promise of being put on the same footing, as soon as a corresponding relief is given to some sort of German industry. This, I hope, will spur on your Anti-Corn-Law folks, but it should at the same time teach Mr. Cobden and his friends to give up their very strange and impracticable principle of being uninfluenced in their proceedings by any regard for the actions of foreign states. You may depend on this, that, nowadays, nothing will be granted here without an equivalent, and that the Ministry must be allowed by Parliament to restrict their concessions as to corn and other things to those countries which are inclined to act on the good Scotch rule of *giff-gaff*."

London, January 4, 1841.

"For Prussia's sake, I regret to learn that new prohibitory measures are in contemplation. The duty on iron will, no doubt, please, and may, perhaps, benefit the producers, but, of course, at the expense of the consumers of that commodity. The latter, the most numerous of his Majesty's subjects, will derive but little comfort from the fact of the Belgians drinking Rhenish wines. If it could be so arranged that they might have themselves an additional bottle, there would be something in it; but they will now have less to spare for that enjoyment, by more than the full additional cost of the iron which they consume. I can conceive that measures, remotely injurious to England, may be devised; but I am inclined to think that they would be always infinitely more, and much more immediately injurious to Prussia."

"Pardon me for altogether differing from you in the opinion which you entertain of the Anti-Corn-Law League and its fundamental principles. If I wanted the League to commit suicide, I would advise them the abandonment of truth, pure and undefiled, which is their tower of strength, and alone ought to be so; and recommend the adoption of antiquated notions never supported by any better reasoning than empty sounds, such as you facetiously advance. 'Thrice is he armed who has his quarrel just.' The total unconditional repeal is the breastplate of righteousness, which makes us strong as clad in steel. It is exactly, because concessions were made to expediency and prejudice, that so few great enterprises have had great issues; it is exactly because the Anti-Corn-Law League adheres to great principles, that it has great power. I see no advantages that England could derive from what are called liberal measures of other countries, beyond the satisfaction that the latter would then keep pace with her in the race of greatness or common sense. Knowing that you have bestowed but little time on the consideration of such matters, sufficiently simple in themselves, but mystified by self-interest and bureaucratic sagacity, I shall venture to lay before you, as briefly as possible, my manner of reasoning, and my plea on behalf of the League, if that were wanted."

"If England, or if the League must wait till all the world will agree respecting commercial laws and practice, there would be a long waiting;—but is it necessary to wait so long, to wait for a while, or to wait at all? You say, 'nothing will be granted without an equivalent.' Now, I go further, and say, 'nothing ought to be granted without an equivalent.' only show me what you grant, and the equivalent shall not be wanting. By relieving your own people from heavy duties, I do not think that you grant anything to others. The error lies in this, then, that by charging your imports with low duties, you fancy you grant something to the countries from whence those imports come. If that were true, then, by putting on high duties, you would obtain something from those countries; by putting on higher duties, you might obtain more; by putting on the highest duties conceivable, you might obtain all. You might thus, in fact, tax foreign countries. England, for instance, might tax Prussia or China and, might thus raise sufficient to pay off her national debt. Then, in fact, such duties would not fall on your own, but on other nations; then such duties would be no hardships at home; then such duties, high as they might be, would be no burthens; all complaints against them would be foolish; and the pretence that you must have sliding scales and protections and prohibitions on ac-

count of the high duties so jocosely enumerated by Sir Robert Peel, and therefore the Corn Law itself, would fall evidently to the ground."

"The Anti-Corn-Law League is not established for the injury or benefit of other countries, but for the salvation of its own. If it does not adhere to truth, it will and ought to fall. Its open enemies, and its silent, and therefore perhaps more dangerous, opponents only watch for its departure from abstract principles, first to emasculate, and then to extinguish it. Treaties of commerce and commercial laws profess a repugnance to imports, as disadvantages to national prosperity. But the only national end and object of foreign commerce can be imports, i. e., the returns—not exports—which are the outgoings, the means for obtaining that end. Governments, prompted by local interests, may think differently; the philosopher, whose mind embraces the whole circle of national transactions, can come but to that conclusion. Of what avail then can commercial treaties be, which are framed to exclude what alone is worth having, and make difficulties about that only which is not desirable?"

"The commodities that might be imported can be conveniently ranged under two heads, viz., those that are, and those that are not, wanted. Of this there is no better test than saleableness. What cannot be sold, is not wanted, and need not be prohibited. What finds buyers, is wanted. This is partially acknowledged in practice. There is no law against sending coals to Newcastle; and to prohibit the importation of sand into Pomerania would be simply ridiculous. But by putting a duty on butter in England, and on iron in Prussia, you deprive some people of buying what they want; and if you benefit the home producer, you do it at the expense of the consumer: you advantage, in fact, a few to the injury of a great many. If this be the duty of Government, then prohibitory measures are right; if not, they are wrong. I doubt whether the Prussian people were ever so generous that they paid more for English iron than the English themselves. I therefore do not see how your duty will hurt us, though I clearly see that it will hurt the Prussians. But, supposing even that your new duty on iron were a hardship on our ironmasters, that would be no reason why we should inflict an additional hardship on all our people, the bread-eaters, by impeding the supply of food, whereby neither the latter nor the former could be benefited."

"Again: if the Prussians wanted our iron, will they not now be obliged to exchange their wheat, flax, wool, or timber for things less useful to them than that commodity? For if, without this new law, they would have exchanged them exactly for the same things as with this law—that means, if they would have taken no iron—then the law is nominal, as much as a law against carrying coals to Newcastle. To such conclusions you must come at last, turn it as you will. Prohibitory laws, if they are effective, are a hardship on the many to favour a few; and as they force your people to exchange their exports for other commodities than would in preference be imported, they reduce the value of your exports, that is, of your exportable industry; they lessen the quantity, and limit the variety of commodities—force you to import what you don't want, make you carry sand into Prussia instead of iron, and, if comprehensive in extent and lasting in duration, they end in general poverty, wretchedness, and confusion, such as is now, thanks to the Corn Laws, the portion of Great Britain."

"The Anti-Corn-Law League knows well what it is about. It has taken its stand, wisely and honourably, on a broad principle. Its subscribers and supporters, the people of England, want food; and they shall have it. They cannot wait till Prussia thinks fit to supply its subjects with iron, or till the French shall be permitted by Louis Philippe to wear cheap stockings. Both are willing to sell us corn, and we care not for their concerns, as long as they will sell us what we want to buy. If, for the sake of repose, expediency, or favour, the League would swerve from this principle, they would become slaves of others, as the Prussian Government are sure to become slaves of the *Zoll-Verein*, because they have swerved from the original principle of simplifying their custom-house intricacies, and have gradually substituted for that laudable project the blighting system of the so-called protective policy."

"Pardon this long and tiresome epistle. Had we not all grown up with prohibitory notions—had not habit made your notions second nature to almost every one now arrived at the age of fifty—such discussions would be quite unnecessary. Were any one now to attempt, for the first time, to establish the prohibitive or protective system, he would find it very difficult to make out a case. But old abuse, fenced in by that many-headed hydra, error, is strong, and requires repeated and untired assaults. Truth, however, will prevail at last. They say Government contemplates once more to put down our League by law or force. I don't believe it; Government is strong to defend error, but to attack truth it has ever been proved weak."

A PICTURE OF THE MONOPOLISTS, DRAWN BY THEMSELVES.

"Mr. Ferrand is a man after our own hearts!"—*Farmer's Journal*.

We simply reprint a letter from Mr. Cobden to the *Times* newspaper, which explains itself, as a comment upon the above monopolist text.

To the Editor of the *Times*.

SIR,—My attention has been drawn to a letter from Mr. Ferrand in your paper, in which the following passage appears:—

"When I exposed in the House of Commons the fraud practised upon the operatives, I stated that some of the manufacturers kept cows, and compelled their workpeople to buy the milk; that the member for Stockport kept cows and sold the milk to his men. A few nights afterwards Mr. Cobden stood up in his place, and, amidst the loud cheers of his friends, solemnly denied my assertion. I then, giving up the name of my nationality, and

though such communications are always considered private amongst members of Parliament, he nevertheless forwarded that note, by the same night's post, to the *Manchester Guardian*. The House appointed a committee to inquire into the truth of my allegations, of which both Mr. Cobden and myself were members, and in his presence Lord Ashley (the chairman) asked Mr. Oldfield (who was a witness from Chorley, where Mr. Cobden's printworks are) whether any of the manufacturers kept cows? He replied, 'Yes, Mr. Cobden does.' I steadily fixed my eye on the hon. member for Stockport whilst the witness gave the name of one of his work-people who bought milk from him, as well as the price which Mr. Cobden charged. I shall not soon forget the confusion of his countenance. To this moment Mr. Cobden has not retracted his denial.

"It is a pity that the *Times*, and not the *Satirist*, contains the above choice bit of statesmanship, as I am thereby compelled to trouble you with the following extracts from the evidence of Mr. Ferrand's own witness, Mr. Oldfield, who was brought from Chorley to substantiate his (Mr. Ferrand's) charge against me of being implicated in the truck system. I quote from the printed minutes of the committee on payment of wages:—

"1732.—Mr. Crawford.—You stated something with regard to letting out cows; what was the nature of that transaction?—With regard to the letting out cows I do not think that it is any injury to the workpeople, but it is done in Chorley.

"1733.—What is the nature of it?—I can tell you from information I got; I took a note of it; I made inquiry chiefly at Mr. Cobden's print works. There are certain individuals who take cows; it is the interest of the printers to have cows kept upon certain land they have.

"1734.—Chairman.—The cow-dung is of some use in the process?—Yes, they take the cow-dung from the cows to dye in the madder department, and they let out the cows to their workmen. There is one man of the name of Fox Crabtree; he takes a cow; he is a drawer in the works, and he pays £12 for what we call the 'note' in our country; it is 40 weeks' milk; he pays for the first 20 weeks 2s. a week; and then 4s. for the next 20 weeks afterwards, which makes £12. But I do not consider that that is any injury to the workmen at Mr. Cobden's, for I believe, in the way that milk is sold in our neighbourhood, that it is a benefit to the man, or he would not take it. I do not know that the Mr. Cobden's compel them to take it, but it is a benefit to them too. Mr. Cobden has to have a certain quantity of land, and they wish to have the dung to be used in madder dyeing.

"1735.—Mr. Crawford.—Do you think that it is a benefit to the employers and the men?—Yes.

"1736.—Have you heard any complaint upon the subject?—No.

"1737.—How many cows has Mr. Cobden?—There are four.

"1738.—Is there a great demand for milk?—Yes; but it is very cheap—it is nothing out of the way.

"1739.—Mr. Crawford.—Does Mr. Cobden buy the dung?—No; the cows are kept upon Mr. Cobden's land, and he sends his men to take the manure off; it is used chiefly in madder-dyeing.

"1740.—The master keeps them on his own land, and lets them out?—Yes; and they pay £12 for 40 weeks.

"1741.—Mr. Cobden.—Are you aware of the quantity of dung that would be used in a work like the Crosse Hall works?—No.

"1742.—Are you aware that it would require 100 cows in the spring of the year, at least, to supply the works with dung?—When they were in full work I should say it would require a great deal more.

"1743.—And only four, you say, are kept there?—I do not know of any more; I have known the individuals who have taken them.

"Not content with the above evidence in refutation of his charge, before his witness left the room, Mr. Ferrand himself put the two following questions:—

"1775.—Mr. Ferrand.—Is not Mr. Cobden considered one of the best masters in that part of the country?—Yes, he is.

"1776.—And he pays his workpeople in money?—Yes, he does. The only thing I have heard against Mr. Cobden is, that he employs too many Scotchmen; that is the chief complaint in our neighbourhood; but I am certain of one thing, that Mr. Cobden is greatly praised, for he does not keep a truck-shop, nor does he tie his men to anything, from what I have understood. They certainly keep cows, but it is a benefit to the man that has the cows.

"To hear all this against one's character from a neighbour in the presence of a Parliamentary committee, and to have such an eye as that of the hon. member for Knaresborough 'steadily fixed' upon one all the while, ought surely to excuse my not-soon-to-be-forgotten 'confusion of countenance.'

"If, as it seems, Sir, a new line of tactics in political controversy is to be adopted by our opponents, and that private character, and not public measures, is to be the topic of discussion, I think the plan adopted by Mr. Ferrand of calling a witness to my character from my own neighbourhood was a wise one. He, and those who act with him as accusers, will, of course, concur with me in the advice which I beg to offer to the public, that before their testimony be taken against the members of the League, their characters, and trustworthiness as witnesses, may be inquired into in their own neighbourhoods, and from amongst their neighbours.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
"Manchester, Dec. 30, 1843." RICHARD COBDEN.

Let any reader say what he thinks of the man who could concoct the charges Mr. Ferrand made out of the evidence actually given, and then recollect that he is "a man after the Monopolist's own heart"!!

THE CORN LAWS.

To the Editor of the *Nottingham Mercury*.

SIR,—A few days ago, being out upon a Christmas visit, I accidentally met with an old Shropshire farmer, and, being much pleased with his views upon the unproductiveness of the present Corn Law, I requested him to give me his sentiments in writing, and have the pleasure of placing before your readers the experience of an uneducated but practical farmer, of fully sixty years' standing.

Yours obediently,
J. G. JOHNSON.

"Sir,—I send you, according to promise, my views of the Corn Law; but, as I never went to school to learn grammar, or did it ever cost my father three guineas for my schooling, be pleased to excuse errors, and correct them.

"In 1807 or 1808 a Corn Law was made, fixing a standard duty on imported wheat of 8s. per quarter; but this did not long satisfy the experimentalists—those cultivators of the soil who had been buying estates, and borrowing one half the

money to pay for them. These gentlemen when they had land to let wanted to double their rents, which they did in many instances; and in 1816, when peace was made, and wheat lowered in price, taking a ten years' average, from 18s. 14d. per quarter of 48 lbs. to 2s., then these experimentalists petitioned Parliament until they obtained an act that no foreign wheat should be sold for home consumption at less than 18s. per quarter. Still these experimentalists were dissatisfied, although the act contained, as was said at the time, all the protection sound policy required.

"When in May, 1819, about three millions of quarters of foreign wheat was let out of bond free of duty, by order of the King in Council, O, my God! how did these experimentalists complain! Petitioning Parliament every year, until they obtained a sliding-scale law, which has been, and is, the greatest curse to the honest, labouring, industrious farmer ever invented; and still, notwithstanding, these everlasting grumbling experimentalists cannot keep up the price of wheat and bread.

"Of this fact I am certain, that many hundreds of farmers have ruined themselves, and brought their children to be day labourers, in order to oblige their landlords, and those restless experimentalists, by supporting measures which have brought this great industrious nation to all the troubles, panics, and distress that have been seen and felt from 1815 to this day, December 25, 1843.

"The cultivators of the soil are divided into three classes:—
"1st. The experimentalists—men of some education, and ambitious to become agents to landed proprietors, &c.
"2nd. The agriculturists, who are the yeomen of the country, who farm their land well, are the staple of the country, and an honour to their neighbours.

"3rd. The farmer, who is an industrious, hard-working, careful man; who has seen little of the world; goes on as his father did before him; saves all he can in his plain honest way, and keeps very little company; thus he lives, and, when he dies, one son on the farm marries his neighbour's daughter; all the rest of the family are obliged to turn out, and, knowing nothing of the world, marry servants as ignorant as themselves. Thus they soon become day labourers, or engage themselves as carters in some neighbouring town. This has been the way with the farmers in Shropshire the last sixty years, to my knowledge.

"These evils I principally attribute to the trickery of the experimentalists and the landlords. For myself, I am favourable to a small fixed duty, say 4s., on imported wheat, which would answer all the purposes required, and be better than without any duty, as then both farmers and tradesmen, and the people of other nations, would know what they were doing. Not so now.

Yours,
AN OLD SHROPSHIRE FARMER.

BLUNDERS OF THE "STANDARD."

We are frequently amused by the gross blundering of the *Standard* on matters connected with the manufacturing districts. Whether its mis-statements proceed from gross ignorance or grosser dishonesty, is a point not easily to be determined by any previous knowledge of that journal; our experience of which would prevent even the slightest emotions of surprise on account of any deficiency of knowledge or of honesty in which it may be detected. In the number of Saturday last we have some striking instances of this habitual blundering, upon matters with which persons moderately acquainted with public affairs are generally familiar. In commenting upon a speech made by Mr. Cobden, at Leicester, the *Standard* says:—

"What would Mr. Cobden think of such a relaxation of the new poor-law as should prevent a drab-coloured man writing to a new poor-law commissioner for a consignment of agricultural paupers, to keep down the excessive wages of hand-loom weavers (4s. 6d. a week, as we remember)?"!!!

Now we will undertake to say, that no man, either "drab-coloured" or habited in black or blue, ever sent for or received a single pauper from the agricultural districts, to be employed as a hand-loom weaver. It is quite notorious, having been explained hundreds of times, and in all possible ways—in reports by the poor-law commissioners and factory inspectors—in letters, speeches, and newspapers—that the labour of the parties who migrated from the agricultural districts was required, not in hand-loom weaving, but in the factories—where many families who were starving in Buckinghamshire or Bedfordshire, on pittance of 7s. or 8s. per week, have been and are now earning 30s., 40s., or 50s. per week. Of the entire number who so migrated, we do not believe there is one who is or has been employed in hand-loom weaving. The assertion that they were brought here to keep down wages in that employment is, therefore, a ridiculous absurdity.

In other parts of the same article, the *Standard* says—"We have it, *pro confesso*, that the millowners do not give such good wages as the farmers; and that, when the landlords have the power, they give higher wages than the mill-owners, and what is more, give them all the year round"!!!!

We should very much like to know where the *confession* is to be found, which is here alluded to. The *Standard* has asserted, in the face of a mass of evidence that would have deterred a more scrupulous writer, that agricultural labourers receive better wages than persons employed in factories; but that anybody has admitted such a monstrous falsehood will be believed when the admission is produced, and not before. But the most ridiculous part of the *Standard's* blundering is that in which he boasts of the *constancy* of agricultural employment, as contradistinguished from employment in factories. This indicates an extent either of ignorance or of disregard for truth which is truly remarkable. Every man at all acquainted with rural affairs is perfectly aware that, from frost, from rain, and from many other causes, the employment (and the earnings) of agricultural labourers are liable to many interruptions; whilst the employment in factories is, from very obvious causes, extremely regular and constant. As Mr. Horner, the factory inspector, very clearly showed, in a report made to the Secretary of State in the early part of the year 1842, no millowner can stop his mill, or even materially diminish his hours of labour, without incurring very serious loss; and hence the state of trade must be wretched indeed, when the amount of factory labour is seriously diminished.

Perhaps we owe our readers an apology for alluding to these gross and palpable blunders; but it must not be forgotten, that statements of the kind to which we have referred form the very data on which the *Standard* and some other newspapers found their arguments in favour of the Corn Law; and this fact invests them

with a degree of importance which, viewed merely as isolated misrepresentations, they would certainly not possess.—*Manchester Guardian*.

IRELAND AS SHE IS IN 1843.

WRITTEN FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATION.

CHAPTER X.

The criminal charge against J—R— for conspiring to shoot the landlord.

We come now to the criminal charge on which J—R— was tried and acquitted. It might be passed over, having been already mentioned so frequently in previous chapters, but it leads to other matters demanding our special attention, and must, therefore, be re-opened. We shall quote from the statements of counsel and from the evidence of witnesses, and make a few comments as we go along.

"COUNTY OF KILKENNY ASSIZES, Wednesday, July 26, 1843. (Before the Hon. Justice Crampton.)

"J—C— was indicted for having at Dombell, on the 10th of March, discharged a blunderbuss at R—S— with intent to kill, and J—R— was indicted as an accessory before the fact. The indictment was joint."

"The Solicitor-General stated the case. * * * It occurred on the 10th of March last, which was Sunday; and Mr. S— was attacked on his way from his residence to Kilkenny, where he intended to attend divine worship. The residence of Mr. S— is, or rather was, at B—, for he has since gone to reside in another county. That residence is near B—B—, and when on a particular part of the M— road between B— and Kilkenny, he was fired at. The shot would have been fatal had it taken effect. It was necessary to explain some circumstances. Three days before the Sunday on which the firing took place Mr. S— had gone to the house of the prisoner R— to complain of some ash trees which his steward had complained were cut down on his land. R— replied in very offensive language, and desired him to be off, or that he would be even with him, or murder him, he (the Solicitor-General) could not say which! Mr. S— took out a summons for R—, who was convicted for the ash trees at the petty sessions, and confined till the rising of the court. This was Saturday, and on the following day Mr. S— was proceeding on his jaunting-car on the road already described. At a particular part of it called Forrestole-lane, in which there is a turn, he observed a man standing at the pier of the gate. Mr. S— became alarmed, and desired his servant to drive on." [The learned gentleman goes on to describe the occurrence as detailed in the evidence.] After adverting to several points of the evidence, he added, that "the jury would have the evidence of Mr. S— himself, who was an unimpeachable witness, and concluded by observing, that the state of things in this country was deplorable. There were several other cases of a similar description to be tried, and it was the more necessary, therefore, that the jury should be firm; and though they ought not to convict upon light evidence, it was their duty on the other hand not to hesitate, through any mistaken notions of humanity, to return such a verdict, if justified by the evidence, as would be calculated to restore tranquillity and obedience to the laws of this country."

It is necessary to remark that the Solicitor-General (Greene) is by all parties allowed to be the most candid and impartial lawyer connected with the Irish Government; yet he labours here by a mis-statement of fact to create a prejudice against the prisoner R—. He asserts there were some ash trees cut down by R—, which were the landlord's property. Whereas his own witnesses speak of only one tree; and, in fact, they say too much, for it was only a portion of a tree, which had decayed and fallen over on the public road, from which R— was bound to remove it or suffer the consequence of allowing a nuisance, or stoppage to a public thoroughfare. This mis-statement is, however, not of very great importance taken by itself; it is only one of the straws which show the way the wind blows. But when we hear the most candid of the Crown lawyers, who cannot by any possibility be ignorant of the atrocious outrages committed on the tenantry by this landlord, over a period of several years—and that in defiance of the law—what are we to say when he speaks of the landlord as the "unimpeachable witness," and invokes a sentence on a man who at most is only presumed to have conspired against the landlord, because it is natural to believe that he would do so? But more especially knowing the fearful sufferings inflicted on the tenantry—or, if not knowing, being in an office where he should know them—what are we to think when he speaks such honeyed words of the landlord, and labours so unsparringly to prejudice the jury against the prisoner, and speaks of the necessity of a conviction to restore tranquillity and obedience to the laws? No doubt it was his duty to press for a conviction if the evidence justified him; his duty, as a Crown officer, being the vindication of the law and the maintenance of social order; but would any prosecutor, who had so outrageously set the law at defiance, and had so recklessly driven a district of country into a state of despair, have escaped censure and received praise, had he not been a landlord?

To say anything of the blunderbuss mentioned in the indictment being transformed to a pistol in the evidence, would be to waste time on a merely technical point. But the question of blunderbuss or pistol, taken in connection with the evidence of the landlord, will present us with a singular case. In reading his evidence, and questioning ourselves whether it is possible that he could have been fired at by any one who intended to hurt him, we must not forget the use which he made of this shooting case; the throwing of men into gaol who were to be witnesses against him in courts of law, and

who were all parties to numerous lawsuits in which he was defendant. There is more to say on this delicate subject; but it may be as well to give the landlord's evidence first.

After detailing where he lives, he relates his visit to R—'s farm, and says:—"The first man I saw was R— himself. He said to me 'Be off! how dare you come on my lands? be off or I'll murder you. Let me never find you come on my lands again.' I said to him I was extremely sorry that he was going on as he was, and if he had been an industrious man, and had come to me, I would give him the timber with great pleasure."

If nothing occurred in this gentleman's evidence subsequently to prove that he neither knew what was true, nor could adhere to one version of a story after he had told it, we might believe that R— did so threaten him on his appearance at the farm. If he had not been known to us in connexion with R— and the other tenants previously to this visit, we might have believed that he did say—was really capable of saying, to him, "I am am extremely sorry that you are going on as you are; if you had been an industrious man, and come to me, I would have given you the timber with great pleasure." But we know that R— was an industrious man; and up to the time that he, the landlord, thought fit to try to "break him out of the land;" thought fit to falsely imprison, and fraudulently prosecute him, and by all the means in his power, legal and illegal, honest and dishonest, to prevent him from getting the use of the slates and timber which were given to him by Mr. J— S—; up to that time we have the mother and brother of the landlord saying that R— had been "a trustworthy man in the family all his life." It was a mere pretence made for the witness-box, that it might tell for him in the newspapers. When cruelty constitutes a large portion of any creature's disposition, man or brute, it has generally cunning for a companion. Mr. S— knows the value of a liberal sentiment as well as most persons of his calibre of mind, and he struggles, as well as such a mind will enable him, to propagate one of himself. But we have other means of knowing that he did not go so softly to R—'s farm. We need not depend on R—'s own statement, but we have that in addition to the statement of others that he went there to bully R—; and did bully him; and swore, by God, that he would transport him; that he would put fifteen keepers on his farm!

And what does the reader think fifteen keepers mean? It is this: that he would distrain R—'s property (no matter about debt—he had distrained him and others whether debt was owing or not); and, as he had done before, he would make the distraint as expensive as possible. For trifling seizures, several of them made for one small debt, he had put a greater number of men in possession than necessary, that he might augment costs; and, on this occasion, he threatened R— with fifteen! "By G—d," said he, "I'll put fifteen keepers on you by the 25th of March!" That is, he would send the fifteen to distrain and live at R—'s expense on the day the next rent fell due!

In continuation of his evidence he said:—"I left home on Sunday morning about ten o'clock, and it was about twenty minutes past ten o'clock when I went to L— Hill. I was on my way to Kilkenny to church, where I get my letters after church. There are two roads from Kilkenny to B— B—. I always went by the M— Town road to church. I was on an outside jaunting-car; my man-servant, R— C—, driving it. He was on the off side. I know L—'s gate. I was next the piers as we passed. The moment we got over the stream-bridge, I saw the leaf of a man's hat hiding behind the wall. I was then about seven yards from the piers. I told him to drive on the horse as hard as he could, because he was hard-mouthed. The hill we had to ascend was one of the deepest I ever went up; my horse was proceeding at the rate of a hunt; before that, very slowly. When I came opposite the piers the gate was half open, and the man came round to the front, and right in the centre levelled and fired at me. The gate was open at the side he stood. C— then leaped off the car. I did not leap off. The man who fired was but two-and-a-half yards from me. Could not swear what he presented at me. Oh! he took right good aim at me (laughter in the court.) C— said, 'You villain, I'll identify you.' I then said, 'C—, have you him?' I said before he fired, 'You assassin, I'll identify you!' I put up my two hands to my face. He had a red handkerchief over his face; I looked well at him, for I was not afraid of him. I could not tell what sort of coat he wore. He had a hat on his head; the shot hit me; a slug was taken out at the wrist and another from my finger." [When? Where? Who by? Why was not the operator produced? or the finger? or the wrist? or the slugs?] "The breast of my top coat was also hit, and my hat." [The hat was produced, says the report in the *Kilkenny Journal*, amid some laughter. There were apparent perforations of large grains of shot through the rim. The coat was also produced, with small apertures in the breast, seeming to have been made by a gunshot.] "When the man fired he ran down to the stream; I did not know him, nor could I identify him if I saw him again. At the time I was talking to R— about the timber I saw the other prisoner, and another very tall man I never saw before."

[One of the most important things to have produced showing the shots, would have been the jaunting-car. It was perforated with holes down as low as the foot-board, on which his feet rested. But its production would have probably given rise to the awkward speculation of how a blunderbuss or pistol (the indictment says it was a blunderbuss, and the witnesses swore it was a pistol) could have thrown the shot so widely at the distance of two-and-a-half yards.]

Mr. S— was now cross-examined by Mr. Walsh, counsel for the prisoners. He answered—"I am a landholder in this county since the 11th of September,

1830. I succeeded to my brother John's property. At that time I found R— a tenant on the establishment. He has two or three children and a wife. He had been living since my father's death under my brother John. He was, in fact, bred on the land. He owed me a debt; he had not paid all his rent. I have got the rent to the last quarter-day.

"Mr. Walsh: Hold up your head, and don't be looking down in that manner. You would not like a man who owed you money?"

"Witness (hesitating): Certainly I would wish to be paid."

"Mr. Walsh: Would you have a friendly feeling towards him?"

"Witness: Certainly I would wish to be paid."

"Mr. Walsh: And that is your answer to my question?"

"Witness: R— has a record in the other court against me; it is for false imprisonment; it is a year at all events since he commenced the action. I will be able to meet him; and meet you too. You will not frighten me. By my word I was not frightened at the shot at L—'s-hill, but you would. (Roars of laughter.)

"The Judge: Witness, just answer the questions, and don't make any remarks about Mr. Walsh."

"Witness: I shall, my lord, adhere to your assertions. (Laughter.) I think the hat was not a bad one; I never wore it since; I gave it to Mr. G—. He was two-and-a-half yards distant from me when he fired the shot. I had a front view of him. By my word he did not speak to me. I don't know what instrument he fired at me with, though I was as calm as you are now. I think nothing of a gun being pointed at me. I stood fire once before. It was not gentlemanly exercise in the morning; it was an attempt to murder me on the 16th of December, 1840. The man who fired at me at L—'s gate had a reddish handkerchief on him. The reason why I know the colour of the handkerchief, and don't know what was in his hand, was, that I wished to get a view of his face. He took right good aim at me. He was a minute or two taking aim." [To the Solicitor-General the witness had said that he first observed the man at the distance of seven yards, and that the horse was proceeding at the rate of a hunt!] "He took right good aim at me; he was a minute or two taking aim; all that time I was coolly surveying him. I could not identify him. I can give no reason why I told him I could identify him. I cannot tell the colour of his coat. R— is still a tenant on the land. I cannot say whether it was before or after I said I could identify him that the man fired the shot. By my word, C— ran at him—ay!"

"Mr. Walsh: You have a very elegant way of expressing yourself."

"Witness: My name is Richard Shee, esquire: no esquire, if you like. I left my man C— behind me. I went on half-a-quarter of a mile before he overtook me. I cannot tell why C— did not reach the assassin. I was a minute and a half in view of him. I cannot tell how long before that day I went to speak to R— about the ash-tree. I went on his land. I dare say I was not on it for six months before. We were only a very few minutes talking together. I have not often quarrelled before, except when wronged. There is no man would have a quarrel faster than I would. I think I have shown you that I was cool with you. (Laughter.)"

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Mr. Feargus O'Connor has sent us a printed circular, accompanied by his letter to Mr. Cobden. The day when anything coming from this gentleman would require an answer has passed away, and we are not inclined, by any notice of his attempts to push himself once more into notoriety, to raise his name from the unhonoured oblivion into which it has fallen."

"One who can distinguish between Free-trading and Free-booting," sends us the first number of a serial, entitled "Lover's Lives of Eminent Females;" and points out, with natural indignation, the attempt to mislead purchasers by misusing the name of a popular author. We are not surprised that Mr. Lover's friends should be annoyed at the circumstance; but they may be assured that the deception will not extend beyond the title-page. No one will confound the author of "Lover's Legends" with the author of "Lover's Lives," who has patience to wade through a page of the unmitigated nonsense given as the biography of "Eminent Females."

"A Friend to the League, Ongar."—The corrections shall be introduced at an early opportunity.

"Q."—Facetious verses are an example proving the rule.

"A Subscriber from Whitehaven."—The subject has been already touched upon in the LEAGUE, and will come under consideration again.

"A Friend at Lewes."—The subscription to the League Fund amounts now to about £60,000; the paragraph in the *Brighton Gazette*, to which he refers, is an example of what St. Pierre used to call "the blind denying the existence of the sun."

"E. R."—The history of Railroad jobbing is a portion of our annals which will be more carefully scrutinized than monopolists suspect. The power of the landed interest was never more scandalously manifested; it could well be said, "Their senates still the poisonous hane imbibe, And every hand grows callous with a bribe."

"An Irish Friend" calls our attention to an article on the late Dr. Maginn in the January number of the "Dublin University Magazine," which he says "is an equal mixture of Italian malignity and Greek panegyric." On sending for the number, we find it impossible to contradict or confirm this statement; for such was the narcotic influence of the introductory matter that we fell, while reading it, into a lethargic sleep, from which we could only be roused by a Mesmeric operation.

The Circular sent by our friend from Nantwich arrived too late for notice this week.

We are much gratified by the zeal of our Kirkburton friends, but think that their purpose would be better served by adhering to present machinery than constructing a new engine.

"S. D.," under consideration.

"A Leaguer" will see by this day's paper that his suggestion has been anticipated.

"Q. of Harley-street," under consideration.

"W. D. Bow-lane."—His feelings are more honourable to himself than the form of their expression would be gratifying to others.

"R. D."—Jersey and Guernsey could not supply iron, coal, or sites for large manufactories.

"R. P." will receive best instruction in Scotland.

"J. D.," sends the following:—

"BEWARE OF THE LEAGUE."—*Morning Herald*.

"Beware of the League!—yes, let all that's unfair, Ye Landed Aristocrats, timely beware; For the gauntlet is thrown, and the challenge is given, And monopoly's strength to the centre is riven."

"Beware of the League!—'tis the hope of the poor, And, founded in truth, its success must be sure; Although bloated corruption looks on with a frown, And oligarchs, ruthless, would trample it down."

"Yes, 'Beware of the League!' ye who live on the spoil Of the peasant and craftsman, the children of toll, Who labour's just rights seize for your caste alone, Who farm out God's bounties, and deem them your own."

"Beware of the League! ye who frame for your cause Those base moral crimes which ye designate laws, To destroy freemen's rights, and to crush all who aid In upholding their cause and the freedom of trade."

"Beware of the League! ye ruthless, but blind To the warnings portentous, ye foes to your kind. Come all—Cambria, Scotia—come, heartbroken Teague, And bid ev'ry oppressor—'Beware of the League!'"

"Z."—The subject is not forgotten.

"J. F."—The instances to which he refers are not the only ones in which the Duke of Newcastle has shown that, by "doing what he likes with his own," he means "doing what he likes with the property of the Crown, the country, and those whom he can coerce or intimidate."

"J. K. L."—We cannot enter into any discussion of ecclesiastical affairs. The Bishop of Exeter's conduct, in the matter to which he alludes, is perhaps to be lamented; but this is not the paper for a satisfactory examination of the question. To Correspondents generally we take leave to say, that there is more labour in keeping this department of the paper regular than in all the rest put together. We therefore crave their indulgence for involuntary omissions, and, at the same time, would hint that "brevity is the soul of wit."

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, January 6, 1844.

This week has been remarkable for the demolition of more falsehoods and fallacies, carefully devised by the Monopolists, than we can spare space to record. Alderman Brooks has branded his original calumniator, and compelled the *Times* to record its own shame; Mr. Hobson, of Leeds, has stood a sad penance for his slander before his fellow-townsmen; and Mr. Cobden has extracted eulogy from what was designed to be a vial of wrath. The League has met and triumphed over all the strength of scandal, all the insidious arts of slander, all the resources of interested vituperation, and all the false charges which ingenious malice could devise, or unblushing effrontery venture to assert. It has now reached the point where it may defy all the powers of calumny; the Monopolists have cried "wolf" so often that no one pays them the least attention.

The very last device of the Monopolists, set forth in their favourite organ, "Blackwood," was to say that the League was the enemy of the landed proprietors, and that no one of recognised station had given adhesion to its principles. On the very day that this falsehood was issued to the public, the subjoined letter was written by one of the largest landholders in England, and one of the most consistent politicians in the English Legislature. The Marquis of Westminster needs but be named to satisfy the most timid that the League has the sanction of those who are the most deeply interested in maintaining the just rights of landed property. With those who wish to overstrain such rights, in order to find means for redeeming former extravagance or pursuing new schemes of corruption, he has no sympathy; for he justly believes that reverence for the rights of the community is the best protection to the rights of a privileged order, and that an aristocracy is only perilled when it abandons its proper principles to assume the perilous responsibilities of an oppressive and monopolizing oligarchy.

The following is the Marquis's letter to the Chairman of the Council of the League, which needs no comment:—

"Eaton Hall, Jan. 1, 1844.

"SIR,—Having, on a former occasion, expressed to you my anxious wishes for your success in the arduous contest with Monopoly in which you are engaged, I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of congratulating you upon the rapid progress you have since made in the struggle with that formidable adversary."

"As you have found your foe to be daring and resolute, so have your energies increased in a wonderful manner; and, in spite of opposition, you have carried the war most effectually into the enemy's strongholds. With such vigorous and sustained efforts the victory must be yours; and my hopes of ultimate triumph, and that at no very distant date, therefore, much exceed my fears of failure. As to the duty—that it is said would be lost to the country, if not insisted on, I am satisfied that such would be the prosperity of all classes from the abolition of this impost, such the advantage that would accrue to all the moneyed concerns of the community, that, in a very short time, the general wealth would be so far augmented that

the national revenue would outrun the amount of any duty that has been proposed, whether 3s., 5s. or 8s.

"It may be all very well, at agricultural meetings, to talk of the advantages of long leases, of tile-draining, &c., and to drink the health of the labourers; but to what good effect? Long leases are, in certain districts, and under certain well-known circumstances, desirable enough; good draining has long been understood and practised, where there have been sufficient means, sufficient enterprise, and a soil requiring it; praise has no doubt been deservedly lavished upon the farm-labourers; but there is something still to be done much more important to them, which is, to give them the means of obtaining an honest and independent livelihood—solid pudding being preferable to empty praise—and this cannot be effected without the abrogation of these mischievous enactments.

"I have much pleasure in sending a contribution of £500 to your Fund; and I venture to express a hope that you will not relax your endeavours until you have obtained from Government, in whatever hands it may happen to be, the fullest measure of Free Trade compatible with what is due to the maintenance of public credit.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"George Wilson, Esq.,

"WESTMINSTER.

Chairman of the Council of the National
Anti-Corn-Law League."

AGRICULTURE.

NOT CHARITY, BUT JUSTICE!

We remember to have attended a public meeting of working men, at which some one attempted to divert them from the business of the day by declaiming against the New Poor Law, when the attempt was promptly put down by this indignant shout from the audience—"We do not want charity, but justice."

Now this is particularly applicable to the relations between the agricultural labourers and the landowners; and it is nowhere more completely illustrated than in Dorsetshire. The report of the speeches at the *Blandford Agricultural Society*, which will be found in another column—delivered in the presence of Mr. George Banks, whose unblushing denial of the depressed state of the labourers will be in every reader's recollection—proves what the state of the Dorsetshire peasantry is, and that the opprobrium of it justly rests upon the landlords. Having read that report, having noticed the damning facts with regard to the Dorsetshire landowners which are there recorded, having seen the utter neglect with which the lords of the soil in that aristocratic county have hitherto treated the peasantry, one might for a moment imagine the inferences thence derived are contradicted by divers acts of munificence to the poor which we find stated in the local journal. For instance, we are told that Mrs. Rose Drewe, of Wootton House, gave "Christmas entertainments to her tenants, labourers, and other persons;" that, on the Friday preceding Christmas-day, "this kind-hearted lady distributed amongst the poor families of the village of Wootton Fitzpaine, sixty-five stone weight of beef;" that, on Christmas-eve, "upwards of eighty persons sat down to a sumptuous supper;" and that on Christmas-day "very nearly one hundred and fifty children were regaled with old English fare." Again, under the head of LYME, we are told that "John Hussey, Esq., father of our highly-esteemed representative in Parliament, Thomas Hussey, Esq., has again this year distributed among his more humble neighbours and townspeople three fine fat bullocks." This, however, smacks of "our highly-esteemed representative," and has a character of political rather than charitable "benevolence." But in the same paragraph it is recorded that "General Sir Dudley Hill, K.C.B., of Highcliff, has also given to more than one hundred poor families articles of clothing suitable to the season of the year;" and that "Mr. Hill of Fairfield, Mrs. Raven, and many other ladies and gentlemen, have, as usual, distributed their bounty, in meat, bread, coals, &c., to great numbers." Then the Hon. Colonel and Mrs. Dawson Damer have a paragraph all to themselves, to tell the admiring world that their "usual Christmas benefactions have been distributed this year, with a liberal hand, to the poor of Came and the neighbourhood." And probably such "benefactions" have been "distributed" to the poor by most of the landed grandees of Dorsetshire. Doubtless Mr. George Banks, turning his saintly eyes to heaven, will exclaim, "See what we do for our poor: there is an answer to the calumnies of the League." Doubtless these things are sometimes kindly intended, but they are far more frequently the result of ostentation and feudal pride.

And how does this paraded benevolence contrast with the fact stated by the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Osborne at Blandford, "that every seventh man in the county of Dorset is a pauper"? What sort of benevolence is that which gorges the poor with beef and beer one day in the three hundred and sixty-five, and permits "seven people to sleep, including

boys and girls, in a room six feet ten inches by twelve feet" for years and years together? Has not Mr. Austin told us that in one room, ten feet square and seven feet high, at Stourpaine, three beds were habitually occupied by a man, his wife, and nine children, of whom two were grown-up young women, and three were lads aged from fourteen to seventeen years? And who is to blame for this fearful degradation of the peasantry? Lord Ashley and Mr. Sturt, two of the county members, admitted at Blandford that "the great landholders are responsible for the state of the cottages," and that "it is the duty of the landlord to provide every proper accommodation for the labourers on his estate." Hitherto the great object of the landowners has been to prevent the erection of new cottages, and to pull down the old ones, whenever opportunities of so doing offered.

It is thus plain, that though the landlords of Dorsetshire may be abounding in benevolence, they are fearfully negligent of their most obvious duties; they may distribute meat and drink once a year, and yet take no heed of physical destitution and moral contamination which exists around them as abiding plague spots; their charities—their brief, evanescent charities—may be abundant, may be generous, but their justice is miserably scant.

Indeed we are by no means certain that these ostentatious charities do not mark and indicate the very depth of the peasants' depression. The Helots of Sparta were allowed by their oppressive masters, one day of unlimited license in each year; the Roman slaves had their saturnalia, when, for a few brief hours, the masters ostentatiously ministered to the sensual enjoyments of their slaves, and when the apparent positions of the two classes were for an instant reversed; in western Europe, the iron rule of feudal lords—the predecessors of our own landlords—was at Christmas suspended for a fleeting period of roaring festivity, after which the oppressed serf relapsed into his ordinary state of miserable drudgery; and this last case is a correct parallel to that of the Christmas bounties of the Dorsetshire landlords. They permit the labourers on their estates to pine in penury, because they choose to maintain a system of restriction which prevents farmers from properly cultivating their farms; because they seek to maintain high rents by the most dishonest monopoly—by which, in truth, they grasp at the shadow and often lose the substance of wealth; because they refuse to render their tenants secure of enjoying the benefits of their industry by granting leases; and because they overrun their farms with game, and require as the condition of occupying their land the complete surrender of political independence; and then they meet and give petty 20s. prizes for the "encouragement of industrious labourers," and parade their insignificant Christmas "benefactions" as mighty efforts for the benefit of the poor! Why, one enterprising and intelligent farmer—secured by a rational lease—simply seeking his own advantage, would do more in one year to improve the condition of the rural population of Dorsetshire, than all the landlords in the county could effect in a generation by their eleemosynary "distributions" of beef, or beer, or blankets. This the squires are loth to understand. They like to be perpetually intermeddling with, and poking and prying into, the affairs of their tenants and labourers; and this, amongst others, is one of the causes which makes them cling so tenaciously to the Corn Laws. The *Dorset County Chronicle*, tells us that, "Now it has happily become fashionable to entertain a sympathy for the poor; and a desire to alleviate the condition of the labourer." That it has become "fashionable," amongst the landed gentry, to talk about their "desire to alleviate the condition of the labourer," is true; but the way in which Mr. Osborne's honest and unpalatable truths were received by the landowning grandees at Blandford proves the sincerity of that desire to be, to say the least, very questionable. But, admitting that newborn desire to be as ardent as the squires and their organs would assert, whence does it arise? How is it that the manifestation of this sympathy has been coincident with the systematic demand for the abolition of the monopoly of corn? How does it happen that, as the monopoly is more sorely pressed, and its evils are more thoroughly exposed, this sympathy has expanded so rapidly? Is it an accident? Has it no connexion with rent? Are there no visions of improved husbandry and a contented peasantry, as the means of sustaining rents, now monopoly is falling? We shall rejoice if it be so; but the landowners must make no more mistakes: they must not suppose they can have a tenantry at once dependent and enterprising, or that a contented and intelligent peasantry can be raised out of the depths of Dorsetshire poverty and abasement by any such means as the landowners have hitherto attempted. Above all, let them remember, that it is not charity but justice which the agricultural labourers require, and, as Mr. Osborne most truly said at Blandford, "THE RELIEF MUST FLOW THROUGH THE TENANT, AND ON TO THE LABOURER."

BLANDFORD AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

The proceedings at the late meeting of the *Blandford (Dorsetshire) Agricultural Society* have such an important bearing on the question of the Corn Laws as they affect the condition of the agricultural labourer, that we have given them comment much more at length than is our wont. The "special object of this influential society," as we are told by the *Dorset County Chronicle*, is "now the encouragement of industrious labourers and servants;" that the meeting excited considerable interest; and that there was a great influx of the landed gentry and yeomanry from the neighbourhood and from various parts of the county into the room. Sixty labourers, men and women, "were entertained with a capital old English dinner and a liberal supply of good strong beer," at which the Rev. R. V. Pryor, rector of Spettisbury, said grace, and "Mr. Banks acted as croupier, his kindness and condescension being duly estimated by the delighted guests." At the farmer's dinner,—

"George Banks, Esq., took the chair, and presided with his known ability, eloquence, and cordial good feeling. The hon. member, on entering the room, was enthusiastically cheered; he was supported, on his right, by J. J. Farquharson, Esq., Sir Edward Baker, Bart., and the Rev. V. Pryor; and on his left by Lord Ashley, M.P., H. C. Sturt, Esq., M.P., and T. H. Bastard, jun., Esq. Among the company were also Major Portman, Captain Baker, G. Thomson Jacob, Esq., G. Repton, Esq., M.P., J. Floyer, Esq., C. Parke, Esq., W. Harris, Esq., Hon. and Rev. S. G. Osborne, Rev. John Watts, Rev. F. Smith, H. Bastard, Esq., W. C. Lambert, Esq., P. N. Bastard, Esq., Dr. Lees, B. Spurrier, Esq., — Smith, Esq., Edwin Andrews, Esq., James Alnworth, Esq., Rev. G. Abbott, T. Andrews, Esq., J. May, Esq., George Evans, Esq., W. Robson, Esq., J. Hector, Esq., T. Bennett, Esq. (Mayor of Blandford), George Easton, Esq., F. Smith, Esq., W. Smith, Esq., — Garland, Esq., H. Moore, Esq.; Messrs. Fowler, Fowler, jun., Burgess, R. Burgess, H. Fookes, W. Fookes, J. C. Fookes, J. Hill, G. Hill, R. Hill, Symonds, Saunders, Dibden, Small, Rickman, H. V. Stroud, E. Simonds, S. Groves, S. Groves, jun., House, G. Jesty, Jesty, jun., Symes, Lindsey, Bartlett, J. Keynes, Cox, Williams, Elliott, Tapper, Bound, W. Burt, Ford, Mitchell, Godwin, Brine, Moody, Rosalter, J. Shittler, M. Groves, G. Bowles, G. Good, B. Self, Carey Richards, Fisher, Porter, Young, Dibben, Webster, J. Keynes, jun., Blanchard, Billows, Forester, Rogers, J. Blanchard, S. Burt, C. Mayo, Bertie, Bertie, jun., Steele, Humby, Watts, Randall, Randall, jun., Bartlett, Humby, Symonds, W. Brine, H. Davis, Roper, Willis, Saunders, Hayward, Ingram, R. Porter, Lewis, J. Applin, Barnes, Godwin, Symonds, G. Burt, J. Burt, Saunders, Wellington, Bryant, Symes, Bertie, Foot, Ford, jun., R. Godwin, S. Pond, &c. &c.

The routine toasts having been disposed of, the Hon. and Rev. S. G. Osborne, in returning thanks for the "bishop and clergy of the diocese," spoke with truth and power on the depressed state of the Dorsetshire peasantry. He said:—

"Although this was the county of his adoption, it was probably the one in which he should end his days; and he would say that there was not a heart within it which beat more warmly or truly in a desire for its best interests and welfare. (Cheers.) As to the representations that had been made about the labourers, he would say that every one of them were deeply interested in the question. It had been publicly stated that every seventh man in the county was a pauper. ('No,' and disapprobation.) Would that he could sling back that imputation, and say it was untrue, but he deeply regretted to say that he could not do so; he regretted that the assertions made about the condition of the poor were but too true. By a comparison of the amount of cases during the last three quarters in that (the Blandford) Union with the population returns, it appeared that relief was given to something more than one in every seven of the population. It was known to the majority of those now in that room that the present rate of wages was not sufficient to keep a man with a family from the necessity of receiving parish relief when himself or any member of his family became subject to the common casualties of life—sickness, accident, or the death of any member."

These facts are not now to be denied; and it was worthy of a Christian teacher thus plainly to state them in a company where it was obvious nothing would be so unpalatable as the truth, and the whole truth. And Mr. Osborne's moral courage was yet more decisively shown in the following fearless exposure of the cause of the labourers' wrongs:—

"Now, whence came this state of the labourers? On whom should be cast the burthen or reproach? He would accuse no one. He would not say anything to set class against class, for these were times when every one of them should work together for the public good. (Hear, hear.) These were not the times when they should seek to rend asunder those bands which united, and should unite, all classes, labourer and master, tenant and landlord. Where, then, was the reproach to be thrown? If it was true, and he had it from the best authorities, from upright and intelligent farmers,—that the labourers could not, under present circumstances, keep themselves from seeking relief under any temporary pressure, was he to turn round upon them, the tenantry, and say it was their fault? He would not say this, but he would say what he believed to be correct, that the tenantry, under present circumstances, could not afford to give more wages than they did. (Loud cheers.) The tenantry had to contend against a burthen, in the shape of poor rates, as well as with rent, which forced them either to employ few labourers, or to pay those they did employ wages that kept them thus ever bordering on pauperism. The farmers had also been told by those above them to look with dread at coming times; they had been warned of the probable depreciation of the produce of their farms, and then had been told—more of advice than assistance—to 'plough deeper,' to try the new manures, to travel abroad for information, and even to destroy the rabbits. (A laugh and 'hear,') Now, knowing, as they did, that wages were too low, and that they could not afford to pay more, why did they not speak out and boldly say,—LET LANDHOLDERS HELP US TO RAISE THEM! (Hear.) Let the burden of this evil, he would say, be put upon the right shoulders."

Here we see the effect upon the condition of the labourers, of monopoly rents, insecure tenures, and bad farming, which the landlords would move heaven and earth to "conserve." On the recent practice of advice-giving, Mr. Osborne said:—

"Much advice had been given, but nothing had been done, and he did not wonder, when so much kind advice was given to the tenants to try this and that, at finding them very cautious in laying out their money in experiments. (Hear.) He had heard much advice given to make the best of the land, but seldom was any advice given them to cultivate the moral waste they had about their doors and in their neighbourhoods, to improve those who were living around them, and who were destined to labour for existence. Let them look at the habitations of the poor. Were they not, in some parishes, so crowded as to defy decency? Were not some houses to be found in so dilapidated a state as hardly to be fit to harbour a valued beast of the farm? Why, he could tell them that in one parish he had seen, in a room 6 feet 10 inches by 12 feet, seven people sleeping, including boys and girls. (Interuption.) Nay, still worse, he knew that the dead had been kept in contact with the sick, with the living, because there was not more than one room in the cottage. He asserted that there were houses to be met with in that nation which he believed not one of them, if they saw their condition, would put a fellow-creature in. Whatever had been said of the state of the cottages in another part of the county, he would say that there were far worse places in that union." (Loud expressions of dissent.)

Here one of the great landowners of the immediate neighbourhood, Mr. T. T. Farquharson winged, and asked that the names of the places should be given.

"Mr. Osborne said, (I called upon to name he would do so. The room he had referred to was in Milton parish. But he would appeal to the chairman, if he thought it right to give the names of absent persons? (The chairman intimated his dissent from giving such names.) He thought Mr. Bankes would not desire that the names of absent persons should be given. But he would give the names to the chairman, or take another mode of making them public. He was ready to give the name of every place, and of any owner—to state which of the cottages were leasehold or freehold, which were parish property, which the property of private individuals; as, however, this seemed to be objected to on that occasion, he would, if he wished it, place his notes in the hands of Mr. Bankes, and, if he desired it, go with him and prove their truth."

Now, as we shall see presently, this was the very last thing the ultra-monopolist member for Dorsetshire did desire. Mr. Farquharson also "considered it a most unfair thing to bring forward these charges at such a meeting; for how could he or any other gentleman know whether he or they might not be the accused party?" and blustered a good deal about having the names and places given to the public. We should like to know when it would be "a fair thing to bring forward these charges?" Was not the alleged "special object" of this society to encourage the labourers? And is not an accurate knowledge of their actual condition indispensable to any effective effort for their encouragement? But Mr. Farquharson says the statement of such home truths is "unfair"! Mr. Osborne, however, was not to be put down, for he said:—

"He would not shrink from making the cases public. He would again repeat before them, that the dwellings in many parishes were in a state most deeply to be deplored. It was the duty of them all, but especially of the great landowners, to see to their amendment. (Hear, hear.) He had spoken of the habitations and wages, but he would again say he considered the cottage question to be a proprietors' question; and there were proprietors present who, as he knew, had spent thousands of pounds in endeavouring to do what he wished he could do in every parish, to render the cottages such as they ought to be. He made this observation because, whilst it might be thought the question of wages touched upon by him belonged more to the farmer, it should not be said that he was afraid to speak of a question affecting those whose friendship he might be supposed more to value." (Cheers.)

Now, the state of the agricultural labourer as described by Mr. Osborne forms a complete answer to the pretence of the monopolists that high prices of corn give high wages to the peasants; for, if there be any county in which the beneficial effects ascribed to the Corn Laws by their supporters could operate, it would be Dorsetshire. If the Corn Laws keep up the station and incomes—pay the settlements and the mortgages—of the landed gentry, and through them benefit the labourers, then Dorsetshire should be the paradise of peasants, for it is especially the county of squires: it is exclusively agricultural, and its farmers are more entirely controlled by their landlords than in any other county in England. There is no manufacturing industry in the county. In a word, it is the monopolists' pattern county. All the circumstances which they allege to be good are present, while all they reprobate are absent. And observe the result!!!

Even Mr. Farquharson in substance admitted the charges made when he said:—

"He knew that in almost all parishes some such cases as those mentioned by Mr. Osborne might be found, but it would be difficult, he believed, to find a remedy. He regretted that statements had been made as to the condition of other parts of the county, and that the gentleman of the county had been unjustly charged with hardness of heart. (Hear, hear.) He wished to do all he could to better the condition of the labourers, but he could say that if he was to expend half his income in providing cottages on his estates for the labouring classes, in such a way as some wished them to be provided, he could not do it. But, whatever might be the case, he wished to see the tenantry relieved from the stigma that had been attached to them. (Loud cheers.) As to wages, he had been a farmer a great many years since, and he could say that when he sold wheat at £40 a load wages were not more than they were now. Ten shillings a week was the highest rate of wages then given."

And he attributed the ill condition of the labourers to the new poor law!!

Mr. Farquharson frankly declares his determination not to provide cottages on his estates, because the pretence that, for that purpose, it would be necessary to "expend half his income," is a mere subterfuge. We believe Mr. Farquharson draws an income of some £40,000 a year from his Dorsetshire estates, on which the agricultural labourers are in so depre- sed and degraded a condition. Why, if half his income were necessary to avert the evils the continuance of the present state must lead to, such men as he may some day find it could not have been a useless sacrifice. But nothing can be more absurd than the assumption that any very great outlay is necessary on the part of the landlords to provide decent accommodation for their peasantry. Double cottages may be built with four rooms in each, at from £60 to £80 each; and for such a cottage, with a bit of garden-ground, the labourer would cheerfully pay 1s. 6d. a week. But the truth is, the landowners of Dorsetshire, and other south-western counties, have for years past waged war against cottages; they have bought them up and pulled them down wherever they could do so, for the purpose of preventing the increase of paupers upon their estates; and the consequence is such as has now been brought to light. And the crime of the west-country landlord in this matter has not been merely that of culpable negligence: it is of a more active character, for he has been an exterminator of cottages, and has left the poor no other resource but to herd together like swine, or to slither under a hedge, and incur the penalties of the Vagrant Laws.

An intelligent farmer, who knows the Dorsetshire landlords well, said to us, with reference to this subject, "They would have nobody live upon their estates but themselves; they care nothing for farmers or labourers so long as they can obtain a large income for their extravagance and amusements."

Mr. Farquharson's speech, above quoted, contains also a remarkable refutation of the pretence that high prices benefit the labourer, when he said, "THAT WHEN HE SOLD WHEAT AT £40 A LOAD, WAGES WERE NOT MORE THAN THEY ARE NOW." This fact was stated by him for another purpose; but it is a fact nevertheless, and one completely conclusive against the Corn Laws.

Lord Ashley also exculpated the farmers when he said:—

"He entirely agreed with what had fallen from his friend Mr. Farquharson, that the tenants were not to be charged with

the existing state of things as to the cottages. (Cheers.) He had always maintained that the tenants were not answerable for the cottages, the charge of which belonged to the landlords. (Long-continued cheering.) And he would say that no proprietor, be he great or small, had a right to look upon the cottages as a source of income. (Hear, hear.) The yeomanry were not responsible for the cottages, but the great landholder was responsible, and ought to be held responsible, for them. (Cheers.) The landholder ought not to take a rent for the cottages beyond what was necessary to keep them up; he ought not to look to them as a source of income." (Hear.)

And Mr. Sturt, the third Dorsetshire county member, said:—

"He had learnt from experience that it would take £100 to erect a proper cottage for a labourer and his family, so that a rent of at least 25s a year would be required to pay for this outlay, if it was looked at in that way. Such a rent was, however, much more than a labourer could afford to pay, and he would not take it as a matter of gain or property, although he knew that a farmer would give more rent for an estate if the cottages on it were good, so that the labourers might be well housed. (Hear.) He thought the duty of the landlord was to find every proper accommodation for his tenant, and to provide every proper accommodation for the labourers on his estate." (Cheers.)

Thus it is clear that the landlord would be no loser by having proper cottages built, for, though the labourer might not be able, under the actual low state of Dorsetshire husbandry, to pay him a high rent, yet the farmer would gladly pay a higher rent in proportion to the goodness and convenience of the cottages.

Mr. Bankes then, with characteristic flippancy, attacked Mr. Austin's report, and tried to establish several small special-pleading objections to the letter of Mr. Osborne which appears in that report. He also made a petulant attack on Mr. Osborne himself, in which the spite was more apparent than the point. And he endeavoured, by the following shallow artifice, to show that crime was lessening in Dorsetshire, and therefore that the statements as to the condition of the poor must be untrue. He said:—

"Mr. Justice Erskine, at the last assizes at Dorchester, in his charge to the Grand Jury, said, that Dorsetshire was the only county, so far as he was aware, in which it appeared from a Parliamentary return that crime had been progressively decreasing for the last five years; and he congratulated the county upon that circumstance, urging upon those who might have the power to promote yet further this favourable result. (Cheers.) I had myself occasion to make remarks to the same effect at the next ensuing quarter sessions; and, in order to bring down the statement of crime, with reference to this county, to the latest period, I have here in my hand a return made in pursuance of my request by the officer of the gaol, being a comparative statement made on the 7th of December in the present year, compared with the state of the gaol on the same day of the month in the past year. And from this return it appears, that there were in custody for trial on the 7th of December, 1842, in gaol 25, on bail 1, total, 26; for trial up to December 7, 1843, in gaol 12, on bail 2, total 14; and of this number 1 may add that four do not belong to this county. The total number of prisoners in custody 7th December, 1842, were, criminals 148, debtors 8, total 156. Total number of prisoners in custody 7th December, 1843, are, criminals, 101; debtors, 8; total, 112. These last returns may lead us to cherish the hope that crime is here still on the decrease."

And then, in the way monopolists usually try to parry a home-thrust, he attempted a diversion by some mis-statements as to wages in the manufacturing districts.

Mr. Osborne, however, nothing daunted, stuck to his text, and met Mr. Bankes's fallacies about the diminution of crime, by this short and simple reply:—

"The hon. member said crime was decreasing. Was he really in earnest in expecting him to draw an opinion of the state of crime from quarter sessions and assize returns alone? Those were no criterions. There were also summary convictions; and, let the hon. gentleman say what he would, there were numerous cases in which persons would not prosecute, particularly those petty pilferings from which farmers suffered so much."

This is very true. With the exception of incendiarism and poaching, the distress of the peasantry seldom leads them into aught but petty thefts, which are either overlooked by farmers, or dealt with summarily at petty sessions. After adverting to the poor law, Mr. Osborne said:—

"He must say that he thought the hon. member in the chair would have acted more fairly towards him if he had given him notice of his intention to make this attack. In attacking him, however, the hon. member had left his facts unanswered: he could not deny that a proportion, equal to one-seventh of the whole population, were receiving parish relief; he dared not deny the low state of the wages, the pressure upon the tenant, the state of the habitations. And as to the disinclination to prosecute, there were many present, although they might not like to own it publicly, who knew that what he had stated was correct."

And he left Mr. Bankes no room for shuffling from the main question, saying:—

"The hon. chairman had also said something about the improvement commencing with the labourer; but he would tell him that the means to meet the present state of things must come chiefly from the landlord. (Cheers.) Let the hon. gentleman see that it passed from the landlord through the sieve of the tenant, to benefit the labourers. (Hear.) If they wished to do substantial good, let them begin at the head, let the landlord's conscience, and let the relief flow through the tenant and on to the labourers. (Cheers.) He would tell them that, let this controversy end as it might, he would not shrink from the free expression of his opinion. He would not intentionally misrepresent anything, nor would he do anything to personally attack any one. He had endeavoured to do justice, to act fairly by all. He had experienced much kindness from the farmers; and among the landlords he had many friends, but he did not expect he should have met with the rebuke he had received."

Mr. Osborne seems not to completely understand the domineering character of the landlords, when he imagined he could really speak the whole truth on questions connected with the condition of the labourers and the state of agriculture without drawing down upon himself the vengeance of the aristocrats. They allow such aristocratic philanthropists as Lord Ashley to have an occasional fling at them, for they know well enough that such speakers are not sufficiently in earnest to seriously hurt their prejudices or interfere with their interests; but they have no tolerance for such downright utterance of unwelcome truths as those spoken by Mr. Osborne, and of course he was punished accordingly. If we may judge from his speeches, however, he is not a man to be put down. At all events the eyes of all England are now turned upon Dorsetshire and her landed proprietors; but let it be remembered that what has been, as it were, accidentally disclosed there is taking place elsewhere, and that all these crying evils are mainly dependent for their continuance upon the existence of the Corn Laws, and the maintenance of a system of landlord domination.

LANDLORD LOGIC.

Suspicious of their own chosen minister, Sir Robert Peel, the landlords are getting up a series of demonstrations in favour of monopoly for the purpose of coarding him into an abandonment of his declared Free-Trade principles. But the most amusing part of these minor movements is the attempt to represent them as the spontaneous efforts of the tenant-farmers. Nothing can be more absurd. Take Essex for instance, where the character of the movers and the tone of their speeches are completely demonstrative of landlord influence. Desirous of testing the opinion we had formed as to this, we said to a gentleman thoroughly acquainted with Essex, its interests and its prejudices, its landlords and its tenants, "What is this Protection Society, and who are the two active movers?" And the following was in substance his reply: "Oh, it is a scheme of the Essex landowners to keep up their rents; Mr. Baker is a second-rate land-agent, who gets a good deal of employment in valuing tenants in and out of their farms; he is a shallow, conceited person, who seeks and affects to stand well with the county gentry. Mr. Copland is the son, or the brother, of the Chelmsford lawyers, who are strictly identified in interest with the landowners of Essex." Here we have the secret of the move: rent is the object, but that is the only part of the question of which we shall hear nothing from the monopolists' agents.

We will give a few specimens of their reasons for asking the tenant-farmers to subscribe for the maintenance of that system of delusion by which, for thirty years past, they have some six or seven times been depressed to the verge of ruin! Mr. Baker said—

"They were prepared to show to the world that this was a tenants' question."

Now, assuming the landlord Legislature could succeed in maintaining permanently high prices by means of Corn Laws, which it cannot do and never has done, what would the tenants benefit by it? Would not the intense competition which exists amongst farmers for farms enable the landlord to obtain as rent all the surplus beyond the very lowest return any farmer would consent to receive for his labour and his outlay in cultivation? And in this race is not the most reckless and least responsible bidder of rent usually the successful candidate? The law of distress enables the landlord to secure his rent from the most insolvent tenant, who may have borrowed every shilling of the capital to stock his farm, and perchance may not have paid for the very seed of which the landlord sweeps away the fruits. Did not Mr. Baker himself afterwards tell his gulls, that "so long as the competition for land existed, so long would rents be upheld; when a landlord was offered a much higher price by one bidder than by another, they could not expect him to take the lowest?"

Though tenants would gain nothing by high prices could such be secured by the Corn Laws, still rents and all other burthens being fixed according to act of Parliament, not real prices, farmers are occasionally reduced to distress by a fall in prices by home competition. That is the case now; for the present distress amongst farmers is entirely caused by an expectation of always receiving a high price, which they can only get occasionally. Yet this land-valuer has the assurance to say, the maintenance of the Corn Laws is a tenants' question. Then Mr. Baker ventures, in defiance of the evidence which every paper, provincial and metropolitan, affords, in spite of what is passing around him, to utter this impudent falsehood; he said:—

"Throughout the rural districts of England at least, he was satisfied that nearly all got a sufficient quantity of bread."

Did Mr. Baker ever hear of Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, or Somersetshire, where the labourers are starving, when they can get work, on 6s. and 7s. a week?

Are not the labourers of Essex and the home counties now in a state of grievous destitution, from want of employment?—and does not that want of employment proceed from the present recurrence of one of those periodical depressions of agriculture which have been coexistent with the Corn Laws? And then he refers to his intended distribution of 200 stone of meat in charity!

Mr. Baker, a word in your ear,—it is not charity the labourers require, but justice. That they cannot have until the farmers' business has been placed upon a stable footing. So of all the rest of Mr. Baker's positions which, indeed, are nothing but naked assertions, directly opposed to facts and the experience of the last thirty years.

Mr. Copland's speech was a more elaborate affair: he had evidently been reading about his subject, and the effect was to produce something like the cross reading of a newspaper. He brought forward a heterogeneous mass of garbled statements and misapplied figures, which had no sort of coherence and consistency. His reliance was plainly on the ignorance of his audience. So far as his arguments applied to the question, they made against the existence of the Corn Laws. For instance, he said, "To rob the farmer of his capital and his profits, and then tell him to lay out more capital in the improvement of the land, was one of the most impudent things he ever heard of,"—a sentiment which was duly cheered.

But who has robbed the farmer of his capital? And who, having so done, exhorts him to lay out more capital in improvement? Why, is not this strictly applicable to the landlord? He it is who promised by his Corn Law a state of things which has not been realized, the failure of which has "robbed" the farmer of his capital. And the honesty of this gentleman's speech may be shown by the fact that he cited Mr. Alderman Copeland as a Free Trader!

HINTS FOR AGRICULTURISTS.

A WISE MAN KEPT HIS OWN COUNSEL.—It appears that the Earl of Hardwicke has written the some newspapers to repel the charge of having made the somewhat sensible remarks at his rent feast, which, upon the authority of a local journal, we last week imputed to him. Be it so; though we question very much whether his lordship knows precisely what he did say. Peers, though born legislators, are not often born orators, and we rather doubt whether his lordship is one of the small minority of the House of Lords who can string together half-a-dozen coherent sentences. Possibly, some admiring adherent of his lordship's interpreted his real speech on the Corn Law into the rational observations attributed to him by the local press; but Lord Hardwicke repudiates the imputation of common sense and political sagacity as an unfair one, and only goes to having said, "That, in common with the Duke of Buckingham and Sir Robert Peel, he was opposed to Free Trade." Let us see whether his lordship's explanation

tion has mended the matter? The Duke of Buckingham declares that he will die in the last ditch in defence of monopoly, artificial scarcity of corn, and high prices; he advocates the exclusion of foreign corn until the price rises to famine point; and he left Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet because Sir Robert proposed a nominal abatement in the stringency of the Corn Monopoly. Had Lord Hardwicke said that with the Duke of Buckingham he was opposed to Free Trade, his statement would have been perfectly intelligible. But Sir Robert Peel has distinctly avowed the principles of Free Trade; he has declared that the industrious people of this country have an "abstract" right to "buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest;" and he follows in his recent alterations of the tariff and corn duties—though at a slow and halting pace—in the direction of his Free-Trade professions. Moreover, there is no speech of Sir Robert Peel's inconsistent with a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, should he, in February next, deem that the time for such a measure has arrived; while all his general statements of the principles of commercial legislation lead directly towards practical Free Trade. How then does Lord Hardwicke square his opposition to Free Trade with that of Sir Robert Peel? Now, if his lordship had said what his too partial admirer reported him to have said, it would have been in substance: "In common with the Duke of Buckingham, who says he will oppose Free Trade as long as he can, and with Sir Robert Peel, who says he would have opposed Free Trade if he could, I, the Earl of Hardwicke, am opposed to Free Trade; but I must, like the Prime Minister, submit to circumstances, and seeing Free Trade to be now inevitable, I don't think it will be so disastrous, as has been by some supposed." This would have been common sense, and quite consistent with what he owns to have said. But, taking his coy confession alone, what does it mean? His lordship opposes Free Trade with Buckingham AND Peel? But with which? For they are the antipodes of each other on this question. With the one it is a question of principle—or pence; with the other, only one of time. Which of the two will his lordship take? 'Tis plain he can't go with both. Will he throw up his lord-in-waitership with Buckingham, or stick to the court spoon-and-napkin and Peel? It is not for us to say how his lordship will escape from the dilemma. But, giving him full credit for his repudiation of political common sense, we can only say, Oh, that each monopolist would pen a paragraph!

COST OF FOOD AND LABOUR IN INDIA.

To the Editor of the *Gateshead Observer*.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—I observe in thy columns, East India sugar only 7s. 6d. per cwt. (i.e. £7 10s. per ton), delivered in bond, in London, free of all expense. May I request the favour of thy stating all the particulars of the expense, placing it in bond, with the cost price in India? These, and any other particulars, especially the authorities from which thou derives thy information, will much oblige,

Thy assured Friend,

JOSEPH PEARCE, Sen.

Feethams, near Darlington, 12 mo. 25, 1843.

N.B.—The reason for my making these inquiries is, that I am engaged in drawing up a very short document, to publish, in order to prove that had England taken only 9 to 12 articles of her consumption from India, there would have been the immense annual saving of upwards of 20 millions sterling to the country. This saving of course arises from labour being only 2d. a day in India, whilst Mr. Gladstone, in his own evidence, in my possession, states that the Coolie labourers, whom he takes from India to his sugar-estates in Demerara, cost him £34 per annum each. Now, in his large sugar-plantations on the Ganges, he pays these same Coolie labourers only 2d. per day—the same price which Alexander Rogers, Esq., the late Sheriff of London, pays for his picked Coolie labourers also, on the Ganges or on the Bhurranpooteer.

The usual wages appear, by evidence before the Committee of Parliament, to be from 1½d. to 1½d. per day, for the common run of labouring men.

Thou wilt see, by reverting to the statement as at foot, how the saving more clearly arises.

The religious scruples of the Hindoo lead him to feed on rice. Rice has 5 parts in 85 more nutriment than wheat. (See Buckingham's account of rice.) The testimony to me of three of the largest East India planters, who employ these men, is, that 2½d. per week in rice will feed a stout labouring Hindoo. By the evidence before the House of Commons, it appears 1½d. to 1½d. is sufficient.

And what is still of greater importance to England is, our importing these articles from India would give a demand in return for our manufactures at least three to four times the amount which we now pay to the countries from which we import them.

Amongst these articles are the following imports, viz., sugar, cotton, silk, rum, coffee, tobacco, linsed, flax, tallow, oils, rice, drugs, dye-stuffs, &c. &c.

By the returns of 1841, it appeared that the whole territories under the East India Company employed only 352 ships, of 104,408 tons burthen, employing 5572 seamen; whilst we see, by the estimates given, our fisheries alone give employment to nearly 220,000 men and boys on the sea, there can be no doubt. (See Spackman's Statistics of Great Britain for the present year, page 45 for East India Shipping, and page 85 for Fisheries.)

History will undoubtedly record this as an age of wonders; and, not amongst the least, that Newcastle, Shields, and Sunderland—indeed, the whole of the ports in the United Kingdom—remained, for year after year, in a state of mourning for the ruin of the shipping interest, but that it did not appear they did almost anything to help themselves!

J. P.

WEST INDIES.—DEMERARA. Mr. Gladstone states that his Coolie labourers cost him, in Demerara, £37 per annum each.

EAST INDIES.—BENGAL. Mr. Symms, and other large planters, state they pay 2d. a day to those very Coolie labourers in India; which is £2 12s. 6d. per annum.

1000 Coolie labourers in Demerara, at £37 each per an. £37,000 India, say at £3 per annum. 3,000

Balance in favour of India £34,000

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions for the week ending Wednesday, Jan. 8, 1843.

N.B.—As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | | |
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| Marquis of Westminster | Manchester | £500 0 0 |
| Josiah Bradwell, 161, Oxford-road, | do. | 0 8 6 |
| Thos. Lees, 129, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. R. Heyward, 178, do., | do. | 0 5 0 |
| W. N. & Cooper, 73, Grosvenor-st., C-on-M., | do. | 1 1 0 |
| W. Hodgson, Booth-street, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Jones, 17, Rosamond-place, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Dorothy Thornhill, 1, Oxford-road, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, Oxford-road, per A. Nodal | do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. O. Day, 75, do., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Francis Norbury, 89, do., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. H., per A. Nodal, Downing-street, | do. | 0 10 0 |
| Thos. Wood, 3, Grosvenor-street, C-on-M., | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thos. Jackson, 1, do., | do. | 0 10 0 |
| Geo. Perkins, Robinson-street, Ardwick, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Thyer, 10, Downing-street, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. R. Wood, Fallowfield Lodge, Fallowfield, | do. | 1 1 0 |
| Jas. Scholes, Hulme Hall-lane, Newton, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Kenyon, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. and D. Paton, Tillicoultry, N.B., | do. | 10 10 0 |
| J. and R. Archibald, do., | do. | 6 6 0 |
| Andrew Walker & Co., do., | do. | 8 3 0 |
| Robt. Archibald & Sons, do., | do. | 2 2 0 |
| T. Monteith & Son, Devonside, do., | do. | 2 2 0 |
| Alex. Isat and Co., do., | do. | 1 2 0 |
| David Moir, do., | do. | 1 2 0 |
| James Henderson, do., | do. | 1 2 0 |
| James Thomson, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Robt. Walker, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Geo. Walker, Tillicoultry, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. Archd. Browning, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Cargill, do., | do. | 1 1 0 |
| James Gibson, Dollar, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| W. and P. Morrison, Devonside, do., | do. | 0 10 0 |
| David Calder, do., | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Alex. Dugdale, Tillicoultry, do., | do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Ure, do., | do. | 0 5 0 |
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| Alex. Johnstone, do., | do. | 0 2 0 |
| Robt. Philip, do., | do. | 0 2 0 |
| Robt. Hall & Co., do., | do. | 0 10 0 |
| Wm. Greig, do., | do. | 0 8 0 |
| Jas. Moir, do., | do. | 0 2 0 |
| Jas. Watson, do., | do. | 0 2 0 |
| Andrew Ure, Devonside, do., | do. | 0 2 0 |
| Workmen employed by J. & D. Paton, Tillicoultry, N.B., | do. | 5 0 0 |
| Do. by Andrew Walker & Co., do., | do. | 2 10 0 |
| Do. by J. & K. Archibald, do., | do. | 2 1 0 |
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| Do. by Thos. Monteith & Son, Devonside, N.B., | do. | 1 2 0 |
| Workmen employed by Robt. Walker, Devonside, N.B., | do. | 0 8 0 |
| Do. by W. & P. Morrison, do., | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Nathaniel Morgan, Bank, Ross, Herefordshire | do. | 2 2 0 |
| Captain Palmer, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Wall, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend to the Poor | do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Smith, accountant, Ross, Herefordshire | do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Powell, druggist, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry T. Russell, corn dealer, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Hill, brewer, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Barrett, jun., farmer, Glenstone, near Ross, Herefordshire | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Davis, Linton, near Lea, Gloucestershire | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Driver, Holden, near Clitheroe | do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Mather, Bethesda, Shrewton, Wiltshire | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Haley, 42, Hanging-ditch, Manchester | do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Wilson, George Inn, St. George's-rd., do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Mills, Coach and Horses, do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Hugh Cryer, 6, Miller-street, do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Christ. Kenyon, Brewers' Arms, Kenyon-st., do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Cull, 69, Angel-street, do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Chapman, 29, St. George's-road, do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Dummerley, 27, do., do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Bannister, do., do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Ellison, 20, do., do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Richard Gatenby, Simpson-street, do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Abraham Bauer and Co., bankers, 42, Altensteinweg, Hamburg | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas and Son, Oswestry, Salop | do. | 2 10 0 |
| A Friend | do. | 2 0 0 |
| Robert Barlow, Wallgate, Wigau | do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Midgley, Spring-hill, Rochdale | do. | 50 0 0 |
| Mrs. E. G. Kay, Hall-fold, do. | do. | 10 0 0 |
| William Littlewood, Townhead, do. | do. | 10 0 0 |
| William Holland, Roe Back Inn, do. | do. | 1 1 0 |
| — Barker, surgeon, do. | do. | 2 0 0 |
| J. Ashworth, sizer, Bridge Mill, Whitworth, near do. | do. | 1 1 0 |
| Robt. Law, publican, Facit, near do. | do. | 1 1 0 |
| Henry Maden, Levensgreave, near Facit, near do. | do. | 1 1 0 |
| Thos. Sutcliffe, shopkeeper, Oldham-road, do. | do. | 1 1 0 |
| A Friend, per James Whitworth, Mill-row, near do. | do. | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Round, 38, Fan-lane-street, Manchester | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Baker, Jenkinson-street C-on-M., do. | do. | 2 2 0 |
| Wm. Casworth, 159, Oxford-street, do. | do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Craig, 139, do., do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Edw. Hooper, Brook street, C-on-M., do. | do. | 1 1 0 |
| Benj. Goodwin, Ardwick-street, Ardwick, do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Samuel Fox, 187, Deansgate, do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Handley, 289, do., do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Kirkham, 8, Livesey-street, do. | do. | 5 0 0 |
| H. Boardman, St. Andrew's-sq., Travia-st., do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Hartley, 43, Noel-street, Islington, London | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, Manchester | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Paul Cooke, at Goodier, Krauss, and Co.'s, do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Parrott, do., do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Davis, do., do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| S. Sutton, do., do. | do. | 0 7 0 |
| R. W. Webster, do., do. | do. | 0 6 0 |
| James Sellers, do., do. | do. | 0 10 0 |
| Thomas York, do., do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Samuel Kay, do., do. | do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Williamson, do., do. | do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Davis, do., do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| David Cooke, do., do. | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | do. | 1 1 0 |
| Edward Procter, 6, Back Irwell-street, Manchester | do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Rawsthorne, 4, Greenwood-street, do. | do. | 10 10 0 |
| J. H. Currie, Barnes, Surrey | do. | 5 5 0 |
| Newcastle-on-Tyne, per Daniel Liddell | do. | 2 8 0 |
| Manuel Webb, Hill-gate, Gloucester | do. | 1 0 0 |
| L. Barnett, Princess-street, do. | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Smith, Barbacon-hill, do. | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Coke, Westgate-street, do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Small sums, do. | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Robt. Marshall, Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbyshire | do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Ingham, do., do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Robt. Bardeley, do., do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Carrington, do., do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Ed. Bradshaw, Appleton Academy, near Warrington | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Josh. Blinnton, Ackers Mill, Latchford, near do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| George Badeson, Silver-street, do. | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Peter Ego, Fennel-street, do. | do. | 1 1 0 |
| Jas. Hodgson, Widdowes, do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Holmes, Soakley-street, do. | do. | 1 1 0 |

| | | |
|--|------------------|---------|
| Edmd. Robinson, Spring-terrace, | do. | £3 9 0 |
| Thomas Davis, Lyme-street, | do. | 0 5 0 |
| William Howard, Church-place, | do. | 0 5 0 |
| Robt. Munn, Heath Hill, near Boobdale | do. | 500 0 0 |
| John Lawson, King-street, Manchester | do. | 1 2 0 |
| T. A. | do. | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Powell, Horse-market, | Warrington | 3 0 0 |
| Robt. Winstanley, Sankey-street, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Richd. Woolfall, Butter-market, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Hobson, Bridge-street, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Ann Crossfield, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Sarah Crossfield, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| George Crossfield, | do. | 25 0 0 |
| John Chorley, Butter-market, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Jas. McGowan, Bridge-street, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| George Fell, Sankey-street, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Fell, do., | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Fownall and Co., 14, Fennell-street, do. | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Amelia Kins, Platten, | Rochdale | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Lord, Well-ill-Land | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Lord and Ashworth, | do. | 5 0 0 |
| A Friend | do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Abraham Sutcliffe, Bueraili, | Rochdale | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Whitehead, do., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Benj. Dawson, Bueraili-grove, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Betty Dickens, Lower-place, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Metsey Chadwick, do., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Ann Chadwick, do., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Hannah Chadwick, do., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Workmen employed by James King, | do. | 1 15 1 |
| Small sums, | do. | 0 2 0 |
| Rev. J. J. Tayler, York-place, C-on-M., Manchester, | | 8 0 0 |
| (2nd donation) | | 2 2 0 |
| Samuel Lowcock, London-road, Manchester | | 1 0 0 |
| W. Froggatt, Cressbrook, near Bakewell, Derbyshire | | 5 0 0 |
| Alex. Cairns, 28, Dover-street, C-on-M., Manchester | | 10 0 0 |
| John Leadbeater, Peel-street, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend at Layland | | 1 0 0 |
| John Daniell, High-street, Warminster | | 0 3 6 |
| James Young, George-street | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Nathl. Lewis Brett, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Young, Close | do. | 0 2 6 |
| George Wansley, Church-street, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Edward Ford, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Hardick, High-street, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to the Cause, | do. | 0 5 0 |
| A do., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| A do., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| A do., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| A do., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| A do., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| F. H., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to the Cause, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Ashman, Samborne, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, | do. | 0 11 0 |
| Jno. Butterworth, 35, Piccadilly, Manchester | | 20 0 0 |
| Garnie and Deas, Perth, N.B. | | 2 0 0 |
| E. Thomson, Chester | | 10 0 0 |
| Godfrey Woodhead, Victoria-street, Manchester | | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Groome, 115, London-road, | do. | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. White, Railway Inn, Deansgate, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Chapman, Green-street, Ardwick, | do. | 2 0 0 |
| Joseph Wilde, Weavers' Arms, Fallowfield, | do. | 1 0 0 |
| Chas. Ramsay and Co., Ancoats Vale Works, | do. | 5 0 0 |
| A real Friend to the Objects of the League | | 0 10 0 |
| J. K. | Berkeley, | 0 5 0 |
| Miss Emma Warner | Warner. | 0 2 6 |
| Master George Warner | | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. Drummond, 16, Shandwich-place, Edinburgh | | 1 0 0 |
| James Christie Wright, Shanford, by Brechin, N. B. | | 1 0 0 |
| J. Payne, Sevenoaks, Kent | | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, per R. G. Rose | | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Prest, Chigwell-road, Essex | | 1 0 0 |
| David Shaw, Mould-green, near Huddersfield | | 1 1 0 |
| J. B. Harvey, Colchester | | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | | 0 5 0 |
| James Doherty, Walworth | | 1 0 0 |
| G. Rowney, jun., 51, Rathbone-place | | 1 1 0 |
| — Gregory, 11, Glasshouse-street, Regent-street | | 1 1 0 |
| N. Atherton, Kingstone | | 1 0 0 |
| John Wraye | Calne, per R. W. | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Bowman | Gibbons, | 1 0 0 |
| John Baily | | 0 10 0 |
| John Robson, New North-road | | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Day, 5, Silver-street | Durham, per N. | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Rummington, Claypath | Oliver. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums | | 0 8 0 |
| A Friend to Freedom of Commerce | | 1 0 0 |
| J. S. | | 1 0 0 |
| J. S. Smith | | 0 10 0 |
| Anti-monopoly | Colchester, per | 0 10 0 |
| Henry Downes | Jas. Hurnard, | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend | | 0 10 0 |
| Anti-bread Tax | | 0 10 0 |
| Alfred Payne | | 0 10 0 |
| William Hall, Rose and Crown, Chippenham | | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Willis, 26, Salisbury-place, Locksfield | | 0 2 6 |
| Perfect Freedom | | 10 10 0 |
| D. P. | | 2 0 0 |
| George Withall, Beconsfield | | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Beasley, 137, High-street, Whitechapel | | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Freeman, 15, Lower Agnes-st., Waterloo-road | | 1 0 0 |
| Lavington Evans, Ashburton, Devon | | 1 0 0 |
| S. Beale, Rutland-st., Bedford-sq., Comm. rd. East | | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Lewis, Bures, Suffolk | | 0 2 6 |
| John Woolley, 15, Hastings-st., Brunswick-square | | 1 1 0 |
| Edward Dignum, Northwich | | 1 0 0 |
| John Buckland, Newton Abbott, Devonshire | | 1 0 0 |
| James H. Webb, Imendraper, 16, Upper Bridge-st., Dublin | | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Wilson, Exmouth | | 1 0 0 |
| James Barnard, Spaldwick, Huntingdonshire | | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Costar, and a few friends, Benson, Oxfordsh. | | 2 0 0 |
| W. H. Stephenson, High-street, Eton, Bucks | | 1 1 0 |
| Pence collected at the Coach and Horses, Water-lane, Fleet street, per E. Seaman | | 0 12 0 |
| Joseph Hardman, Upper Phillimore-pl., Kensington | | 0 2 0 |
| Henry Dye, 2, Hare court, Temple | | 2 2 0 |
| George Miller, 32, Westmoreland-place, City-road | | 1 0 0 |
| Sim and Son, manufacturers, Braithwaite | | 1 1 0 |
| T. Banks, tanner | | 1 1 0 |
| Jonathan Scott, manufacturer | | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Jagger, Greta Mill | | 1 7 1 |
| Joseph Todd, farmer | | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Bowe, farmer and publican | | 1 0 0 |
| Geo. Elliott and friends, Braithwaite | Kaswick, and | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Robinson, High Hill | neighbourhood | 0 5 0 |
| Bundries, per Jonathan Scott | | 0 2 0 |
| A Friend | | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Bowe, Braithwaite | | 0 2 6 |
| Isabel Twaine, farmer, Newlands | | 0 2 6 |
| Bundries, per Joseph Sun | | 0 15 0 |
| Thomas Dickie, 26, Broomfield-street, Deptford | | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Day, labourer, 2, Taylor's-ct, Bow-lane (3rd sub.) | | 1 0 0 |
| H. | | 1 1 0 |
| Miss Harriet Martineau, Tynemouth, Northumber-land, per C. Fox | | 1 1 0 |
| Benjamin Mauley, 13, Old Ford-lane, Bethnal-green | | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Huxley, 13, Whitechapel-road | | 10 0 0 |
| Thomas Haslam, and other workmen employed at Messrs. Huxley's | | 1 0 0 |
| Isabel Burt, 65, York street, Westminster | | 5 0 0 |
| George Stevens and the other workmen at Burt and | | 1 0 0 |
| Porters | | 1 0 0 |
| Port Parsons, 98, York-street, Westminster | | 1 0 0 |
| Alexander Russell, 2, Newman-street, Oxford-street | | 1 0 0 |

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|---|---------|---|----------|---|---------|
| Prosser's Barley Mow Brewery, King's-place, Commercial-road East | 20 10 0 | Henry Leah | £100 0 0 | A Well-wisher to the present and rising gene- ration | £1 0 0 |
| Wm. Oaler, 16, Bury-street, Bloomsbury | 0 2 6 | Mrs. Bacon, Horton-road | 50 0 0 | Wm. Tordoff, Black Dog Inn, Wibsey | 1 0 0 |
| Benjamin Lock, 21, Little Trinity-lane | 0 2 6 | Samuel Field, Pudsey | 50 0 0 | Abd. Kellott, Prince of Orange Inn, Shelf | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Timothy, carpet-warehouse, 12, High-street, Shoreditch | 1 0 0 | Miles Illingworth | 50 0 0 | Edward Wilson, North Bierly | 1 0 0 |
| T. A. | 0 2 6 | James Wade, Son, and Co. | 25 0 0 | Henry Milnes, Odd Fellows' Arms, Manches- ter-road | 0 15 0 |
| Master George Prince, Chartham, near Canterbury | 0 10 0 | James Bateman, Low Moor | 20 0 0 | Rev. P. Scott, Shipley | 0 10 0 |
| John Prince, 27, Broad-street | 0 10 0 | Isaac Wright, woolstapler | 10 0 0 | John Spencer, Parkgate | 0 10 0 |
| H. H. Murdoch, 2, Rodney-terrace West, Mile-end | 1 0 0 | James Cochrane, Westbrook-place | 10 0 0 | George Samson, Bowling | 1 0 0 |
| H. H. Murdoch, jun., do. | 0 10 0 | Benjamin Berry and Sons, Bowling | 10 0 0 | A Journeyman Painter | 0 5 0 |
| W. Althans, 7, George-street, Tower-hill | 0 10 0 | Benjamin Harrison, Leeds-road | 10 0 0 | Jos. Kitchen, Clarence-street, Manchester-rd. | 0 5 0 |
| John Scarborough, Newington Butts | 1 0 0 | Samuel Laycock, Kirkgate | 10 0 0 | Thomas Crossley, Thornton | 0 5 0 |
| W. M., per S. Harrison, jun. | 1 0 0 | Bernard Liebert, Hwains-street | 5 5 0 | Wm. Robertshaw, School-street | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Wallis | 1 0 0 | M. and S. Smith, Little Horton | 5 5 0 | Solomon Robertshaw, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 | Samuel Bottomley, Croft-st., Manchester-rd. | 5 0 0 | Samuel Holroyd, Portland-street, Manchester-road | 1 0 0 |
| John Peck | 1 0 0 | William Wilkinson, Bowling | 5 0 0 | Wm. Riley, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| John Slee | 2 0 0 | Bolland Buck | 5 0 0 | John Rycroft, Croft-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| W. B. Tibbitts | 1 0 0 | W. and J. Cockshott, Shipley | 5 0 0 | Rli Bottomley, do., do. | 0 7 6 |
| T. Lake, Canal Office | 0 5 0 | John Rawson, solicitor | 5 0 0 | Samuel Priestley, do., do. | 0 1 0 |
| W. Morris, Harrow Inn | 0 5 0 | William Denby, Shipley | 5 0 0 | David Holgate, Clarence-street, Man- chester-road | 0 5 0 |
| H. Edwards | 0 2 6 | W. Greenwood, Portland-st., Manchester-rd. | 5 0 0 | Collected amongst the workmen to have a LEAGUE | 0 7 6 |
| J. Stubbs, maltster and miller | 0 2 6 | John Brogden, Eldon-place | 5 0 0 | "I would give more if I could" | 0 1 0 |
| T. Harrison, corn-dealer | 0 2 6 | A Wand for Sir Robert Peel | 5 0 0 | Enoch Haley, Thornton-road | 0 5 0 |
| Small sums | 0 19 0 | John Ramsden, jun., Leeds-road | 4 4 0 | John Wilkinson, Springfield-terrace | 2 2 0 |
| Subscriptions by Ch. Sutcliffe, George Inn, Kirkbur- ton | 1 0 0 | Friends of Free Trade | 4 0 0 | Nicholas Tilney, West-street | 1 0 0 |
| Rt. Green, druggist, Woolwich | 0 10 0 | A Friend | 3 3 0 | J. Armistead, Bishopgate-street | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Brook, Northwich | 0 5 0 | William Harrop, Cullingworth | 3 3 0 | Wm. Holroyd, St. Peter's Mill, Park-lane | 2 0 0 |
| Joseph Hardley, do. | 0 5 0 | Clapham and Whittaker, Eaholt, near Leeds | 3 0 0 | Hoyle, Gill, and Co., Meadow-lane | 5 0 0 |
| Thomas Dobell, do. | 0 2 6 | Illingworth and Kenion | 3 0 0 | Taylor, Wordsworth, and Co., Holbeck | 25 0 0 |
| Half-a-crown, to knock 'em down | 0 2 6 | Rev. Walter Scott, President of Airedale College | 3 0 0 | Jacob Naylor, 6 St. George's-terrace Morlema, Kenwigs, jun., and Co., Rich- mond-hill | 1 1 0 |
| Another | 0 2 6 | John Milner | 3 0 0 | H. J. | 0 1 6 |
| At 'em again | 0 2 6 | William Harker, Manchester-road | 3 0 0 | A Friend in Frogland | 0 2 6 |
| W. F. | 0 2 6 | J. A. Cooper, solicitor, collected by him amongst a number of farmers and farm- labourers | 3 0 0 | Two Friends | 5 0 0 |
| T. M. | 0 2 6 | A. Oppenheimer | 2 10 0 | A Friend, 9 Bank-street | 1 1 0 |
| R. W. L. | 0 2 6 | Thomas Spawforth, Cheapside | 2 2 0 | A Friend | 2 0 0 |
| F. C. Jewsbury, 30, Oxford-street, Gloucester | 1 0 0 | S. E. Sichel | 2 2 0 | B. Bradshaw, Bramley, near George G. Cummings, Craven Cottage, near Bow, London | 1 1 0 |
| John Gondar, Southgate-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Edward Allen, Leeds-road | 2 2 0 | An American, New York | 1 0 0 |
| Hemblays and T., Preston | 20 0 0 | Robert Allen, do. | 2 2 0 | A Friend | 0 10 0 |
| Wm. and Thomas Haines | 15 0 0 | Isaac Halstead, Thornton-road | 2 2 0 | A. H. | 0 5 0 |
| John Earp, maltster | 3 0 0 | William George, solicitor | 2 2 0 | J. Hughes, St. John-street | 0 6 0 |
| John Earp, grocer | 2 0 0 | Daniel Firth, Stirling-street, Manchester-rd. | 2 0 0 | John Dunning | 0 2 6 |
| John Gutteridge | 1 10 0 | John Carter, Exchange-street | 2 0 0 | T. W. Spice, Reuben-terrace | 0 2 6 |
| John Heap | 1 0 0 | A Tory Friend | 2 0 0 | A Free Trader, T. S. | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Tagg | 1 0 0 | S. Baines, Horton | 2 0 0 | An Enemy to Monopoly | 0 2 6 |
| William Hemaley, chandler | 1 0 0 | Henry Mason, Cliff-mill, Horton | 2 0 0 | Thomas Harrison, Bell-street | 0 2 6 |
| Stephen Adcock, jun. | 1 0 0 | Wray and Crabtree, Thornton-road | 2 0 0 | J. J. | 1 0 0 |
| Matthias Scott | 1 0 0 | T. D. | 1 1 0 | A Friend | 0 2 0 |
| Thomas Pass | 1 0 0 | Samuel Wilson, 28, Kirkgate | 1 1 0 | George Haigh, Chatam-street | 0 2 0 |
| William Duncliffe | 1 0 0 | M. Cronau | 1 1 0 | John Robinson, 19, Back Portland-crescent | 0 1 0 |
| Rev. Wm. Mason | 1 0 0 | John Slater Tetley, 82, Bridge-street | 1 1 0 | John Jowitt, 2, Sussex-street | 0 1 0 |
| Rev. Richard Stanion | 1 0 0 | Joseph Wright, do., do. | 1 1 0 | J. S. | 0 1 0 |
| Thomas Draper | 1 0 0 | John Thistlethwaite, Cheapside | 1 1 0 | James Andrews, Meanwood-road | 0 1 0 |
| John Clemons | 1 0 0 | G. O. Greenwood | 1 1 0 | George Mitchell, 27, St. Mark's-row | 1 1 0 |
| Henry Ward | 1 0 0 | Benjamin Tankard, Bowling | 1 1 0 | A. H. C., per Wilkinson and Co., Hunslet | 2 0 0 |
| George Kinney | 1 0 0 | A Cabinet-maker | 1 1 0 | William Boyne, 15, Queen's-square | 20 0 0 |
| William Pitt | 1 0 0 | W. H. Woodhead, 117, Westgate | 1 1 0 | Joseph Buckton and Son, Meadow-lane | 5 0 0 |
| H. Robinson | 1 0 0 | James Shackleton, Victoria-street | 1 1 0 | "Railways must progress," per R. B. Watson, Bond-street | 0 2 6 |
| Edmund Salisbury | 1 0 0 | J. Philipp, Box 60, Post-office | 1 1 0 | William Lucas, Mill-street, Meadow-lane | 25 0 0 |
| Henry Warren | 1 0 0 | Christopher Wilkinson, Tyrral-street | 1 1 0 | Robert Jowitt and Sons, Albion-street | 5 0 0 |
| Elizabeth Baldry | 1 0 0 | Samuel Wilkinson, Thornton-road | 1 1 0 | John Holmes, St. George's-terrace | 5 0 0 |
| Thomas Earp | 0 10 0 | John Rawnsley, Market-street | 1 1 0 | Joseph Bates, Albion-street | 1 1 0 |
| T. W. Wood | 0 10 0 | Wm. Hutton and James Abbs | 1 1 0 | R. Pollock, Bishopgate-street | 0 5 0 |
| Miss Carr | 0 7 6 | John Sharp, Manchester-road | 1 1 0 | Thomas Pollock, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Timms | 0 5 0 | Jonathan Coultera, Chapel-street, Eastbrook | 1 1 0 | Henry Slater, Wortley | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Sutton | 0 5 0 | Misses Holgate and Crossley, Snow-hill | 1 1 0 | Abraham Sladen, 65, Chatham-street | 5 0 0 |
| Thomas Widdowson | 0 3 0 | Robert Clark, Kirkgate | 1 1 0 | Thomas Nunnely, East Parade | 30 0 0 |
| W. Bailey, hairdresser | 0 2 6 | David Abercrombie | 1 1 0 | Francis Carbutt, Bond-street | 30 0 0 |
| John Walker | 0 2 6 | John Denby | 1 1 0 | George Goodman, Hunslet-lane | 10 0 0 |
| Thomas Smith, draper | 0 2 6 | Edward Jowett, North-parade | 1 1 0 | James Hopwood, 7, Bond-street | 0 10 0 |
| John Tagg | 0 2 6 | David Ramsden | 1 1 0 | R. Machell, Newsome's-yard, Briggate | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Scott | 0 2 6 | Clarks and Ingham, Broad-stones | 1 1 0 | S. Shoen, solicitor, Benson's-buildings | 0 10 0 |
| John Elliott, jun. | 0 2 6 | J. R. Wagstaff, Union street | 1 1 0 | A Friend, 8, Victoria-road | 0 1 0 |
| Samuel Sheppard | 0 2 6 | Benjamin Wild, Fountain-street | 1 0 0 | Free Trade and no Surrender, Armley | 0 1 0 |
| Rev. William Kluit | 0 2 6 | S. Hutchinson, Market-street | 1 0 0 | A Sufferer from Monopoly, do. | 0 1 0 |
| Mrs. Thomas Haines | 0 2 6 | John Cooper, Manchester-road | 1 0 0 | A Reformed Drunkard, do. | 5 0 0 |
| — Rhodes, Swarkestone | 0 2 6 | Samuel Harrison, Bermondsey | 1 0 0 | William Walker and Sons, Blenheim-square | 1 0 0 |
| Small Sums, under 2s. 6d. | 1 10 1 | Richard Pollard, do. | 1 0 0 | Jonathan Waite, jun., Yeadon, near | 1 0 0 |
| John Turner and Son, drysalers | 5 0 0 | George Bottomley, Market-street | 1 0 0 | Matthew Lawton, Wortley | 10 10 0 |
| W. Vickers, Market-walk | 0 1 0 | John Simonett, Chapel-street, Leeds-road | 1 0 0 | J. and J. Refitt, dyers, Kirkstall-road | 1 1 0 |
| A Friend to the Cause | 0 2 6 | William Freeman, do. do. | 1 0 0 | Edward Oatler, leather-merchant | 5 0 0 |
| J. Liddell | 0 2 6 | James Richardby, Horton-road | 1 0 0 | Joseph Shackleton, Wortley | 1 1 0 |
| Two Friends | 0 1 0 | Edward Prince, Kirkgate | 1 0 0 | Joseph Shackleton, do. | 5 0 0 |
| Two ditto | 0 2 0 | Thomas Stead, Ivegate | 1 0 0 | James Craddock, Richmond-street | 3 3 0 |
| W. Watkinson | 0 2 0 | Richard Wigley, Fountain-street | 1 0 0 | L. F. Blackett, Knostrop | 1 1 0 |
| Mrs. B. Thornton | 0 2 6 | Samuel Sutcliffe, Thornton-road | 1 0 0 | T. W. Lord, East-street | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Robson, King-street | 0 5 0 | Peter Watson, Snow-hill | 1 0 0 | Joseph Broadbent, Knostrop | 1 1 0 |
| Henry Revell, do. | 0 1 0 | A Well-wisher | 1 0 0 | Joseph Brook, 75, East-street | 1 1 0 |
| Henry Borget, do. | 0 1 0 | Jonathan Greenwood, Baildon | 1 0 0 | Henry Oxley, 9, Elmwood-grove | 1 0 0 |
| George Gill, do. | 0 1 0 | William Leach, Wakefield-road | 1 0 0 | Subscriptions, per J. S. Spencer, Ivy Cottage, Little Woodhouse | 0 11 6 |
| J. W. Atkinson, do. | 0 1 0 | Christopher Stowell, Little Horton | 1 0 0 | Joseph Rowling, School-close | 10 0 0 |
| Dempsey | 0 1 0 | Joseph Corrie, Thornton | 1 0 0 | Jonathan Dickinson and Son, Water-lane | 10 10 0 |
| William Trumbler, Bradford-road | 0 2 6 | Edward Kay, do. | 1 0 0 | Matthew Glew, Foundry Inn, Holbeck | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 | George Ridley, 9, Westgate | 1 0 0 | William Storey, Hunslet | 2 0 0 |
| Benjamin Sykes, Holm Slathwaite, near | 1 0 0 | Jude Yates, Croft-street, Manchester-road | 1 0 0 | Samuel North, Bank-street | 2 0 0 |
| J. Robson, King-street | 0 2 6 | James Procter, Leeds-road | 1 0 0 | Benjamin North, do. | 10 0 0 |
| R. Woodhead, do. | 0 1 0 | Joseph Webster, Frederick-street | 1 0 0 | George Wise, Park-lane | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Dibb, do. | 0 2 6 | John Wright, Wibsey | 1 0 0 | William Wade, Pudsey, near | 30 0 0 |
| J. K. | 0 1 0 | Miss Holdsworth, Fountain-street | 1 0 0 | Robert Walker, York-place | 25 0 0 |
| T. K. | 0 1 0 | Jonas Ackroyd, Thornton | 1 0 0 | Joseph and William Walker, do. | 5 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 1 0 | Joseph Craven, do. | 1 0 0 | E. and J. Taylor | 5 0 0 |
| J. Young | 0 1 0 | Jonathan Hardy, Low Moor | 1 0 0 | Wm. Bent | 2 0 0 |
| Joseph Schofield, New-street | 0 2 6 | Thos. Robertshaw, Apple Hall, Bunker's-hill | 1 0 0 | Samuel Dowse | 2 0 0 |
| Mrs. Holroyd, Bull and Mouth Inn | 0 2 6 | Wm. Watson, 74, Kirkgate | 1 0 0 | Joshua Farrar | 1 1 0 |
| Benjamin Haigh, Temperance Hotel | 0 10 0 | A. W. Thomson, Melbourne-place, Manning- ham-lane | 1 0 0 | Wm. Johnstone | 1 1 0 |
| Richard Wormall, Moldgreen, near | 1 1 0 | Wm. Marshall, tinner, Kirkgate | 1 0 0 | James Robinson | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Jeasop, Lascelle's Hall, near | 1 1 0 | Joseph Greenhough, Westgate | 1 0 0 | Wm. Kinder | 1 0 0 |
| John Bowker, Temperance Hotel | 1 0 0 | Benj. Poplewell, Croft-st., Manchester-road | 1 0 0 | Joseph Armitage | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Bowker, 100, Northgate | 0 2 6 | Samuel Armitage, Market-street | 1 0 0 | Humphrey Davenport | 1 0 0 |
| John Eccles, Temperance Hotel | 1 0 0 | Rev. James Edgar, Frederick-street | 0 10 6 | Joseph Battye | 1 0 0 |
| Isaac Robson, King-street | 0 2 0 | Thomas Watkins, Bridge-street | 0 10 6 | John Holroyd | 0 10 0 |
| Abraham Mitchell | 0 2 0 | Rev. Thomas Pottenger | 0 10 6 | Francis Goodhall | 0 10 0 |
| H. Jowett | 1 1 0 | — Brookbank, Market-street | 0 10 6 | George Haigh | 0 10 0 |
| J. Tempest | 1 1 0 | George Dawson, Stone-street | 0 8 0 | Saml. Whitehead | 0 10 0 |
| Thomas Faules, Buxton-road | 1 1 0 | John Read | 0 5 0 | James Lumb | 1 0 0 |
| J. Dyson, draper, New-street | 1 1 0 | Thomas Beaumont | 0 5 0 | E. Hellowell and Co. | 1 0 0 |
| John Roebuck, plumber, do. | 0 5 0 | Wm. Ripley | 0 2 0 | Firth and Co. | 1 0 0 |
| H. M. C. Scott | 0 5 0 | Wm. Pickard | 0 2 0 | E. and J. Taylor's men | 55 0 0 |
| Joshua Binns, Chapel-hill | 1 0 0 | James Hutton | 0 2 0 | John Armstrong | 10 0 0 |
| John String, at Frederick Schwann's | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 0 5 0 | William Jackson | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Batho, fancy manufacturer | 1 0 0 | Thos. Wickett, Bridge-street | 0 5 0 | William Marsland, New-road | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 5 0 0 | John Robertshaw, John-street, Stott-hill | 0 2 6 | John Moss, innkeeper | 0 10 0 |
| George Lumb | 1 0 0 | J. Turner | 0 2 6 | — Moss, surgeon | 5 0 0 |
| Wm. Hirst, at Mr. Fr. Schwann's | 3 0 0 | James Waldie, Liverpool | 0 5 0 | C. Barrow, draper | 1 0 0 |
| Frederick Modera, do. | 0 10 0 | A Journeyman Painter | 0 5 0 | James Bathgate | 0 10 0 |
| Geo. Beaumont, do. | 0 2 6 | Three Young Ladies | 0 1 6 | H. M. Raith | 0 10 0 |
| David Lumb, do. | 0 5 0 | Anonymous | 0 2 0 | Robt. Mansergh | 0 5 0 |
| H. Toy, Thomas-street | 0 5 0 | C. H. Dawson, Royds Hall, near | 200 0 0 | Thomas Albright | 0 2 6 |
| Hy. Northrop Bradlev, New-street | 1 1 0 | Milligan, Forbes, and Co. | 200 0 0 | John Jackson | 0 2 6 |
| David Beaumont, Netherton, near | 1 0 0 | Titus Salt | 100 0 0 | John Fell, carrier | 1 0 0 |
| Benjamin Burdon, draper, Westgate | 2 2 0 | R. and J. Garnett | 100 0 0 | Richard Dunn | 3 2 0 |
| Liddell, Brothers, Market place | 5 0 0 | George Townsend and Brothers, Cullingworth | 50 0 0 | James Johnson, M.D. | 1 10 0 |
| Edward Henshall, do. | 5 0 0 | D. Bateman and Sons, Wibsey, near | 50 0 0 | John Neald | 0 5 0 |
| William Moore, jun. | 5 0 0 | T. G. Clayton, Bierly Hall, near | 50 0 0 | George Eleden | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Tetley, King-street | 1 1 0 | Young Men in Milligan, Forbes, and Co.'s employ | 30 0 0 | Thomas Satterthwaite | 0 5 0 |
| Edward Tetley, do. | 1 1 0 | James Hepper, Shipley, near | 7 7 0 | Henry Varity | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Shaw, New-street | 5 5 0 | John Smith and Co., Marshall's Mill | 5 0 0 | John Murray, Hornby | 1 0 0 |
| From sundries on a Card, collected by Mr. Dewhurst | 0 5 0 | T. and J. Mirfield, Westgate Hill, near | 5 0 0 | Dr. Lingard, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Sharp, Lockwood | 1 0 0 | William Wood, Tyrral-street | 1 1 0 | | |
| Ephraim Taylor, Almondsbury, near | 1 0 0 | Rev. Henry Dowson | 1 1 0 | | |
| Wm. Parkin, Castle-hill, near | 5 0 0 | John Dale, Ivegate | 1 1 0 | | |
| Joseph Norton, Clayton West, near | 20 0 0 | Wilson Sutcliffe, Bowling | 1 1 0 | | |
| Hy. Fryer, New-street | 0 2 6 | William Shepherd, Well-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| James Redfearn, Leeds-road | 1 10 0 | David Yewdall, Ecclehill | 1 0 0 | | |
| Wm. Brook, Messrs. Starkey, Brothers, Long- royd Bridge, near | 1 0 0 | Jos. Oxley, at Messrs. Thos. Willett and Co.'s Abraham Priestley, Hope and Anchor Inn | 1 0 0 | | |

“ And, when our gallant-hearted band
Down life's calm noontide run,
We'll smile upon that happy land
Our youthful vigour won;
And when our heads are old and grey,
If, haply, we survive,
He was, our sons shall proudly say,
A man of twenty-five.”

All lady housekeepers ought to know that slave-grown sugar is regularly brought into this country in large quantities, duty free ; it is here refined into lump sugar, and sent abroad so cheap as to be sold at the other side of the world at 4d. per lb. ; while we are obliged to pay that price for brown sugar (besides duty)—a price paid to favoured monopolist planters and merchants. We are denied the cheap sugar, lest its use should encourage the continuance of slavery ; and yet we actually buy that sugar and sell it abroad to favour class interests !—*Manchester Times.*

Let us not be misunderstood: we are directly at issue with the Irish Tyrtaeus on the remedy which he would suggest; but we hold that the very fact of such a remedy being proposed by a man of such talent as the writer of this ode manifestly possesses, is decisive evidence of the existence of a mass of social evil which cannot long be neglected with impunity. Other remedies, indeed, have been proposed, and the following clever parody is a description of one of them:—

"PAAN.

"The Assyrian came down," &c.—*Byron.*

"De Bray gallop'd down, like an ass on the fold,
And Lord Black-bottle followed, in scarlet and gold;
Their teeth, when they grin'd, were terrific to see,
And their whiskers were black as the blackest black tea."

"Now cannon are planted by Bray in his ire,
And gunners, prepared in a twinkling to fire;
And three rotten hulks and the Pigeon-house fort
Prepares to assist in the Viceregal sport."

"And there gaped the oysters, with wonderment wide,
And cockles roll'd in to the fun with the tide,
And many a lobster that day from the strand
Telegraph'd with his claw to his brothers on land."

"Fresh Dublin bay herrings, and flat-fish galore,
Came to gaze at a still flatter flounder ashore;
And envying oysters beheld that De Bray
Had a far greater beard in proportion than they."

"Present arms! sound trumpets! belabour the drums!
Lo! Mars in moustachios to Ballybough comes!
The infantry grunt, and the cavalry neigh,
For in wrath and tight breeches approaches De Bray."

"Still desp'rate Repellers, in range of his guns,
Fire volleys of laughter and batteries of puns:
In vain—for like reeds on a harness of brass
Fall the arrows of wit on the scull of an ass."

"At length, giving up all his hopes of a lark
(Despite proclamations stuck up in the dark)
Withdraw you my legions, quoth valiant De Bray,
Alas! there's no mill* for Don Quixote to-day."

"And Sugden and fellows were loud in their wall,
And the Lords of the Privy looked bothered and pale;
And the troops, so long harass'd and wantonly bor'd,
Marched back to their barracks blaspheming the Lord†."

Displays such as that described by the parodist may secure the military occupation of Ireland; but how much of the country is then possessed by its Government? Just the range of a musket-shot round every sentry-box, and not an inch besides. In the very same paper which contains this playful caricature of the Lord-Lieutenant's display of the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," we find more than one allusion to the patience with which the Germans endured the military bondage of the French until the disastrous Russian campaign afforded them a chance of liberation; and in almost every Irish paper we find proofs that this military array only increases the alienation of the people from the Government, being regarded as evidence of a determination to refuse a redress of grievances. In the very same paper that contains the parody is the following spirited lyric of an Irish Körner:—

"GERMAN WAR SONG.

Translated from Körner.

"Why knit ye thus darkly the brow of your might?
Why frown ye, and wildly stare out in the night,
Ye spirits who fear not the stranger?
The storm of oppression howls on, and the roar
Of his ocean assaulting is loud on our shore—
We shall meet, but despise not our danger."

"His hell-flood now rages more dismal and dread;
Much blood of our noblest has vainly been shed;
Still our struggles the stranger is scorning.
Yet vengeance, despair not, shall come from on high,
Already its dawn breaks blood-red in our sky—
Sure red is the tint of the morning."

"And if courage and strength have avail'd us before,
We will call on our strength and our courage once more—
Let the ship not be wreck'd in the haven.
Arise, then, oh, youth! see the foe-man is near—
Arise! in a tempest of heroes appear!
Who would now be a slumbering craven?"

"And we shall not waver, who, resolute here,
Stand looking grim Death in the face without fear,
The rights of our country protecting;
But freedom regain, and our bless'd Fatherland,
Or die, as the patriot dies, sword in hand,
The life of the bondman rejecting."

"With freedom denied, what could tempt us to live?
Or what has the world all around us to give?
For the soil of the country that bore us?
Yes: freed from the foe let our Fatherland be,
Or let us depart to our sires who are free,
And happy in heaven before us."

"Then howl on, thou tempest! then roar on thou sea!
Then tremble thou Earth! but no terrors have ye
For spirits that never will falter:
All nature may fly into atoms around,
But, devoted to Freedom, we still shall be found,
Thus offering our blood at her altar."

"J. B."

We are tempted to quote a very beautiful lyric in a different strain, to afford some respite from the melancholy thoughts which the songs of war suggest:—

"THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.

"My country! on thy famished brow
A faint sweet smile appears;
Oh! where are they who mock'd thee now?
I do not hear their cheers!"

* One of the most brilliant feats of the Knight of La Mancha was an attack on a wind-mill.
† De Bray.

"Thou hast achieved a mighty thing—
A nation hath combined,
To break the thousand links that cling,
From habit, round the mind."

"From habit, and from choice, and some
Will own almost from fate,
They sought a Lethé 'midst their gloom,
And wildly felt elate!"

"Yet, with a giant's strength, they burst
Those fetters at a bound;
And stood, amidst the nations, first,
With moral grandeur crown'd."

"Thou wert too long a scorn to those
Who, like the Spartan, smiled,
To see thee fall, and to expose
The slave to his free child!"

"But let that pass: like winter wind,
It cannot mar thy spring—
Would thou hadst nothing more unkind
From Memory's store to bring!"

"For, like the Patriarch of old,
Amidst thy sons were those,
Accurs'd, like Cham, who could behold
Thy shame but to expose."

"Servants of servants they shall be,
When, through thy valleys fair,
Their brothers' tents are spreading free
Beneath God's special care." "C. J. D."

Reviews of troops, prosecutions for sedition, proclamations and prohibitions, all the resources of the armoury of power, are but expedients for the day, and when they have served their temporary purpose, will sink into unhonoured oblivion; but verses such as those we have quoted will live, and every hour that passes over the unredressed grievances in which they had their birth will give new energies to their vitality. He was a wise statesman who said that he would rather have the making of a people's ballads than of a people's laws; and we certainly feel more dread of the little collection of songs in the "Spirit of the Nation" than we do of the most cumbersome volume of the "Statutes at large." We doubt whether any Coercion Bill could compete in power with the following stanzas, entitled

"A DREAM.

"I dreamt a dream, a dazzling dream, of a green isle far away,
Where the glowing west to the ocean's breast calleth the dying day;
And that island green was as fair a scene as ever man's eye did see,
With its chieftains bold, and its temples old, and its homes and its altars free!
No foreign foe did that green isle know—no stranger band it bore,
Save the merchant train from sunny Spain, and from Africa's golden shore!
And the young man's heart would fondly start, and the old man's eye would smile,
As their thoughts would roam o'er the ocean foam to that lone and 'holy isle!"

"Years passed by, and the orient sky blazed with a new-born light,
And Bethlehem's star shone bright afar o'er the lost world's darksome night;
And the diamond shines from plundered mines, and the golden fanes of Jove,
Melted away in the blaze of day at the simple spell-word—Love!
The light serene o'er that island green played with its saving beams,
And the fires of Baal waxed dim and pale, like the stars in the morning streams!
And 'twas joy to hear, in the bright air clear, from out each sunny glade,
The tinkling bell, from the quiet cell, or the cloister's tranquil shade!"

"A cloud of night o'er that dream so bright soon with its dark wing came,
And the happy scene of that island green was lost in blood and shame;
For its kings unjust betrayed their trust, and its queens, though fair, were frail;
And a robber band, from a stranger land, with their war-whoops filled the gale:—
A fatal spell on that green isle fell—a shadow of death and gloom
Passed withering o'er, from shore to shore, like the breath of the foul simoom;
And each green hill's side was crimson dyed, and each stream rolled red and wild,
With the mingled blood of the brave and good—of mother, and maid, and child!"

"Dark was my dream, though many a gleam of hope through that black night broke,
Like a star's bright form through a whistling storm, or the moon through a midnight oak!
And many a time, with its wings sublime, and its robes of saffron light,
Would the morning rise on the eastern skies, but to vanish again in night!
For, in abject prayer, the people there still raised their fettered hands,
When the sense of right, and the power to smite, are the spirit that commands;
For those who would sneer at the mourner's tear, and heed not the suppliant's sigh,
Would bow in awe to that first great law—a banded nation's cry!"

"At length arose o'er that isle of woes a dawn with a steadier smile,
And, in happy hour, a voice of power awoke the slumbering isle!"

And the people all obeyed the call of their chief's unsceptred hand,
Vowing to raise, as in ancient days, the name of their own dear land!
My dream grew bright as the sunbeam's light, as I watched that isle's career
Through the varied scene and the joys sore of many a future year;
And oh! what thrill did my bosom fill, as I gazed on a pillared pile,
Where a senate once more in power watched o'er the rights of that lone green isle!"

"DESMOND."

We believe that the realization of the picture with which this dream concludes would be one of the greatest calamities which could befall Ireland. The real grievance of that country is not that it is subject to English government—would to Heaven it were!—but that it is subject to an ascendancy, a minority banded into faction, which has thwarted all the remedial measures of the Government, and turned all its measures of restraint into engines of party-persecution. Our error in England has been the unhesitating and uninquiring support given to the ascendancy in Ireland; we have been the allies of the oppressors, and, not unnaturally, the wrath of the oppressed has been directed against us instead of against the principals. Our duty is to show the Irish that the oligarchy which crushes them down is not a recognised English agency, as the Orange party is accustomed to represent itself. The English people must disavow its responsibility for such deeds of oppression as those described in Reuben's Letters, and in the reports from the Irish courts of petty session. There is no middle course for us between such disavowal and direct participation, for well was it said by Darwin,—
"Hear, O ye nations, hear this truth sublime!
He who allows oppression shares the crime."

Blackwood's Magazine, January 1, 1844.

An article on "The Position and Prospects of the Government," in the last number of this once-popular periodical, affords such gratifying evidence of the progress of the League, that we cannot allow it to pass without notice. Nothing more clearly proves the advance of a cause than the perplexity of its adversaries, and the inconsistency of the attempts made to explain phenomena which can neither be denied nor evaded; and on two memorable occasions "Blackwood's Magazine" heralded the approaching triumph of two great principles of justice—Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform—by the absurdity of the assurances it gave to show that the defeat of both was inevitable. It is only when the cause of Monopoly becomes desperate that recourse is had to the assistance of "the double-faced Janus, who lies with both his tongues;" inconsistency, self-contradiction, glaring falsehood, and sheer absurdity are adopted in the extremity of fear, and set forth with a trembling eagerness, such as always marks the utterer of forgeries. Justice requires us to state that those who supported the cause of Monopoly in Blackwood when Mr. Huskisson first assailed the protective system, exhibited literary powers which tended to conceal their utter ignorance of economic science; but, in the present instance, the advocate of Monopoly offends equally against good taste and common sense, and wars with Lindley Murray as fiercely as with Adam Smith.

In spite of all its political delinquencies, we have an affectionate remembrance of the literary merits of Blackwood—"stat magni nominis umbra;" it is far from pleasant to find such a respectable adversary dwindled down to a mere driveller, and to see that in his senility he has lost "the good memory" which proverbially ought to belong to that class of advocates in which Blackwood has long held a leading place. The writer of the article on "The Position and Prospects of the Government" is probably not one of the regular staff, but a volunteer advocate of Monopoly, with strong hopes of future pay; he certainly has not as yet benefited much by his drill, for he handles the weapons of literary warfare so awkwardly as to inflict several blows on himself, and threaten imminent danger to his associates.

He commences his assault on the League with the following assertions:—

"The Anti-Corn-Law League has in view a twofold object—the overthrow of the present Ministry, whom they abhor for their steadfast and powerful support of the agricultural interest; and the depression of the wages of labour, to enable our manufacturers (of whom the League almost exclusively consists) to compete with the manufacturers on the Continent. Their engine for effecting their purposes is the repeal of the Corn Laws; and they are working it with such a desperate energy as satisfies any disinterested observer that they themselves perceive the task to be all but utterly hopeless. They were confounded by the result of the general election, and dismayed at the accession to power of men whom they knew to be thoroughly acquainted with their true objects and intentions, and resolved to frustrate them, and able to carry their resolutions into effect."

The Anti-Corn-Law League, as everybody knows, was organised before Sir Robert Peel formed his Ministry, and therefore could not have been intended to overthrow a non-existing Cabinet; as a League, it has never set itself against the men of the present Ministry, and it has only opposed such of their mea-

sure as were demonstrably ruinous to the commerce of the country. There are no members of the Council of the League who have taken up politics as a profession, and arrayed themselves under the banners of a purely parliamentary party; and no one knows better than Sir Robert Peel that the Leaguers are indifferent to the mere strife between Whig and Tory, for it is this very circumstance which prevents him from conquering the League by the strength of his parliamentary majority.

The Leaguers are not actuated by a desire to perform impossibilities; they know that the rate of wages can neither be fixed by them nor by their workmen, but must depend solely on the relations between demand and supply in the labour-market. After the fallacy respecting wages had been so often and so decisively exposed, we scarcely expected to find such stupidity or such hardihood as would set it forward again; but, when folly and self-interest are combined, we must be prepared to encounter repetitions of absurdity, and sometimes to weary our readers by repeating its refutation. We deny that a repeal of the Corn Laws would lower wages, and we further deny it to be the interest of the manufacturers that wages should be lowered. In the great staple productions of the north of England, wages form but a small proportion of the cost of production, the greater part of the labour being performed by machinery; if the restrictive system continues for a few years longer to work out its pernicious consequences, it is easy to foresee a time when all our mill-owners and manufacturers will be unable to meet foreign competition, even if all the operatives worked for nothing. The complaint against the Corn Laws is not that they increase the cost of production, but that they prevent the sale of the goods, when produced, by prohibiting our manufacturers from taking the only payment which our best customers have to offer. Instead of making one intelligible exchange with his customer, the English manufacturer must go through a roundabout series of exchanges before he can get back the value of his goods; and he must, therefore, charge such a price for his articles as will cover the risk and expense of the several complicated transactions which legislative interference has placed between the actual sale of his goods and the final reception of payment.

Manufacturers know that the lowering of the price of food, so far from lowering the rate of wages, has the very contrary tendency; and for this simple reason:—the less that the families in England spend on food, the more have they to spare for clothing and articles of luxury; consequently, in a cheap year there is a greater demand for manufactured goods, and for the labour engaged in their production; and hence the rate of wages is greater now than it was at this period last year.

But the Blackwood Janus, having just declared that the League is a conspiracy to reduce wages, tells us, in the same breath, that the League organized a plot to raise the rate of wages. He declares it to be his firm belief that the League organized the late outbreak in Lancashire. Now, this outbreak was notoriously a turn-out to raise the rate of wages; while it lasted, the manufacturers whose mills were stopped were losing all the interest of their invested capital; and here is a man who professes to believe that they submitted to all this loss in order to enable the operatives to get more wages out of their own pockets! After such a flagrant profession of credulity it is scarcely worth while to turn to minor blunders. We may, however, add that the reduction of wages did not commence in Stockport; that Mr. Cobden, though a representative of that borough, has no establishment in that town, his print-works being at Chorley; and that the Chartist leaders of the outbreak, so far from being favourable to the League, rivalled Janus himself in their unscrupulous calumnies against that body generally, and its members individually.

Janus asserts, in the passage we have quoted, that the leaders of the League "perceive their task to be all but utterly hopeless;" he declares "the whole thing a failure;" he avers that "not a person of the least political or personal importance could be prevailed upon to join its ranks."—Earle Spencer and Fitzwilliam, Messrs. Jones Loyd, and Rand, &c., being, in the opinion of Janus, mere nobodies; but anon comes the refutation from the second tongue of Janus in the following cry of alarm:—

"It is impossible to assign limits to the mischief which may be effected by the indefatigable and systematic exertions of the League to diffuse pernicious misrepresentations, and artful and popular fallacies, among all classes of society. That they entertain a fearfully envenomed hatred of the agricultural interest, is clear; and their evident object is to render the landed proprietors of this country objects of fierce hatred to the inferior orders of the community. 'If a man tells me his story every morning of my life, by the year's end he will be my master,' said Burke, 'and I shall believe him, however untrue and improbable his story may be;' and if, whilst the Anti-Corn Law League can display such perseverance, determination, and system, its opponents obstinately remain supine and silent, can any one wonder if such progress be not made by the League, in their demoralizing and revolutionary enterprise, that it will soon be too late to attempt even to arrest it?"

With similar inconsistency he denounces the League as an unconstitutional and illegal con-

federacy, while in the next breath he invites what he is pleased to call "the agricultural interest" to form similar associations, declaring, if they do not,

"Why, then will be verified the observation of Burke, that 'if, when bad men combine, the good do not associate, they will fall, one by one—an unplied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle.' Vast as are our forces, they can effect comparatively nothing without union, energy, and system: with these, their power is tremendous and irresistible. What we would say, therefore, is—ORGANISE! ORGANISE! ORGANISE!"

Our readers are aware that the experiment has been made by some monopolists in Essex, but the progress of the proposed association since the subscription of the first fifty pounds has not been recorded. In fact, the farmers and agricultural labourers of England have found out the monstrous fallacy implied in the ordinary use of the phrase, "agricultural interest;" they have learned that landowners are no more agriculturists than ship-owners are sailors. The trick of representing the "landed interest" as identical with the "agricultural interest" is too palpable to serve longer. Byron's description of the "landed interest" is received as authentic, from Caithness to Cornwall:—

"The landed interest (you may understand)
The phrase much better, leaving out the land;
The land self-interest grows from shore to shore,
For fear that plenty should attain the poor."

Passing from the self-contradictions of the Blackwood Janus to his excursions in romantic episode, we find him asserting that the deputies of the League did not visit the agriculturists until they had failed to make an impression on the mercantile community. The progress of the subscription to the League Fund is a sufficient evidence of the nature of this failure. On this subscription he makes a remark which deserves a passing notice:—

"Many thousands were subscribed at an hour's notice by a mere handful of manufacturers; the news came up to London—and the editor of the *Times*, in a transient fit of excitement, pronounced 'the existence of the League' to be a GREAT FACT. Upon this phrase they have lived ever since—till somewhat roughly reminded the other day, by Mr. Baring, that 'great facts' are very 'great follies'."

So far is it from being true that the League has lived on the announcement of the "great fact" in the *Times*, that the present wrath of that journal against the leaders of the Free-Trade movement is chiefly attributable to the perfect indifference with which its recognition of "the great fact" was received by the League. To men of Mr. Baring's mental and moral calibre we doubt not that "great facts" may appear "great follies;" he may possibly prefer great falsehoods, as being better calculated to advance the cause of Monopoly; but he is to be pitied when he finds his friends rescuing his most stupid phrases from oblivion, and aiding that demotion of himself in which he indulges whenever he is so incautious as to appear before the public.

We are sometimes surprised to see how small a stock of fallacies and falsehoods serves for the whole array of scribbles in the Monopolist press. No sooner does the *Times* or *Standard* set forth some of Mr. Ferrand's ingenious devices, than the stories go the regular round of the Monopolist journals, whether daily, weekly, monthly, or quarterly, and no regard is paid to the decisive refutation which each tale is sure to receive the day that it appears. This disgusting repetition of disgusting falsehood, more common now than it was in the days of Pope, cannot be better portrayed than in the coarse imagery employed by the poet:—

"One to the other still affords supply,
As hog to hog in huts of Westphaly;
If one, through Nature's bounty or his lord's,
Has what the frugal dirty soil affords,
From him the next receives it thick or thin,
As pure a mess almost as it came in;
The blessed benefit, not there confin'd,
Drops to the next, who nuzzles close behind;
From tail to mouth, they feed and they carouse,
The last full, fairly gives it to the house."

ROMANCE AND REALITY.

The following imaginative picture—imaginary as regards the majority—of an English yeoman, from the pen of Wm. Howitt, contrasts most painfully with the real state of too many of our "specially protected" agriculturists:—

"THE ENGLISH YEOMAN.—There is no class of men, if times are but tolerably good, that enjoy themselves so highly as farmers. They are little kings, their concerns are not huddled into a corner, as those of the town tradesmen are. In town, many a man who turns thousands of pounds per week, is hemmed in close by buildings, and cuts no figure at all. A narrow shop, a contracted warehouse, without a yard of room besides to turn in, on any hand, without a yard, stable, or outhouse of any description, perhaps hoisted aloft up three or four dirty pair of stairs, is all the room the wealthy tradesman often can bless himself with; and there, day after day, month after month, year after year, he is to be found, like a rat in the hole of a wall, or a bad in the heart of a stone or of an oak tree. Spring and summer and autumn go round, sunshine and flowers spread over the world, the sweet breezes blow, the sweetest waters murmur along the valleys; but they are all lost upon him; he is the doleful prisoner of Mammon, and so he lives and dies. The farmer would not take the wealth of the world on such terms: his concerns, however small, spread themselves out in a pleasant amplitude, both to his eye and heart; his house stands in its own stately solitude; his office and outhouses stand round extensively, without any stabilizing and limiting contraction; his acres stretch over hill and vale; there his flocks and herds are feeding, there his labourers are toiling; he is the king and sole commander there; he lives among the purest air and most delicious quiet. Often when I see those healthy, hardy, full-grown sons of toll going out of town, I envy them the freshness and repose of the spots where they are going to. A simple old-fashioned kitchen, with their chimney-overs of true projecting-beamed and seated construction still remaining; blazing

free in winter, shining on suspended hams and ditches. Guns supported on hooks above, dogs basking on the earth below. Cool shady parlours in summer, with open windows, and odours from garden and shrubbery blowing in. Gardens wet with purest dews, and humming at noon with bees; and the green fields and verdurous trees, or deep woodlands, lying all around, where a hundred rejoicing voices of birds or other creatures are heard, and winds blowing to and fro, full of health and life and enjoyment. How enviable do such places seem to the fretted spirits of the towns, who are compelled not only to bear their burdens of cares, but to enter daily into the public strife against selfish, evil, and ever-spreading corruption!"—*Howitt's Book of the Seasons.*

Such is the romance of an agricultural life; but what is in too many instances the reality?

The English yeoman, the tenant-farmer, has taken his farm upon the expectation of obtaining the prices for his grain which the landlord, his agent, and the statute law of the land, conjointly, promise him; he has entered into strict engagements to cultivate upon a plan, good fifty years ago, perhaps, but now ridiculous; and he holds only from year to year. He has a quantity of land, somewhat larger than his capital would warrant, because he relies upon growing a large breadth of corn, which he has been led to believe will sell at a high—an artificially high—price, and therefore he does not keep much stock; cattle consume too much of his produce, which he wants to sell quickly to meet his rent, besides, they are troublesome, and are several years before they can be profitably turned into money; ploughing and sowing are simple processes, and do not occasion much outlay; and though he has, perhaps, obtained prices approaching to those on which he calculated, yet he finds that, somehow or other, the rent takes a very great share of the proceeds.

Then his landlord "he too fond of a game; those varmint, hares and rabbits, do eat a terrible sight of wheat every year." He dare not complain, for his rent is in arrear, and all the capital he had in the world is sunk in the land. His landlord may sell him up, any day. He has hard work to find enough money to keep his tradesmen quiet, whose accounts are year by year getting heavier and heavier. He is in constant dread lest any creditor should proceed against him, for then his landlord would distraint for rent, and the workhouse or a goal is before him. His fields are wet, and want draining; his ditches are unsecured; his land but imperfectly tilled; he employs as few labourers as possible. He would gladly remedy all this, for he knows what it must come to; but the rent! the rent sweeps away everything. Then, as if in mockery, his landlord goes to the Agricultural Society, and tells him and his fellow-farmers they must be enterprising; they must drain, they must expend more capital, buy more manures, implements, stock; but where is the money to come from? And echo answers, where? As the Somersetshire farmer said, "Farmers had been too much drained themselves to allow of their laying out money in draining." Then comes a fall in prices. Monopoly cannot "protect" him therefrom, and the unhappy farmer becomes a victim on the altar of landlord prejudice and cupidity. This is the reality of the "freshness and repose" of too many of the homes of English farmers. This is a picture of the English yeoman, far more true than our friend Howitt's. Would it were otherwise. We would gladly emancipate husbandry and the husbandman from the thralldom he now endures, and this can never be effected until the Corn Laws are repealed. Oh, how often do we look over some of the smiling vales of this country, and sigh over the happiness which might exist there but for the selfishness of aristocratic legislation! Why is not rural industry allowed fair play?

THE FUNDS.

| | Mar. Dec. 30 | Mon. Jan. 1 | Tues. Jan. 2 | Wed. Jan. 3 | Thurs. Jan. 4 | Fri. Jan. 5 |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| Bank Stock | 165 | 165 | 165 | 165 | 165 | 165 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 97 | 97 | 97 | 97 | 97 | 97 |
| 3 per Ct. Ann. 1848 | 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 |
| J. An. Ex. Jn. 1860 | 12 11 16 | 12 11 16 | 12 11 16 | 12 11 16 | 12 11 16 | 12 11 16 |
| Cons. for Op. 1860 | 96 | 96 | 96 | 96 | 96 | 96 |
| Exchequer Billa. | 60 pm. | 60 pm. | 60 pm. | 60 pm. | 60 pm. | 60 pm. |
| U. Sea Ann. | 79 pm. | 78 80 pm. | — | 78 pm. | 78 80 pm. | 81 pm. |
| India Bonds | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| India Stock | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Belgian 5 per Ct. | 103 4 | 103 4 | 103 4 | 103 4 | 103 4 | — |
| Brazilian 5 per Ct. | 71 | 71 | 71 | 71 | 71 | — |
| Chilian 5 p. Ct. | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 | 100 1/2 | — |
| Columb. 5 p. Cent. | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Danish | 86 1/2 | 87 | 87 | 87 | 87 | — |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 1/2 | 100 | 100 1/2 |
| Dutch 2 1/2 per Ct. | 80 | 81 1/2 | 81 1/2 | 81 1/2 | 81 1/2 | 81 1/2 |
| Mexican | 3 1/2 | 3 1/2 | 3 1/2 | 3 1/2 | 3 1/2 | 3 1/2 |
| Portuguese, ex. d. | 40 | 41 | 43 1/2 | 44 | 44 1/2 | — |
| Russian 5 per Ct. | — | 117 | — | 116 1/2 | — | — |
| Spanish 3 p. Ct. ex. d. | 31 1/2 | 31 | 30 1/2 | 30 | 30 | 30 1/2 |
| Austrian | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Piedmont | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| French 3 p. Cent. | — | — | — | — | — | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK LANE, Monday, Jan. 1.—The supply of English Wheat this morning was smaller than we have had for some weeks, and the condition being also improved, the best samples were soon taken off at an advance of 1s. from last week, and prices were firmly maintained for all other descriptions. There was a better demand for fine Foreign at fully late prices. Fine Malting Barley was 1s. dearer; in other sorts there was no alteration. Grey Peas were rather more valuable; White Peas and Old and New Beans the same as last week. There were very few Oats fresh up since Friday, and last week's prices were fully supported. S. H. LUGG and Son.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 25th to the 30th of Dec. 1843, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|----------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 8382 | 8336 | 1838 | 1439 | 1305 |
| Scottish | 60 | 2609 | 1696 | — | — |
| Irish | — | 424 | 10481 | — | — |
| Foreign | 920 | 660 | 190 | 117 | 26 |

Flour, 6771 sacks. Malt, 6228 qrs.

Currency per imperial measure.

| | Wheat, English, White | Peas, Grey | 30 to 22 1/2 |
|------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| —, New | 46s to 60s | —, Maple | 38s — 38s |
| —, Do., Old | 60s — 64s | —, Malt, Pale Suffolk | — |
| —, Do. Red, New | 42s — 55s | —, Norfolk | 54s — 57s |
| —, Do. do., Old | 50s — 61s | —, Ch. Valley | 60s — 68s |
| —, Dantzic | 57s — 63s | —, Oats, English Feed | 20s — 22s |
| —, Stettin | 50s — 57s | —, Do. Short | 21s — 23s |
| Barley, Malting | 32s — 34s | —, Scotch Feed | 21s — 23s |
| —, Distilling | 30s — 32s | —, Do. Potatoes | 22s — 26s |
| —, Grinding | 28s — 30s | —, Irish Feed | 17s — 18s |
| Beans, Tick, New | 26s — 28s | —, Do. Short | 19s — 20s |
| —, Do., Old | 28s — 30s | —, Do. do., New | 19s — 21s |
| —, Harrow, New | 28s — 30s | —, Do. Black | 17s — 18s |
| —, Do., Old | 30s — 32s | —, Do. Galway | 16s — 17s |
| —, Pigeon, New | 30s — 32s | —, Flour, town made and | — |
| —, Do., Old | 30s — 32s | —, best country marks | 45s — 50s |
| Peas, White | 31s — 32s | —, Norfolk and Suff. | — |
| —, Do., Boliers | 34s — 36s | —, folk | 40s — 42s |

MARK-LANE, Friday, Jan. 5.—There is a small quantity of English Wheat fresh up since Monday, and the prices of that day are readily obtained. Foreign Wheat is held firmly at former rates, but there is scarcely so much doing in it as on Wednesday and Monday. Barley of all kinds is fully as dear. Malt is 1s. to 2s. higher. There is a pretty good supply of English and Scotch Oats, with a very short one of Irish. The trade is not brisk, but an advance of 6s. per qr. is easily obtained on all descriptions. No alteration in Beans and Peas.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

Account of Corn, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 30th of Dec. 1843, to the 5th of Jan. 1844, both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|-------------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat..... | 2680 | — | 410 |
| Barley..... | 10830 | — | — |
| Oats..... | 5080 | 2130 | — |

Flour 4580 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT of the NUMBER of QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE of CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED DECEMBER 30, 1843.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|----------------------|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. |
| Weekly Averages.. | 99,643 49 | 9,120,044 32 | 3,39,209 18 | 9,620 30 |
| Aggregate Averages.. | 50 8 | 32 0 | 18 8 | 31 5 |
| Duty..... | 20 0 | 6 0 | 8 0 | 10 6 |

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Jan. 2, 1844.

| | Qrs. | Price. | Qrs. | Price. |
|----------|-------|----------|----------|---------------|
| Wheat.. | 4190 | 51s. 1d. | Rye .. | 5 30s. 0d. |
| Barley.. | 8202 | 34s. 2d. | Beans .. | 1493 28s. 6d. |
| Oats .. | 18601 | 19s. 4d. | Peas .. | 1376 30s. 7d. |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 2.

BANKRUPTS.

J. WHEATLEY, Kennington-cross, Lambeth, livery stable keeper. [Harper, Kennington-cross.
R. STEVENS, New-cut, Lambeth, dealer in china. [Turner and Hensman, Basing-lane.
H. F. TURNER, Myddelton-street, Clerkenwell, painted baize manufacturer. [Taylor and Co., Great James-street.
D. NICHOLSON, Liverpool, hatter. [Hime, Liverpool.
W. WOOD and H. PORT, Burton-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, screw manufacturers. [Richardson, Burton-upon-Trent.
J. BAYLIS, Deritend, Warwickshire, victualler. [Chilton and Co., Chancery-lane; Benson, Birmingham.
B. SMITH, Tipton, Staffordshire, grocer. [Motteram and Giddy, Birmingham.
G. HOLDSWORTH, Northwram, Yorkshire, worsted spinner. [Emmett and Allen, Bloomsbury-square; Alexander, Halifax; Courtenay, Leeds.

DIVIDENDS.

Jan. 23. J. B. Ricketts, Leadenhall street, merchant.—Jan. 31. J. Warburton, Liverpool, tailor.—Jan. 26. R. S. Colpitts, New-castle-upon-Tyne, grocer.—Jan. 26. J. B. Pow, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, ship and insurance broker.—Jan. 23. W. Thompson, Monkwearmouth Shore, Durham, shipbuilder.—Jan. 24. G. Allison, Darlington, Durham, scrivener.—Jan. 24. W. Looney, Whitehaven, Cumberland, cooper.

CERTIFICATES.

Jan. 24. W. Dickinson, Bexley, Kent, merchant.—Jan. 23. J. Nutter, Cambridge, miller.—Jan. 25. T. Coleman, St. Alban's, licensed victualler.—Jan. 25. T. Baker, Camberwell, carpenter.—Jan. 23. D. Ammonier, Wigmore-street, Cavendish-square, jeweller.—Jan. 27. J. Ward.—Jan. 23. A. Gordon and Co., Manchester, machine makers.—Jan. 23. T. W. Horder, Penchurch-street, chemist.—Jan. 23. R. Hodgson, Sunderland, tea dealer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTERATIONS.

R. EWING, Large, Ayrshire, wright and joiner.—T. FINLAYSON, Tain, maltster and brewer.—W. PATERSON and CO., Kelly Bleachfield, Arbroath, bleachers.—F. ROBERTSON, Dundee, merchant.—W. D. LAPRAIK, Glasgow, wright and builder.—R. and D. FERGUSON, Dundee, sail makers.

FRIDAY, JAN. 5.

DECLARATION OF INSOLVENCY.

W. BEARUP, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, builder.
BANKRUPTS.
W. FULLER, Cotton-street, Poplar, coal merchant. [Turner, Mount-place, Whitechapel-road.
J. M. E. STOKES, St. Alban's, Hertfordshire, coal merchant. [Stevens, Wilkinson, and Satchell, Queen-street, Cheapside.
T. SANDERS, Kent, shoemaker. [Venning, Naylor, and Robbins, Tokenhouse-yard.
W. P. M. CROFT, Great Windmill-street, Middlesex, victualler. [Helder, Clements-lane.
J. WALKER, Wheaton Aston, Staffordshire, machine maker. [Turner or Smith, Birmingham.
F. PETERS, Manchester, wine merchant. [Bennett, Manchester.
G. NEWTON, Seaham-harbour, Durham, hosiery. [Chater, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Forster, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
M. COOKE, Evesham, Worcester-shire, hotel keeper. [Cheek, Evesham.

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Benj. Bernard, Esq., Charles Baldwin, Esq.
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Further testimonials of the efficacy of this medicine.

TO MR. FROST, 229, STRAND, LONDON.

SIR,—I enclose three cases, in which the parties therein named have received great benefit from using BLAIR'S PILLS, and the truth of what I am at any time ready to make affidavit of if required. You are at perfect liberty to publish them if you think proper. Hoping this may induce the credulous to make a trial of the Pills, which will speedily convince them of their value,
I am, Sir, yours truly,
JOHN J. GILES.

DEAR SIR,—Upon your recommendation I sent for a box of BLAIR'S RHEUMATIC PILLS, and to my astonishment a few doses entirely removed the tormenting pains my wife had suffered so long, but having caught a severe cold the rheumatism again returned, when, having recourse to a few more Pills, it again fled, and has not since returned. The public are not generally aware of the efficacy of this truly valuable medicine, or how would suffer from rheumatism.

In consequence of witnessing the effects of the above medicine in my own family, I recommended Edward Bridger, now sixty-seven years of age, a labouring and jobbing gardener, to apply to you, he being much afflicted with rheumatism for twenty years; he could scarcely get any sleep, being always worse when in bed, and unable to walk without the assistance of a stick. You gave him some Pills. I saw him yesterday; he told me he could now get rest, which he had been unable to do for a very long time; he is still lame from the length of time he has been afflicted, but can now walk, without much inconvenience, ten or twelve miles in the day, and can, as he says, do any light work; he has applied to me for a job at home. It is distressing to see a fellow creature suffering such excruciating pain, and relief may be obtained by taking BLAIR'S GOUT and RHEUMATIC PILLS. I shall, for the benefit of those who may suffer, continue to recommend them.
I am, dear Sir, yours truly,
JOHN J. GILES.

To John J. Giles, Esq., Finsbury, Surrey.

DEAR GILES.—The effect of BLAIR'S PILLS has been verified; I could wish for, I had symptoms of the gout during Wednesday night; I took two Pills during the night, and two in the morning, when the pain moved the pain; and I was enabled to give a lecture at Harley-street on Thursday evening, although I was in fear that morning I should not have been enabled to leave home.
I am, dear Sir, yours truly,
Edw. J. LANE.

To J. J. Giles, Esq.
To the above gratifying communication the proprietor of BLAIR'S GOUT and RHEUMATIC PILLS considers any comment would be superfluous.
Sold by Thomas Frost, 229, Strand, London; and by the vendors of medicines throughout the United Kingdom.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 16.]

[SATURDAY, JANUARY 13, 1844.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Office of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE OFFICES, Manchester.

FARMERS' ANTI-LEAGUE CLUBS.

The Farmers' Clubs, now formed or forming, in avowed hostility to the League, are much less calculated to excite alarm than to afford encouragement. If our facts be correct, and our inferences sound, Free Trade is the real interest of the farmer as well as of the tradesman and manufacturer. The meetings and discussions of the projected associations are not unlikely to bring that truth into light, and render its evidence clear to those who are now blindly banding themselves in opposition to its progress. A fair field and no favour is all the members of the League can possibly desire; seeing that, if the principle of Free Trade be indeed a pernicious fallacy, they are simply subscribing and exerting themselves both for their neighbours' injury and their own. This would be an extraordinary event in the history of commerce. Nor would the wonder be diminished by the circumstance that some of the largest landowners in the country are participants in the delusion. We invite the Anti-League Corresponding Societies (as it seems they are intended to be) to prove to the public that such is the fact. Their arguments shall be right heedfully canvassed, although, from the specimens produced, we think we have met with some of them before. Only let the farmers hear both sides; only let them bring the assertions of their spokesmen to the test of observation and experience; only let them not allow themselves to be made tools of, nor be done into an outcry now, as they were done out of their votes at the last general election, and we have no qualms whatever as to the result. They will be with us eventually: we know they will, for the sake of their rising families; for the sake of what remains to them of their wasted capital; and for the sake of an honest occupation, the profits of which are better guaranteed to them by thriving customers than they ever can be by the almsgiving of rent-abatement or the interference of parliamentary enactments.

But do not let them be angry. It will do them no good whatever. It is idle to talk of our wanting to "upset and ruin" British agriculture. The farmers should have rebuked such stuff by a horselaugh of derision, as they will when they have looked a little further into our principles. We are not the fools to kick our own loaves into the kennels. British bread must remain the meat and best of our food. We know that well enough, and to keep it so, we also know that its production must be a paying employment. The true question is, whether it can be made so by acts of Parliament. That is the controversy between us and the Anti-League orators. If it be possible, the right act of Parliament has never yet been discovered, for under every Corn Law there has been abundance of agricultural distress. But that is the point; and they had better stick to it than abuse a body with whose views such men as Earl Spencer, Marquis Westminster, and Earl Ducie, have identified themselves, for plotting the "upset and ruin of agriculture." Nor is it wise to scold us for being "un-Christian." What has Free Trade to do with infidelity? Or who can show a mission for preaching a gospel of Monopoly? This is professional scurrility, and

travels out of the record. We read our Bibles; and are very sure that the advocates for artificially raising the price of food will not save their cause by making free with the contents of the sacred volume. The silliest thing of all is to talk of putting Mr. Cobden into the river. The Roman Catholics of the fifteenth century tried that plan with Wickliffe; but it did not succeed. He was dead first, but that makes little difference, except in the humanity of the suggestion. His principles and his ashes flowed together to every coast of Europe. Not all the water in Lincolnshire will drown Free Trade; and very cleansing must its quality be if it white-wash Mr. Chaplin, the "gentleman of high character and large fortune," as the *Morning Post* certifies, who seems, when he allowed his tongue so large a license, to have forgotten Sir Robert Peel's intense horror of provocatives to assassination. We really do not wish the farmers of England to make themselves ridiculous by applauding or listening to such sottises. Let them grapple with the subject in debate; let them show, if they can, their own interest in upholding the Corn Laws. We do not ask them to be benevolent or patriotic. We discharge them of all concern for our good, if they will but thoroughly sift the question as to its bearing on themselves. How many times has their capital doubled since 1815? What fortunes have been made by farming since 1827? To what extent have they profited by the two-year-old bill of Sir Robert Peel? "We pause for a reply." But, while we wait, let us have no more nonsense about pelting and ducking; it is not creditable to their taste, their spirit, or their intellects.

The Essex farmers are probably amongst the most thriving in the kingdom. And what say they of their occupation, such as it has been under the Corn Laws? According to the Rev. Mr. Smythers, at the Colchester meeting, Mr. Cobden has realized larger profits, in twelve years, with a capital of less than £5000 than have all the farmers of the county during the same period, with an aggregate capital of five millions. Now we know no more of Mr. Cobden's capital and profits than we presume the Rev. Mr. Smythers does; but his overcharged and random talk is something, as evidence, in relation to his hearers and neighbours. It shows what the Corn Law has been worth to them. The laws which keep down the twelve years' profit of five millions below £400,000 cannot be laws favourable to industry. There is no earthly reason why any set of people should cling to them, and deprecate their abolition as if it would bring heaven and earth to an end. If there be the shadow of fact in the rev. gentleman's assertions, for what a paltry result has all this mass of odium been incurred, and all this mass of wretchedness been inflicted. The wages of iniquity have not been paid; or, if they have, they have not gone into the farmers' pockets. They "need fear no fall." Free Trade could never have done worse than this for them. Their fancied risk in the experiment is reduced below the possibility of calculation.

To the statistics and arguments of Mr. Baker, the president of the Sussex Agricultural Society, we have attended in a separate article. Our present concern has been simply with the tone and spirit in which an Anti-League movement has been attempted. The hostility it professes, we do not reciprocate. Such outrageous imputations as those ascribed in the report of the Buckinghamshire meeting to a clergyman, we leave to the recoil of their own infamy. If these associations turn out to be mere tricks and jobs, we shall expose their false pretences. But if the farmers are in good faith laying their heads together, to ascertain how they may best secure their own interests, without injuring the rest of the community, why then we heartily wish them god-speed.

The members of the Gloucester Farmers' Club, at their late meeting, strangely blended a note of preparation for warfare against the League with a strong and general expression of the necessity of reduced rents, and also of a revision of the relations between landlord and tenant. Why, then, should they quarrel with us? We are not moving at right angles, but on parallel lines. If rents and leases can be adjusted so as to suit a new Corn Law, why not adjust them so as to accord with the abrogation of the Corn Law? They say, the present system will not work; and we say the same. They say, that prices are now too low; we reply that the fact shows that Corn Laws cannot keep up prices. They want greater security; no Corn Laws can give them any security against fluctuation. They are half-way on the road to Free-Trade principles, these Gloucester farmers. Flutter about in

other directions, they may for awhile; seeking rest but finding none. The lasting adjustment of rent can only be to the natural and steady prices of a Free Trade. Taking leases will then be reduced to a reasonable calculation, which a prudent man can make beforehand. Till then, it is all a speculation: prices will run up and down, without respect to Parliamentary parchments or Premiers' promises. And, for the farmer, the only thing certain will be the total uncertainty of his condition and prospects.

We shall recur to these clubs as soon as they develop more distinctly the spirit and aims with which they are likely to be conducted.

MONOPOLIST TRAPS—RECIPROCITY.

Traps are set in every direction to catch unwary Free Traders, and it becomes as necessary to warn them of the dangers to which they are exposed as it is to warn unlawful trespassers to "beware of steel traps and spring guns."

The principles of Free Trade are so simple that he who runs may read; Sir James Graham has truly described them as "the principles of common sense," and it may be uniformly suspected, whenever it be attempted to mystify and render them puzzling to common minds, by dressing up impossible cases in high-sounding and unintelligible language, that it is intended by such means to conceal some fallacy, in the same way as the unmeaning gibberish of a juggler is intended to withdraw attention from his dexterous deceptions.

Sir Robert Peel sees the right although he practices the wrong; he tells us "it is our interest to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets;" but when we claim the right to buy corn, provisions, timber, sugar, and coffee in the cheapest markets, we are told of the direful calamities which might befall the country were we allowed freely to trade in these articles, unless "upon an equitable system of reciprocity." Is it not strange that we never before heard from monopolist lips the necessity of this system? There was a time when the United States of America were very desirous of reciprocal trade; they wished to buy our manufactures and to sell us their corn. If reciprocity be good now, why was it not equally good then? Doubtless both countries would have benefited by this natural exchange of their respective productions. Who prevented reciprocity then? Hear what the British Minister at Washington in his despatch to Mr. Canning says on this subject. "I have only to add (says Mr. Addington), that, had no restrictions on the importation of foreign corn existed in Great Britain, the tariff would never have passed through either House of Congress, since the agricultural states, and especially Pennsylvania, would have been opposed to its enactment." Prussia, from the moment that peace was restored in 1815, urged us, like America, to take her produce in exchange for our manufactures; and even so late as 1823 the Prussian Minister, in his able note to the British Minister (which deserves to be written in letters of gold), urging a reciprocity treaty, says, "that reciprocal commercial restrictions were reciprocal nuisances, prejudicial to all nations having reciprocal interests, and particularly to those engaged in extensive commerce, and that the policy of Prussia was to substitute in the place of reciprocal prohibitions reciprocal facilities." At the very moment when this note was written the corn, timber, and wool* of Prussia were prohibited. We refused to make any change, and Prussia was forced to retaliate by prohibitory duties on our manufactures. Mark the result in the export of cotton manufactured goods alone. In 1820 the value was £2,969,493. In 1841, £945,290. Doubtless, reciprocity treaties, founded on the enlightened views expressed by the Prussian Minister, would have been mutually beneficial, but our corn and timber monopolists would not listen to them; nor should we hear a word about reciprocity now, but that barefaced monopoly can be no longer maintained, and some plan must be hit upon to disguise it by frightening merchants and manufacturers with the bugbear that monopoly will be a less evil than Free Trade without reciprocity. This is one of the monopolist traps set for unwary Free Traders, and we therefore hail the appearance of a pamphlet on "Reciprocity, by a Manufacturer," a Yorkshireman wide awake.

The writer undertakes to show:—

- I. The utter hopelessness of obtaining reciprocal tariffs from other countries, and the dangerous delay of waiting for them.
- II. The folly of placing our sole dependence upon the colonies.

* No foreign corn in 1823 could be imported until the average price reached 80s. per quarter. The duty on foreign wool was 6d. per lb.

III. That the aim of our commercial policy, viz., to force exports and exclude imports, is founded in error.

IV. The unwise prejudice against foreigners draining us of gold, and the false alarm of foreign rivals driving our manufactures out of our markets.

V. The unfavourable effect of customs upon commerce.

VI. The application of the reciprocity system to the home trade.

Twenty or thirty years ago we might have succeeded in obtaining reciprocal facilities of commercial intercourse; but to attempt it after having, by our perseverance in monopoly, provoked the hostility of foreign tariffs, is something like "shutting the stable door after the steed is stolen." "A manufacturer" justly observes:—

"Probably the British Government might have succeeded, immediately after the war, in obtaining modifications of foreign tariffs, on condition that concessions were mutual, and protection abandoned by both parties. At present our chance has gone by. The world at large attributes the wealth and power of England to her manufactures, and are attempting to follow her example. Regardless of the natural superiority which Great Britain possesses, in her insular position and her vast coal beds,—the growth of centuries, now the source of power,—foreigners imagine that they have only to acquire our machinery, to spy out our improvements, and to foster their own infant manufactures by legislative protection, in order to supply themselves with woven fabrics, if not to rival us in neutral markets. This mania for manufacturing pervades North Europe, France, Spain, and Portugal, and the United States. But their hotbed manufactures could not possibly compete with ours on equal terms, excepting certain branches which afford peculiar local advantages. It is in vain to expect that these kingdoms will expose their infant, pet fabrics to our full-grown competition on equal terms; but a treaty of reciprocity with a manufacturing country like ours could not exist on other terms—hence it is idle to think of negotiating with any would-be manufacturing nation. When all are wishing to sell the same description of goods, and none want to buy, what possibility is there of coming to an agreement?"

"Great Britain, to consult her proper dignity, should at once assume an independent position, and cease from that posture of commercial begging into which she has lately sunk. Nay, she is compelled to do so, for she finds herself unable to influence materially the tariffs of those nations she is most ambitious to deal with. It remains, therefore, for her to consider what is the course to pursue under the discouraging aspect of foreign rivalry, foreign protection, and foreign prohibition!"

He adds:—

"What shall we say to the miserable attempts at negotiating commercial treaties, which have lately exercised the diplomatic skill of our Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and his corps of ambassadors, consuls, attachés, &c.? Nothing can exceed their ludicrousness, but the humiliation they bring upon this country. Our very anxiety to negotiate treaties and obtain modifications of foreign tariffs causes jealous suspicions in the breast of the Government we want to deal with, that we are a set of sharpers, trying to overreach and arrogate to ourselves some peculiar advantages. The contracting party is led to infer that, by taking our manufactured goods, he confers a benefit only half requited by our churlish acceptance of his raw produce. Look at our present position with commercial nations. We have earnestly and deprecatingly begged of Prussia not to raise her duties upon certain descriptions of our goods, and to give the most favourable interpretation to the new tariff of the Zoll Verein. Repulsed in this quarter, we make an application to our favourite child, Portugal, whom we have nourished with our treasure, and protected with our blood,—for whom we have vitiated our palate, and cherished an exclusive taste for the medicated port and sherry, to the neglect of the more genuine wines of France or the Rhine. We allude to our ancient treaties of alliance, the Methuen treaty of commerce, and argue that we have a claim upon her for a market for our woollens in return for our imports of her wines. After months spent in making offers and refusing absurd proposals, whilst the hopes and fears of merchants and manufacturers are kept in a state of feverish suspense, all negotiations are abruptly broken off, in order to create a semi-monopoly for some half-dozen rude Portuguese fabrics, wherein a member of the Government is interested."

Our monopolist Ministry have, indeed, placed the country in a humiliating position. They have been trying their hand, also, with Brazil; and why have they not carried out their reciprocity notions with that country? Our treaty with Brazil expires this year. A more overreaching and disgraceful treaty never existed (some statesmen would call it a specimen of diplomatic skill); we took advantage of Brazil in a period of her distress, and stipulated that she should receive our manufactures at 15 per cent. duty, whilst we imposed on her sugar and coffee prohibitory duties amounting to upwards of 150 per cent. more than the duties upon the same articles from our West India colonies!! Brazil now says, "Take our sugar and coffee on the same terms as your own, and we will continue to take your manufactures on the same low terms as at present." Is not this an "equitable principle of reciprocity"? Why, then, are such terms not accepted? What are we to think of the *sincerity and honesty* of those who profess to be Free Traders, provided it be founded on "an equitable system of reciprocity," but who refuse a treaty on these terms when offered?

The opportunity for negotiating reciprocal treaties of commerce was suffered to pass away, the corn and timber monopolists would not abate one jot of their monopoly, and now it is utterly hopeless to obtain reciprocal tariffs:—

"Now (says 'a manufacturer') it becomes important to ascertain what means we have at our disposal to induce other countries to trade with us. The ancient mode of coercing nations into customers by war has been found expensive, and is out of fashion; unless with an empire like that of China, semi-barbarous, which places itself out

of the code of civilized warfare. The only inducement remaining is that of interest, either by favourable offers, or by threats of retaliation. We find, however, that when we attempt to persuade contracting powers, such as Brazil, Portugal, &c., that it is for their benefit to take our goods, they are apt to constitute themselves the judges of their own interests, and tell us to mind our own business. And if we retaliate prohibition by prohibition, the result is that we diminish our exports and imports,—thereby injuring ourselves more than the parties whom we wish to bring to terms."

"A manufacturer" proceeds to combat the opinion of Colonel Torrens as condensed in the following quotations in his letter to Mr. Cobden in May last:—

"Explain to me the terms upon which, while America retains her tariff, England could pay to that country an additional £4,000,000 per annum for imported corn? Would you effect this payment by exporting to the United States increased quantities of the staples of Yorkshire and Lancashire? If you did you would have to encounter 'ad valorem' duties of from 30 to 40 per cent., and would be compelled, in order to compete with the similar fabrics of America, to sell your goods at prices lower by 30 and 40 per cent. than those which the American manufacturer might realize."

"Were you to increase the demand for foreign production by repealing our import duties, while the retention of hostile tariffs prevented a corresponding increase in the foreign demand for British goods, you would reduce the value of the produce of British labour in relation to the produce of foreign labour; or, in other words, you would raise the value of foreign commodities as compared with domestic commodities. Now gold is a foreign commodity, and consequently you would raise the value of gold in relation to British labour and its products."

"If this argument (replies 'a manufacturer') be valid, we must, at present, sell the goods we export to America at 30 to 40 per cent. loss, or otherwise reduce the wages to that amount below American wages: and if our import duties on American produce were levied to the same percentage (on cotton, as on tobacco and corn), the English labourer would first have to sell his labour at 30 to 40 per cent. less than the American, and with his diminished earnings, would have to pay 30 to 40 per cent. more than the American labourer for articles of consumption. A converse conclusion may fairly be drawn, viz., that the English labourer, being now compelled to compete with the American and continental labourer at a disadvantage of 30 to 40 per cent., should not have the additional burden of a higher price to pay for subsistence. As to the £4,000,000 additional imports, it is clear that they must be paid; and if our English merchant have a difficulty in meeting his engagements, or the American seller find his payments made very tardily, the adjustment may safely be left to the parties interested, without the clumsy interference of any legislative enactment. The Americans would eventually trust us no more than we could pay for, and the English merchant would in future avoid placing himself in a situation of difficulty. Hitherto the state of affairs has been the reverse. The English merchant and manufacturer have poured into the States their surplus goods, and the depressed condition of the home trade has unnaturally forced our exports through this tempting outlet. But our own tariff has stepped in and prevented the returns of a most important part of American produce,—I mean articles of subsistence. Britain, being the wealthier country, has, like a rich banker, been tempted to lend her money out at interest. America gave us her cotton and tobacco against our millions sterling of exported goods, state stocks, bank shares, &c.; she further offered us her corn, which we were so foolish as not to accept,—hence the loss has fallen upon our own shoulders, and hence the paralysis of our manufacturing industry, with a decline in wages. Colonel Torrens's caution amounts to this, that we should not buy of a poorer nation more than we can repay—a nation, moreover, which owes us a heavy balance of an old account. Surely a needle's caution, and a very questionable evil! But how are we to pay for the £4,000,000 increased imports, which create such alarm in the colonel's breast? It must be in manufactured produce, colonial or foreign produce, or gold? If paid for in produce, there must be a greater demand, and consequently a tendency to advance the price, as also those portions of it which may be resolved into labour and profit. If in gold, the value of the precious metals would be slightly raised at home; and, when higher than the continental price, an influx would inevitably occur (as it always has done on similar occasions), and the balance after all be paid in produce."

Colonel Torrens is one of that class of thinkers whose reasonings have no practical bearing; he loves to deal in subtle suppositions rather than in common-sense realities. He seems mightily puzzled to discover if we imported £4,000,000 worth of corn from America how we should be able to pay for it, and yet, strange to say, he has himself met the difficulty which his fancy has conjured up. In his letter to Mr. Cobden in May last he lays down the following positions "as self-evident truths":—

"That it is by the amount of our imports, and not by that of our exports, that the wealth of the country is increased; that if we take care of the imports, the exports will take care of themselves; that America will not give us her corn for nothing; that she will demand payment in goods or in money; that if her tariff should render it impracticable for us to pay in goods, we should send goods to other markets in order to enable us to pay in money; and that as surely as we purchase foreign produce to an increased amount, we must, either by a direct or by a circuitous trade, sell British goods to an equally increased amount, in order to pay for it."

Then, again, he sees great danger in increasing our foreign imports while foreign hostile tariffs are retained. Has it never occurred to him that our exports of manufactures, in spite of hostile tariffs, amount to £50,000,000 per annum, and that our foreign trade is not, and never has been, regulated by any such principles? Russia, for instance, prohibits our manufactured goods, whilst we take her flax, hemp, and tallow at nominal rates of duty. Is it proposed by the reciprocity doctors that we should

prohibit them? America imposes 30 to 40 per cent. on our manufactures: are we to impose similar duties on her cotton? Germany imposes heavy duties on our manufactures: must we impose like duties on her wool? Are we, in short, totally to change our existing system of intercourse with every foreign country and to substitute reciprocal duties unless they reduce their duties on our manufactures? What else is implied in these reciprocity arguments? Is Colonel Torrens or anybody else wild enough to propose anything so absurd? If not, where, we ask, in the name of common sense, is the difficulty or danger of increasing our imports by £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 worth of corn, or any other common duty, on the same terms and in the same manner that we already exchange £50,000,000 per annum of our manufactures for the produce of other countries?

We do not undervalue the advantages we should derive, as well as America, France, and all other countries, were they to adopt liberal instead of exclusive principles of commercial dealing. But if they will not do so, is that any reason why we should punish ourselves by refusing to buy their cheap products? Suppose America, or Germany, impose high duties on our manufactures, and thus inflict injury upon their own people by forcing them to buy dear goods. Is that a valid reason why we should follow their example by laying high duties on their cotton, corn, and wool, and thus force our home consumers to buy dear goods, and, at the same time, assist foreign manufacturers the better to compete with us by giving them a bounty by so much as we raised the amount of the duty on raw material?

Foreign tariffs are beyond our power to regulate, but our own, which oppresses us still more heavily, is within our reach. It is on this Free Traders should concentrate their attention; but it is the purpose of the monopolists to divert them from it by all sorts of stratagems, alarms, and ingenious fallacies, which are nothing less than cunning devices to maintain monopoly under other forms, viz., reciprocity and fixed duty on corn, and, to beware of these monopolist traps, we shall from time to time raise our warning voice. We must reserve for the future further notice of the pamphlet of the Yorkshire manufacturer, which we recommend to our readers as a most useful, timely, and able work, heartily joining in its concluding appeal:—

"Let us give up the idea of moderating foreign tariffs,—a task beyond our control,—and, directing our energies to that which is practicable, let us use every legitimate influence for the total abolition of protecting duties, and the reduction of all import duties to the lowest possible point. Let us earnestly endeavour to give a steady, permanent character to our commerce, by rendering it free in the fullest sense of the word,—free from the political changes of our own party administrations,—free from the vacillations produced by futile attempts at commercial negotiations,—free from parental bias to those spoiled children, our colonies,—FREE TO THE WHOLE WORLD."

THE "TIMES" AND MR. BROOKS.

The *Times* has discovered a mode of turning to profit the slanders of the honourable member for Knaresborough, by the very creditable device of first publishing his libels upon a leading member of the League, next founding thereon a criminatory leading article, and afterwards refusing to insert a letter in refutation of the attack, unless paid for as an advertisement! A more injurious scheme for gratifying a personal dislike at the expense of its victim could not have been devised by even Mr. Gregory, of *Satirist* notoriety. The venom from the lips of Mr. Ferrand has thus been transmuted into twenty-five pounds (a column) of sterling gold, transferred from the pockets of Mr. Brooks into those of the proprietors of the *Times*, the chief of whom, Mr. Walter, was candid enough when in Parliament to declare that his hostility to the League was founded on personal dislike to its leading members. May not Mr. James Gordon Bennett learn from the *Times* how to turn the columns of the *New York Herald* to better account?

The formation of Agricultural Protection Societies is now rapidly progressing. We think we may save the farmers some labour, by submitting to them for their adoption the following form of Petition to both Houses of Parliament. It states their case fairly and fully.

"To the Honourables and Right Honourables, &c.;

"The PETITION of the Farmers of, &c.,

"Humbly sheweth,

"That your petitioners are alarmed at the proceedings of a body of people calling themselves the Anti-Corn-Law League, who profess a desire to deprive your petitioners of the protection against foreign competition in the supply of food to the British nation, enjoyed by your petitioners for the last thirty years under the Corn Law, and to which your petitioners consider themselves fully entitled, because of the following reasons, viz.:—

"Because it is notorious that Englishmen, and more particularly English farmers, are an inferior race of men, altogether incapable of competing with foreigners; and
"Because foreign farmers have more capital, industry, and intelligence than your petitioners; and
"Because foreigners have better soils, a better climate, better roads, better tools, more manure, cheaper fuel, and nearer markets for their produce than English farmers; and
"Because foreign labourers have stiffer limbs, more muscular power, more perseverance, more willingness, and more good sense than Englishmen; and
"Because the duties charged on foreign corn are not paid by the English consumer, but by the foreign producer; and
"Because English farmers are more taxed than other British subjects; and
"Because English farmers pay duties on French wheat, which

tea, and other commodities requisite for the growth of wheat;

and
Because (according to Sir Robert Peel's speech in March, 1839,) the foreign grower is free from public and local taxation;

and
Because free trade in corn would put an end to annual tenure and short leases, so advantageous to your petitioners;

and
Because political dependence upon, and forced voting for, landlords, so well calculated to create an honest tenantry and efficient agriculturists, would cease with the repeal of the Corn Law;

and
Because landlords have marriage settlements and mortgages, for which, as in duty bound, your petitioners provide by charging the expense thereof to the people; and

Because the Marquis of Westminster, Lord Dacre, Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Bright, have no stake in the country, and aim at the subversion of our venerable constitution in Church and State.

"For every one and all these reasons your petitioners pray that their accustomed protection, the Corn Law, be continued and the Anti-Corn-Law League be forthwith annihilated; and
"Your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

MEETINGS.

GREAT FREE-TRADE DEMONSTRATION AT ASHTON.

[From the Manchester Times of this day.]

MANCHESTER, Tuesday.

A great meeting of the friends of Free Trade was convened in the spacious room of the Town-hall, Ashton-under-Lyne, last night, in aid of the League Fund. It had been announced, for some time previously, that the Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers would address the meeting then assembled, and great anxiety was consequently manifested by the population of Ashton to have an opportunity of hearing this great champion of Free Trade. Arrangement had been made for a tea-party, and the large room was provided with from thirty to forty tables, each accommodating from twenty to thirty persons. The set-out altogether was one of the most brilliant that we remember to have seen. There could not be far short of a thousand persons present. About six o'clock R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., in company with Thomas Ashton, Esq., and Oldham Whittaker, Esq., entered the room, and was received with loud and continued applause. Col. P. Thompson entered soon afterwards, and was also loudly cheered. Shortly before the meeting proceeded with the business of the evening, the Hon. C. P. Villiers, in company with Chas. Hindley, Esq., M.P. for the borough, entered the room, and was received with most rapturous applause, the whole company rising, waving their handkerchiefs, cheering, and clapping their hands for a considerable time. Among others of the deputation from the League who attended the meeting we observed Henry Ashworth, Esq., of Turton, and Mr. R. R. Moore, barrister; the following gentlemen of Ashton and the neighbourhood were also present:—Henry Bailey, Esq., Staleybridge; John Whitaker, Esq., of Hurst; Mark Andrew, Esq., Mossley; Watkin Lees, Esq., Dukinfield; Nathan Lees, Esq., Dukinfield; John Cheetham, Esq., Staleybridge; Thomas Ashton, Esq., Hyde; Edmund Ashworth, Esq., Bolton; James Smith Buckley, Esq., Ashton; Robert Buckley, Esq., Mossley; Abel B. Wimpenny, Esq., Dukinfield; William Peacock, Esq., Denton; George Horsfield, Esq., Manchester; John Hyde, Esq., Dukinfield; Frederick Rayner, Esq., Ashton; William Rawson, Esq., Manchester; Samuel Ashton, Esq., Hyde; Abel Buckley, Esq., Ashton; William Shuttleworth, Esq., Manchester; George Higginbottom, Esq., Ashton; Ralph Kershaw and Alfred Rayner, Esqrs., Ashton; Thomas Mayson, Esq., Ashton; Richard Christie, Esq., Droylsden; Richard Matley, Esq.; Rev. John Brooks, Hyde; Charles Bayley, Esq., Staleybridge.

After tea, Mr. HUGH MASON read the following letters, which had been received in answer to invitations to attend the meeting:—

"The Park, Dec. 28, 1843.

"Sir,—I regret that I cannot attend the Free-Trade tea party at Ashton-under-Lyne, on the 8th of January. I have been much out of health lately, and have such a pressure of engagements during next month, that I really am unable to attend any meetings beyond those held in my own borough. Pray, present my respects to your committee, and assure them how cordially I unite with them in the support of the great principle of Free Trade, the carrying out of which can alone, in my opinion, restore prosperity to the country, and comfort to the over-worked and under-fed population of England. Let no one be deceived by the present improvement in the trade of this district. The same causes which have heretofore operated against our prosperity are still at work against us; and no real friend of his country should relax for one moment his efforts to carry the great question of Free Trade.—I remain, Sir, yours, faithfully,
"HUGH MASON, Esq."

"Bradford, Dec. 31, 1843.

"DEAR SIR,—In reply to your favour of the 27th, I beg to thank your committee for the handsome manner in which they have invited me to their 'Free-Trade tea party,' on the 8th of January; but, as I am not desirous of taking any prominent part in this question beyond my own immediate neighbourhood, I must (though very sensible of their kindness) respectfully beg to decline it. I hope the Conservative gentlemen in your neighbourhood—many of whom, I understand, are in favour of a fixed duty—will give that subject their serious consideration; there are many worthy and respectable men who will not take the trouble of long thinking upon controverted questions, and who are desirous of getting rid of them in the easiest way possible, that is, by compromise; but men who entertain decided opinions on any question, and who consider their satisfactory settlement a matter of principle, will never settle questions in that way. A fixed duty on corn is only a compromise between certain parties, between a sliding scale, or no duty at all: there are, doubtless, many arguments in favour of a fixed duty over a sliding scale; but that is not the real question. The real question is:—Is protection extended to certain classes right or wrong? Now, there cannot possibly be a more important question than the supply of food to a nation; and there can be no doubt that whatever tends to make that supply deficient is an act of injustice, and one from which any truly Christian mind will turn with abhorrence; and it is no justification, or even extenuation, of such an attempt, that the interests of any other parties may be promoted by it. Abundance of food is the interest of all, for all are consumers. It may serve the producers to make the article scarce, so as to secure a higher price, through every enactment which they can obtain; but that would obviously be an injustice to the whole body of consumers, whose united interest alone ought to be the object of legislation: anything else is class-legislation—a puffing up of particular interests at public cost. But as every particular interest cannot be thus suppressed—for instance, the most important interest of all, namely, the working classes, as regards the price of labour—so no case ought to enjoy a protection injurious to the whole community. There is a great principle involved in this question. I think it a just principle, and it ought strictly to be contended for. It is manifestly unjust to

attempt, through any enactment, to make an article scarce so essential to human life as bread, with the view of raising the price for the advantage of the producer, unless means are especially taken to enable the consumer to give that higher price; but no man in his senses believes that possible, and Parliament has recently declared such an object utterly beyond its power. Now, a fixed duty will just have this effect, raising the price of food, and not at the same time enabling any poor labourer more readily to give that price. It cannot be defended; the honest object of a protecting duty in corn was to encourage the best cultivation of our own soils, to make food plentiful—not to make it scarce and dear; but it has been turned to the latter purpose, and not to the former, and has proved to be a great national curse. If our lands were cultivated as they ought to have been, no foreign corn could have found its way here; at least, that is my decided conviction. I wish with all my heart, that, if we are to have two great political parties in the country, they would divide upon some great intelligible principle, such as Free Trade and Monopoly. Instead of the no-meaning terms, Whig and Tory. There are Conservatives who are Free-Trade; there are Whigs who are not so. Why should this question of supplying a country with food be any more a party question of Whig and Tory than the supply of a town with water? It is really full time to sink these foolish distinctions; and I really do hope, that your Conservative friends will not imagine there is anything politically binding upon them to oppose the principles of freedom of trade. I have already spun this letter to an unreasonable length, and will only add one remark more. Let the Anti-Corn-Law League condemn the Corn Law as they please, and show its injustice in the most forcible colours; but let them not, while condemning the law, condemn the law-makers. Many of them, I dare say, think such a law really necessary, and may be very sincere. I am sure they are mistaken. I am not fond of being denounced as a mill-owner, and I am not willing to denounce an aristocrat as such.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant, "WM. RAND."

Letters had also been received from Joseph Brotherton, Esq., M.P., and Mr. Alderman Brooks, who could not attend in consequence of other arrangements.

CHARLES HINDLEY, Esq., M.P., took the chair, by previous arrangement, and in opening the proceedings said:—Ladies and Gentlemen, we are met together to show our attachment to the principles of Free Trade. It is now a year ago since I had the honour to preside at a similar assembly; and when I look around me at the increased crowd which meets in this room to-night, I am reminded of the assertion of the Times, "that the Anti-Corn-Law League is a great fact!" (Laughter and applause.) I wish the editor were here, and I would appeal to him as far as my constituency is concerned, to show him that we are a great fact. (Applause.) I shall not, on this occasion, enter into any argument whether Free Trade be better or whether it be worse; I shall not enter into any argument on the Corn Laws, because I believe the manly letter of Mr. Rand, which has already been read to you, is sufficiently full of argument for every candid mind; I hope that letter will be printed and circulated by the committee; and I would ask any of the working classes with whom I have any influence to consider well the bearing of those arguments, and the effect a repeal of the Corn Laws would be likely to have upon the value of labour. (Hear, hear.) Especially would I recommend to them to consider whether, if it be acknowledged impossible to protect the value of labour, it is, or can be, their interest, that the property of the rich landed proprietors should be protected. I congratulate you upon the improved prospects of the question we are met this night to support. We now hope, and I trust that we see land (hear, hear); or at least some of the tokens that land is not far distant. And to whom are we indebted for this improvement in our prospects? Certainly one great instrument in this change has been that great combination—the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Loud cheers.) For years had my honourable friend, who sits on my right, Mr. Villiers, maintained (loud cheers)—for years had my honourable friend supported that cause in Parliament (renewed applause); and often did he lament to me that he thought the people were lukewarm upon the subject, and that he had not the support out of doors which the importance of the question entitled him to expect, and which was calculated to make an impression upon the House of Commons. It was reserved for Mr. Cobden and the Anti-Corn-Law League (loud cheers) to produce that support which Mr. Villiers needed; and now, with the able and prudent conduct which Mr. Villiers has always shown in the House of Commons, backed as he has been and will be by my honourable friend on the left (Mr. Cobden), and as they both will be, I trust, by every earnest and zealous advocate of repeal in the House of Commons, and by the League and the people out of doors, I say success must be almost certain. (Cheers.) I only hope that the health and the constitution of both these gentlemen, and also of one to whom we are equally indebted, and whom we should have been very glad to have seen with us on this occasion—I mean the hon. member for Durham (loud cheers)—will be sufficient for the exertion requisite to carry through this cause to its final triumph. (Applause.) For with whom have we to cope? Against the strongest powers in the empire, the power of the aristocracy generally, and all those bulwarks within which the different species of monopolies have so long entrenched themselves. I congratulate the friends of this subject, and the Anti-Corn-Law League, upon the success which has attended their exertions during the past year; and I do this the more cheerfully at the present time, as I was understood at a former period to entertain views differing from theirs upon the course to be pursued. During the last year their course has given me the most decided satisfaction. (Applause.) Vituperation and personal abuse have been abandoned, and sound argument and the application of general principles have been substituted in their place. Persons... as, if introduced at all, have been brought forward by our opponents; and in no case that has come under my notice have the sound and weighty propositions laid down by the advocates of Free Trade been met even by a shred of an argument on the other side. (Hear, hear.) I think, therefore, that many who have hitherto hesitated to join the League on account of their doubt of the propriety of the spirit of the movement may now do so; and I enter fully into the observation of Mr. Cobden at the Manchester meeting, when he invited those who had kept aloof on this account to join their ranks, and add their caution and prudence to the zeal and spirit of the League. Our opponents thought that, with an improvement of trade, the agitation would have terminated. They anticipated the death of the League as soon as a loom or a spindle turned to profit. Their expectations have been disappointed. Fifty thousand pounds, raised in a period of calamity, have been doubled at the approach of prosperity; and this is wise. To have relaxed would have been folly. At the present moment the lower prices of produce produced by good harvests are beginning to make the farmers think and argue the question. Another good har-

vest, and the farmer will feel injured by the very abundance by which he is surrounded, and will inquire into the causes which produced his position. But we may be told we have wheat low enough in price, and therefore there is no necessity for a change of the law to allow a foreign importation. We reply, that the very best time for all classes to make the change is when wheat is at such a moderate price as not unduly to stimulate foreign production. To leave the change to a period of exorbitant prices would be to make it unjust to the farmer, as he would thereby be exposed to an unnecessary and ruinous excess of foreign competition. (Hear, hear.) An additional reason for not relaxing our exertions in this cause arises from the circumstance that the laws prohibiting the exportation of machinery were repealed in the last session of Parliament. On that occasion I thought it my duty to move that the subject be referred to a select committee. I did not wish to oppose the bill altogether, because I had no objection to it as one of the branches of Free Trade; but I did think that, to give away the advantage we possessed in the improvement of machinery without an equivalent and without altering the laws respecting the importation of corn, was beginning at the wrong end, and was extremely unjust to the capitalist and the labourer. On a division, all the agriculturists, with a very few exceptions, divided in favour of the removal of restrictions, objecting even to the appointment of a committee. I then told the House that I should certainly feel it an increased duty to do all I could for the repeal of the Corn Laws, as it would be manifestly unfair to leave the English factory operative and capitalist to carry on an unequal competition with their rivals in other countries, employing our own machinery, and having food about one-half or two-thirds the price. At the present moment English capital in England has to contend with English capital in Russia invested in mills, under this change of the law in machinery, of the newest construction here,—the Anglo-Russian spinner having a cheap loaf and a protective duty of about 100 per cent. (Hear, hear.) But there is another reason for increased exertion at the present moment. You have no doubt seen from the public prints that two Pro-Corn-Law associations have been established, which are likely, without great exertion, to extinguish yours. At one of them I perceive the magnificent sum of £50 was subscribed amidst the loudest cheers. (Laughter.) I am happy, however, to say that I neither saw nor heard of any further subscription, and therefore their cause does not seem likely immediately to progress. (Laughter and applause.) We are also encouraged this week to continued exertion by the appearance in the field of a new, a noble ally—the Marquis of Westminster (loud cheers),—who has sent in his name as a subscriber to the amount of £500. I know not which to admire most, the excellent sentiments of the letter accompanying this subscription, or the noble patriotism by which it was dictated. (Cheers.) From the conduct of the Marquis, of Lord Spencer, and many others of the leaders of the Whig party, I am led to anticipate that the Whigs have made up their minds to adopt principles of entire freedom of trade. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) I hope they will not think of returning to power on the principle of a fixed duty. (Hear, hear.) The time for that is gone by. A few years ago I myself thought it would be the best as a state of transition from the sliding-scale to the natural course of trade. But even Sir Robert Peel has repudiated any such medium course, having declared, with loss of the potential mood that he usually employs in the House of Commons, that the arguments in favour of total repeal were stronger than those for a fixed duty. (Applause and laughter.) Will he then come forward with a total repeal? I fear not. The party of which he is the leader he cannot lead no more than the Whigs could drive. ("Hear," and laughter.) Rely then upon yourselves; continue your exertions; go steadily, prudently, zealously forward, with a moderation inspired by confidence in your principles, and an assurance of ultimate if not speedy success. (Applause.) Should, however, Sir Robert Peel think proper to embrace the golden opportunity of carrying into effect the principles of Free Trade, as this is no party movement, we should cheerfully rejoice in this great boon from such an unexpected quarter. At the same time I may be permitted to say, that, more connected by feeling with the Whig party, I should feel more grateful to them for the bestowal of a similar advantage. (Hear.) The sinews of war are money. Our object in meeting to-night, I believe, is money. And as far as I can help you, I am ready to do so; and if I regret anything it is that I cannot give so much as I should wish. (Applause.) There is one cause I have at heart, and should like to refer to, because I feel that its advocacy at the present moment may be considered to be injurious to the one we are now supporting. We were, however, forced to take up the question of education at the time we did, in consequence of the rejection of the Factories Education Bill during the last session of Parliament, and the probability that, unless means were immediately taken for the education of the people on the voluntary principle, a similarly illiberal measure would be again introduced. The two questions, however, need not, must not clash. ("Hear, hear," from Mr. Cobden.) With an educated people the Corn Laws could not exist. (Hear, hear.) You propose to supply food to the body; we to the mind. (Applause.) Happy should I be to see the youth of England educated, her people well fed, all her classes harmonious and happy, and a wise and patriotic Government ruling for the public good. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Colonel Thompson was next introduced, and addressed the meeting in his usual quaint and argumentative style. In speaking of the Essex meeting to counteract the League, where £50 was subscribed, he said their opponents reminded him of a certain insurrection which took place some years ago in the metropolis, where it was proved that a body sent against the Tower carried its ammunition in a stocking. (Great laughter.)

The Hon. C. P. VILLIERS then rose, and was received with several rounds of the most hearty cheering. After the applause had subsided the hon. gentleman said, that having the honour of being a guest of their respected member he had readily complied with a request that had been made to him to attend that meeting, and he had now to thank them for their very friendly and flattering reception on the occasion. When he saw the extreme respectability of that meeting, that was very gratifying to him personally; and, if he was not presuming too much,

he would infer from it something satisfactory to the cause. (Hear, hear.) He had no title to their favour but from the course he had taken in the House of Commons upon this question. He had there invariably denounced the law as unjust in principle as well as injurious in operation (hear, hear); and he had never, either for personal or even for party considerations, wavered in the slightest degree in the advocacy of that view. (Cheers.) He ventured, therefore, to construe their courtesy on the present occasion as an approval of that course (applause); and consequently to conclude that there was among them an earnest and decided feeling upon the question. (Cheers.) He could assure them that to one who had known this cause in its adversity, and who believed that its success was nearer to the wellbeing of the whole community, and perhaps nearer to a remedy for those many ills from which the people were suffering than any other, these signs of progress were truly gratifying (hear, hear, hear); he thought that any person who was in the habit of watching what occurred in this country would conclude that a question which had been so long before the public, which had been resisted with so much influence and vehemence, and with such advantage, and yet each day was gathering strength from every quarter, must have some great merit of its own on which to rest. (Hear.) It had, indeed, stood the test of that which many a cause which had been agitated in this country had failed to do—he meant the scrutiny and cautious view of the men of business and practical character in this country. They were generally conservative in the right sense, and apt to be alarmed when the public mind was agitated; but it was precisely from that quarter that there was now an accession of strength, and it was openly admitted by them, not only that the cause itself was just, but that the agitation was necessary. (Cheers.) That great organ of public events and public opinion—the *Times* newspaper—had proclaimed the reason of their joining the agitation; it was, that every form of remonstrance to the Legislature had been attempted in vain; that the petitions of the people had been unheeded; that motions had been rejected; that applications of all kinds had been disregarded; and that their patience becoming exhausted, that they became parties to this other experiment. (Hear, hear, hear.) He was now glad to see that that spirit which once animated the commercial classes of this country, and which history tells us once rendered such service, yet existed, was about to be revived—nay, in this country, had blazed forth already. He was sure that this would always happen, for the people of this country were not servile—they did not submit to wrong when they knew it to be so. (Cheers.) They might be patient and prudent, and it was to their praise that they were so; but let them know what was right, let them feel that they had a duty to perform, and they would never turn until they triumphed. (Cheers.) He remembered some few years since, when he was on the Continent, conversing with a distinguished traveller who had recently returned from this country, and, discussing the subject of these Corn Laws, he expressed his opinion that the prospect of their repeal was distant; because he had observed that not only were the aristocracy in this country more united upon this matter than upon any other—not only did they derive all the influence which Parliament and station could give them, but such had been the habit of their domination, that they seemed to have subdued the spirit of every other class. (Hear, hear.) And he (Mr. Villiers) owned at that time he had not felt altogether prepared to dispute that view; for he felt that those parties in this country who, though not of the nobility, were yet connected with all that made England great, had not vindicated their own interests with that spirit which it would have been much to their honour to have done. If, however, then he had felt that as a reproach, he should like to draw that stranger's attention to what was at present passing in this country; and with pride he should point to the imposing attitude which the industrious and commercial classes were now assuming—to the spirit, intelligence, and determination they were bringing to this arduous struggle; and the time and the toil and the money they were sacrificing for its success. (Loud cheers.) He liked to see this as a man hating to see oppression unresisted; hating to see men trampled upon and not turn; and hating to see the idle, the selfish, and the ignorant in the ascendant, wasting the resources of art and industry. (Immense applause.) He did not mean by the expression of that sentiment to raise the question there of the principle of an aristocracy. He was aware that there were members of our aristocracy who were able and kind-hearted men, and useful members of society. He had no prejudice, certainly, against the order, but he knew of no tie which should bind a man to the errors and follies of a class; and these were as conspicuous in this system which they were maintaining as that which was the subject of a graver charge. (Hear, hear, hear.) But, if it were otherwise, he could not divest himself of the feeling which he believed belonged to every one, of wishing to see the community to which he belonged thrive rather than decay; and the people prosperous rather than withering, as they were now. (Cheers.) He was, therefore, happy to see this demonstration against a wrong which was admitted to be so wherever England's condition was discussed, and wherever England's name was known. (Cheers.) He was glad to see all party distinctions vanish before this great public object; and he turned with admiration, and almost with gratitude, to those distinguished men whom they had sent forth from this country, whose untiring energies and powers of mind were knitting together the different parts of this country by one common sense of wrong, and hatred of this injustice. (Cheers.) He had heard the senseless charge made against them, that they were, by their addresses, setting class against class; but the answer to that was, that the law itself had provoked the attack. (Hear, hear.) There was no more justice in that charge against them than there was against any man who sought redress because he was injured; and it reminded him of the story that was told of a criminal, in Newgate, who complained of the chaplain of that prison, who on one occasion had taken the eighth commandment for his text, and preached against stealing. The criminal remarked, that it was in the worst possible taste, and calculated to produce unpleasant feelings in his auditory. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) He had no doubt this agitation did produce unpleasant feelings, and, what was perhaps still more inconvenient to them, that it prevented a settlement and sales of their property. (Hear, hear.) But,

if they did suffer this inconvenience, he thought the country would survive it if the Anti-Corn-Law League succeeded in their object; and he thought it would only be a just retribution upon those men who, possessing great power, had perverted the institutions of this country to serve their own selfish purposes. (Cheers.) He believed that they neither would, nor ought to have, any peace or quiet in this country who had maintained and passed this law until they could either vindicate their policy or would abandon it. (Cheers.) But their position at present was this, that they neither could do the one, nor would do the other. There was no one single position they had assumed that they had been able to maintain; and every plea, and every pretext, and every argument, had been torn to shreds by the withering speeches of the League. (Immense cheering.) There was hardly a Sunday-school boy that now was not able to cope with the "collective wisdom" on the grounds they gave for maintaining their policy. The argument on which they most depended—which was the danger of depending on foreign states for food—was used after all ground for it had ceased, for we were dependent, and must be so in spite of the law; and, as the evil has not happened yet, they expected us to believe that if foreign countries exported more, and their interest became greater, this danger was then more likely to be greater. But if they had difficulty in knowing what would be done in case the foreigners should cut off our supply, there were persons in this country whom they might consult who were about ten millions in number, and who, by their own showing, were without that food in peace of which they feared they might be deprived in war. (Hear, hear.) That was the benefit to them of not depending on foreign countries. But he believed that it was the want of reciprocity in other states towards this country on which they intended chiefly to rely this year. Now, mark the good faith with which this argument was used. It was implied, in the Monopolist organs, that their party was ready for repeal of the Corn Laws if other nations would lower their tariffs and admit our manufactures. Now, there was hardly a single state, of whose tariff they complained, that did not, some years since, offer to negotiate with us on the ground of admitting our manufactures if we would lower the duties on corn; and it was distinctly notified to them that such could never be admitted as the ground of negotiation. He (Mr. Villiers) on one occasion read in the House of Commons the answer that Mr. Canning was compelled to give to the Prussian minister who had made this application to our Government; and he there stated that domestic policy precluded the Corn Laws being the subject of negotiation. (A laugh.) Since that refusal to negotiate they had reaped up manufacturing interests, and followed our example in attempting to protect them; and, knowing that they were wedded to that system, the monopolies of this country were to be continued on the plea of their refusing reciprocity. They should doubtless also hear of the necessity of maintaining the Corn Laws for the sake of agriculture, in which such great improvements were promised to be made; but if the Corn Laws encouraged agricultural improvement, how came it that though the laws were passed in 1815, yet that in the year of our Lord 1843 we collect from the landlords themselves that agriculture had been greatly neglected; and that they were everywhere lecturing their tenants on the bad treatment of the land. The fact was that agriculture had been retarded, and never would permanently improve while the law continued. In short, amongst all the things that had been said, or that he expected would be said, there was but one that seemed to consist with fact or sense; and that was urged upon one occasion by a county member in opposition to his (Mr. Villiers's) motion, and which was, that, "according to the account of the Free-Traders, they (the landlords) must have a very good thing of it (hear, hear); and if they had, did the House suppose that the landlords would be so soft as to surrender it before the necessity for it existed." ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Now, he liked that: it was plain, open, and intelligible; he preferred it much to the pultry plea, that it was for the sake of the poor that bread was to be made scarce in order that it might be made dear. It was not usual, perhaps, to make such avowals in public, but it was very common in private; though it might not be very generous policy, he believed it was very general practice—a practice about as common as human nature where man was unrestrained by any public or general influence. But this was the point he wished people to observe; for it proved the importance and necessity of this agitation, which sought to elicit such an expression of opinion as would make these parties see that a necessity did exist for surrendering that good thing which they had given themselves, and that bad thing which they had imposed upon everybody else. In fact the only question worth considering was, whether the League were pursuing a wise and judicious course. With respect to this, after mature consideration, he was bound to say he believed that the chief men of the League were acting as earnest and honest men under the circumstances would do, and that they adopted the course best suited to their end. In all these movements it was necessary that the object sought should be clear and definite, in order to be intelligible, and to unite as much strength in its support as possible. Now, the League denounced the Corn Law as unjust, and hoped to abolish it by producing that conviction on the public mind; and it sought the sympathy for this purpose of the wise and the just and benevolent of all classes. Could they expect assistance from these quarters in asking for anything short of the entire removal of the injustice? (Cheers.) And, after showing the evil bearing of the law upon all classes, to be satisfied by simply varying the form of the injustice,—and after proving that it tended to make food scarce, tended to make it dear, and also to deteriorate the value of labour in the market,—could they be satisfied by merely meeting the inconvenience complained of by the merchant, that he was deprived of a regular trade, and remedying the grievance of the farmer himself, that the grain was poured into the market at the time most injurious to himself? These were the effects, no doubt, of the sliding scale, and would be removed by a fixed duty; but the argument against the fixed duty remained unanswered, that its only merit was to keep out food from this country, which food would only be entered from its being wanted; and such a duty could be only imposed for the purpose of protecting the wealthy proprietor, but which protection, while it enhanced the price of food, did not extend to increasing the wages of the labouring classes. (Hear, hear.) This he contended was the fault of all protection,—unjustly to favour one class at the

expense of the rest. (Cheers.) Protection could not be universal; Parliament had repeatedly refused to entertain the notion of regulating the income of the labourers, with the view of putting them on a footing with the protected interests. (Hear, hear.) Now, his hon. friend, Mr. Cobden, put the Government and the House to the test on that point. He had said, "You are raising the value of your own property by act of Parliament, in passing and maintaining these Corn Laws, and in keeping up a high price for agricultural produce; are you willing to give a value to labour by act of Parliament also?" (Cheers.) They smiled at this proposal, knowing full well that it was impossible; and, even had it been possible, it was not convenient for themselves to do it. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Villiers) remembered, that when he was first returned to Parliament for the district which he now had the honour to represent, he was rather under the impression that this law was more injurious to capitalists than it was to the working man; but he had since been strongly impressed with the contrary opinion from observing its operation in that borough. The working classes, when they expressed desire for improvement in their condition, did not express the idea by speaking of higher wages or employment, but they said they wanted more trade: thus showing distinctly the connexion in their minds between increased trade and better wages. (Hear, hear.) Many of them received their orders directly from the merchant, and they knew that if the merchant received no order from abroad they failed to obtain employment. (Hear, hear.) Restriction on trade was, therefore, ruin to them, while every extension improved their condition. They had, therefore, been convinced from the moment that the Corn Laws were passed, that, as a great obstruction to trade with Europe and America, they would deteriorate their condition, rear up competitors abroad, diminish the demand for their labour, enhance the price of food, while they should be pressed at home by a constant increase in their number. But the view which they take of the connexion between trade and their condition is equally applicable to the whole working class; for let the most intelligent of them think from morning to night in what way he could improve the material condition of his class, and he will come to no other just conclusion than that it must be by extending the demand for his labour. (Hear, hear.) And as that would be effected by increasing the trade in the products of his labour, so every extension of trade with the rest of the world must tend to improve his condition. (Applause.) The very purpose of foreign trade created a demand for British labour. The object for which we traded with foreign countries was to obtain something that we wanted and did not produce; but no such article could be imported into this country without an equivalent being exported; and no equivalent could be produced without the employment, in some shape, of British labour. Thus, every import into this country appeared as a customer for British labour (applause); every restriction on that import was the denial to British labour of a customer; and every restriction removed, for the same reason, gave employment. It was not consistent with the support of those restrictions to deny that the imports would increase; because restrictive laws were not imposed because they would not come in, but because they were expected. There was perhaps this peculiarity in the import of food when it was demanded, that it not only required to be paid for by British labour; but inasmuch as it would reduce the price of food, and as food was consumed by the whole community, whatever was saved in the payment of food, was expended on manufactures, thereby creating a fresh demand for manufacturing industry, while the artisan, with increased demand for his labour, would be compelled to spend less on food, and have more to expend upon comforts. Nothing, therefore, was now more likely to raise and improve the condition of the working class in this country than extending the trade in food with foreign countries, and rendering it more accessible to him at home. (Cheers.) Should any one doubt the justice of these views, he had only to reflect upon what occurred during the late years of distress, and what had been lately occurring. It was universally admitted that the prominent cause of the distress between 1838 and 1842 was owing to the high price of food, and the vast abstraction of the means of the community that would otherwise have been expended on manufactures to be employed in the payment for food. (Hear.) In this country a great difference in the price of food was the difference of many millions more or less expended upon it. Now, what was it that we heard of at present? Why that trade was reviving—that the home trade was improved, which is the precise confirmation of what he had said, since the price of food was very greatly fallen within these two years. More had been spent on manufactures, more employment was given to the people, and they had more to spend on articles taxed for revenue, which resulted in what they knew was the case, that trade was reviving, and that the revenue had improved. But precisely for the same reason was it to be expected that if food should again rise and these laws continue, and the supply from abroad should again be irregular, the same consequences would again follow. (Hear.) Of what immense importance then was this question to every class of the community; and if they considered the amount of misery yet existing in this country, the shocking details of distress and destitution that were reaching them from the metropolis, and how every business was overstocked, and farther, that all the businesses of this country depended upon the extent of the production, distribution, and consumption of the articles of human want, was it not insane on our part to choke up any channel of commerce that we could open, or not widen to the fullest extent the field of exchange which was the soul and spirit of commercial operations? Why then, he would ask, should they not at once claim the adoption of this better policy, and insist at once upon freedom of trade? Some said, that their opponents were so strong that it would be wise to moderate the demand. He said, too, that they were strong, but they were so in relation to the apathy and fears of others. They were not strong in number, they were not strong in justice (very loud cheers); they were not strong in the love and affections of the people; but they were bold because other men were cowards (loud cheers); ever fearing to go forth lest the lion should cross their path. (Great applause.) But it was said by others, that it was not on their account they feared, but on account of those who had been deluded by the promises of Monopoly, and who had embarked their capital upon its faith, and who had since been disappointed. But he said that rendered the case stronger for change. Had their expectations been realised, and had they been thriving, the change might be hazardous;

but, as it was, their condition rendered obnoxious. But were it otherwise—were those for whom they pleaded, either manufacturers or others of the working-class, not equally entitled to protection by the law, and were they to droop and die because others had been deceived? But who said, for instance, that the cultivator of the land required this injustice to the community for his protection? Was it he who from his extensive experience in agriculture, from his great possessions as a landowner, and his high character as a nobleman, was placed at the head of that society which professed to exist for the improvement of agriculture—he meant Lord Spencer? (Great cheering.) No; they had lately heard his opinions, and he had avowed them in public and in private for ten years before; and declared them to be useless for agriculture, delusive to the farmer, and prejudicial to the people. (Cheers.) Was it he whose vast possessions gave great authority to his well-timed letter and magnificent gift to the fund of the League? No; for his letter contained the denial. (Cheers.) Was it he whom Professor Buckland, in the presence of Sir Robert Peel, at the dinner at Tamworth, said, was an example to the landlord and the farmer, for his intelligent treatment of his property—he meant Lord Ducie? (Cheers.) No; he was a member of, and a contributor to, the Anti-Corn Law League. There was another nobleman, said to be a practical farmer and of princely possessions—he meant the Duke of Bedford—he was friendly to the repeal of these laws. (Cheers.) In short, wherever they found a clear head and a clear estate combined, there they usually found a friend; but wherever both were muddled these laws were relied on. (Hear, hear.) What was it that they heard of the farmer himself? North, south, east, and west, there was nothing but complaint of the depressed condition of the British farmer. He was in the predicament of a man who had made an improvident bargain, and was unable to extricate himself. (Hear, hear.) Judging from his own account, it would be difficult to suppose that any change could injure his condition. It was, however, the labourer's lot on which they delighted to dwell. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Oh, if they were in the House of Commons when the Corn Laws were discussed, how good and kind and benevolent to the poor would they think the majority of that House who maintained these laws! ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) From the beginning to the end, the poor were the subjects of their care; the simple purpose, as it was alleged, of supporting these laws was for their good; and they remembered this time last year the touching description given at the dinner of the Dorsetshire squire of their condition in that county—how happy and contented they were, and how they loved the poor, and how the poor loved them, and the poetic description given by Mr. Banks; and they remembered how, a few short months afterwards, this paradise was described by the Queen's commissioners sent to investigate the matter, and how much more like another place they represented it. (Laughter.) But, with all this professed interest in his fate, what was his own story? The condition of the agricultural districts told it. It was the old sad argument of ignorance and despair—a hideous crime against society—the destruction of property by fire. (Hear, hear, hear.) Were these, then, the existing interests that afforded the sufficient excuse for the continuance of this injustice? (Hear, hear.) But if it were still thought by some that there would be use in offering some compromise of their claim, his answer was that the experiment had already been made. It had been made by Lord John Russell under circumstances which, if ever justifiable, were justified at that time. There was much less knowledge and much less feeling on the subject then than there was now, and the landlords were strong in consequence of that ignorance. And how was that proposition, so favourable as regarded them, received? It was scouted, derided, and the most daring things said in favour of the law and about his motives; and he (Mr. Villiers) trusted he would never repeat the proposition, for he must now see that the aristocracy would not accept his fixed duty, that the people at large were in favour of the trade being free, and that he could not get rid of the present scale without popular support. (Cheers.) It was, therefore, his (Mr. Villiers's) firm conviction, that the honest and the just course was the most attainable. (Cheers.) He had no interest in expressing this opinion if he did not believe it. He had never served an interest by advocating repeal; and could he believe that the condition of the country could be equally improved by maintaining the law, and that its repeal was unattainable, he would be silent in future. (Hear, hear.) As far, however, as he could judge, there was nothing to favour this idea. From every quarter the League appeared to receive encouragement. They were now most judiciously visiting the constituencies, and they had gone nowhere among them without producing a deep impression of the truth and justice of their cause. (Cheers.) And, when it was considered that they were the sources of the power by which the law might be repealed, the prospect was cheering of ultimate success. (Cheers.) The electors of this kingdom were in fact comparatively few—they did not exceed four or five hundred thousand—and, judging by the conversions they had already effected, there was little reason for despair. (Cheers.) There was no power in the country more likely to achieve the object than a permanent, persevering, untiring body, such as the leading men of the League had proved themselves to be. Their objects were defined, and their characters established, and they had little reason to diverge from their purpose; nor would they do justice to the cause if they gave any head to the silly slanders or the foul calumnies that were propagated by their opponents. (Cheers.) He would only add, that if that meeting were satisfied that the League had done much, and were capable of doing more, and that by extending the agitation they would finally succeed, it was clear that they must do more than express their approval, and that, to use the words of Lord Westminster, they "must contribute aid more in the shape of solid pudding than in words of praise." They must now trust for success to the continuance of the efforts of the League; and they must not suffer the League to linger for want of means. (Hear, hear.) Their expenditure was great, and their funds should be adequate to the objects. (Cheers.) Had their powers been more extended hitherto, the agitation would be nearer to its close at present. Had twenty Cobdens and twenty Brights been in the field at once, the impression which they had produced, wherever they had been, would now have been general throughout the country. He believed that a contribution to the League was seed set upon the rock, which would bring fruit in their own day; and, if not, might console those who had given, that they had promoted that best deed of

charity not only to relieve distress as it existed, but to prevent its recurrence. For his own part he would say, that whatever small service he could render to the cause should ever be at its command; and that, had he the same health, leisure and power, as his distinguished friend whom he hoped was now about to address them, he should be quite ready to pursue the same course as he was doing. The honourable member resumed his seat amid the long-continued applause of the meeting.

Mr. COBDEN, M.P., was next called upon, and was received with loud cheers and waving of handkerchiefs. He congratulated the meeting on the speech they had just heard, and said, having their leader in this question amongst them, he thought it was only due to him to offer him all the encouragement in their power. Considering the position in society which he held, there were few men, unless made of very stern stuff indeed, who could have pursued the straightforward, undeviating, and consistent course which had marked his conduct on this question. Let them hope that in these times, when his political virtue would be put to a harder trial still, to resist compromises and offers of all kinds, to stave off full justice,—let them hope that in these times he would find support and encouragement to carry him through. (Loud applause.) He would state most sincerely, that so long as the conducting of this question in the House of Commons remained in the hands of Mr. Villiers, he should have the most implicit confidence in its safety (hear, hear); and he might add of any future Government which undertook the settlement of this question,—that the confidence with which they treated Mr. Villiers would be no bad test of the confidence which it deserved at the hands of the country. (Loud cheers.) After entering at some length into the question of repeal, the hon. member concluded as follows:—My hon. friend (the Chairman) has said something of which I would say a word. I am not much of a casuist, and I must bear in mind that he will have the opportunity of replying immediately after I sit down; but he said he would be more thankful for repeal to Whigs than Tories. (Laughter.) I do not pretend to say how much we should be thankful to this or that party for that which we claim as a right; but, if I might express an opinion, I think we generally give the greatest amount of gratitude for favours when they come from quarters least expected. (Laughter and applause.) Now, I must confess that I am one who don't expect Sir Robert Peel to repeal the Corn Law. I am not quite sure that Lord John will do that either; but perhaps my friend Mr. Cheetham will do this kindness for us, as he is the conscience-keeper of that party. (Laughter.) But, though we will not put in the scales to try the exact amount of gratitude we should give to either party, this I will say, that the League don't care a rush from what party they have it. (Applause.) Therefore don't let any man suppose his political opinions will be outraged by joining the League. (Hear, hear.) I have frequently thought it over, and I do not think there is a single question we could incorporate with the Corn Law agitation but would scatter us to the winds. (Hear, hear.) It would make us a rope of sand. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Cobden referred to the letter of the Marquis of Westminster and the effect it was producing. He congratulated the member for Ashton on the support given him to-night by his constituents, and said he had no doubt it would be to the people of Ashton themselves a triumph that they had contributed so largely to the settlement of this great world's question. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. R. R. MOORE then announced the following subscriptions:—

| | Last Year. | This Year. |
|---|------------|------------|
| Robert Ashton, Dukinfield-hall .. | £100 | £500 |
| Thomas Ashton, Flowery-field .. | 200 | 400 |
| Robert Lees and Sons, Dukinfield .. | 200 | 400 |
| J. B. Rayner, Esq., Ashton .. | 100 | 300 |
| J. Whitaker and Sons, Hurst .. | 100 | 300 |
| Wm. Bayley and Brothers, Stalybridge .. | 100 | 300 |
| Samuel Ashton, Pole-bank .. | 100 | 300 |
| Geo. Cheetham and Sons, Stalybridge .. | 100 | 300 |
| Nathan Buckley and Sons, Carr-hill .. | — | 200 |
| Robert Platt, Stalybridge .. | 50 | 150 |
| Abel Buckley, Ryecroft .. | 50 | 100 |
| J. S. Buckley, ditto .. | 50 | 100 |
| Charles Howard, Hyde .. | 100 | 100 |
| Richard Matley .. | 100 | 100 |
| Hyde, Sons, and Sowerby, Dukinfield .. | 50 | 100 |
| Randall Hibbert, Godley .. | 20 | 60 |
| Thomas Mayson, Ashton .. | 25 | 50 |
| J. Knott and Son, Ashton .. | 20 | 25 |
| Binns, Deane, and Co., Dukinfield .. | 25 | 25 |
| J. Marler and Brothers, Newton .. | 10 | 20 |
| Geo. Higginbottom, Ashton .. | 10 | 20 |

The following amounts were subsequently added:—D. and E. Seville, Lees, 50*l.*; a few of Mr. Muson's workpeople, 3*l.* 12*s.*; Wm. Batty, Andershaw, 10*l.*; Wm. Denby, Dukinfield, 1*l.*; Henry Newton, Ashton, 1*l.* 5*s.*; J. and M. Bateman, 2*l.*; James Cartwright, Hooley-hill, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Wright Cartwright, ditto, 1*l.*; Abel Wimpenny, 10*l.*; Mr. Sutcliffe, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Mrs. Sutcliffe, 1*l.* 1*s.*; W. H., and J. Waterhouse (double), 2*l.* 2*s.*; Ely Hollingworth (new), 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. D. Gee, 1*l.*; E. Lee, 10*l.* (double); John Hyam, 10*s.* (new); Hindley and Sutcliffe, 20*l.* (new); Thomas Shaw, 2*l.*; Orlando Oldham, Gee-cross, 5*l.*; Dukinfield Coal Company, 25*l.*; Robert Jamieson, 1*l.*; James Cartwright, Dukinfield-hall, 5*l.* (new); James Ogden and Sons, 10*l.* (double); J. Davis, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Cryer and Lees, 10*l.*; E. Moorhouse, 5*l.* 5*s.*; John Brooks, sen., 1*l.* 1*s.*; J. W. Goodall, 5*l.* (paid); John Brooks, 2*l.* (double); J. J., 10*l.*; Robert Whitaker, 1*l.*; Wm. Shaw, 1*l.*; John Woolley, 10*l.*; Wm. Clewley, 2*l.*; a Lady, 1*l.*; Ditto, 1*l.*; Mrs. Reynier, Park-view, 10*l.* (new); John Gartside, 10*l.*; a Lady (new sub.), 1*l.* 1*s.*; A. Andrew, 1*l.* 1*s.*; S. Andrew, 1*l.* 1*s.*; O. Worrall, 1*l.*; Edw. Whitehead, 10*s.*; R. Hunter (new), 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss Andrew, 1*l.*; H. Lees and Sons, 20*l.*; H. Howarth, 1*l.* 1*s.*; a Portrait of her Majesty in Gold—a sovereign (laughter); B. Goodfellow, 10*l.* (new sub.); a Friend, 4*s.*; Ditto, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Ditto, 2*s.* 6*d.*; William Outhwaite, 1*l.* 1*s.*; John Johnson, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Peter Shaw and Son, 20*l.*; Ralph Ashton, 1*l.*; a Friend, 5*s.*; Wm. Tweedale, 1*l.*; John Lowe, 1*l.*; William Ingham, 1*l.*; Stanley and Chadwick, 15*l.* (threefold last subscription); Charles Andrew, 5*l.*; a Friend, 5*s.*; R. N., 1*l.*; his Wife, 5*s.*; John Garlick, 3*s.* 6*d.*; Matley Newall and J. Platt, 1*l.*; B. Gallahop, 1*l.* 1*s.*; the hon. member for Knaresborough, the amount he feels for the poor, 6*d.* (loud laughter); John Clegg, 2*s.* 6*d.*; G. Jos. Hyde, 10*l.*; Wm. Peacock, Denton Lodge, 5*l.*; James Brooks, jun., 1*l.*; a Chartist from Droylsden, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Thos. Hurst, 1*l.*; a Handloom Weaver (new sub.),

2*s.* 6*d.*; a Friend, 2*s.* 6*d.*; G. S., 5*s.*; Jas. Schofield, jun., 1*l.*; Mrs. P. Saville's challenge, 1*l.*; the challenge accepted by Miss Kenworthy, 1*l.*; and Miss M. Kenworthy, 1*l.*; ditto, by Mrs. J. S. Buckley, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Taylor and Rockliffe, Horton, 10*l.* 10*s.*; Thomas Collier, 1*l.*; Isaiah Crowther, 1*l.*; John Wright, 1*s.*; James Glossop, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Alfred Bennett, 1*l.*; John Howarth, 2*s.* 6*d.*; William Andrews, 2*s.* 6*d.*; John Linney, 2*s.* 6*d.*; John Ogden, 5*s.*; an Old Woman, 5*s.*; William Buckley, 2*l.*; Thomas Thornley, 1*l.*; Fred. Tinker, surgeon, 1*l.*; a Chartist, 1*s.*; George Shaw, 10*s.*; Dr. Campbell, 1*l.*; Samuel Cowley, 3*l.* 3*s.*; Joseph Tinker, 5*s.*; Jos. Ryder, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Jos. Taylor, 4*d.*; Wm. Lilly, 2*s.* 6*d.*; more Bread and fewer Potatoes, 4*s.*; H. Gartside, solicitor, 4*l.* 4*s.*; John Olliver, draper, 1*l.*; collected by a Lady, 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. G. Muirhouse, 1*l.*; the Chairman, 100*l.* (loud cheers); Edward Stokes, 1*l.*; Irish Repealer, 4*s.*; a Working Man, 2*s.*; Frederick Cooper, surgeon, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Mr. Cooke, 1*l.* 1*s.*; George Andrew, 1*l.*; a Lady, 1*l.*; a Friend, 1*l.*; a Friend 5*s.*; Alfred Andrew, 2*l.* 2*s.* (quadruple sub.); John Brooks, jun., solicitor, 1*l.* 10*s.*; John Crompton, 2*s.* 6*d.* (new sub.); E. S., 5*s.*; Timothy Broadbent, 1*l.*; John Andrew, 10*s.*; John Lilly, 5*s.*; John Graves, 5*s.*; Dent and Tinker, 1*l.*; Ralph Ogden, 1*l.*; Thomas Rowland, 5*s.*; Robert Platt, 1*l.*; Charles Ashton, 5*s.*; Knivett, a shopkeeper, 1*s.*; Thomas Mills, 1*l.*; Benj. Wainwright, 1*l.*; Jervis Lee, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Wm. Knowles, 5*s.*; Thos. Adshead, 2*s.* 6*d.*; John Sangars, 2*s.* 6*d.*; a Friend, 2*s.*; Uriah Chadwick (new sub.), 1*l.*; a Friend, 1*l.* 1*s.*; a Challenge for a Sweetheart, 2*s.* 6*d.*; My Intended, 10*s.*; Wm. Tinker, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Wm. Sidebottom, 5*l.*; John Siddall, 5*s.*; My Sweetheart, 5*s.*; T. Warhurst and Son, 1*l.*; Edward Winstanly, 1*l.*; Big Fiddle, Hyde, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Thomas Bentley, 5*s.*; Samuel Peacock, Denton, 5*l.*; John Hallsworth, 5*s.* more. Mr. Moore now announced that the amount collected in the room was 492*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*. Zechariah Peacock, 10*l.*; a Closer, 12*s.*; the Misses Kershaw, 1*l.*; Orlando Oldham's workpeople, 10*l.*; Mr. Hudson, 10*s.*; Robert Bardsley and his wife, 10*s.*

The total subscription was ultimately announced to be 4338*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*. The announcement was received with tremendous applause.

Mr. J. CHEETHAM moved a vote of thanks to the Hon. C. P. Villiers, the Deputation, and the League.

Mr. THOMAS ASHTON seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

Col. THOMPSON acknowledged the compliment: and after a vote of thanks, moved by Mr. COBDEN, to the Chairman, the meeting separated.

BACUP.

JANUARY 4, 1844.

A meeting in aid of the Great League Fund has been this evening held in the Ebenezer Baptist Chapel, Edmund Dawson, Esq., of Mount Pleasant, in the chair. The chapel was filled in every part, and on the platform we observed Robert Munn, Esq., John Lord, Esq.; Thomas, David, and Peter Whitehead, Esqrs., Holymount; John Howarth, Esq.; John Earnshaw, Esq.; H. R. Ford, Esq., of Thistlemount; John Dawson, Esq.; John Aitken, Esq.; George Hamilton, Esq., the Rev. Thomas Dawson, and Simpson Todd, &c. &c.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings with some brief and forcible remarks. It could not, he said, be expected that he should take up any of their time by attempting to make a speech, seeing he was surrounded with gentlemen on the platform so much better qualified to do so, who, by their zeal and indefatigable exertions, were known throughout the length and breadth of the land as the able advocates of Free Trade, and who had been instrumental in diffusing much light on that momentous question: he wished, however, to express his hearty concurrence in the views they took on the subject. He believed that to tax corn at all was to contravene the manifest intention of the wise Creator, who designed that the superabundance of one country should supply the deficiency of another. He believed that the Corn Laws were unjust because they benefited the rich at the expense of the industrious poor, because they existed for the advantage of a minority to the detriment of a majority, for the benefit of 30,000 landowners to the injury of 26,000,000 of our fellow-countrymen. On these grounds, and many others which might be assigned, he felt desirous that these laws should be abrogated; and he hoped that the time was not far distant when they would be totally repealed.

Rev. THOMAS DAWSON, Baptist minister, said:—It would be unpardonable in me to trespass upon your time this evening; having, however, attended every public meeting of the Anti-Corn Law League which has been held in Bacup since the commencement of the mighty, increasing, and hitherto successful struggle for a total repeal of the Corn Laws, I may be allowed one moment for the purpose of giving expression to a few articles of my creed regarding them. 1st, I believe they are decidedly opposed to the word of God: "He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him; but blessing shall be upon the head of him that selleth it." (Prov. xi., 26.) As a minister of this word I am in faithfulness bound to oppose them, and warn all that support them of the curse of the people. 2ndly, I believe them to be unjust, immoral, and inhuman. He that professeth to be a poor man's friend, and yet upholds or supports the Corn Laws, whose direct tendency is to raise the price of his bread, diminish his employment, and reduce his wages, must be either notoriously ignorant, inconsistent, or hypocritical. 3rdly, I believe them to be directly opposed to the Providence of God. It is evident, from the different productions of the earth, the facilities of communication by the vast ocean, inland seas, and mighty rivers, that our gracious Creator, who has made of one blood all the nations of the world, intends that the superabundance of one place shall supply the destitution of another, and thus unite by the ties of mutual dependence and support all the members of His great family together. 4thly, I believe they impede the progress of Christian missions. I will suppose a nation awfully destitute of a spiritual provision for their eternal welfare. As Christian ministers and churches, we send them the Gospel; but as we seek an intercourse with them, they may justly object, and say, "Since you British people have enacted laws to exclude an intercourse with you, by exchanging the produce of our soil for the fruits of your labour, how can we believe that you are sincere in attempting to promote our spiritual welfare? First prove the soundness of your humanity, then we will consider the divinity of your religion." It is time that Christian ministers and churches—if they would be consistent, if they would not waste their time, money, and energy—should cleanse their hands of the sin

Cookcroft, 20l.; Messrs. J. and T. Gankroger, 20l.; Messrs. G. and W. Hinchcliffe, 15l.; Messrs. Horsfall, Slater, and Robinson, 20l.; Messrs. D. Oliver and Sons, 15l.; Mr. James Hodgson, 10l.; Messrs. B. Platt and Sons, 10l.; Messrs. J. and J. Hodgson, 10l.; Mr. John Sutcliffe, 10l.; Mr. G. Ashworth, 10l.; "Two Determined Leaguers, 5l.; Mr. Richard Gill, 5l.; Lady and Daughter, 5l.; "a Friend for himself, his wife, and eleven children, 5s. each," 3l. 5s.; Messrs. Slater and Gankroger, 5l.; Six Ladies, 3l.; Two Sisters from the Valley of Caldene, 2l. 2s.; Mrs. S. Cousin and Daughter, 2l. 2s.; Mrs. Barker, 2l.; a Conservative Voter, 1l.; Miss Mary, Jane, and Martha Oliver, 1l. 10s.; Mr. John Moorhouse, 1l. 1s.; Mr. Jas. Ashworth, 1l. 1s.; Mr. Samuel Oliver, 1l. 1s.; a Friend, 1l. 1s.; Mr. John Helliwell, 1l. 1s.; Mr. Robert Howard (surgeon), 1l. 1s.; Mrs. R. Oliver, 1l. 1s.; Mr. Samuel Chambers, 1l. 1s.; three Workingmen, 1l.; Rev. John Wright, 1l.; Free Trader, 1l.; Mr. James Greaves, 1l.; Mrs. Holmes, 1l.; No Fixed Duty, 1l.; Total Repealer, 1l.; True Leaguer, 1l.; a Repealer (quadruple), 1l.; Mrs. Hannah Slater, 1l.; Miss Horsfall, 1l.; Two Sisters, 1l.; No Fixed Duty, 1l.; Mr. Hugh Sugden, 1l.; Mr. John Sutcliffe, 1l.; Mrs. James Gankroger, 1l.; Miss Ada Oliver, 10s. 6d.; Miss Jane Oliver, 10s. 6d.; Miss Ellen Oliver, 10s. 6d.; Miss Ellen Holmes, 10s.; "No Sliding Scale" (new), 10s.; Mr. E. Greaves (new), 10s.; Mr. Thompson, 10s.; a Friend, 10s.; Mr. R. Crossley, 10s.; Miss E. J. Horsfall, 10s.; Mr. H. Horsfall, 10s.; Mr. Milton Horsfall, 5s.; Mr. Constantine, 5s.; Miss Anna, Ada, Fanny, Georgiana, and Wm. H. Hinchcliffe, 5s. each, 1l. 5s.; Mr. G. Greenwood, 5s.; Mr. T. Parkinson, 5s.; Mr. Richard Thomas, 5s.; Mrs. Sunderland, 5s.; Y. Z., 5s.; Sally and Mary Gankroger, 5s.; Mr. J. Longbottom, 5s.; "Free Trade," 5s.; Miss M. Slater, 5s.; Mr. John Slater, 5s.; Mrs. Ellen Sugden, 5s.; Miss Elizabeth Sugden, 5s.; Miss Martha Sugden, 5s.; Miss Sarah Jane Sugden, 5s.; Mr. Alfred Sugden, 5s.; a Repealer, 5s.; Z., 5s.; Mrs. Farrar, 4s.; Mr. Thomas Sanderson, 5s.; Mrs. Gankroger (additional), 5s.; Miss Fanny, Amanda, Grace, Hannah, and Susannah Hinchcliffe, 5s. each, 1l. 5s.; Miss Jane Gankroger, 5s.; Mr. Edwin Gankroger, 3s. 6d.; a Friend to Free Trade, 3s.; a Friend, 2s. 6d.; School-boy Prize, 2s. 6d.; Free Trader, 2s. 6d.; Teetotaler, 2s. 6d.; Mr. Thomas Crossley, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Clegg, 2s. 6d.; a Repealer, 2s. 6d.; Mr. William Stansfield, 2s. 6d.; Mr. Morpeth Shackleton, 2s. 6d.; a Friend, 2s. 6d.; a Well-wisher, 2s. 6d.; Double last Year, 2s.; Mr. Joseph Sutcliffe, 1s.; Free Trade, 1s.; Working Man, 1s.; Snuttaker, 1s.

Mr. Moore then announced that the amount subscribed was 382l. 13s. (Applause.)

Mr. J. RILEY moved, and Mr. OLIVER seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried unanimously.

The following has been received since the meeting:—John Hodgson, 20l., making a total of four hundred and two pounds. It is expected that the subscription will ultimately reach 500l.

FARSLEY ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING.

A numerous and spirited meeting was held in this village on Wednesday evening, the 10th inst., for the purpose of originating a subscription in aid of the great League Fund of £100,000. On the motion of the Rev. FOSTER, seconded by Mr. DUFFELL, the chair was taken by Mr. DAVID HAINSWORTH, who opened the proceedings by explaining the objects of the League, and detailing its operations since its first formation, and more especially during the year just closed.

The Rev. Mr. FOSTER moved the first resolution:—"That in the opinion of this meeting the Corn Laws are a great evil."

And, in so doing, very pithily described the various evils, physical, moral, and social, which the Corn Laws produce.

The resolution was seconded by R. HOLDSWORTH, an operative, in a speech full of energy and strong sense, and carried amidst great applause.

Mr. Peter Hainsworth, Mr. T. Plint of Leeds, and other gentlemen addressed the meeting. We regret that a press of matter prevents us giving details of the proceedings, which were of an interesting character.

Subscriptions were handed in to the treasurer, amounting to £40 3s., viz., Messrs. P. and D. Hainsworth, £10; George Andrews, £5; John Hainsworth, son, £5; Richard Varley, £5; William Varley, £5; John Harrison, £2; R. Hainsworth, £1 10s.; Sam. Hollins, £1 1s.; Nathan Overend, £1; James Roberts, £1; David Marshall, £1; A. Hainsworth, £1. The subscriptions already amount to nearly double that of last year.

Thanks were voted to the chairman, and the meeting separated.

BURY.—From the lateness of the hour at which the report of the Bury meeting reached us last week, we were obliged to omit the list of subscriptions, which is as follows:—

Richard Ashton, Esq., Limefield, 200l.; John and Edmund Grundy, Heap Bridge, 100l.; Thomas and James Wrigley, Bridge Hall, 100l.; Edmund Grundy, Esq., Park Hills, near Bury, 50l.; Richard Walker, Esq., M.P., Woodhill, near Bury, 50l.; John Grundy, Esq., Belle Vue, near Bury, 50l.; Walker, Smith, and Co., Bury, 200l.; James Wrigley, Esq., Ashmeadow, 50l.; T. A. and J. Grundy, solicitors, Bury, 30l.; James Farrar, manufacturer, Chapelfield, 25l.; John Openshaw, Bolton-street, Bury, 20l.; J. and J. Porritt, Dearden-clough, Edenfield, near Bury, 20l.; Thomas Aitken, Chatterhouse, near Edenfield, 10l.; John Aitken, Chatterhouse, near Edenfield, 5l.; Deeply Vale Workmen, 10l. 2s.; Robinson Jackson, Tithe Barn-street, Bury, 5l. 5s.; Mrs. Jackson, Tithe Barn-street, Bury, 2l. 2s.; Jas. Jackson, Tithe Barn-street, Bury, 2s. 6d.; Gavin Peacock, Hollins Vale, near Bury, 5l. 5s.; Bartholomew Hamer, New-road, Bury, 5l. 5s.; Joseph Wood, New-road, Bury, 5l. 5s.; John Parkinson, Manchester-street, Bury, 6l.; Mrs. Parkinson and Family, Manchester-street, Bury, 1l.; John Holt and Brothers, Barlow-street, Bury, 5l.; R. T. Grundy, Stanley-street, Bury, 5l.; Wm. M'Lean, draper, Bolton-street, Bury, 5l.; James Henderson, Garden-street, Bury, 5l.; Samuel Mason, at Walker, Smith, and Co.'s, Bury, 5l.; J. Park, Stanley-street, Bury, 5l.; Rev. F. Howorth, Silver-street, Bury, 5l.; Messrs. Porritt's Workmen, 4l.; J. Kay, Forth-street, Bury, 4l.; M. Mansbottom, Woodman-

nufactor, Shuttleworth, near Bury, 4l.; James Liney, Heap Bridge, near Bury, 3l.; John Lord, Union-square, near Bury, 3l.; Peter Valentine, Rock-street, 3l. 5s.; E. Ackroyd, Fleet-street, 2l.; Robert Holt, Woodroad, near Bury, 2l.; John Mansell, Bolton-street, Bury, 2l.; David Smith, Roobdale-road, Bury, 2l.; John Pickering, Bolton-street, Bury, 2l. 10s.; Peter Sharples, Bolton-street, Bury, 1l.; Mrs. John Walker, Belle Vue, 2l. 2s.; John Russell Walker, Charles Walker, Samuel Walker, Belle Vue, 3l. 3s.; Robert Wood, New-road, Bury, 2l.; Jas. Hacking, Stanley-street, Bury, 2l. 2s.; Joseph Kay, ironmonger, Fleet-street, 1l.; Geo. Barnes, Stanley-street, Bury, 1l. 1s.; John Halstead, Eden-street, Bury, 1l. 1s.; Chrstr. Clemshaw, Bolton-street, 1l.; John Barritt, druggist, Rock-street, 1l. 1s.; Arthur Bentley, John-street, Bury, 1l.; Isaac Whitworth, Water Mill, near Bury, 1l. 1s.; John Cornall, Bolton-street, 1l.; Alice Haworth, Mr. Ashton's, Limefield, 5s.; Two Young Ladies, Wellishers, 5s.; Frank Grundy, Stanley-street, 5s.; James Eccles, 2s. 6d.; Ed. Whitehead, Bolton-street, 2s. 6d.; John Towers, Cross-street, 2s. 6d.; James Webster, Whitehead Bridge, 3s.; Henry Rostron, Radcliffe (Roughstone), 2s.; Henry Fell, Overfields, 2s. 6d.; a Widow with a large family, 2s.; a Young Man, 2s. 6d.; Sidney Smith, 1s.; James Sharples, Bolton-street, 1s.; a Sincere Friend, J. W., 6d.; Robert Parks, surgeon, Bury, 2l. 2s.; Harry Grundy, Stanley-street, 5s.; One Hat (collected in the room), 5s.; One Hat (collected in the room), 1l. 14s.; a Friend, 2s.; James Buckley, Rock-street, 1l.; A Friend, per Robert Jackson, 2s. 6d.; John Allanson, surgeon, Bury, 2l. 2s.; Thomas Openshaw, Red Lion Inn, Bury, 2l.; Richard Lord, Fleet-street, Bury, 1l. 1s.; Wm. Carnes, Union-street, 1l.; Wm. Wapburton, Bury Bridge, 1l.; Ed. Herbert Grundy, Bridge Hall, 1l.; Fred. Leigh Grundy, Bridge Hall, 1l.; Robert Turner, Derby-street, Bury, 1l.; Thomas Openshaw, Eden-street, Bury, 1l.; Jas. Wood, at Messrs. Walker's, Bury, 1l.; Miss Butcher, Rock-street, Bury, 1l.; William Ashton, Limefield, 1l.; Edward Ashton, Limefield, 1l.; Thomas Ashton, Limefield, 1l.; George Ashton, Limefield, 1l.; Henry Ashton, Limefield, 1l.; Arthur Ashton, Limefield, 1l.; John Daniel Ashton, Limefield, 1l.; Squire Diggle and J. Rudman, at Messrs. Walker's, Bury, 1l.; John Bird, hairdresser, Stanley-street, 1l.; W. Mellowdew, Ramsbottom, 1l.; Adam Kay, Fleet-street, 1l. 1s.; Wm. Robinson, machine-maker, Bury, 1l. 1s.; Joseph Burgoyne, Whitehead Bridge, Bury, 1l.; Richard Greenhalgh, Frederick-street, Bury, 1l.; W. Johnson, Garden-street, Bury, 1l.; John Horrox, Daisey Field, near Bury, 1l.; Henry Smith, Georgiana-street, Bury, 1l.; John Collins, manager, Gigg-mills, near Bury, 1l.; John Mitchell, Bridge Hall Paper-mills, near Bury, 1l. 1s.; Robt. Bleasdale, Derby-street, Bury, 1l.; Benj. Crapper, Whitehead Bridge, 1l.; R. Mason, Agur-street, Bury, 1l.; George Walker, Bolton-street, Bury, 1l.; Edward Mucklow, Bolton New-road, Bury, 1l.; Thomas Holt, Agur-street, Bury, 1l.; Henry Peel, ironmonger, Bury, 1l.; Anti-monopolist, 1l.; William Bowman, Bolton-street, Bury, 1l.; Robt. Hall, Walker-terrace, Bury, 1l.; Jacob Farrow, Bridge-hall, near Bury, 1l. 1s.; Adam Parkinson, dyer, Hollins-vale, 1l.; Robt. Shaw, butcher, Bury, 1l.; J. Lethwaite, Bolton-street, Bury, 1l.; Chas. Wood, carver and gilder, Fleet-street, 1l.; John Arthur Grundy, Belle Vue, 1l.; Robert Ellis Grundy, Belle Vue, 1l.; Abraham Wood, Thomas-row, beer-seller, 1l.; Henry Raine, Rock-street, 10s.; Mrs. Park, Stanley-street, 10s.; Dennis Barker, Union-square, 10s.; Mrs. John Kay, Rock-street, 10s. 6d.; John Healey, Paradise-street, 10s.; Wm. Kay, ditto, 10s.; Jas. Turner, Derby-street, 7s. 6d.; Robt. Sandiford, Bolholt, 5s.; Jas. Clayton, Free-town, 5s.; a Young Lady, 5s.; Wm. Bings, Bolton-street, 5s.; a Lady (Martha Cowell, Woodhill), 5s.; a Young Lady (Silence Roscoe, ditto), 5s.; a Power-loom Weaver (James Kay, Paradise-street), 5s.; Jas. Henderson, jun., Garden-street, 5s.; Ellen Hardcastle, (Mr. Aston's, Limefield), 5s.

A great meeting in aid of the League Fund took place at Glasgow on Wednesday night, but, up to the time of going to press, we had received no report of the proceedings. We are also obliged to omit the report, which only reached us when we were going to press, of the great Anti-Corn-Law Tea-party, held on Monday evening at Carlisle. Mr. Bright, M.P., attended from the League. Upwards of £400 was subscribed to the League Fund. Particulars of the proceedings in our next.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING AT LEAK, STAFFORDSHIRE.—A spirited meeting was held at Leak, on Wednesday evening, in aid of the great League fund. It was addressed by Messrs. Falvey and Acland, as a deputation from the League, and the subscription during the evening amounted to £37, which it is expected will eventually be augmented to £50. These sums are small when contrasted with some of the subscriptions in Yorkshire and Lancashire; but it should be remembered that Leak has a population of not more than 19,000 or 13,000, and that its contribution to the League last year did not exceed £18; so that now it has more than doubled its total subscription of last year, and it is expected will eventually treble it.

LEAGUE MEETING AT SHEFFIELD.—We are glad to be at length enabled to announce that the League deputation will visit Sheffield on Wednesday the 24th of January. We cannot at present name the deputation, but we have great hopes that it will include Mr. Cobden himself. Our borough members will be invited, and we indulge the confident hope that we shall have the pleasure to see them both.—*Sheffield Independent.*

HULL.—The Free-Trade Committee, of which Mr. William Lowthrop is chairman, appointed for regulating the great Anti-Corn-Law meeting, to be held in Hull on the 29th inst., is actively at work, preparing for such a demonstration as has not been witnessed in this borough since the passing of the Municipal Reform Act. The members of the committee are, for the most part, men of influence and men of business; and it may only exert himself within his own sphere, the ultimate result will exceed their most sanguine expectations.—*Hull Advertiser.*

ANTI-CORN-LAW TEA PARTY.—On Monday evening week a tea party was held at Mr. Croft's, the Red

Lion Hotel, in this town, which was attended by some of the more active members of the Preston Anti-Corn-Law Association, to receive a deputation from the Council of the League, and to take steps for commencing a subscription in this town in aid of the £100,000 fund. After tea Mr. George Smith was called to the chair, when A. Prentice, Esq., who attended as a delegate from the League, stated the various expenses which the League were incurring—the meetings in Covent-garden Theatre, county meetings, deputations at elections, circulation of tracts, &c., for the defraying of which the League fund is now being collected. A committee, to carry into effect the object of the meeting, was then appointed.—*Preston Chronicle.*

SUNDERLAND ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.—On Wednesday evening a meeting of this association was held at the Bridge Hotel, Mr. Thos. Thompson in the chair. It was resolved, on the motion of Mr. G. Hardcastle, seconded by Mr. Joshua Wilson, "That the executive committee of this association be requested to take immediate steps for completing all requisite arrangements for the reception of Col. Thompson, Messrs. Cobden, Bright, &c., and that they also be requested to report the same to the next meeting of the association, to be held on Wednesday the 10th inst." [Those gentlemen are expected to visit this town on the 24th inst.]—*Sunderland Herald.*

LIVERPOOL ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION.—A meeting of the electors of Everton and St. Anne's wards, convened by circular, was held in Lussell's Rooms, Great Richmond-street, on Friday evening the 5th inst., when a very excellent address was delivered by Mr. Murray, of Manchester, to about 110 electors. A deputation from the Anti-Monopoly Association attended, and invited from their opponents an expression of their opinions. This invitation called forth an interesting discussion, in which several gentlemen took part, and at the close the following resolution was carried with but one dissentient:—"That this meeting, convinced that all protection is robbery in disguise, and that the corn and provision laws have signally failed to benefit the farmer and farm-labourer, while they have been the fruitful source of misery and famine, pledge themselves to renewed exertions for their total, immediate, and unconditional repeal."—*Liverpool Mercury.*

GATESHEAD.—Mr. Crawshaw, the secretary of the Gateshead Free-Trade Society, delivered an address on the Corn Laws, on Wednesday evening the 4th inst., to a numerous audience, in the long room of the Grey Horse Inn, in this borough, including both the middle and working classes, and many Chartists. The lecturer, from beginning to end, was listened to with great attention, and was frequently applauded.—*Gateshead Observer.*

Mr. Cobden, in his speech at Bradford, said—"I say the Corn Law is unjust, and ought to be immediately repealed: where is the man that will meet me and oppose this proposition? Let any man meet me, I care not where, in the West Riding or elsewhere, only it shall be in public, in the open air, and maintain that the Corn Law is a just law, and ought to be maintained." Mr. Feargus O'Connor has addressed a letter to Mr. Cobden, accepting the challenge, and offering to discuss the proposition in public meetings, in the centre of the West Riding, on Kersall Moor, Manchester, and in the Market-place, Nottingham. Thus Feargus takes up his ground as an out-and-out stickler for the landlords' monopoly. He, in his letter, indignantly denies that he had ever received a farthing, or the promise of a farthing, for his public conduct; which is an allusion to Mr. Cobden's declaration, that "their (the Chartists) leaders are paid for it, and I know it." We believe Mr. Cobden is at present rather too well engaged to meet a man like Mr. O'Connor, who can argue on both sides of the same question—witness his speech at the Leeds Anti-Corn-Law meeting, on the 15th January, 1839, when Mr. O'Connor said, "I am wishful for a more extensive repeal of the Corn Laws than even the resolution would effect, for I am in favour of a total REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS!" and he moved an amendment as follows:—"That we consider ALL restriction upon the importation of foreign grain as UNJUST in principle and INJURIOUS in its effects; nevertheless we are of opinion that no salutary alteration can be made in the present system until those for whose benefit the change is contemplated shall have a voice in the choice of those representatives to whom shall be intrusted the power of preventing the recurrence of so GREAT AN EVIL as the present Corn Laws!"—*Leeds Mercury.*

Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. Bright, M.P., and Colonel Thompson, having so many demands upon their time during the remainder of the Parliamentary recess, it is now doubtful whether they will be able to attend a public meeting in Gateshead as well as in Newcastle. It is more probable that an aggregate meeting of the inhabitants of the two boroughs will be held in Newcastle.

The total sum now subscribed in Gateshead, in aid of the League Fund, is about £23; in Newcastle, £200.

The Anti-Monopoly religious and political, neatly printed by Messrs. Bellkirk, of Grey-street, Newcastle, has made its first appearance, and answers consistently to its title.

A FACT FOR FREE-TRADERS.—Nearly the whole of the forty-five millions of Asiatics go without stockings. Most of them would become our customers if our ports were open.

PRICE OF SUGAR AND RICE IN INDIA.—By the last overland mail there are advices from Bengal to October 11. At that time the market price of sugar, at Calcutta, was 10s. 6d. per ton of 20 cwt. Allowing 10s. for the cost of freight and expenses to Europe, it appears that the Indian sugar may be delivered in a ton at 10s. 6d. per 112lb., or about THREE PENCE less than the price of rice at Calcutta.

REVIEW.

Chronicles of Froissart and Monstrelet. Translated by W. Johnes. (See League, No. 10, p. 152.) London: W. Smith.

THIRD NOTICE.

The connexion between agricultural and manufacturing prosperity was no where more clearly manifested than in the Netherlands, during the palmy days of the commercial prosperity of the Flemish cities. The foreign ecclesiastics and nobles,

who visited the courts of the Earls of Flanders and their successors the Dukes of Burgundy, were astounded at the high degree of cultivation to which the fields were brought, and the great extent of comfort possessed by the peasants. It was in consequence of the demand created by manufactures for agricultural produce that the dykes of Holland were first created, and land thus rescued from the dominion of the sea. During the wars between the feudal nobility and the commercial aristocracy these dykes were frequently attacked by the several parties; but in no instance did the armies of the

When the sovereignty was transferred by marriage to the Dukes of Burgundy, the citizens of Ghent received their new ruler with a magnificence which excited the admiration of all Europe, and placed the Dukes of Burgundy in the highest rank of political influence though not of nominal title.

The Dukes of Burgundy, wiser than the Earls of Flanders, soon saw that the prosperity of the agricultural provinces subject to their sway was greatly advanced by the demand for their produce, which the vicinity of a large and wealthy manufacturing population created, and they therefore respected the rights of trade and the freedom of commerce.

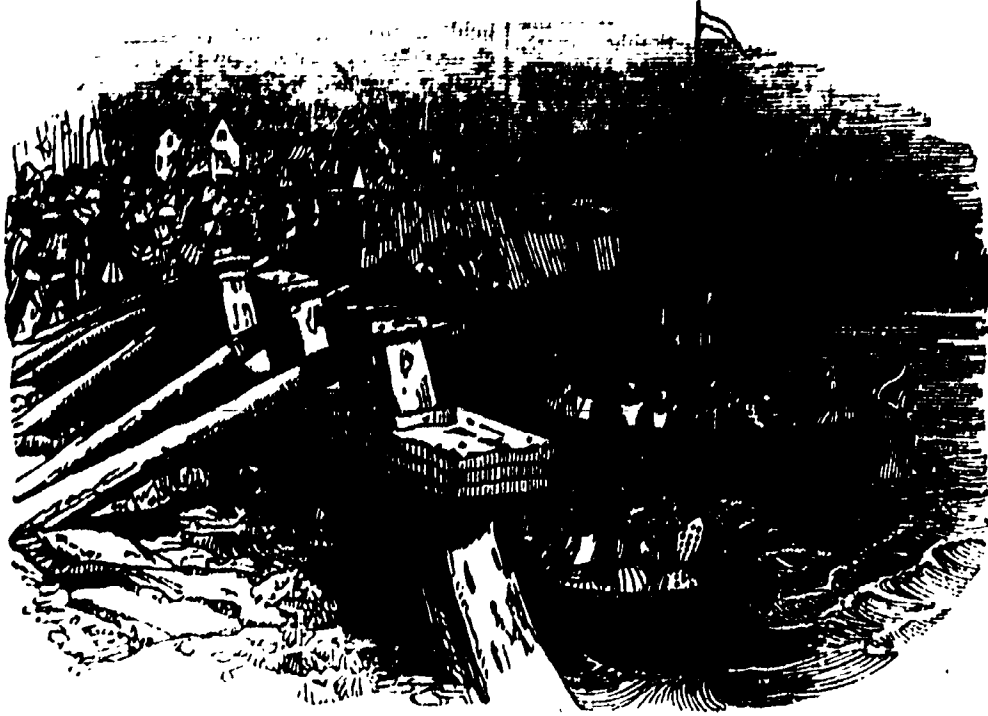
But the connexion between the prosperity of the manufacturing and agricultural communities had been perceived and understood at an earlier period by the Belgian farmers themselves. They knew the advantage of a near and convenient market for their produce; they saw that lands were brought into cultivation which would have lain quite barren had not such demand stimulated the outlay of capital necessary to render the land available for the purposes of the farmer. This is a point of vast importance, which has been too much neglected in the various discussions that have arisen on the subject of the Corn Laws. The advocates for this monopoly tacitly assume that the consumption of corn and other provisions is a fixed, or very nearly a fixed, quantity; but it is easily demonstrable that one-fourth of the population is at this moment miserably underfed; and if that proportion of the underfed, by increased employment and consequently by an increased receipt of wages, was raised to such a condition as would allow of the purchase of adequate and full consumption, there would be such an increased demand for agricultural produce as would far more than outbalance any loss from competition with foreign supply.

We know an instance of a farm in Lancashire which was rented at fifty pounds a-year before factories were established in its vicinity; the tenant who held it was unable to raise the rent, and a debt accumulated which threatened him with utter ruin. His lease expired just at the time that some extensive mills and print-works were established in his neighbourhood; his landlord refused to renew the lease unless he consented to pay double his former rent; hope was strong within him, and he agreed to the terms, not, however, without some desperate misgivings and anxious doubts. But such prosperity did the establishment of manufactures bring to his agriculture, that in less than five years, with a double rent, he paid off the heavy debts which he had incurred at a low rent. Many similar examples of the increase of agricultural prosperity consequent on the increase of trade and commerce are displayed in the history of the states of Burgundy; but, unfortunately, the continuation of the same annals furnish the converse of the scene, and exhibit a rapid decline of the profits and prosperity of the farmers consequent on the decay of trade.

Let any practical agriculturist ask himself whether a poor or a rich population is likely to furnish the better class of customers? A child can answer the question, and thus refute the atrocious absurdity and absurd atrocity of the editor of the *Standard*, who declared that England's condition would not be deteriorated if all the manufactories of the north of England were swept from the face of the earth. Every man who has anything to sell is interested in enabling others to buy; like every other class of traders, farmers must be benefited by every measure which increases the means and consequent power of consumption of their customers. Is not every Essex farmer deeply and obviously concerned in supporting the London power of consumption? It is in the London market that he finds sale for his produce; and if by some perverse legislation the metropolis should be changed into a vast workhouse of paupers, the ruin of the London houses would spread desolation over the fields of Essex. Let the farmers, then, understand that it is foreign commerce which enables London to consume their produce, and let them, therefore, wage war on the monopolies which threaten the ruin of their consumers.

In the long contests between the feudal lords and the commercial aristocracy, the operatives, contrary to general belief, proved better soldiers than the followers of the nobles, and frequently routed the chosen of their chivalry. This was particularly manifested at Dendermonde, the scene of some of the most interesting operations of the war.—See cut on top of next page.

It is remarkable that all the able statesmen and aged counsellors of the Burgundian courts uniformly supported the rights of the mercantile and commercial classes, while monopoly and even direct plunder were patronised by the young and hot-headed sons of nobility, particularly when they were joined by Charles the Bold, when, as Count of Charolois, he prepared to levy war against his indulgent father. In the height of their indignation against his final impiety, the citizens of Durant hanged him in effigy. See second cut on next page.



ATTACK ON A SEA-DYKE. *Monstrelet*, II., 205.

merchants allow any injury to be done to the fences which secured the land from the encroachments of the waves.

Fiercely as the Flemings resisted the usurpations of their feudal lords, they never infringed their just rights; on the contrary, they exhibited towards them personally an affectionate and almost passionate loyalty, which no repetition of injury seemed

to diminish. The elder Artavelde was murdered by the multitude, notwithstanding his many years of patriotic service, for proposing to transfer the sovereignty of Flanders to the English monarch; and the funeral of Earl Louis, the most virulent enemy of the trading community, was celebrated with a magnificence such as had not in that age been displayed at the obsequies of any king or emperor.



FUNERAL OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS. *Froissart*, II., 16.



ENTRY OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY INTO GHENT. *Monstrelet*, II., 256.



ATTACK ON DENDERMONDE. Froissart, I., 589.



THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS HANGED IN EFFIGY. Monstrelet, II., 328.

In the course of the long struggle in Flanders, the Church for the most part supported the cause of the feudal monopoly, and excommunications by bell,

book, and candle were frequently employed to terrify the ignorant and the credulous.



EXCOMMUNICATION. Monstrelet, I., 196.

The career of Charles the Bold will probably come again under our consideration, and we shall then trace the ruin which his violence, and still more the

monopolies which he sanctioned, brought on the once flourishing cities of Flanders.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE \$100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Jan. 10, 1844.

N.B.—As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | | | | |
|---|------------|------|----|----|
| S. P. Robinson, 57, Spring-gardens, | Manchester | \$10 | 0 | 0 |
| G. C., do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Cornelius Nichols, dyer, Hodge-lane, Salford, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Wood, 42, St. Stephen's street, | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Thomson, 52, Shudehill, | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joel Casper, 72, do., | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Daniel Croxford, 81, do., | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, 61, do., | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Hatherage, 59, do., | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mathew Thackaray, 51, do., | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Wm. Darling, 41, do., | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thos. Rushworth, 53, do., | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Sheldon, 23, do., | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Jackson, 15, do., | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Jas. Perkins, Swan-street, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Rothergill and Hall, 50, Swan-street, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Tasker, 11, Thomas-street, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Wilkinson, 41, do., | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Walker, 63, do., | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joseph Holland, 52, do., | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. King, jun., St. Ann's-square, | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Do., profits on a Queen Anne guinea, | do. | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| Small Sum, | do. | 0 | 7 | 10 |
| John Hastie, Doncaster | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Marsden, Magdalen, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Illingworth, Fishergate, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Wood, New-street, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Higham, Spring-gardens, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Bell, Nagg's Head, St. Sepulchre's Gate, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Do., | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Dent Dale, Balby, near do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Small Sum from a little Boy at Shrewsbury .. | do. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Ralph Baily, Rusholme, Manchester | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Abel Almond, 33, Rodney-street, Salford, Manchester | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| J. and J. S. Tribe, Chatham, per John Gladby | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Thornton, Hyde, near Manchester, per S. Lees | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Johnson, Congleton, Cheshire .. | do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Johnson, do., do. .. | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Chas. Johnson, do., do. .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Reade Johnson, do., do. .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Johnson, do., do. .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Edwin Johnson, do., do. .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Johnson, do., do. .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. J. Ragland, Hindley, Lancashire .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Benson, 2, Cross-street, Manchester | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Smith Benson, 2, do., do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. and Robt. Barnes, Jackson-street, do. | do. | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| C. Hindley, Esq., M.P., Dukensfield Lodge, near do. | do. | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| The Workpeople of Messrs. Baxter, Brothers, and Co's Mill, Glamis, Forfarshire .. | do. | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| Stourbridge, per Wm. Ackroyd .. | do. | 15 | 19 | 0 |
| James Howarth, 17, Oxford-street, Manchester | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert Foulkes, 28, do., do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Marshall, 38, London-road, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John and Nathaniel Phillips and Co., do. | do. | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| Samuel Whiteley, 17, Oldfield-road, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Conservative, per George Horsfield .. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Jas. and Josh. Higson, 34, Suckville-st., Manchester | do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Arrowsmith and Son, Bolton .. | do. | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Briggs, 7, Mount-street, Salford | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Jones, 29, Lever-street, Manchester | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Henry Spencer Harrison, 10, King-street, do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thos. Satherthwaite, Chapel-st., Salford, do. | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas. Hardy, 79, Union-street, Ardwick, do. | do. | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| William Wilkinson, Cheetham Hill, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Free Trader, per W. Evans, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas. Caldwell, 42, Clifford street, C.-on-M., do. | do. | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| Geo. Binks, jun., Bolton (2nd donation) | do. | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| D. Hordern, Walton-bridges, Cannon-st., Manchester | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| A Mother for her Infant Daughter, per J. B. Smith, Manchester .. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Glover, Baker-street, Enfield .. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| R. M. Munro, Bury Farm, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Chas. David Harper, Chase-side, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Small Sum, do. | do. | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| Wilson Perry, Whitehaven .. | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| George Pelle, do. .. | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Ralph Forster, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Samuel K. Gomme, St. Austle, Cornwall | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Miller and Mitchell, Allum-street, Manchester | do. | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Hopps, Quebec-street, Wakefield .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Gloyne, Westgate, do. .. | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Wm. Naylor, tailor, do. .. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Henry Hewitt, 51, Market-street, Manchester | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| John Andrews, Church Gates, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thos. Greaves, Tipping-street, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Whittaker, Great Ancoats-street, do. | do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Hugh Roberts, Hilton-street, do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Edwd. Birkett, Zara-street, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thos. Briggs, jun., Sharp-street, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mark Carter, Oldham-road, Newton, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Samuel Yarwood, Cow-lane, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Joseph Smith, 15, New Brown-street, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Naylor, 113, Piccadilly, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Naylor, Smithy-door, do. | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Peter Smith & Friend, Francis-st., Strangeways, do. | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| T. P. Bond, 90, London-road, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robt. Naylor, 113, Piccadilly, do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| G. H. N., per Jas. Aspell, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| S. K., per Jas. Aspell, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per do., do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| M. Duffield, Princess-street, do. | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Cull, baker, Clarendon .. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Walter Westmacott do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alex. Bealey, Three Horse Shoes Inn, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Bevin, solicitor, do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Smith, surgeon, do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Rev. F. Bewley, do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Rev. F. Horsfield, do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Richard Budd, do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Chas. and David Gamble, St. Helen's, per George Robinson, Warrington .. | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| T. B., per Frederick Hilton .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per Mr. Harbottle .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Blackburn, Granby-row, Manchester | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| — Smith, Broughton-street, Salford, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Webster, 181, Every-street, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robt. Edwards, Beswick Potteries, near do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Joseph Gornall, Newton Heath, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per Joseph Barratt, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Barnes, do., do. | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Barnes, do., do. | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Barnes, do., do. | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| James Barnes, do., do. | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| George Barnes, do., do. | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| P. H. and Son, per John Brindle | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Riley, sen., Bake-lane, Edge-hill, Liverpool | do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward W. Blake Brayley, Russell Institution, Great Coram-street .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Wild, 45, Moonditch .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. H. Brackstone, 124, Wood-street .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. Daniel Trotman, Chippenham, Wilts .. | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Wallen, Commercial-road East .. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| George Tripp, Tavistock-place, Tavistock-square .. | do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| W. Snow, 6, Lane's-buildings, Edward-street, Kingsland-road .. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Gregory, 1, Twickenham-terrace, London-field, Hackney .. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| E. Kent, 19, Surrey-street .. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----|----|---|---|-----|----|---|---|----|---|---|
| Thomas Hartley, 44, London-road, Preston | 41 | 0 | 0 | A Chartist | 41 | 0 | 0 | Harvey and Co. | 41 | 0 | 0 |
| P. K. Reynolds, Lynn | 1 | 0 | 0 | John Venn, 12, Wapping | 0 | 0 | 0 | James Russell, Nether Hoylands, near | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Gibson, 98, Briggate | 1 | 0 | 0 | Wm. Rockliff, 84, Vauxhall-road | 1 | 1 | 0 | John Clarke, Kearsforth Hall, near | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Anthony Wrenn, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | H. Mansfield, Che-ter-st., Birkenhead, near | 0 | 0 | 0 | William Taylor, Redbrook, near | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| George Fawcett, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | J. Robinson and Son, 8, Exchange buildings | 2 | 0 | 0 | J. H. Twissell | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Small Sumo | 0 | 4 | 0 | J. T. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Jonathan Carnley | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. James Trowbridge, Cerne, Dorsetshire | 1 | 0 | 0 | R. H. Bowman, 45, Edge-lane | 0 | 0 | 0 | T. Mark Carter, Woolgreaves, near Wakefield | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Barling, Fisherton-street, Salisbury .. | 1 | 0 | 0 | John Riggs, 50, Dale-street | 0 | 10 | 0 | Edward Parker, Stairfoot, near | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward Potts, Southampton | 1 | 0 | 0 | Henry A. Tams, Much Woolton | 0 | 10 | 0 | Thomas Richardson, Longcar House | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Alfred Parman, Wallingford | 1 | 0 | 0 | Daniel Bough, 30, Wood-street | 2 | 2 | 0 | Joseph S. Parkinson | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A. Cheshire Farmer | 1 | 0 | 0 | 15 Cigar Makers in the employ of D. Bough | 1 | 0 | 0 | George Allotson | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Doling, jun. | 0 | 5 | 0 | R. G. | 1 | 0 | 0 | A. Laidlaw, per Harvey and Co. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| K. Andrews | 0 | 2 | 6 | Lloyd Rayner, 31, Bobo-street | 10 | 0 | 0 | O. P. Q., per do. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A. Free Trader | 0 | 5 | 0 | John Miller, 31, Renshaw-street | 1 | 1 | 0 | Joseph Carter | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Ferrabee | 0 | 2 | 6 | Edward Graham, 25, Whitechapel | 1 | 0 | 0 | Young and Shaw | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend to the Cause | 0 | 2 | 6 | William M. Millan, 2, Surrey-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Russell, Ward, and Co. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Alderman N. Wby, 85, Regent street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Richard Miller, 16, Upper Hill-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | John Gelder | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| — Aelby, Trumpington street | 1 | 0 | 0 | William Durling, 6, India-buildings | 1 | 1 | 0 | W. S. Y. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| — Bond, Bridge street | 1 | 0 | 0 | H. W. L. | 3 | 0 | 0 | A For to the Biding Scale | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| — Lusher, builder, Wilton-place | 0 | 10 | 0 | J. Rimmer, 82, Dootle-lane, Kirkdale, near | 1 | 1 | 0 | John Matthewman | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Per Mr. Johnson, Market-hill | 0 | 2 | 6 | Chas. Geo. Cowie, 2, India-buildings | 3 | 0 | 0 | Pigott and Newton | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| William Shanks, Johnstone, near Paisley .. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Thomas Blackburn, jun., 6, Camden-street | 50 | 0 | 0 | Edward Bromley | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Murray Farmer, afraid of Landlord Tyranny | 1 | 0 | 0 | C. A. Tate, 17, Great George-place | 1 | 1 | 0 | George Smith | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. R. Wild, Northampton-street, Camberwell | 0 | 2 | 6 | Richard Jackson, 15, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | George Allotson, jun. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Fordatt, 614, Threadneedle-street, (2nd sub.) | 5 | 0 | 0 | Thomas Sagar, 34, Castle street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Robert Cralk | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per George Crawshaw | 0 | 5 | 0 | Francis Hollins, 11, Oldball-street | 10 | 0 | 0 | Beth Cross | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| R. C. Wilson | 0 | 5 | 0 | R. W. | 3 | 0 | 0 | John Neill, jun. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| H. Walker | 0 | 5 | 0 | Justice | 1 | 0 | 0 | Edward Brady | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per John Skelton | 1 | 0 | 0 | J. Abrahams, 94, Whitechapel | 0 | 5 | 0 | H. J. Spencer | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per Mr. Walker | 0 | 10 | 0 | Samuel Ellis, 92, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | George Jackson | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Skelton | 0 | 2 | 6 | J. W. Holme, 69, Paradise-street | 0 | 1 | 0 | E. and D., per Harvey and Co. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Haigh, dyer, Newlay, near Leeds .. | 10 | 0 | 0 | Robert Myers, 69, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | James Fridd | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| William Hater, Winscomb, near Cross, Somerset | 1 | 0 | 0 | Thomas Mills, 8, Union-street | 2 | 2 | 0 | John Richardson | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Mc Lellan, Banhead, near Glasgow .. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Peter Stuart, 36, Slater-street | 2 | 0 | 0 | A For to the Biding Scale | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas S. Lewis, St. Austle, Cornwall .. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Lawrence Hayworth, Yew Tree, near | 300 | 0 | 0 | M. N. O. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Procter, jun., Long Preston, near Skipton | 1 | 0 | 0 | Isaac Worthington, 1, Oldball-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Merritt, George-street, Stroud, Gloucestershire | 1 | 0 | 0 | James Cunningham, 1, do. | 5 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Drak for her three Sons | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Heming, 25, Cardington-street, Hampstead-road | 0 | 2 | 6 | Edward Fisher, Longroyd-bridge, near | 5 | 0 | 0 | A. B. C., per Harvey and Co. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Benjamin Blackley, 47, Friday-street, City .. | 1 | 0 | 0 | J. and J. Broadbent, Longwood, near | 2 | 2 | 0 | William James Hindle | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Chandler, 7, Holborn-mews, Marylebone | 0 | 2 | 6 | James Hanson, woolstapler | 2 | 0 | 0 | Edward Dale | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Chandler, do., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | A Tea Drinker | 0 | 1 | 0 | George Seagwick, Railway Tavern | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| George James, Hutton-bridge, near King's Langley, | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Hollinshead, Westgate | 0 | 2 | 6 | A Friend to Free Trade | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Herts | 1 | 0 | 0 | Butcher, Cross Church-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | An Enemy to Monopoly | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Colonel Young, 50, York-street, Portman-square | 1 | 1 | 0 | Eliza Hodgson, Cumberland-street | 0 | 0 | 1 | William Park | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| William Mills, 1, Cleveland-place, Camberwell | 1 | 0 | 0 | A Friend, do. | 0 | 2 | 0 | W. R. Parkinson | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Samuel Lewis, Bury street, St. George's East | 1 | 0 | 0 | Fr. Bernin, butcher, Cross Church-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | Harrison, Fletcher, and Co. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| George Lambert, Lambeth-place, Clapham-road | 0 | 10 | 0 | Mrs. Priestley, do. | 0 | 1 | 0 | Joseph Dennis | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| G. C. Stewart, 17, Dean-street, Commercial-road East | 0 | 5 | 0 | Mrs. Tet ey, do. | 0 | 1 | 0 | Thomas Guest | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Un Inconnu | 0 | 10 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 1 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Huxley Stoke Newington-green | 1 | 0 | 0 | Paul Ganter, Cross Church-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | Thomas Tee | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Few Friends at No. 9, Hol's-row, Hampstead-road | 1 | 1 | 0 | William Brook | 1 | 0 | 0 | Robert Cock, jun. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Airey, sen., Keawick, Cumberland, per Miss Bow | 1 | 0 | 0 | Charles Hirst, Chancery-lane | 2 | 0 | 0 | I. O. U. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Edwards, late of Seilly | 1 | 0 | 0 | Henry Hirst, do. | 5 | 5 | 0 | William Myers, Park-square | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| — Wicheil, 26, Upper Oak-street, Foley-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | James Sheard, Westgate | 1 | 1 | 0 | Sykes Bickers | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| W. J. Clarke, 7, Beaufort West, Bath .. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Benjamin Sheard, Manchester-road | 1 | 1 | 0 | E. B. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| H. N. | 1 | 1 | 0 | George Baydon, Cross Church-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mark Walker and Son | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| — Tann, at R. Keene's, Hay-lane, Coventry .. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Edward Woodhead, do. | 5 | 0 | 0 | John Oden and Friends | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| From 82 Persons in small weekly sub- | 6 | 2 | 7 | Solomon Pitchforth, Chancery-lane | 1 | 1 | 0 | William Goodworth and Brothers | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| scriptions | 1 | 0 | 0 | G. H. Kimer, Carr-house | 1 | 1 | 0 | John Ostcliffe | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| M. R. Welch | 1 | 0 | 0 | B. Bentley, Buxton-road | 2 | 2 | 0 | John Wood, Worsbro' Dale | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| George Norman | 1 | 0 | 0 | William Shaw, woolstapler, Westgate | 2 | 2 | 0 | James Buckley | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Ribby | 1 | 0 | 0 | Isaac Thompson, at G. Millin and Sons' | 1 | 1 | 0 | George Shaw, Dodworth, near | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| George Balston | 1 | 0 | 0 | John Maraden, at G. Millin and Sons' | 1 | 1 | 0 | John Rycroft | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Notting | 1 | 0 | 0 | John Robinson, Market-place | 1 | 1 | 0 | William Lewis | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Free Trader | 1 | 0 | 0 | John Kaye, Woolpack | 1 | 1 | 0 | X. Y. Z. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. B. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Young Men at John Dixon and Sons' | 1 | 1 | 0 | Live and Let Live | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A. B. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Richard Porritt, Clarendon | 2 | 2 | 0 | John Battman | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Stephen Brown, Crouch-street | 0 | 10 | 0 | Thos. A. Heaps, Westgate | 5 | 5 | 0 | Saville and Son | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Anti Bread Tax | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Thos. A. Heaps, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Benjamin Bailey and Friends | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| David Morris | 0 | 10 | 0 | Workmen at T. A. Heaps's, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Joseph Ray, Odd Fellows' Arms | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Free Trade | 0 | 10 | 0 | A Friend | 5 | 0 | 0 | James Wood, Worsbro' Dale, near | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Well Wisher | 0 | 2 | 6 | Jos. Boothroyd | 1 | 1 | 0 | A Friend, per Harvey and Co. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Isaac Choppin, Middle Mill | 0 | 2 | 6 | Mrs. Jos. Boothroyd | 1 | 1 | 0 | James Sykes | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. H. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Geo. Senior and Son, Dalton, near | 70 | 0 | 0 | James Steel | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward Cowper, 24, Peterborough-place, Baywater .. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Jos. Dransfield and Sons, Moldgreen | 5 | 0 | 0 | Thomas Wilson and Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Surridge, Newgate-street | 10 | 10 | 0 | James Beacock | 0 | 2 | 6 | Andrew Brown, reed-maker | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Holste, 5, North-buildings, Finsbury-circus .. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Jos. Arthington, Albion-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | John Carter, St. George's-place | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dr. Kppa, 89, Great Russell-st., Bloomsbury (2nd sub.) | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Crowther | 0 | 1 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Lett Wyatt, 5, New Bridge-street, Blackfriars | 2 | 2 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 1 | 0 | Benjamin Hill | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Alfred Wyatt, Temple | 1 | 1 | 0 | Mrs. Dyson, Albion-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | John Parker | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| George Haworth, Rochdale | 50 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Bannister, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | William Hyde | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| T. R. Burdon, Leatherhead | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Mills, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | A Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| C. Cobb, Strood, Kent | 1 | 0 | 0 | C. Orrell, New-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | George Stringer | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Pudney, 85, West Smithfield | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Holroyd, Moldgreen, near | 0 | 2 | 6 | E. and J. Sutcliffe, St. Mary's-place | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Colvin, 71, Old Broad-street | 10 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Bedford, do. | 0 | 1 | 0 | — Hawcroft and Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| R., per Prescott and Co. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Samuel Firth, do. | 0 | 0 | 6 | Wm. Tee, Birch Laiths, Bretton, nr. Wakefield | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Cobbett, Deptford-bridge | 1 | 0 | 0 | T. Sumner, do. | 0 | 1 | 0 | Thomas Dale | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| George Bartholomew, 5, Bedford-terrace, Upper Hol- | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Crowther, Colne-terrace | 0 | 0 | 3 | Thomas Dale, jun. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| loway | 1 | 0 | 0 | C. S. | 0 | 1 | 0 | William Gurney | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Cockin, 5, Milk-street, City | 5 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Rd. Mitchell, Colne-terrace | 0 | 4 | 6 | John Armitage and Friends | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Baldwin, Clay House, near | 40 | 0 | 0 | A Gentleman | 0 | 2 | 6 | John Elliott | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Whitworth | 30 | 0 | 0 | T. W., Buxton-road | 0 | 2 | 6 | R. R. Raywood | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| William Thompson, Old-lane | 20 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Hellawell, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | A Craft man | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Moses Morley, Howerby bridge, near | 15 | 0 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 0 | 6 | Frederick Crowe, Waggon and Horses | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Aked and Co., Wheatley, near | 10 | 0 | 0 | M. Bradley | 0 | 1 | 0 | Rowlin and Warbis | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Fawcett, Greenroyd, near | 5 | 0 | 0 | Richard Willis, Buxton-road | 0 | 2 | 6 | A. B. C. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Three Ladies | 3 | 3 | 0 | Mrs. Wm. S. Thornton, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | George Rogerson | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 3 | 3 | 0 | John Kaye | 0 | 1 | 0 | W. Wilkinson | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Louis John Crossley, Wade-street | 2 | 2 | 0 | Mrs. Bayless | 0 | 1 | 0 | William Roystone | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Hutchinson, Rhoads street | 2 | 2 | 0 | Mrs. Walker | 0 | 2 | 6 | James Brown | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| William Hutchinson, do. | 2 | 2 | 0 | Mrs. Edith Hayley, Market-place | 0 | 2 | 6 | A Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Waterhouse, at Akroyd and Sons' | 2 | 2 | 0 | M. Smith, Kirkgate | 0 | 2 | 6 | Richard Ellison | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Mother for her Little Girl | 1 | 1 | 0 | C. Whately, do. | 0 | 1 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, Green hill | 1 | 0 | 0 | T. Haigh, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | Thomas Harrison and Sons | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| "Let us have it off then" | 1 | 0 | 0 | Wm. Woodhouse, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Joseph Rogerson | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Fleming, Northgate | 1 | 0 | 0 | Abt. Turner, do. | 0 | 1 | 0 | John Burland | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. E. Thornton, New North-road | 0 | 2 | 6 | An Enemy to Monopoly | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Kidd | 1 | 1 | 0 | Godfrey Sykes | 0 | 1 | 0 | John Berry | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| For my Good Wife | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Helen Purser, 7, West Parade | 1 | 0 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Flather, King Cross-lane | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Blunkhorn, Aspley | 0 | 2 | 6 | A Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Darley, do. | 0 | 0 | 6 | A Death stroke to Monopoly | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Two Ladies | 1 | 1 | 0 | Mrs. Bowker, do. | 0 | 0 | 6 | Ready Money | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| H. Martin | 1 | 1 | 0 | Mrs. Machan | 0 | 2 | 6 | William Sedgwick | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Crooke | 1 | 1 | 0 | Wm. H. Shepherd, King-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | John Smith | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Martin | 0 | 10 | 0 | E. Bainforth, John-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Robert Carr | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Ives | 0 | 10 | 0 | Mrs. W. Shaw, Low Westwood, Golcar | 0 | 5 | 0 | — Coward | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Moore | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Thos. Cille, New-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | A. B. C. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Michael Stocks | 1 | 0 | 0 | A. B. | 1 | 10 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Holroyd | 0 | 10 | 0 | Hy. Roebuck, King-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Joshua Shaw, jun. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Kenworthy | 0 | 10 | 0 | — Bradbury, surgeon, Mirfield | 5 | 0 | 0 | John Travis | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. R. Hardy | 0 | 5 | 0 | Wm. Mills, Aspley | 5 | 0 | 0 | Samuel Wood | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Briggs | 0 | 5 | 0 | Luke Maraden, do. | 2 | 2 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A. P., per M. Stocks | 0 | 5 | 0 | Jas. North, Buxton-road | 5 | 0 | 0 | — Topham | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Stocks | 0 | 5 | 0 | Thos. Edwards, Bay Hall | 1 | 0 | 0 | — Baily | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Moore | 0 | 5 | 0 | Geo. Johnson, Westgate | 0 | 2 | 6 | — Bower | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 5 | 0 | Henry Long | 30 | 0 | 0 | Isaac Fox | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| George Elmley | 0 | 2 | 6 | Rev. Henry Green | 1 | 0 | 0 | James Clarkson | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Wilkinson | 0 | 2 | 6 | Joseph Swinburn | | | | | | | |

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|---|---------|---|---------|---|---------|
| Chas. Harris, the Grange, York | 250 0 0 | Joshua Hoyle, cotton manufacturer | 250 0 0 | John Howarth, Roach House | 250 0 0 |
| Wm. Rand | 20 0 0 | "A second Shot this Year to increase the | 20 0 0 | J. Lawton, surgeon | 20 0 0 |
| Geo. Rogers | 20 0 0 | "Leakage" | 20 0 0 | John Whitley, rosemaker | 20 0 0 |
| John Smith, Field House, Horton | 20 0 0 | Miss Mary Shepherd, Waterbarn | 20 0 0 | John Whitley, shopkeeper, St. James's-st. | 20 0 0 |
| Craven and Harrop, Thornton | 20 0 0 | Henry Whittles, jun., Stacksteads | 20 0 0 | James Butterworth and Sons, woolstaplers | 20 0 0 |
| Hill & Smith, Marshall's Mill, Manchester-rd. | 20 0 0 | Richard Horrocks, do. | 20 0 0 | Thomas Hodgson, Richard-street | 20 0 0 |
| Billingsley, Tankard, and Co. | 20 0 0 | Charles Stansfield, do. | 20 0 0 | M. Fisher | 20 0 0 |
| John Leeming and Son, North Holm Mill | 20 0 0 | Joseph Moss, do. | 20 0 0 | John Hargreaves, Tongue-end, near | 20 0 0 |
| Wm. Broad, Market-street | 20 0 0 | Henry Whittles, sen., do. | 20 0 0 | Ramuel Hill, Long-acres, near | 20 0 0 |
| G. B. Ropley, Bowling | 20 0 0 | Richard Howorth, Waterfoot, Newchurch | 20 0 0 | | |
| Smith, Tetley, and Co. | 20 0 0 | Emanuel Smith, Stacksteads | 20 0 0 | | |
| P. K. Holden | 20 0 0 | John Pickup, cotton manufacturer, Dean | 20 0 0 | | |
| Dr. Caton | 20 0 0 | Engine, Newchurch, near | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joshua Bates, Well-street | 20 0 0 | Richard Ashworth, Stacksteads | 20 0 0 | | |
| H. W. Topham, engraver | 20 0 0 | Benjamin Ashworth, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Rev. J. Laycock, Here-wood, near Leeds | 20 0 0 | Elijah Spencer, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Townsend, Bank-street | 20 0 0 | John Whitehead, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| L. W. Dawson, Baildon green, near | 20 0 0 | William Smith, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| J. Halliday, do. | 20 0 0 | James Shepherd, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Nicholas Walker, Shipley | 20 0 0 | William Hopwood, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Forster, Well-street | 20 0 0 | John Ormerod, St. James's-street | 20 0 0 | | |
| James Gilling, Ivegate | 20 0 0 | A Friend, per Mr. John Earnshaw | 20 0 0 | | |
| Leopold Fulda, Leeds-road | 20 0 0 | A Man whose conscience would not rest until | 20 0 0 | | |
| Robert Horsley, Wibsey | 20 0 0 | he had given something | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Pearson, do. | 20 0 0 | A Female Friend | 20 0 0 | | |
| Christopher Brook, do. | 20 0 0 | James Howorth, grocer, Stacksteads | 20 0 0 | | |
| Wm. Baxter, North Wing | 20 0 0 | James Ashworth, Stacksteads | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Wickett (additional) | 20 0 0 | James Riley, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Benjamin Harracough, Wibsey | 20 0 0 | Henry Taylor, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Pearson, Wibsey | 20 0 0 | John Cryer, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Wm. Kershaw, do. | 20 0 0 | George Nuttall, innkeeper, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Mark Hardaker, Baildon | 20 0 0 | John Holt, Greens | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Mitchell, sen., manufacturer | 20 0 0 | "Nothing last Year" | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Gartside, dyer | 20 0 0 | Two Female Power loom Weavers, Stacksteads | 20 0 0 | | |
| William Gartside, do. | 20 0 0 | A Friend to the Cause | 20 0 0 | | |
| Samuel Ellis, sen., manufacturer | 20 0 0 | A Friend | 20 0 0 | | |
| Abraham Archer, sen., do. | 20 0 0 | Down with all Monopoly | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joshua Phillips, grocer | 20 0 0 | A Juvenile Subscriber | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Mitchell, younger, manufacturer | 20 0 0 | A Friend | 20 0 0 | | |
| Anthony Milner, do. | 20 0 0 | A Friend | 20 0 0 | | |
| George Mitchell, do. | 20 0 0 | A Friend | 20 0 0 | | |
| Benjamin Gunson, do. | 20 0 0 | Wishing the League may Triumph | 20 0 0 | | |
| Jonathan Peace, clothier | 20 0 0 | A Friend | 20 0 0 | | |
| Frank Fearnside, manufacturer | 20 0 0 | A Friend | 20 0 0 | | |
| Abraham Archer, jun., do. | 20 0 0 | A Friend | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Phillips, sen. | 20 0 0 | A Friend | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Mitchell, sen., ditto | 20 0 0 | Something | 20 0 0 | | |
| George Wilby, do., Ossett Common | 20 0 0 | A Well-wisher | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joshua Ellis, sen., do., Giggall-hill | 20 0 0 | George Howorth, Fold | 20 0 0 | | |
| Benjamin Oakes, do., Stonsbill | 20 0 0 | John Howorth, Lane-head | 20 0 0 | | |
| David Ellis, sen., do. | 20 0 0 | Chas. Stewart, draper | 20 0 0 | | |
| George Radley, do. | 20 0 0 | Henry Hale, druggist | 20 0 0 | | |
| George Harrap, do. | 20 0 0 | — Ackroyd, grocer | 20 0 0 | | |
| David Ellis, jun., do. | 20 0 0 | John Parkinson, sizer | 20 0 0 | | |
| Samuel Ellis, jun., do. | 20 0 0 | Baron and Co., manufacturers | 20 0 0 | | |
| David Dewa, do. | 20 0 0 | R. Woffenden, Paris Chapel, near | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Lawrence, do. | 20 0 0 | Henry Greenwood, Black Swan | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Wilby, do., Ossett Low Common | 20 0 0 | Edward Blomley, iron founder | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Rayner, do. | 20 0 0 | John Veevers, Kilmhurst | 20 0 0 | | |
| Benjamin Saxton, do. | 20 0 0 | James Veevers, jun., do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Ellis, druggist | 20 0 0 | Miss Veevers, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| George Pickard, grocer | 20 0 0 | Jery. Oliver, York-street | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Audsley, shoemaker | 20 0 0 | Jos. King, Manchester and Leeds Railway | 20 0 0 | | |
| Frank Mitchell, manufacturer | 20 0 0 | Station, Leeds | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Mitchell, tinner | 20 0 0 | John Pilling and Wife, 4s., and Seven Chil- | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Mitchell, jun., manufacturer | 20 0 0 | dren 6d. each, 3s. 6d. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Harrop | 20 0 0 | A Friend | 20 0 0 | | |
| Jacob Clay | 20 0 0 | James Jackson, Roomfield-lane, near | 20 0 0 | | |
| Solomon Riley | 20 0 0 | Wm. Taylor | 20 0 0 | | |
| Philemon Ellis, Healey | 20 0 0 | Butcliffe Halstead, Roomfield-lane | 20 0 0 | | |
| James Ellis, do. | 20 0 0 | Thomas Law Oldroyd | 20 0 0 | | |
| Jeremiah Ellis, do. | 20 0 0 | Sarah Kershaw, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Ellis, do. | 20 0 0 | Abraham Crossley, Fith's Wood-bottom | 20 0 0 | | |
| James Thurmand, Batley Carr | 20 0 0 | James Farrow, York-street | 20 0 0 | | |
| Matthew Kaye, Staincliffe | 20 0 0 | Small Suma | 20 0 0 | | |
| Abraham Clarkson, Healey | 20 0 0 | J. Howorth, Royal George Inn | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Clegg, Staincliffe | 20 0 0 | John Wade, druggist | 20 0 0 | | |
| W. Crowther and Sons | 20 0 0 | R. Haigh and Friends, Bridge-end | 20 0 0 | | |
| Benjamin Thornton | 20 0 0 | A Friend | 20 0 0 | | |
| Wm. Rhodes | 20 0 0 | Mrs. Law, Ramsdenwood | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Burnley | 20 0 0 | J. B. | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Taylor | 20 0 0 | A Journeyman | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Johnston | 20 0 0 | John Butcliffe, Knowlwood | 20 0 0 | | |
| J. and E. Swaine and Co. | 20 0 0 | J. F. and J. S. | 20 0 0 | | |
| C. and W. Carr | 20 0 0 | Robert Wright, Briggate | 20 0 0 | | |
| Wm. Hammond | 20 0 0 | Richardson, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Ross | 20 0 0 | William Brown | 20 0 0 | | |
| Wm. Walker | 20 0 0 | John Noddings, Commercial-row, Holbeck | 20 0 0 | | |
| Knowles, Houghton, and Co. | 20 0 0 | Geology, Commercial Inn, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Josh. Smith | 20 0 0 | James Vickers, Tuton-hill, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Chas. Whewall | 20 0 0 | John Brownridge, Mann's-field, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Wm. Kershaw, Birstall | 20 0 0 | Taylor, Wordsworth, and Co.'s Workmen, per | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thos. Clapham, do. | 20 0 0 | Wm. Nicholls, jun., Holbeck | 20 0 0 | | |
| James Preston, do. | 20 0 0 | Fidea | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thos. Rayner, do. | 20 0 0 | Matthew Pemberton, Knostrop | 20 0 0 | | |
| T. Gomersall, Rawfolds, near Cleckheaton | 20 0 0 | Ralph Goldsbro, Barton, near Darlington | 20 0 0 | | |
| F. and J. Ellison, Birkenshaw | 20 0 0 | J. B. Robinson, 173, Briggate | 20 0 0 | | |
| Abel Tinker, Hepworth, near | 20 0 0 | Thomas Fotherby 58, Camp-road | 20 0 0 | | |
| Zaccheus Hinchliff, clothier, Barnside, near | 20 0 0 | S. H. Spence, Calls | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Moorhouse, Choppards-mill, near | 20 0 0 | James Wales, Boar-lane | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Bower, Arrundon, near | 20 0 0 | Jeremiah Sowrey, Commercial-street | 20 0 0 | | |
| Ell Brook, Choppards, near | 20 0 0 | Richard Bayldon, Hunslet | 20 0 0 | | |
| Benjamin Bray, Choppards, and Thomas | 20 0 0 | John Forster, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Win-penny, Arrundon, near | 20 0 0 | Brown and Co.'s Workmen, flaxspinners, | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Brook, Choppards-mill, near | 20 0 0 | per Jas. Murphy, Marshall-street | 20 0 0 | | |
| Henry Brook, Longley, near | 20 0 0 | T. Brumfit, Leeds Arms Bank | 20 0 0 | | |
| Henry Bower, Arrundon, near | 20 0 0 | R. Wood and Sons, Hunslet | 20 0 0 | | |
| Matthew Lockwood, Arrundon-laith, near | 20 0 0 | Wm. Davy, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Hinchliff, Stand-bank, near | 20 0 0 | Thomas Walker, Wood street | 20 0 0 | | |
| Charles Finsley, Copt Hirst | 20 0 0 | Robert Clark, Joiner, Hunslet | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Ellis, do. | 20 0 0 | Edward Atkinson, tailor, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| George Hinchliff, Flowery-field | 20 0 0 | Thomas Wood, saddler, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Hinchliff, do. | 20 0 0 | James Brown, butter-factor, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Jonathan Bower, Choppards | 20 0 0 | James Smith, White Horse, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Butterworth, Kilmhouse-bank, near | 20 0 0 | K. Hardisty, jun., do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| James Brooke, Yew, near | 20 0 0 | George Oakes, Anchor Inn, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Jonathan Wood, Upper Waterside, near | 20 0 0 | Charles Gro-venor, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Kershaw, Dobb, near | 20 0 0 | John Simpson, Low-road, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Matthew Butterworth, Hillhouse, near | 20 0 0 | Henry Watkinson, Garden-gate Inn, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Edwin Barber, Kilmhouse-bank, near | 20 0 0 | Joshua Naylor, grocer, Hunslet | 20 0 0 | | |
| David Woodcock, Hinchliff mill, near | 20 0 0 | Samuel Walker, shopkeeper, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Boothroyd, do. | 20 0 0 | Joseph Longley, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Charles Cromack, Dobb, near | 20 0 0 | William Saville, Chapel-street, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Jonathan Batty, jun., Brown-hill | 20 0 0 | Wm. Walton, Forge, Hunslet | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Robuck, Wooddale, Town-end, near | 20 0 0 | John Glover, Old-lane, ditto | 20 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Broadhead, Wooddale, near | 20 0 0 | John Glover, jun., do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| George Kaye, Holme; John Whiteley, Holme; | 20 0 0 | John Atkinson, Chapel street, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Arthur Headwell, Thomas Kaye, and Jo- | 20 0 0 | J. B., do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| nathan Woodhouse | 20 0 0 | M. T., do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Godfrey Mellor, Gully, near | 20 0 0 | T. W. P., do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thos. and Jos. Hinchliff, Upperthong, near | 20 0 0 | J. H., do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| A Friend, per Mr. David Brook, do., near | 20 0 0 | John Varley, Folly, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| James Armitage, Mytholm Bridge, near | 20 0 0 | Robert Hewley, St. Mark's Cottage, Wood- | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thongsbridge | 20 0 0 | house-lane | 20 0 0 | | |
| Samuel Mellor, Thongsbridge | 20 0 0 | Mrs. Hewley, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| and Hiram Barnshaw | 20 0 0 | Miss Hewley, do. | 20 0 0 | | |
| George Fieldend, Thongsbridge, near | 20 0 0 | C. G. Maces, Bienenheim-terrace | 20 0 0 | | |
| The Workmen of Messrs. Mellor, Thonga- | 20 0 0 | Benjamin Walker, School-close | 20 0 0 | | |
| bridge, per John Lodge, Thongsbridge, near | 20 0 0 | Arthur Lupton, jun., Headingley | 20 0 0 | | |
| Abraham Charlesworth, do. near | 20 0 0 | Henry Higgins, Albion-street | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Woodhead | 20 0 0 | Joseph Cuff, Wortley | 20 0 0 | | |
| Jonathan Roberts, Hinchliff Mill, near | 20 0 0 | George North Tatham, 55, Albion-street | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Taylor, Ward-place, near | 20 0 0 | Edwin Kildison, Albion-street | 20 0 0 | | |
| Workmen in the employ of Messrs. | 20 0 0 | Mrs. Anthony Titty, jun., York-place | 20 0 0 | | |
| James B. Ardell and Sons, per John | 20 0 0 | — Messrs. Headingley | 20 0 0 | | |
| Schofield, Holme, near | 20 0 0 | William Jagger, Wortley | 20 0 0 | | |
| James Holmes, Larches, near | 20 0 0 | W. W. Fenwick, South Parade | 20 0 0 | | |
| G. Robinson, Thongsbridge-house, nr.] | 20 0 0 | Wm. Braithwaite, Park-square | 20 0 0 | | |

AGRICULTURE.

WHO ARE THE "FARMERS' FRIENDS?"

Nothing can more distinctly mark the dishonesty of the movement in favour of "protection" which has been made in Essex, than the misrepresentations made by the landlords' puppets of the objects of the advocates of Free Trade. When men are seeking openly to attain a just object, they never resort to misrepresentation. Thus Mr. Baker, in his circular to the Essex farmers, says:—"The League has already declared its intention of destroying the agricultural interest." To which we might simply say, when and where? And Mr. Baker and his employers would be puzzled for a reply. Again he said, last Saturday, at Colchester, that the farmers "had to oppose a self-constituted body (the League) that were employing a variety of agencies, and using every means in their power to assail and ruin the interests of agriculture." Now let us see what title this Mr. Baker, who so virulently assails the League, has to be considered the friend to "agriculture?" He is a land-agent, eagerly seeking the countenance and employment of the Essex squires, and if he can cheaply—at the expense of the farmers—push himself into notoriety, it may "bring grist to the mill." Now, the fortunes of land-valuers—especially of that second-rate class who are employed to "put up" rents—have been built upon the misfortunes of farmers. They are selected by the landowners, paid by them, and their everything depends upon ministering to the greed or prejudices of their employers; and it has long been a common remark that a farmer-valuer—a half-farmer and half-land-agent, a wolf in sheep's clothing—is commonly more hard upon the tenant-farmer than the regular and more educated professional man. To this hermaphrodite class Mr. Baker belongs. Then who are his coadjutors? There is the Chelmsford lawyer, a man to whom mortgages bring profit; and a horde of agents and would-be agents of the landed proprietors. Next we find the Rev. Dr. Smithies, the master of Colchester Hospital, who professes such an exuberant anxiety for the poor, that he would retain for their benefit a law which enhances the price of food! We shall give those Essex farmers, who do not know the facts, an opportunity of judging of the reverend gentleman's sincerity, by extracting a portion of Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst's observations in giving judgment, in May last, on an application made to the Court of Chancery to compel the reverend master to reside on his benefice, as by law he was required to do. His lordship said, "The master has neglected his duty for fifteen years. At the time the charity was founded, there was a considerable part of the fund given to the poor objects of the charity. Dr. Smithies now not only takes all the rents, but goes away for thirty years. He gets £800 a year, and the poor objects only 50s. It is true that the law has settled that; but by residing he would perhaps be induced to consider the poor objects of the charity, who would be constantly before him, whose existence, when living at a distance, he has most likely altogether forgotten." This needs no comment. The reverend master's sympathy with the poor is probably as genuine as that of Mr. Robert Baker's with the tenant-farmers whom it may become his duty to sell up. In fact, it is sufficiently notorious in Essex, that this move is an ingenious device of the squires to operate upon Sir Robert Peel, and compel him to stand by his Corn Law of 1842. The title of the society, therefore, is a misnomer; it should have been a "Rent Protection Society;" for though Corn Laws may protect the landlord and his rent, they invariably injure and oppress the agricultural classes, the tenant-farmers, and the farm-labourers. We find this is so well understood in the county, that most of the best farmers keep aloof. In every direction we learn that the more intelligent farmers—those who look to farming and farming only for a livelihood—even where they they do not thoroughly see through the delusion which has been practised upon them by means of Corn Laws, are rapidly coming to the conclusion that "protection" is not worth "the repose which it costs." They desire a speedy and a final settlement. They want to know on what footing their business is henceforth to be conducted. They see there can be no final settlement but the total abolition of all restrictions. They clearly understand the distinction between the landed interest and the agricultural interest. They have been taught, somewhat feelingly, that rent-taking is quite consistent with the greatest ignorance

of the interests of agriculture. It is true that, in some eminent instances, the possessors of land combine in their own persons the character of landowners and agriculturists, such as Earls Spencer, Ducie, Fitzwilliam, Lord Kinnaird, and others, and such agriculturists are usually favourable to a free trade in corn; but the majority of landed proprietors, as such, have nothing in common with the industrious agriculturists. With the great body of landholders, agriculturists are merely regarded as rent-paying machines. They are too much hampered with their own debts and obligations, too much absorbed in political intrigues, to sympathize with the honest industry of the renting farmer, or to surrender an iota of political power for the sake of the agricultural labourer.

How can the Duke of Buckingham, against whom judgments to the amount of a million sterling are registered—whose life is insured to the greatest amount possible in every assurance office in London as security for his debts, who has for years been paying forty per cent. per annum for loans of money,—how can others of our landholders—major and minor—who are in a similar condition, enter into the feelings of the steady, provident, thrifty tenant-farmer?

When it is remembered that the chief effect of Corn Laws is to keep up rents on imperfectly cultivated properties, without improvement and expenditure on the part of the landlord, or the resignation of feudal services and political influence, it becomes perfectly intelligible why these debt-burthened landowners, the Buckingham and Newcastles, the Gramams and the Knatchbulls, should be the rampant advocates of "protection." But we have shown below that the farmers and labourers are only "protected" by the Corn Laws against steady profits and adequate wages. What colour, then, is there for the assertion that the intelligent Free Traders, who constitute the Council of the League, wish to "ruin and destroy the agricultural interest?" On the contrary, they say, that though the monopoly of corn—and on which innumerable minor monopolies depend—has injured them as manufacturing and commercial men, its injurious consequences to the farmers and the farm-labourers have been twenty-fold. They have proved to demonstration, that the best, the only abiding hope of the farmer is in the general prosperity of the country, and that, if he appears to get an extraordinary benefit for one or two years from exorbitant prices and artificial scarcity, he loses all, and more than all, in periods of reaction and depression. The leaders of the League, therefore, say, that whatever may be the gain to the landlords from monopoly, tenants cannot prosper permanently except whilst the community is prosperous. But beyond the fact, that farmers, as industrious capitalists, cannot long escape the consequences of a law which cripples the resources of industry for the sake of increasing the rents of the unproductive class, the League have shown that the tenant-farmers, by the testimony of their own body, are cramped and shackled by the laws which restrict the trade in corn.

It is known to every one acquainted with agriculture—though landlords overlook or disregard it—that no farmer can hope for much profit, if he farms only for one year; that it requires a series of years to bring the ground into its most productive state, which can only be done by considerable present outlay in anticipation of future, and often distant, returns. This renders it certain that no great profit can be obtained in farming without a lease. Now, one of the most prominent consequences of the Corn Law is, that tenants are unwilling to take, and landlords to grant, leases. The tenant sees that in spite of protecting laws he seldom actually realizes the price promised by law, and according to which all his engagements have been made; while the landlord relies upon competition to obtain tenants at a rent calculated on the act-of-Parliament prices, and on his power of distress to compel payment of that rent out of the tenant's capital, whether he obtains the promised prices or not. Here, then, there is no reciprocity: the tenant has all the risk of the failure of the law when it fails to secure high prices, and the landlord has the full benefit of his law whether it succeeds or fails. We ask the Essex farmers whether this is not an accurate description of the working of the Corn Laws since 1815? Now, the Free-Traders of the League say, this is not just; that the Corn Law is a fraud upon the tenant-farmer, and upon that ground, amongst others, they seek to obtain its abolition. Does it show a "determination to destroy" the agricultural—that is, the tenant-farmer and farm-labourer—interest, to advocate a change in the law which will render it safe for the tenant to take a lease, and beneficial to the landlord to grant one?

Then, again, it has been shown, that the covenants and restrictions which are everywhere inserted in leases, and in yearly agreements, are so absurd and obsolete as to be utter bars to good husbandry; and the fact is not controverted. In fact, this has been chiefly brought prominently before the public by the speeches and writings of tenant-farmers. Now the League say, that

when the Corn Laws are repealed, and landlords cannot get high rents out of their tenants' capital through the agency of a Corn Law, these agricultural absurdities, these traps for tenant-farmers, these lawyer and land-agent begotten monstrosities will be speedily abandoned.

Then, again, the game laws, by which the right to the game is reserved to the owner of the farm unless expressly granted to the tenant, and the game, form a great and obnoxious burthen to nine tenants out of every ten throughout the country.

It is admitted that good farming cannot coexist with the maintenance of a large stock of game; and the same rational view which the tenant-farmers everywhere take of the game nuisance, is that urged by the League. They say, when the farming business is in a natural state, when the delusions of the Corn Laws have ceased, the landlords will find they cannot have both rent and game. Farmers will say, as a friend of ours said to a noble game-preserver, who wanted to let a farm overrun with game, "I think you stock that farm yourself, my lord," and will decline to embark their capital unless they can obtain complete possession of the farm—for no man can be said to be in the possession of his farm whose landlord retains a right to keep game upon the tenant's farm, or to let that power to a stranger. The League say that it is neither just or fair that the landlord should grow for his own benefit enormous quantities of hedge-row timber to the detriment of the tenant's crops, and on land for every foot of which the tenant pays rent.

Now all this, and more to the like effect, has been said by the best agriculturists, whether landowners or tenant-farmers; Lord Spencer, Lord Ducie, Mr. Lattimore of Hertfordshire, and Mr. Huttley of Essex, with hundreds of others whose speeches at agricultural meetings we have recorded, have said the same things again and again. And, further, Sir Robert Peel and Lord Stanley, Mr. Pusey and others, who uphold the Corn Laws, have reiterated the same statements. All these eminent persons and intelligent agriculturists have said that a very large proportion of the land of this country is not half cultivated, that it does not produce by one-third or one-half what it might be made to produce by judicious applications of capital and industry; and they expressly declare that leases, or "mutual confidence" holdings, are necessary to induce such improvements. Here, then, the Corn Law lies at the root of the matter. That is the preliminary obstacle to the amendment of husbandry and the relief of husbandmen. This the League have proclaimed, but in so doing they have done no more than to give a definite and practical purpose and direction to the opinions of the agriculturists themselves. What, then, can be said of those who represent the League as adverse to agriculture and husbandmen?

Again, look at the labourers: are they not in many districts absolutely kept from the poor-rates, or half starved on 6s. a week, while hundreds and hundreds of acres are drowned with redundant moisture, or remain barren, which might by various means be profitably brought into cultivation? What is universally urged by the squires to their tenants as one principal inducement to the improvement of their farms, but the fact that such improvement will better the condition of the peasantry? But does any one seriously imagine that such improvements will become so general as to affect the condition of the labourers, until the business of a farmer has ceased to be a hazardous speculation, and leases—reasonable leases—shall have become ordinary transactions? This cannot be until the trade in corn is made free, absolutely free. Was there ever so false, so gratuitous an assertion as that in advocating Free Trade we are "assailing the interests of agriculture?" So long ago as 1836 Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the present Speaker of the House of Commons, told his constituents that agriculture had been injured by a delusive reliance on protection; and the Free-Traders of the League tell the farmers the same wholesome truth.

WHO HAVE GAINED BY THE CORN LAWS?

As a simultaneous effort is being made by the landowners and their agents, in various agricultural districts, to get up demonstrations in favour of the Corn Laws; and as it is sought to induce the farmers to take the labour and bear the cost of the struggle, it becomes the bounden duty of every tenant-farmer, before embarking in, what it requires no prophet to foretell must be a fruitless agitation, to ask himself what he has gained by the Corn Laws? We shall supply him with a few facts and data which will assist him in that inquiry. But first let us inquire what are the objects proposed to be attained by means of the Corn Laws; secondly, who are the classes of persons alleged to be interested in the maintenance of those laws; and, thirdly, whether the interests of all the classes, so alleged to be interested in the Corn Laws, are the same.

About the object of the Corn Laws there can be no mistake: it is to keep the price of all corn grown in this country at some given rate higher than what is supposed to be its natural price. From the great

wealth and populousness of this country, arising from the enterprising character of its trading and commercial classes, it has been supposed by those who have mainly influenced our legislation, that a system of restriction on the trade in corn could be devised by which all the consumers of corn might be made to pay an artificial price for their daily food. Previously to 1813 a succession of indifferent crops combined with the difficulty of obtaining supplies of corn from abroad rendered the prices of grain most exorbitant for a series of years; and the owners and occupiers of land during that period obtained great profits at the expense of all the rest of the community. And both landowners and occupiers, but especially the former, acted under the mistaken notion that the accidental and temporary state of things which existed during the war was fixed and permanent. Hence landlords bought and mortgaged, then mortgaged and bought again, more and more land at higher and higher prices, until the market value had been increased far beyond that point to which the vast accessions of national wealth, during the forty years antecedent to 1813, would have legitimately carried it. So the farmers whose leases fell out—for in those days leases were granted and accepted—towards the latter end of the war were compelled, by the great competition for farms which then existed, to give rents in proportion to the extravagant prices of corn. These rents were as much beyond the amount at which land should have been properly let, as the market value of land had risen beyond its legitimate value. The sudden rise in all kinds of agricultural produce which had occurred between 1792 and 1813, a rise altogether unlooked for, had given to those farmers who were in the possession of leases in the earlier years of that period, profits so considerable that hundreds upon hundreds of persons left other businesses to become farmers; and in most instances these new comers were insufficiently provided with capital. They entered into farming with a recklessness before unknown in that business; they borrowed money enough, perhaps, to carry them round one year, and then the enormous price of their crops—though in most cases their land was but indifferently cultivated—not only enabled them to pay their way, but often, if careful men, to realize capital. This was solely owing to the continued rise in the price of corn, so that up to 1812 every speculation in land, either by way of purchase or of hiring, seemed to be successful. At this time, as Mr. Driver the extensively-employed land-agent, stated before the Agricultural Committee of 1821, 100s. to 105s. per quarter was the ordinary price at which valuers of land estimated the wheat crop; and thousands of farmers entered into engagements to pay rents calculated upon such estimates. Is it surprising that a return to natural prices brought ruin and distress to many who had entered into such ill-considered engagements? But the termination of the war brought all such speculations to a speedy end, simply by removing the obstacles to communication with the Continent which had before existed.

This was the time when the grand legislative error was committed by the landowners. They were not satisfied with the large increase of rent to which they would have been fairly entitled from the advances the nation had made during the preceding twenty years in riches and population; but they wanted also to retain that additional increase of rent which they had obtained from the obstacles to importation from abroad in seasons of deficient produce. In a word, they claimed a vested interest in the profit they had made of national misfortunes. The extent of this profit may be judged by the fact, that in the latter years of the war wheat was imported, subject to a charge for freight, insurance, French and English Government licenses, &c., of no less than 44s. per quarter! Such was the urgency of the public demand for corn. The way in which that profit was proposed to be secured to the landed interest was, by creating an artificial scarcity in this country. For several years the home produce of grain had been insufficient to supply the home consumption; and it was supposed that if foreign corn could be excluded until the price of wheat was 80s. a quarter, that such price could have maintained as our permanent rate. With such views Parliament passed the law of 1815, which absolutely prohibited any importation of foreign corn until the average price of wheat had been for six weeks 80s. per quarter. Now, let not our agricultural readers imagine that they can fully and fairly judge of the operation of the Corn Laws upon their business, unless they take up the question thus early. They must begin with the beginning, for it is upon such a consideration that the subject will finally be dealt with in Parliament and by the country. Let our Essex readers calmly judge for themselves, upon a quiet review of the events of the last twenty-eight years, and not on the ignorant fallacies of prating lawyers or the coarse vituperation and puerile calculations (?) of half-informed land-agents.

Having ascertained the objects of the Corn Laws, let us see what classes those laws have been alleged to protect; and whether they are all thereby in fact protected. The first class

is that of the landowners; and their interest in monopoly, taking a narrow and immediate view of it, is sufficiently obvious: for the higher the price of corn the greater will be their rents. Rent is the residue of the produce of land which remains after the capital expended in cultivation has been replaced, with the lowest remuneration for his labour and capital which the cultivator will consent to accept. The competition which exists amongst farmers determines what that remuneration shall be; when there is great competition for farms the rate of remuneration will be low, because farmer will bid against farmer until the landlord obtains as rent everything which can be raised from the soil beyond a bare subsistence for the tenant. Oftentimes there is no living left for the tenant. Whether the price of wheat, therefore, be 80s. or 40s. a quarter will make no difference to the tenant, *provided he shall actually obtain the price on which he founded his calculations*; though it may make a material difference to the landlord. But a high price of corn will have the effect of limiting other business, and will induce more people to come into the business of farming; and thus in both ways it tends to increase the competition for farms, to the serious injury of tenant-farmers, but greatly to the benefit of the landowners. Then, if the price of corn be high, the same rent can be paid with a less produce, and, consequently, by a smaller outlay of capital, which again increases the competition for farms, by inducing farmers to undertake more land than they have capital to cultivate highly; while the landlord, having the power of distress, can always find enough on the land to pay his rent, though the farmer may be ruined and his other creditors "go whoop" for their demands. And the farmer is injured in a variety of ways by a high price of corn, for everything he uses in his business, all that he consumes in his family, by his cattle, or his servants, is greatly enhanced in price by the unnatural dearth of food. It is thus plain that, supposing the Corn Laws to have attained their object of constantly keeping the prices of grain artificially high, the interest of the landlord and the interest of the renting farmer are diametrically opposed to each other. But when, in addition, we find that in three years out of every five since the passing of the Corn Laws the farmer has not received the price for his grain upon which he based his calculations, and in the expectation of obtaining which he entered into his actual engagements with his landlord—to say nothing of all his other engagements which have been made with reference to the same range of prices—what will be the condition of the farmer under a Corn Law? The difference between the price he expected to obtain and that he actually receives may be so great that an abatement of all his rent might not place him in the situation he would have been in had he realized his estimated prices; for rent is not the only burden fixed with reference to prices. And this is completely borne out by the practical working of the Corn Law. Thus from 1815 to 1828 the farmer's rents were fixed upon the calculation of 80s. a quarter for wheat, and in the same proportion for other grain. And what were the prices he actually received during those thirteen years? Why, except in 1817, which was a year of dearth both here and on the Continent, the British farmer never obtained the prices promised him by act of Parliament. Home competition had reduced the price of wheat in December, 1820, to 54s.; in July, 1821, to 51s.; in August, 1822, to 42s.; and in December of the same year to 38s. a quarter! In 1825, 1826, and 1827, as soon as the price of wheat approached 65s. a quarter, or 15s. a quarter below the price promised by law to the farmer, the Governments of the day were compelled to admit foreign corn by orders in council and special laws.

In December, 1827, the price of wheat was again as low as 47s. a quarter. Then the sliding-scale law of 1828 was passed; and which was framed to secure to the tenant-farmer a price for wheat of about 70s. a quarter; and his rent and other obligations had become slowly adjusted towards that scale of prices. Now mark the result. The farmer obtained that price only for one year, when at the close of 1829 the average price of wheat was 55s.; the price got up again in 1831 to the act-of-Parliament rate, but fell by December, 1832, to 53s. 2d. The average price of the five years ending in 1832 was only 61s. 2d., or 8s. 10d. below the price promised by the Corn Law. In 1833 the average price of wheat varied from 51s. to 54s.; in 1834 the price was 40s. 6d.; and in December, 1835, the average was so low as 38s. a quarter. Since that time prices have been higher, but still scarcely reaching, except for one or two years, the promised rate. The alteration made in the Corn Law by Sir Robert Peel in 1842 was merely nominal, inasmuch as it retained all the operative part of the old sliding scale, yet for the last two years prices have been considerably below the rates promised by the Legislature and the landlords. The committee of the House of Commons on "agricultural distress" which sat in 1836 fully disclosed the impossibility of keeping prices permanently high by act of Parliament, and that, the only effect of the attempt to do so by the Corn Law,

only aggravated the fluctuations incident to the seasons, and induced farmers to rely on extraneous aid rather than on their own skill and intelligence. Our limits do not permit us now to go more at large into this part of the subject; but if the farmer, after perusing the above details, will refer to his own experience, he will be soon convinced that, whoever may have gained by the Corn Laws, he has not been the fortunate person.

Then, what have the labourers, the agricultural labourers, gained by the Corn Laws? The direct effect of the Corn Laws, when they operate by enhancing prices, is to induce an undue growth of grain, to the neglect of stock keeping, and of green or fallow crops, and this causes the employment of fewer labourers than would be necessary to cultivate a farm, if steady and natural prices of grain were all the farmer expected. But when prices fall below the act-of-Parliament rate, and the farmer becomes a struggling and distressed man, his first resource is to employ fewer labourers: he knows that the rent must be paid or the landlord would sell him up, and therefore he throws overboard the unfortunate labourer, in the hope of wearing out the storm till the next bad harvest or series of bad harvests may bring a return of high prices. If prices had become steady, and the great element of uncertainty which at present affects the farmer's business were removed, by leaving the trade in corn free, a steady and progressive improvement would take place in the condition of the peasantry. It is a foolish and a fraudulent pretence to say that moderate prices of grain would diminish the price, either by throwing land out of cultivation or by causing it to be converted into permanent pasture. Nothing of the sort would occur; on the contrary, the breaking up of inferior pastures and the extension of convertible husbandry is the mode in which every man who deserves the name of a farmer proposes to meet low prices of grain. And it will be by means of improved husbandry, carried on under permanent holdings, assisted in many cases by the co-operation of the landlord, that the business of a farmer will again become one in which an industrious capitalist may fairly expect a fair remuneration for his outlay, his skill, and his labour.

PECULIAR BURDENS ON LAND.

The supporters of the Corn Laws have long been in the habit of defending their monopoly by vaguely asserting that there are in this country public burdens which are exclusively borne by the land, but we have seldom seen any serious attempt made to define them. The whole landlord power in Parliament has been invited, has been solicited, has been defied, to prove the existence of such burthens; motion for a committee to inquire as to those burdens was made last session by Mr. Ward, and resisted by the whole force of the landed interest. The more shrewd monopolists, indeed, say but little on this topic; but fools rush on where wise men fear to tread, and we were, therefore, not surprised to find the valiant Essex land-agent, Mr. Robert Baker, volunteering a calculation to prove the peculiar "burdens which pressed upon land in this country." This he attempts to do in the following manner:—He takes 100 acres of land, and assumes that five labourers are required to cultivate it, who, having families, in number 13 persons, dependent upon them, making together 18 people of the labouring class to be supported by the 100 acres. Then he assumes one person of the landlord's family, five of the tenant's, and four of the tradesmen's, dependent on agricultural employment, making altogether 27 persons "dependent in those agricultural districts on the cultivation of every 100 acres of land." Whether this be or be not the number of persons dependent for a living on the cultivation of 100 acres of land is not of much importance for the purpose of examining what Mr. Baker calls his carefully-prepared calculations; but in fact, except in a few particular districts, the proportion is far too high. That, however, does not materially affect the question. This is Mr. Baker's statement of the taxes which "bear directly and indirectly on land:—"

| INDIRECT TAXATION. | | |
|---|---|--------|
| Tax upon the 5 labourers and families, at £35 each | £ | 175 |
| (£165 at 10 per cent) | s | 16 0 |
| Tax upon tenant, domestics, and family | d | 15 0 |
| Tax upon landlord, assuming one landlord to each 100 acres, say | | 15 0 |
| Tax upon mechanics, as employed, and family, at £40 | | 6 0 |
| | £ | 211 10 |
| DIRECT TAXES. | | |
| Land-tax | £ | 5 0 |
| Malt-tax direct, as consumed on the farm | s | 5 0 |
| Property-tax, landlord and tenant | d | 4 0 |
| Poor-rate, surveyor's-rate, church-rate, &c. (6s.) | | 25 0 |
| Rent-charge, 6s. | | 30 0 |
| Assessed taxes | | 2 10 |
| | £ | 71 10 |

Making altogether £123 tax upon each 100 acres.

Deduct of the above for grass and fallow land, 1-4th .. 92 8
Deduct for other green crops 1-4th .. 69 0
Direct and indirect tax upon wheat produce, which, at 3 qrs. 4 bushels per acre, is 66 qrs. 4 bushels, or about 21s. per qr.

Now, here we have an elaborated statement of the peculiar burdens on which the landowners have "based their claims for protection." This, at all events, is tangible, and as such deserves examination.

First, take the £10 per cent. of indirect taxation stated to be charged upon the income of the agricultural labourer. This must consist of customs and excise duties. Of the

20 millions sterling per annum which are levied as customs duties on imported articles, about 17 millions are paid on eight or ten articles only, of which the chief are sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, spirits, and wine. Now, whether the agricultural labourers pay 10 per cent. of their incomes to the Government in the shape of indirect taxes on the sugar, the tea, the coffee, the tobacco, and the spirits they consume, or any smaller or larger amount, it is plain to the dullest monopolist that *they do not alone pay such taxes*. The artisans, the workmen in towns, factories, and elsewhere, have to bear *precisely the same burden*. How the fact, that the peasant, who is so fortunate as to get any tea, sugar, or tobacco at all, pays a heavy tax on such articles, in common with all other classes who use the same articles, furnishes a ground for compelling such other classes to bear an extra burden for the purpose of increasing the income of the peasant, passes our comprehension. Not that the Bread-tax *does* increase the peasant's income, or any body else's except the landlord's, though it commonly diminishes the means of all other industrious classes; but that is the pretence on which the claim to protection is founded, and for the purpose of this argument as to exclusive burdens on land, and on the twenty-seven persons Mr. Baker assumes to be dependent on 100 acres of land, we will suppose that the Corn Law really does increase their incomes.

Next we have the excise duties, the principal of which are malt, soap, candles, and a few similar commodities. And what does the farming labourer, when he drinks a cup of beer, pay towards the excise duty, which is not paid by every other person who indulges in that luxury? Why, nothing, absolutely nothing. And precisely the same reasoning applies to the 10 per cent. assumed by Mr. Baker to be charged on the incomes of the tenant and his family, the landlord, and the agricultural mechanic and his family. The shopkeeper, the merchant, the annuitant, or the manufacturer, each pays exactly the same indirect taxes on all the imported or exciseable articles he consumes, as are paid by Mr. Baker's landed and agricultural twenty-seven! Why is the tax levied on the cigars and champagne punch of the young landed aristocrat a peculiar burden upon land, when precisely the same kind of tax is levied on the tea, coffee, sugar, and beer of the manufacturer, the tradesman, and the mechanic? This part of the "calculation," therefore, fails. Can any farmer believe that it was anything but an attempt to play upon his ignorance, or to pander to his prejudices?

So much for the indirect taxes.—Now for the direct. The land-tax, when imposed about 150 years ago, was certainly a tax on rent; but its rate has never been altered from that day to this, and its amount as a per centage on present rents is trifling in the extreme. A tax on rent, however, is the best tax which can possibly be imposed, for rent rises with every increase of a nation's wealth, through the toil of its industrious population, without any exertion on the part of the rent-receiver. If, therefore, a certain proportion, say one-fifth, of the actual rent was always levied upon the landlord, he would have no right to complain, for it would only be a small deduction for the benefit of the community, from that increase of wealth which he obtains without thought, care, or labour, by the industry of the rest of the community. He toils not, neither does he spin; he only legislates for those who do! A tax on rent would not raise the price of any commodity, it would not fall on any industrious consumer. The fund for keeping hounds, and race-horses, pheasants, grooms, and opera girls might be somewhat lessened by such a tax on rent; but the fund for the employment of useful and honest industry would be enlarged in precisely the same proportion, and it would not apply to persons now investing money in the purchase of land, for in such cases the tax would be calculated and the purchase-money reduced in proportion; but the newly-made landowner, the Barings of the commonwealth, would find their future increments of rent arising from the growth of national wealth and population taxed as it fairly should be. And even then the English landowner would pay a very much smaller proportion towards the taxation of the State than the landowner of the Continent. Next, the malt-tax on the malt consumed on the farm does not differ from that on malt consumed elsewhere: it is an indirect tax which we have before disposed of. Property-tax is paid by landlords and tenants in common with all other owners of property; so of the the church-rate. The poor-rate is only partially paid by the land, and, so far as it is paid by the land, forms ultimately a tax on rent, which is only reasonable, seeing that landlords are the chief makers of paupers. But pauperism would nearly cease out of the land if all the farms of the country were properly cultivated. That they are not so cultivated is the fault of the landlords, their laws, and their vicious system. The tithe rent-charge is only a portion of the rent, which is payable to the parson instead of the landlord: it is no more a burden on land than the rest of the rent is; it is a portion of the surplus which remains after the expenses of cultivation. If the parson had it not, it would go into the landlord's pocket. Lastly, we have the assessed taxes stated as a peculiar burden on land; and certainly that statement is the *ne plus ultra* of monopolist impudence. What is the fact? Why, that the land is specially exempted from all the assessed taxes; unless Mr. Baker means to say the taxes on the racers, the hunters, the carriages, and the servants of the landlords, are peculiar burdens on land, though every other person, deriving an income from any other

source, is subject to the same taxes for keeping the like articles. But the agricultural classes are actually exempt from those taxes which are paid by other classes of tradesmen. The brewer, the butcher, or the baker pays a tax for every horse he uses in his business, while all the agricultural horses of the farmer are exempt; occupiers of farms under £200 a year may keep one riding-horse free of duty; horses ridden by bailiffs, shepherds, and herdsmen pay no duty; sheep and cattle dogs are exempt. The truth is, that if this subject is gone into we shall find that instead of peculiar burdens it will be proved that land has peculiar exemptions. We are glad Mr. Baker has fairly stirred the question, and we promise him our best assistance to investigate the subject, and set it in its true light. We suspect Mr. Baker's clients, the squires, won't thank him much for his "careful calculations," by the time they have been completely sifted. We shall return to the subject again and again.

A FALSEHOOD EXPOSED.

The following letter from one of the most independent-minded men in the county of Essex forms a practical comment on Mr. Baker's abominable assertion, that all the rural population have a sufficiency of bread:—

"To the Editor of the LEAGUE."

"I am quite satisfied that amongst the rural population they all have a sufficiency of bread; and whatever may have been said by Mr. Cobden and others on that point, is entirely groundless.—Extract from Mr. R. Baker's speech at the late Protection Society Meeting at Chelmsford."

"Sir,—The above extract I have copied from the *Chelmsford Chronicle* of last week, and being myself present, I believe it to be a correct version of what Mr. Baker said. Now, an assertion like this should be well considered before it is given to the public. Mr. Baker has an extensive acquaintance with agricultural matters, both as farmer and land-surveyor, agent, &c., and he has a fair claim to, and no doubt is considered, good authority. At the meeting I said 'No, no!' to the statement, and I could refer your readers to various districts, especially in the northern parts of this county, where the wages and earnings of the agricultural labourers are inadequate to find, for themselves and families, sufficiency of bread. But a fact is better than a long speech, and the following agreement, between a labourer and his master, is a startling one:—

"Oct. 11, 1842.—I, John Drury, do undertake the care of four horses and one riding horse to feed and clean, at four o'clock in the morning, and to do any sort of work, and plough my acre of land per day, for the sum of seven shillings per week, excepting the three weeks in harvest time, for which I am to have two shillings per week extra. I also hire the cottage and garden I now occupy, at four guineas per annum.—Witness my mark, JOHN DRURY."

"Great Maplestead."

"Earnest, part pay, 1s."

"This man serves his master at 1s. per week less this year. Drury is a married man, about 30 years of age, and a useful ploughman, with a wife and child, and being at some time since, he applied for relief to the Hated Board of Guardians, when the original document was shown to the board. It seems to me to be a mockery to talk of protection as necessary to the wellbeing of agricultural labourers; at all events John Drury must be an exception. Yours &c.,

"Witham, Jan. 3, 1844."

"HENRY DIXON."

So will all the fallacies and falsehoods of the squires' creatures be answered whenever they are sufficiently definite to be susceptible of affirmation or denial.

LINGERING FEUDALISM.

It is with no exaggerated or distempered fancy that we often refer to the system of English tenures, and the mode in which English land is managed, as distinctly referable to the sentiments of feudal times. The inconveniences and anomalies in our law of real property, as is well known to every conveyancer, are the immediate offspring of feudal tenures; and the strict scrutiny, which the necessity of exposing all the injurious effects of the Corn Laws has forced upon thinking men, shows day by day how much of the habits and sentiments of an uncivilized age lingers in the halls and castles of our landed grandees. Take, for instance, the following paragraph, relative to the Duke of Rutland, which has been going the round of the papers:—

"BELVOIR CASTLE.—The following statement will give some idea of the extent of the magnificent hospitality which on ordinary occasions prevails at the princely establishment of the Duke of Rutland:—During eighteen weeks in 1840, there dined at his grace's table 1997 persons; in the steward's room, 241; in the servants' hall, 11,312 persons; and in the kitchen department, including cooks and grooms, 11,312 persons. Of loaves of bread there were consumed 3333, and of meat 29,631lb., exclusive of game."

Now, when the avowed business of three-fourths of our nobles was rapine or civil war, and when the rest were compelled, in mere self-defence, to surround themselves with little armies, such profuse hospitality as that recorded in the above paragraph was, at all events, intelligible. But what good purpose can it serve now? If there be one class of persons whose influence upon a rural district is more mischievous than any other, it is the domestics of a great establishment. This is admitted to be so under the most favourable circumstances; it is distinctly and strongly stated by Mr. Senior, in one of his lectures as professor of political economy in the University of Oxford, and is felt to be so by all who have the misfortune to reside within the sphere of such evil influences. Now, what must have been the mischief caused upon the moral tone of a rural district in which 11,312 persons of the humbler classes were initiated into the coarse license of the servants' hall and kitchen of Belvoir Castle? This is an abuse of wealth. But then the Duke of Rutland is not wealthy; on the contrary, he is a poor man; so much so that in certain circles much compassion was expressed for him, on account of the late expensive honour of entertaining royalty which has been conferred upon him.

And it is wonderful that such absurd profusion should dilapidate the largest fortune?

Yet thus it is that the monopolist landowner of this country wastes his own substance—to say nothing of the waste he suffers in order to retain a dependent tenantry—while he grasps at a dishonest increase of rent by means of artificial scarcity and Corn Laws, and induces men unwillingly to apply to him the description formerly given of the Roman aristocrat—*Attenti appetens sui proventus*.

ARISTOCRATIC CHARITIES.

If there be one indication of the misuse of landlords' power and influence in any particular district more unfavourable than another, it is to be found in the fact, that periodical distributions in charity are there made to the labouring classes. Thus in Buckinghamshire we find many such as the following:—

"WOTTON.—On Sunday week, after the morning service, the Christmas gifts of the Duke of Buckingham were distributed at this place. The poor of Wotton, Westcott, and Ashendon, with the hamlets of Kingswood and Woodham, were certainly kindly remembered by his Grace, who, with the Duchess, the Marquis of Chandos, and Lady Anna Eliza Grenville, were in attendance at the distribution, having come from Stowe for that purpose. Each person above twelve years of age, had 2lbs. of beef, 2lbs. of bread, and two pints of beer; and those under twelve, half the above quantities. The aged and sick, in addition, had a change of flannel given them. Every male child who attends his Grace's free school has each a new suit of clothes given him."—*Aylesbury News*.

Again:—

"BOARSTALL.—About twenty tons of coal have been presented to the poor of Boarstall, and delivered at their doors free. Some families had upwards of half a ton as their share. Twelve pounds of the fund were received from the charity of—*Leeds, Esq.*, and the remainder was raised by subscription."—*Aylesbury News*.

We last week drew attention to the remarkable coincidence of extreme destitution and degradation amongst the labourers, and extensive Christmas benefactions in Dorsetshire; and, with the exception of that county, and, perhaps, one or two others in the west of England, there are no agricultural labourers so badly paid, and so thoroughly pauperised, as those of Buckinghamshire. This is especially the case in those parts which are under the Duke of Buckingham's influence. He maintains and defends all that tends to degrade the peasant; he grants no leases, and, in consequence, has a poor and spiritless tenantry, who farm badly, with as few labourers as possible. He preserves game with the most scrupulous severity, so much so that, until Sir James Graham was compelled to interpose, a sort of private petty sessions used to be held before the open petty sessions, by two magistrates, creatures of the Duke, for the express purpose of hearing game offences committed on the Duke's property. Here we find a system of letting land, by which the rural labourers are reduced to the brink of starvation, and a stock of game, hateful and injurious to the farmer, kept, which, to the destitute peasant, offers an inducement to offend against the law—an unwise and unjust law, it is true, but still the law—which is almost irresistible. Does the Duke of Buckingham—do the thousands of other English landlords who, like him, uphold a system which is destructive of agricultural industry, and begets deep rural demoralization—so misinterpret the text, "charity covereth a multitude of sins," as to imagine that two pitiful pounds of beef and pints of beer, to a few selected poor, can be aught but a mockery of that class he and they have so cruelly wronged by the way in which their property is misused?

NON-POLITICAL AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES.

We have often said, most of the active members of agricultural societies are really more desirous to maintain Monopoly than to benefit agriculture; and that, in spite of their ostensible repudiation of political objects, they formed, in most cases, covert "protection societies." This has been shown in the Northampton Graziers' Association, from which several members have withdrawn themselves because the President, Earl Spencer, has declared his opinion that Free Trade will be best for farmers. With that directness of purpose for which his Lordship is so deservedly esteemed he immediately himself withdrew from the society, and announced his intention in the following letter on the subject to the honorary secretary, Mr. Whitworth:—

"ALTHORP, Jan. 6, 1844,

"Sir,—I have always been of opinion, and have frequently stated, that an agricultural society which had anything of a political character was an evil instead of a benefit to the country; and have invariably declined to connect myself with any such society unless one of the conditions of its formation was the total exclusion of all political discussions. The step which several gentlemen who are deservedly considered among the most respected and eminent farmers of this county, have taken of withdrawing their names from the Farming and Grazing Society, and the reason which they have given for so doing, must necessarily give a political character to this society. I continue one of its members. I therefore must beg you to withdraw my name from it. I am very sorry to feel it my duty to take this step. I have had great satisfaction in acting with the society, believing, as I do, that it has greatly improved the agriculture of this neighbourhood, but I am confident this has been mainly owing to the total exclusion of all political feeling from every part of its proceedings. If I remain a member this can no longer be the case; but when I am withdrawn, I hope the farmers will carry it on in the same spirit which has hitherto animated it. With respect to the prizes which I have been in the habit of giving as a member of the society, I shall of course give those which are announced for this year. After this year I shall continue to offer those for sheep-shearing, for mowing, and for hedge-cutting to the labourers; for none of them, at least, will think that they have a right to die to me what my political opinions shall be because I offer prizes for their competition. I shall be quite ready also to continue the other prizes, if the society will accept them; unless I find that it is imputed to me that I have any political or interested motive in so doing."

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"H. B. Whitworth, Esq."

"SPENCER."

HINTS FOR AGRICULTURISTS.

THE CALLED JACK WINCES.—The savage attack made at Blandford by Mr. George Banks, M.P.—he of Dorsetshire notoriety—on the Rev. Mr. Osborne, by reason of that gentleman's share in exposing the real state of the labourers under a system of monopoly, sufficiently proved the soreness of the monopolists of Dorsetshire upon the subject. But the following passage from a half-apologetic letter on the occurrence, which Mr. Banks has published in the local newspaper, proves that he quite understands the conclusive character of the evidence recently afforded by Dorsetshire against the Corn Monopoly. He says:—

"Mr. Osborne will not be offended if I add, that it was from the circumstances of his elevated station in respect of rank, and character, and abilities, that I have felt the more acutely the use, so very different from what he intends, which may be made of the productions of a pen used by him on many occasions with intentions so benevolent and with so much talent."

There can be no doubt that Mr. Osborne's evidence, which is beyond suspicion, completely discredits the hardy and insolent statements of Mr. George Banks, with respect to the condition of the Dorsetshire peasantry.

THE LAW OF LANDLORD AND TENANT.—The following recital, which we have extracted from a letter of Mr.

James Dean, the eminent surveyor, in the *Mark-lane Express*, sets in a strong light the perils by which the tenant-farmers of England are beset in consequence of the unequal operation of the law of landlord and tenant. It also affords an instance of the folly a farmer commits who consents to become a "confidence"-bold tenant:—

"An action was brought by a landlord against his tenant for not leaving 70 acres of dead or naked fallow upon quitting his farm, for too a cropping, over-cropping, and taking away portions of the hay and straw from off the farm on quitting. The damages were laid at £300. The farm consisted of 275 acres—275 acres being arable, and 3 acres grass land. The tenancy was from year to year; the rent £220 clear, subject to great and small tithes, situated in the parish of Hambledon, midway between Great Marlow and Henley, Bucks. The defendant's father had rented the farm many years, under an agreement in writing, which applied in his lifetime; afterwards continued to hold the farm as tenant-at-will. The father dying, left his wife executrix, who continued the farm, and ultimately resigned it to her son, the present defendant. The farm-buildings having become dilapidated, and the land wanting improvement by chalking, the tenant applied to his then landlord to assist him to do the same; the landlord excused him, on the ground of poverty, but gave an assurance to the tenant that, if he would do them at his own expense, his rent should not be raised during his (the landlord's) life; with the further assurance that, as the estate was in strict settlement, it could not be sold for many years then to come. This was, however, nothing as to the letting of the farm, or the repairs and improvements, reduced into writing."

Here we have a case of mutual confidence between landlord and tenant as complete as Sir Robert Peel could desire; and what was the result?—

"The tenant repaired the buildings at an expense exceeding £300, and laid out upwards of £600 in chalking 185 acres of the land. The landlord had by this time discovered that he could sell the estate, and determined to do so; first offering it, together with 25 acres of woodland, to the tenant at 10,000 guineas; the tenant bid £8000. In the midst of the twenty, the plaintiff in the action offered £10,000 and was accepted. He then offered it to the defendant to rent, at £500 per annum, which was declined. On the 23rd of March, 1842, the plaintiff served the defendant with notice to quit at the Michaelmas next following, and then let it to Mr. Stowe, the present tenant, at £400 per annum."

The confidence was not transferred though the estate was; and the tenant who had thus been so foolish as to lay out his money without a lease, was therefore required by the new purchaser to pay a rent according to the increased value caused by his own outlay. This was a simple act of plunder by course of law.

"Mr. King, the defendant, being very popular in his neighbourhood, and esteemed one of the best farmers in the country, there was a universal feeling of disgust at the treatment he had received; and the new landlord, being probably aware of it, offered Stowe £100, before he entered, to give up the bargain, but Stowe said he would not give it up for £500. King, the away-going tenant, and Stowe, the incoming tenant, then came to an amicable arrangement about the usual terms of quitting. King set out the tiller of his crops to ascertain what straw he might remove; removed the surplus hay, and so left the farm; regretting, as may be supposed, the great mistake he had made in relying upon the honour of his former landlord, and asking consolation from the kind feeling so universally expressed in his behalf from all but one, that one his new landlord, the plaintiff: his expression of kind feeling came in the shape of an action at law, for damage done to his farm—none, too, in the strict sense of six months; the action was based upon an agreement made before the defendant was born, and with a landlord he never knew, and was justly repudiated by both judge and jury at the trial."

The matter was, by the direction of the judge, referred to arbitration, and after the examination of a host of witnesses on both sides, the arbitrator decided that the landlord was not entitled to any damages, and he was ordered to pay the costs. The tenant had, however, paid a sum of money into court to cover his technical error of omitting to leave the stipulated quantity of naked fallows, and the costs he would receive from his opponent by no means met his actual expenditure. Now this is only what happens every day, and we believe there is scarcely a farmer in England who might not be half ruined from being entrapped in the meshes of the usual farming agreements. It was once honestly said by a Lord Chancellor, on a remark being made upon the unfair rule of law which gave a widower a life-interest in his deceased wife's equitable estate in land, but refused a similar benefit to a widow, that the only way of accounting for it was, "that men alone were chancellors;" and it must be obvious to every one who knows anything of the practical working of the law of landlord and tenant, that no tenant-farmers have yet been legislators.

THE BENEFIT OF MONOPOLY!—In the agricultural monthly report from Bedfordshire we find these significant passages:—

"Draining, ditching, throwing down old irregular fences, and planting new ones, seem to be pretty generally the order of the day; in fact, where the tenant can do very well spare the necessary outlay, it is being done, in many instances, by the landlord, not forgetting (of course) to put on an additional rent. It is far better, we admit, that these improvements should be so made, than not made at all; it is more satisfactory, however, where we see the tenants able to make them, and with a security as to tenure that causes them to do it cheerfully—the landlord finding the materials."

This is the only way in which landlords and tenants can really "protect" themselves. What legislative promises unfulfilled have brought many farmers to, the following will show:—

"The last year, what with the low prices of all farm produce of the previous season, together with the very deficient crops of the late harvest on all the strong, tenacious soils of the county, has, we regret to say, placed the farmers of those soils in a very pitiable state; and it will only be by some extraordinary good luck, or rather from great consideration of their landlords, if they ever recover their former position in society."

Again:—

"Many [farmers] are already insolvent, and others following them close at their heels, and not one farmer in a score can place out his sons in anything like the same circumstances he had been placed himself."

And what does this writer, who of course eagerly desires to maintain "protection," say of the present prospects of the farmer?

"This, then, is our position, at the commencement of the new year; and, what is still worse, what by party strife among the landed gentry, and the bitter disappointment and dogged indifference of the tenantry, we are become a rope of sand, and completely powerless before the common enemy."

Such, then, is the actual state of the farmers under law which gives the British grower of corn an absolute monopoly of the British market. Farmers are, however, beginning to discover that the Monopolists, and not the Free Traders, are "the common enemy."

A SENSIBLE DOUBT.—A correspondent of the *Mark-lane Express*, who signs himself a "Young Farmer,"

doubts the benefit to be derived by tenant-farmers from the escape of the Essex land-agents. He says:—

"I learn one or two Protection Societies are about to be commenced in this county (Essex); a great deal is said about raising funds for this purpose; certainly tenant-farmers cannot well afford to refuse such in this way. You, Mr. Editor, are well aware that the present time is a difficult one to keep the vessel clear of running aground, with produce at a low rate, whilst our expenses are, as ever, high. I confess I am a little dull of comprehension; but it appears to me by such acts we are not protecting ourselves as tenant-farmers. Are we not taking the business out of the hands of those to whom we should look for protection—our landlords? If that equitable adjustment of rent could be accomplished, so ably advocated by Mr. Baker and others, I would ask, where is the tenant-farmer who would not cheerfully fall in with such a desirable object for the protection of the interests of landlord and tenant? To use a common expression, 'our course is couled,' when we read such statements as that contained in the *Express* of last week, which fell from the Marquis of Salisbury. It appears to me that such statements mean, in plain English, tenant-farmers are made the slaves to cause estates to produce a certain interest on capital, whether they can live on it or not."

The "Young Farmer" is right. Let the landlords fight their own battles, without making the farmers' interest their stalking-horse.

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY AND HIS TENANTS.—The account we gave of the speech of this real monopolist on his rent day, to such of his tenants as then made their appearance, having been copied into the *Globe*, his lordship's agent wrote to that journal with the following corrected report:—

"You appear to have been misinformed; and I beg, therefore, to state briefly the tenor of his lordship's address on that occasion. After alluding to the mischief he anticipated from the repeal of the Corn Laws, he said that the first persons who would suffer from the abolition of protection would be the leaseholders. They were bound by engagements which they had been called to fulfil as long as they had the means. The tenants at-will were in a better situation—they might demand a reduction, or leave their farms; but his lordship much doubted whether any reduction would meet the injuries of the case. Least of all the leaseholders would be affected, and it was impossible to foresee whether the effects of such a measure upon them would be permanent or temporary. His lordship inferred from this, that an active opposition to the efforts of the Corn-Law League ought to commence with the occupiers of land."

This, however, completely proves the accuracy of our information, for the *quintessence* report of the speaker's agent is substantially the same as ours. It is curious to observe that the agent has not denied that his lordship gave his tenants to understand—for, like most of his fellow-peers, he is a wretched speaker—that he had made up his mind to grant no reductions of rent. We know that the feeling left upon the minds of his hearers was one of excessive disgust. As to the fallacy upon which his lordship founded his attempt to incite his dependent tenants-at-will to an active defence of high rents, viz., that yearly tenants are less dependent upon their landlord when an unlooked for fall in prices occurs than leaseholders, the extract we gave from Mr. Shaw Lefevre's address disposes of that completely. And it must be remembered that Mr. Lefevre is an AGRICULTURIST, and a good one, while Lord Salisbury is as much an agriculturist because he is, by the accident of birth, a landowner as any old lady on whom a sixty-fourth share in a ship may have devolved as next of kin of her twentieth cousin would be a sailor.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our correspondent "Mercator's" caution is needless. Mr. Cobden will not be caught by Feargus O'Connor's craft; challenges to public discussion by such men are a very stale device (Dr. Sligh and Mr. Ferrand to wit,) for diverting attention from the true scent. Mr. Cobden has attended 28 public open-air meetings, duly advertised, in all parts of England, where he challenged all comers. He held public meetings in Bucks, Yorkshire, and Lancashire, in which counties the learned doctor and the Irish patriot now pretend to be so anxious to discuss the question of the Corn Law. We know Feargus better than our correspondent; and if he wish to be better informed of his public character let him inquire in Ireland. This empty brag is probably the only native-born Irishman who dares not stand up before a public meeting of his own countrymen in Ireland. He has at last avowed himself the champion of the Bread-tax, and we wish the Monopolists joy of their worthy ally. A reply to most of the questions asked a week by our correspondents will be found in the Postscript. Want of space compels us to defer our answers to the next.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the *League* forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the *League* may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, January 13, 1844.

Falsehood has always been the last desperate resource of monopoly; faction only wants one unblushing knave to invent a lie, and every member of its band is sure to aid in giving it circulation. There are papers that knowingly publish falsehoods, but refuse to insert the refutations except as advertisements, and thus carry on a profitable traffic in guilt. It is the morality of oligarchy, that those who circulate a proved lie are not bound to take any notice of its contradiction: calumny is deemed a legitimate weapon of war, and slanders on private character are circulated for the purpose of deterring men from the assertion of public principle. In 1829, it was currently reported throughout Ireland that Wellington and Peel had been bribed out of the Catholic rent to coerce George IV. into granting emancipation. Grossly absurd as such a story appears, it was studiously circulated by the Brunswick clubs, and it received credence in ranks of society where the existence of such gullibility could scarcely have been suspected. We all remember the atrocious tales of slander

invented respecting the Queen, and the zeal with which those monstrous falsehoods were spread abroad by certain right noble gentlemen and right honourable ladies; and we know that the denial of these abominable calumnies exposed adherents of truth to direct insult, or exclusion from certain circles claiming to be fashionable.

We never expected that the League would escape from calumny, but we were not prepared to find such a journal as the *Times* adopting the dishonest arts of the lowest and most disreputable portion of the press, inserting the falsehood in its largest type and consigning the contradiction to small letter, or withholding it altogether. The example has been followed by all the monopolist papers throughout the country, and we are asked by our correspondents if silence on the subject is to be taken as admission of the facts? They are not aware that these pretended facts have been decisively refuted on the spot where they had birth. Were it not that such an infamous conspiracy to perpetuate lies and hide their refutations produces some uneasiness to our friends in remote districts, where few journals circulate, we should not bestow upon them the slightest notice: but to gratify those friends rather than ourselves, we shall just notice a few of the latest calumnies, and state what are the real facts.

LIE 1.

That Mr. John Brooks told Mr. Ferrand that he wished to prevent the reduction of the differential duties on coffee.

FACT.

That Mr. John Brooks came to London for the express purpose of obtaining a greater reduction than that which the Minister proposed.

LIE 2.

That a Leaguer in Manchester offered to join in a subscription to procure the assassination of Sir Robert Peel.

FACT.

That no such proposal was ever made, but a person in Manchester, not connected with the League, when asked to subscribe to the expenses of a deputation, said that he would rather give the money to shoot Sir Robert Peel.

LIE 3.

That a respectable witness could prove the complicity of a Leeds-manufacturer in the outbreak of last August.

FACT.

That a fraudulent bankrupt told such a tale respecting his creditor, who exposed its utter falsehood in the Town Council of Leeds, and that the monopolist papers which circulated the falsehood burked the report of the Council's proceedings.

These are the three latest lies which have come to our notice, and they may serve as specimens of the dishonourable arts to which the advocates of monopoly are compelled to have recourse. We really feel it to be a degradation to notice such monstrous and palpable absurdities.

IRISH LANDLORDS.

A CASE FOR LORD DEVON.—The *Tralee Chronicle*, a moderate Conservative paper, contains a full report of a case tried at the Killarney Quarter Sessions, before the assistant-barrister, on Friday, in which two poor men, Owen and John Sullivan, were plaintiffs, and Mr. Thomas M'Swiny, their landlord, the defendant. There were two actions for £20 for the trover of potatoes, alleged to have been seized by the defendant, in contravention of a written agreement between the parties. According to the statement of Mr. Downing, who acted for the tenants, "in defiance of every principle of humanity, justice, and the terms of the agreement, the defendant had distrained a quantity of potatoes, which was all that these poor people were worth in the world, after being the tenants of this gentleman for several years. They possessed him five times, and he distrained these poor miserable creatures on informalities and technicalities. At the last sessions the plaintiffs were dismissed because they had not the witness to prove the written agreement between the parties, and the receipt he gave them on quitting the land, by which they were entitled to get their crops upon giving up the farm; and, though this witness came to town then, in obedience to the summons of the court, he was taken out of the court before the trial to the defendant's house in this town, and there kept locked up until after the dismissals were obtained. He (Mr. Downing) never knew a case of greater hardship come before a court."

Mr. Supple.—But you don't say one word about the £23 rent that these people owe to Mr. M'Swiny. Mr. Supple then contended that the agreement required a stamp, and that the court had no power to try the action, inasmuch as that the subject-matter of the process was over £20.

Mr. Murphy contended that there was no specific sum in the agreement; it only stated that the defendants should get their crops free, without mentioning any sum as value for the crops, because no value could be set on them when they were only then setting.

At an early stage of the proceedings, His Worship said, that in this case a most improper attempt had been made to influence him in the discharge of his public duty. An anonymous letter had been written to him by some person, who sought to influence his decision in favour of the defendant. Nothing could be more improper—nothing could be more reprehensible—than for any person to write such a letter, for the purpose of preventing a public officer fairly and faith-

fully discharging his duty according to the evidence brought before him. Such an act—committed by any man would deserve punishment, and if his worship knew the writer of this letter, he would punish him severely.

The letter was handed to the gentleman concerned for the purpose of tracing the handwriting, but it was not made out.

For the defence witnesses were called to prove that the value of the potatoes seized had been greatly overrated, and that, however oppressive it might have appeared on Mr. M'Swiny's part, the fact was alleged to be, that he had been always very kind to the plaintiffs, who owed him rent to the amount of £58.

The Court in giving judgment said, that since he had the honour of first filling the office which he now holds, he never knew any man guilty of conduct more inhuman, more base, or more oppressive; and he trusted, for the sake of humanity, that it would be the last of such cases that ever would appear before him. If cases like this were allowed to proceed, hardship, harassing, and oppressing the labouring poor, it would not be matter of surprise that this county should be immersed in those crimes that have disgraced other counties in Ireland. It would, indeed, be no wonder if the peaceable people of this county were to take the law into their own hands, oppose the settled laws of property, if those ruthless tyrants, who in other countries are called land sharks, were not discouraged in every instance where the law could lay hold of them; but as long as he held that situation, he would let the poor, the indigent, and the needy see that justice should be administered to them as fairly and as impartially as to the proudest and greatest in the land. He would take care that the poor or the humble should not be injured more than the great or the rich; while at the same time, no man would go further than he would to punish the poor when they were violators of the public peace of the country. Not content with having broken his solemn and deliberate agreement—not content with appropriating to his own use all that these unfortunate people probably had in the world, this man—he did not deserve the name of a gentleman, nor was he entitled to call himself a Christian—not content with doing this, sought to poison the source of justice by writing or causing to be written a letter to predispose the Court in his favour, and further endeavoured to frustrate justice by getting others, if he did not do it himself, to commit forgery and deprive the people of the benefit of the testimony, such as it was, of the only witness which these wretched people had to sustain their case. His worship went on to reprobate these acts, and said he never in his life gave a decree with greater satisfaction than this, for £10 10s. each.

At the conclusion of his worship's address there was a general buzz in court.

HOMAGE TO NATIVE TALENT.—As an additional attraction to the performances of the Indians, Mr. Ferrand has been engaged by Mr. Catlin to "throw the hatchet." From the wonderful perfection Mr. Ferrand has attained in this art, it is expected he will throw the hatchet much further than any Indian has yet accomplished, by introducing at each performance a new anecdote about the Anti-Corn-Law League.—*Punch*.

THE FUNDS.

| | Sat. Jan. 6 | Mon. Jan. 8 | Tues. Jan. 9 | Wed. Jan. 10 | Thurs. Jan. 11 | Fri. Jan. 12 |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| Bank Stock | 187 | — | 187½ | 187 | 186½ | — |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ |
| 4½ per Ct. Red. Ann | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ |
| L. An. Ex. Jan. 1860 | 12½ ex div | 12½ ex div | 12½ ex div | 12½ | 12½ | — |
| Cons. for Opp. | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ |
| Exchequer Bills | 69 pm. | 69 pm. | 69 pm. | 69 pm. | 69 pm. | — |
| 3. 6m. Ann. | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| India Bonds | 79 81 pm | 81 pm | 80 pm | 81 80 pm | 80 pm. | — |
| India Stock | 27½ | 27½ | 27½ | 27½ | 27½ | — |
| Belgian | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104½ | 104 | — |
| Brazilian | 74 | 74½ | 75½ | 75½ | 75½ | — |
| Chilian | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 | — |
| Colombian | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Danish | 87 | 87 | 87 | 87 | 85 | — |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 100 | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ |
| Dutch 2½ per Ct. | 84½ ex div | 84½ | 84½ | 84½ | 84½ | 84½ |
| Mexican | 82½ | 82½ | 82½ | 82½ | 82½ | 82½ |
| Portuguese, conv. | 44½ | 44½ | 44½ | 44½ | 44½ | 44½ |
| Russian 5 per Ct. | 80½ ex div | 80½ | 80½ | 80½ | 80½ | 80½ |
| Spanish 3 per Ct. | 113 | — | — | 113½ | 8½ | 80½ |
| Austrian | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | — |
| Prussian | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| French 3 p. Cent. | — | — | — | — | — | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, Jan. 8.—There was a short supply of English Wheat this morning, and much of it was in bad condition. The driest parcels were sold at an advance of 1s. to 2s., and ordinary qualities of 1s., from this day week. Foreign Wheat was rather in better demand, but factors held firmly for an advance of 1s., which was not very extensively accorded to. There was rather a large supply of Barley, for the best Malting samples last week's prices were obtained, but for other descriptions the trade was scarcely so good as last week. No alteration in Grey or White Peas, or Beans. We had a better supply of Irish Oats than for some time, in addition to a moderate arrival of English and Scotch; the trade was not brisk, but last week's prices were obtained for all descriptions.

S. H. Lucas and Son.

| Currency per Imperial measure. | | Currency per Imperial measure. | |
|--------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| Wheat, English, White | 30s to 32s | Peas, Grey | 30s to 32s |
| New | 46s to 60s | Maple | 33s — 35s |
| Do., do., Old | 60s — 64s | Malt, Pale Suffolk and | — |
| Do., Red, New | 42s — 55s | Norfolk | 54s — 57s |
| Do., do., Old | 50s — 61s | Chevalier | 60s — 61s |
| Dantsig | 57s — 63s | Oats, English Feed | 20s — 22s |
| Stettin | 50s — 57s | Do. Short | 21s — 23s |
| Barley, Malting | 32s — 34s | Scotch Feed | 31s — 32s |
| Do., Distilling | 30s — 32s | Do. Potato | 22s — 26s |
| Grinding | 24s — 30s | Irish Feed | 17s — 18s |
| Beans, Tick, New | 24s — 28s | Do. Short | 19s — 20s |
| Do., Old | 28s — 30s | Do. do., New | 19s — 21s |
| Harrow, New | 28s — 30s | Do. Black | 17s — 18s |
| Do., Old | 30s — 32s | Do. Galloway | 16s — 17s |
| Pigeon, New | 26s — 31s | Flour, town made and | — |
| Do., Old | 28s — 30s | best country marks | 45s — 50s |
| Peas, White | 31s — 32s | Norfolk and Sur- | — |
| Do., Bollers | 34s — 36s | folk | 40s — 42s |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 1st to the 6th of Jan. 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|----------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 5 45 | 13007 | 8090 | 1790 | 1092 |
| Scottish | 221 | 3208 | 4884 | 70 | — |
| Irish | — | 493 | 7662 | — | — |
| Foreign | 1098 | — | 682 | — | — |

Flour, 8021 sacks, 150 bbls. Malt, 10479 qrs.

MARK-LANS, Friday, Jan. 13.—The supply of English wheat since Monday is short, of English barley and of Irish oats large. There is no alteration in the value of English wheat. Free foreign is held firmly at Monday's prices, but there is very little business doing. Fine malting barley brings former rates; distilling and grinding qualities are rather lower. Notwithstanding a large supply of Irish oats, prices are well maintained; but the trade is not brisk. In other articles there is no alteration to notice.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

Account of Corn, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 6th to the 12th of Jan., both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 4110 | — | 1220 |
| Barley | 11140 | 1270 | 1170 |
| Oats | 2980 | 25980 | — |

Flour 8020 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT OF THE NUMBER OF QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED JANUARY 6, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. |
| Weekly Averages.. | 94,244 49 10 | 111,253 82 7 | 37,003 18 3 | 6258 29 5 |
| Aggregate Averages.. | 50 5 | 32 1 | 18 7 | 30 11 |
| Duty..... | 20 0 | 6 0 | 8 0 | 10 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 9.

DECLARATION OF INSOLVENCY.

F. B. COURTNEY, Great Marlborough-street, bookseller.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

W. GORTON, Gutter-lane, Chesapeake, fishmonger.

BANKRUPTS.

- C. CLARK, Banbury, Oxfordshire, linen-draper. [Sole and sole, Aldermanbury.]
 J. TURNER, Grange-place, Hoxton, cabinetmaker. [Wire and Child, St. Swinith's-lane.]
 A. SCOTT, Cambridge-street, Golden-square, auctioneer. [Davis and Son, Warwick-street.]
 A. BLAZDELL, Upper Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, harp maker. [A. Beckett and Co., Golden-square.]
 C. B. ROE and T. J. BLACHFORD, Newport, Isle of Wight, bankers. [Foster and Evans, John-street, Bedford-row; Messrs. Bewell, Newport, Isle of Wight.]
 G. SMITH, Northampton, carpenter. [Wright, New Inn.]
 J. SHERWOOD, Wood-street, Cheapside, stationer. [Harriman, Earl-street, Blackfriars.]
 H. ORRILL, Romford, Essex, victualler. [Fowler, Romford; Gadsden and Flower, Furnival's-inn.]
 G. C. BRIDGE, Maldon, Essex, grocer. [Stevens and Co., Queen-street, Cheapside, London.]
 W. DUNNETT, Manchester, commission agent. [Gregory and Co., Bedford-row; Cooper, Manchester.]
 E. EVANS, Llangurdir, Carmarthenshire, draper. [Messrs. Clarke, Bristol.]
 W. KATHOPK, Shrewsbury, Shropshire, whitesmith. [Newman, Lincoln's-inn-fields, London; Garbutt, Wellington; Hodgson, Birmingham.]

DIVIDENDS.

- Feb. 2. T. Chappell, Swan Inn, Sudbury, Suffolk, licensed victualler. Feb. 2. S. P. Gladstone, Crisp-street, East India-road, Poplar, shipwright.—Feb. 2. J. K. Beerbohm and W. E. Haughton, Fenchurch-street, merchants.—Jan. 30. C. Holloway, Queen's Head Inn, Stockbridge, Hampshire victualler.—Jan. 30. H. Jones, Canterbury, victualler.—Feb. 2. H. M. Low, W. M. Westerman, and C. A. Cantor, Calcutta, merchants.—Feb. 1. A. T. Harwood, Streatham, Surrey, lodging house-keeper.—Jan. 30. R. Collier, Hythe, Kent, draper.—Jan. 30. A. L. Bensusan and J. Branton, Walbrook-buildings, merchants.—Jan. 30. R. Parker, Deptford-row, linen-draper.—Jan. 30. J. H. Arnold and W. H. Woollett, Clement's-lane, ship and insurance agents.—Feb. 1. J. Levett, Rowley Regis, Staffordshire, farmer.—Feb. 1. J. H. Williams, Bristol, wholesale and retail ironmonger.—Feb. 2. R. J. and J. Potter, Guburne-park, Yorkshire, cotton spinners.—Feb. 2. W. Scott, Earl's Heaton, Yorkshire, blanket manufacturer.—Feb. 3. J. Senior, Lascoll's Hall, Yorkshire, manufacturer of fancy cloths.—Feb. 2. B. Hargrave, Manchester, tailor.—Feb. 2. C. J. Williams and E. Nevill, Birmingham, factors.

CERTIFICATES.

- Feb. 1. G. J. Pouchie, Oxford-street, stationer.—Feb. 2. S. Peers, Old Jewry, wine merchant.—Feb. 1. J. B. L. Farrant, Maidstone, agricultural machine maker.—Feb. 1. W. H. Diamond, Frith-street, St. Ann's, Westminster, surgeon.—Jan. 30. W. B. McPherson, Rosemary Branch Tavern, Hoxton, victualler.—Jan. 30. W. B. Cockrell, Redham, Norfolk, butcher.—Feb. 1. P. A. Nuttall, Cheltenham, newspaper vendor.—J. M. Wintle, Drury-lane, silversmith.—W. Rolfe, Thelfield, Hertfordshire, farmer.—L. Mosely, High-street, Shadwell, Staffordshire warehouseman.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

- J. HALKETT, Dundee, manufacturer.—C. KEENAN, North-bridge, Edinburgh, linen-draper.

IN A SELECT ESTABLISHMENT for YOUNG

LADIES A vacancy occurs for Two or Three Pupils on advantageous terms. The situation is healthy, and the moral and general improvement of the Pupils are attended to with every care. An article pupil is required. Letters, free, to M. N. J. Elizabeth place, Ball's Pond-road, Islington.

FOR STOPPING DECAYED TEETH. MR. THOMAS'S SUGCUDANUM, price 4s. 6d.—Patronised by her Majesty, the Royal Highness Prince Albert, and her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent. This valuable SUGCUDANUM for Stopping Decayed Teeth, however large the cavity, is far superior to anything ever before used, as it is placed in the tooth in a soft state, without any pressure or pain, and in a short time becomes as hard as the enamel, and will remain firm in the tooth for many years, rendering extraction unnecessary. It arrests all further progress of decay, and renders them again useful in mastication. All persons can use Mr. THOMAS'S SUGCUDANUM themselves with ease, without the aid of a dentist, as full directions are enclosed.—Prepared only by Mr. Thomas, Surgeon-Dentist, 68, Berners-street, Oxford-street, price 4s. 6d., and will be sent by post to any part of the kingdom.

ARTIFICIAL TEETH.—Mr. Thomas continues to supply the loss of teeth, and has introduced an entirely new description of ARTIFICIAL TEETH, which will be found very superior to all others, as they will never decay nor become discoloured, and their perfect resemblance to nature defies detection even by the closest observer. This method does not require the extraction of any teeth or roots, or any painful operation whatever. The charges will be found less than most dentists.—Mr. Thomas, Surgeon-Dentist, 68, Berners-street, Oxford-street. At home from Eleven till Four.

CHEAPEST PERIODICAL IN THE WORLD.

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April 18th, 1842. A. W. MOORE.

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February 23, 1844.

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"G. Howart."

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1843.—Catalogue gratis.

London: Printed (at the office of Palmer and Gurney, Cornhill, 107, Strand) by A. W. PATERSON, of Barrow-on-Island, Glasgow.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 17.]

[SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1844.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

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N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

"PROTECTION TO BRITISH INDUSTRY."

Such is the title under which monopolist journals announce the attempts now making in several counties to establish an Anti-Free-Trade League. It would be nearer the truth to say, "Protection to British Idleness."

In so far as the projected clubs are formed for the purpose of keeping up high rents, they aim at protecting a class which would little relish the compliment of being ranked amongst the working classes. Landlords are like the lilies, "which toil not, neither do they spin." Their labour is in expending, not in earning. They are almost the only persons in the country who have nothing to show for their gains. We dispute not their title to their estates: property is sacred, and not the less so for descending by inheritance, instead of being won by exertion; but their title to be called industrious we do dispute. They have the land; it is theirs, and that unquestionably; but they did not make the land; they do not till the land; and all the service which society requires of them for the land is, that they show their parchments and sign receipts for the rent of the land. The duty is not very onerous. That done, they can go about their business—their pleasure, we mean; and the strong arm of law, nerved by opinion also, is around them for protection; but, in all fair interpretation of words, it is the protection, not of British industry, but British idleness.

How the tenant-farmer, the cultivator of the soil, the real agriculturist, is protected in his industry by laws or clubs framed for the purpose of enhancing the rent, which constitutes his heaviest burden, it would be rather difficult to show. One thing is plain, that Corn Laws have not been propitious to industry in this class. The progress of improvement in British farming—at least in English farming—has been so slow as to render it a by-word. "Agriculture is yet in its infancy," says a high authority. "'Protection' has rocked its cradle, sung it to sleep with promises from which it wakes every now and then in convulsions, and drugged it with opiates till it is deemed too rickety to walk alone." The endeavour to make high prices by the agency of law, and secure profits by the exclusion of competition, may be a protection for gambling speculation, but is no protection for the spirit of industry.

That the Corn Laws restrict trade, is undeniable. They diminish the power of exchanging with the inhabitants of other countries; they annihilate all the trade which would result from the free importation of food; they smite with barrenness the portions which would be cultivated with avidity, to purchase with their crops the products of British industry. At home, they diminish every poor man's ability to purchase articles of clothing or of comfort. Their advocates declaim against trade, and talk of its overgrowth; and it is for them to explain, if they can explain such an absurdity, how the restriction of British trade can possibly be the protection of British industry.

It is by trade that all the world lives; it ever has been so, since natives emerged from barbarism. Those who have nothing else for the purpose, trade in their own labour. Professions thrive upon the thriving of trade. The landlord himself is a trader, being a middleman between the farmer who supplies

him with money for the use of his land, and the manufacturer, home or foreign, who supplies him with necessities or luxuries in return for his money. Thus are all dependent upon all, and all enriched by all. Trade is like the principle of attraction in the system of nature. What philosopher clamours for less gravitation in the universe, that one planet may be protected from the sun, and revolve independently? The absurdity would scarcely be greater than that of clamouring for less trade and more independence. All industry is some form of trade. The protection of industry is the security of trade, and the encouragement of trade is the reward of industry.

It is not often worth while to make a stand about mere phrases. There are, however, some words the perversion and abuse of which should not be allowed quietly. Such are "Protection" and "British Industry." They represent great realities—the combination of them, in connexion with taxation upon food, is a solicism in language as well as a fraud in act. This fallacious protection to British industry consists in plundering the labourer's cupboard and stopping him on his way to market. He is protected from repletion and profit, not from injury and want. He is protected into compulsory idleness, perhaps crime; into the poor-house, the prison, and the grave.

Let this new protectorate, which the landowners are setting up, plainly avow its object; then it may proceed to calculate its powers. As yet that portion of them which consists of Anti-League clubs is not very formidable. Amongst others the magnates of East Suffolk, lords and landlords, clergymen and others, got up a meeting in a little school-room at Framlingham on the 13th inst., for the purpose, as Lord Rendlesham declared, of "convincing the world that, though the League be 'a great fact,' the agricultural interest is still a greater fact." If the meeting was meant to be a symbol of this greatness, the growth of young Hercules must be spoken of in that anticipatory manner which American settlers employ when describing their cities (that are to be) in the wilderness. At present room could be made for a dozen of these "greater facts" in the area of Covent-garden Theatre, leaving abundant accommodation for a large majority of Leaguers. This meeting was distinguished by the production of an Anti-League manifesto, in the form of a petition to Parliament, of which the first paragraph is a boast of past exploits coupled with a reproachful accusation against the Peel ministry. The landowners and clergy, who are both represented in the upper House, state themselves, and we have no doubt truly, to have been "assiduously employed" at the last election in procuring the return of members of the lower House favourable to "protection." They remind the Government that they largely increased its majority. Might it not be well to ask themselves how it happens that they are "disappointed," as they confess they are, in the consequences? Why have their own delegates proved unfaithful to them? Why has the Minister of their choice and their creation baffled their hopes? Where was their stronghold, the House of Lords? There must be some potent cause for all this. No individual treason to their purposes can account for so strange a result. It would be wise to investigate this mystery before they embark in further efforts that may only conduct to a repetition of disappointment.

We will suggest a solution. A numerical majority of the Legislature cannot always govern the country as it would. There are opinions and interests which its leaders may find too mighty to be dealt with by the mere force of numbers. Sir Robert Peel was borne into office for the sake of maintaining what is called Agricultural Protection unaltered; and he at once saw the impossibility of governing the country upon that principle. "The gods themselves yield to necessity," and stern must have been the necessity which made him false to the followers who had just been so "assiduously employed" in his elevation. He had many inducements to a different course. His own previous declarations had been distinct and strong against change. Nobody dreamed of his "fishing for a new Corn Law in the lottery of legislation." At his back was as large a majority as any Minister need desire, all fresh from the hustings which had resounded with the cry of "No surrender." Years of apparent fidelity to his party had mitigated the feeling, but not obliterated the recollection, of his conduct on the question of Catholic Emancipation. What can account for the changes complained of in the petition but such a necessity as made it impossible even to attempt to carry on the Government,

leaving intact the principle of Monopolist Protection? Against this necessity, or power, the Corn Law party strove vainly at the last election. We say vainly; although they had all the success of which their attempt was capable. They returned their majority; they lost their unalterable law. In the means, they triumphed; in the end, they are, so far, baffled. At present their success in the means is very problematical; but let us take it for granted; and then, we ask, what better reason have they for anticipating a satisfactory result? The influences which made Sir Robert Peel untrue to them are not a jot weakened; on the contrary, they are largely augmented. The difficulties with which his Government is encompassed have also increased. It is too late for any club, or combination of clubs, which the Monopolists can summon into existence, to say to him, or to any Ministry, "Thus far shalt thou go, but no farther." The tide of opinion has set in too strongly. These miniature meetings only proclaim the weakness of Monopoly even amongst its own dependents. If left to themselves they will soon cease to be the tools which their projectors contemplated; and if not left to themselves, they will be tools of little worth. Discussion will convince the farmers, as it has already convinced almost all the world besides, that perfect freedom of trade is the best protection to British industry.

MONOPOLIST TRAPS—COLONIES AND RECIPROCTY.

There are few questions on which there exists in the public mind greater delusion than on that of our colonies; and no wonder, when we find in the discussions relating to them in Parliament such an extraordinary amount of ignorance.

The popular impression is, that our colonies are a source of great wealth, and that our trade with them is greater and more valuable than that with other countries. The monopolists endeavour by every means to foster this impression, by magnifying their value and importance, and by alarming manufacturers with the idea that the colonies are the only resource on which we can depend for an extension of our trade, seeing that the progress of machinery on the Continent, and adverse foreign tariffs, may shut us out from all other markets. We shall endeavour to show that the colonies, as at present managed, so far from being a source of wealth, are a great loss to the mother country; that we have nothing to fear from foreign tariffs provided we take care of our own, and that, unless all colonial monopoly be abolished, it would be for the interest and advantage of this country that the colonies should be all abandoned.

Our colonies were founded on monopoly from the beginning. "Of the greater part of the regulations concerning the colony trade (says Adam Smith), the merchants who carry it on, it must be observed, have been the principal advisers. We must not wonder, therefore, if in the greater part of them their interest has been more considered than either that of the colonies or that of the mother country." Under such advice the colonies were prohibited from resorting to foreign markets for the supply of their wants, and were forced to send all their produce in a raw state, that the manufacturers of the mother country might secure to themselves all the advantages arising from their further improvement. "This latter system (says Bryan Edwards) was carried so far in the colonial system of Great Britain as to induce the late Earl of Chatham to declare in Parliament, that the British colonists in America had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horse-shoe." In return for these advantages, we give to the colonies the monopoly of the sale of their produce in this country, by imposing preferential duties on it. For example, sugar from the colonies pays a duty only of 24s. per cwt., whilst sugar from any other place pays 61s. per cwt. Colonial coffee pays a duty of 4d. per lb., whilst all other coffee pays 8d. per lb. On most other articles there are preferential duties in favour of the colonies of 50 per cent. Now, so far as regards the amount and value of our trade with the colonies, the monopolists endeavour to convey a very false and exaggerated impression. According to the official returns of the exports of produce and manufactures in 1842:—

| | |
|--|-------------|
| The value of the exports to the colonies was | £13,261,436 |
| Ditto to foreign countries | 34,119,587 |

Total exports £47,381,023

Our trade, therefore, with the colonies is little more than one-fourth part of our total trade with all the world. But suppose it should greatly increase, what advantage is derived from our trade with the colonies in contradistinction to our intercourse with

independent nations? If we get a higher price for the manufactures we send to our colonies than for those sent to other countries, or if we get the produce we receive from them cheaper than we could get it from other countries, there might be good reasons for preferring colonial to foreign trade; but the colonies buy manufactures from us in the same market that foreigners do, and, therefore, pay only the same prices; whilst we are obliged to pay for colonial produce 50 to 100 per cent. more than we could buy the same articles at in other countries.

Mr. Porter, of the Board of Trade, no mean authority, in his able and valuable work, "The Progress of the Nation," makes the astounding statement, that if we had made our sugar colonies a present of the whole value of our manufactures exported to them in 1840, amounting to about £4,000,000, we should have been gainers of £1,000,000, had we been allowed to buy the article of sugar alone in the cheapest markets!

"The amount of injury (says Mr. Porter) sustained from this last-named cause [monopoly] cannot well be made the subject of calculation; but some idea may be formed of the ruinous effect of differential duties upon the expenditure of this nation, by showing the result produced in one year by the prohibitory duty upon a single article of colonial production—sugar. It is shown that we paid, for the quantity of sugar used in 1840, more than £5,000,000 beyond what would have been paid for the same quantity, irrespective of duties, by any other people of Europe. The total value of our manufactures exported in that year to our sugar colonies was under £4,000,000; so that the nation would have gained a million of money in that one year, by following the true principle of buying in the cheapest market, even though we had made the sugar growers a present of all the goods they took from us. It must be idle to suppose that colonies depend for their existence and progress upon such preferences. Unless prevented through the interference of legislative restrictions, they will certainly be able to apply their industry in some profitable channel."

If to the enormous loss to the country by the sugar monopoly be added the loss by the coffee and timber monopolies, the expense of our naval and military establishments in our several colonies, and the cost of protecting them in time of war, none of which expenses are paid by these colonies, it is doubtful whether the whole of our annual exports be not swallowed up by the annual cost.

National vanity may be flattered by the possession of large territories in every quarter of the globe, but it is "paying dear for our whistle" to purchase the gratification at such a sacrifice of national wealth and happiness. It is justly observed by the writer of "Reciprocity, by a Manufacturer":—

"John Bull's pride of ownership is gratified by the extent and magnificence of his territories. He forgets the yearly cost, or argues that it is not a mere question of cost. He derives so many indirect benefits from his colonies." The healthy nurseries of Australia, New Zealand, or the Canadas, afford a wide outlet for his surplus population, or convenient settlements for his needy offspring. They supply places for the younger scions of nobility, estates for the gentry, and a wide profitable field for the labour of the poor.

"Doubtless our intimate connexion with these vast continents,—whose climate, soil, and productions approximate so closely to those of Europe, where Englishmen thrive and luxuriate like indigenous plants, gradually replacing the aborigines with a new, healthy, vigorous, energetic race,—whither our countrymen are transplanted without the necessity of changing their mother tongue, or subjecting themselves to a new form of government—where security of property is guaranteed, and the chances of life are not endangered—is productive of real solid advantages, not to be estimated from a table of our exports and imports. The torrid clime of India, where so many of our countrymen have found an early grave, and our race in vain attempts to strike root, holds out no such claims to our regards."

"It is not the mere fact of those countries being our colonies which constitutes their acceptance in our eyes. It is the intrinsic adaptation of the soil and climate to our constitution and wants, and the temptations to settlement which the scanty possession of a few miserable hunting tribes offers to our crowded population—these are the attractions for our hordes of emigrants, which no change of government can repel."

After all our fostering care and sacrifices for our colonies, it becomes an important consideration what guarantee have we of their permanency?

"We are too prone to regard the colonies as a mere appendage of the British crown, intended to increase our revenues and resources. Whenever we have attempted this mistake, the colonists are ever the foremost to convince us of our error. The connexion on our part is that of a parent watching over its child, nurturing and protecting its infancy, strengthening its riper years, and gradually instilling the spirit of self-government. When it arrives at the age and strength of manhood, our wisest policy would be to give it independence, but not before it has the energy to maintain that independence."

"Our Government has discovered the impolicy of making use of our colonies as penal settlements, and has given a new version to the sentence of transportation. What, then, becomes of the peculiar advantages derived from our colonies, in contradistinction to our intercourse with independent nations? Could they be proved, who can guarantee the permanency of our colonies? We have already been separated by force of arms from the most important of them—the United States, after a long, unsuccessful, and humiliating effort to regain our sovereignty. Within a few years we have witnessed the sudden attempt of Canada to assert her independence; and to her internal divisions alone can be attributed her want of success. The storm has been allayed; but any imprudent act of the Legislature might rouse the latent passion, and sever the connexion for ever. The acts of the House of Assembly in Jamaica have shown a spirit of de-

fiance to the mother country, of which the ultimate aim cannot be mistaken. Possibly some fear of the emancipated slaves may have infused a greater share of moderation in their councils, and occasioned the desire of protection from Great Britain in case of need. Our invincibility in the East, upon which is based the vast superstructure of our dominions in that quarter of the globe, has been shaken. The rest of our colonies hang upon the thread of our naval superiority, which the American wars have taught us not to consider infallible. Are we, then, to trust our vast foreign trade, with the mighty attendant interests of 'ships and commerce,' upon so frail a tenure as the continuance of our colonies? It would be a risk—a miscalculation of chances—unworthy of a gambler!"

"Spain offers us an instructive example of the fugitive vanity of colonial possessions. The discovery of America aroused in her the ambition of conquering a hemisphere. With a miser's grasp she laid hold of the boundless riches of her new-born empire. Gold was then considered as the only wealth; and, by the utmost exactions of a greedy despotism, she wrung from the toil of her Indian subjects the hardly-earned produce of the South American gold mines. By the most severe and prohibitive laws, she endeavoured to retain this wealth within her own dominions. Her commerce with the rest of Europe was neglected. All her attention, all her hopes were absorbed by her colonies. Spaniards lost their industry and enterprise. They revelled in their easily-acquired riches. Yet, in spite of every precaution, their gold oozed out, to purchase from the rest of Europe articles which they had ceased to manufacture for themselves. Spain gradually sank in the scale of nations. By contact with an easy, indolent race, her subjects lost their energy and high state of cultivation. Eventually, the despised and oppressed colonists, roused by unjust exactions, levied solely for the benefit of the mother country, raised the standard of revolt, and boldly shook off an unworthy allegiance. Even the poor Indians, who so long were trampled under foot, have turned short upon their scorers, and achieved their independence."

Doubtless our colonies, if properly managed, might be productive of benefit to the mother country; but it is folly to keep possessions which are constant sources of charge and impoverishment, nor does it appear wise to cherish them to the neglect of nearer and better customers. The unprofitableness, and indeed the danger, of such a course, are equally conclusive. Do away with all preferential duties—throw upon our colonies every fair and reasonable charge which it costs the mother country for their protection—(if colonies derive advantage and security from the mother country, the least they can do is to pay the expense of it)—leave commerce to find her own channels—and the relative advantage of the colonial trade will show itself. Such a policy would relieve both parties of a very heavy indirect taxation; and the colonists themselves would eventually find it the greatest boon we could confer upon them.

If any inference is to be drawn from the United States, our commerce would receive a fresh impulse from the independence of our colonies. It is remarkable, however, how little the true interests of the country were understood by our most distinguished statesmen of both political parties in the case of America. All, without exception (and the nation participated in the same feeling,) deprecated the separation of our North American colonies as one of the greatest calamities that could befall the country. The writers of that time prognosticated the ruin of England from the day when she lost these important colonies. Dean Tucker alone appeared to look beyond the narrow views then entertained, and to foresee that, instead of a calamity, the separation would be, as it has proved, a blessing to both countries. A great nation, peopled by the Anglo-Saxon race, has sprung up out of the ancient British colony, which costs us not one farthing of expense to govern; but to which we have the freest access, and with whom, but for our own folly and attachment to monopoly, we might have had a greater trade than with all our colonies put together.

The increase in our trade with America since she became free, is extraordinary. Our exports to our North American colonies were as follows:—

| | |
|---|------------|
| 1776—At the commencement of the revolutionary war | £1,300,000 |
| 1784—To the newly-recognised states | 3,600,000 |
| 1836—To the newly-recognised states | 12,425,605 |

The history of our commerce with the United States leaves us no cause to regret their independence. In every respect we have been considerable gainers by the change; and in 1836, our exports, as will be seen above, nearly equalled the exports to all our colonial possessions in every part of the world. Let us now take a glance at the gratitude of the colonies:—

"Whilst we are propping up our colonial interests by differential duties (more especially on the article of sugar), Jamaica, the most important of our West Indian possessions, is returning the compliment, by raising her scale of duties on home produce. Such is the gratitude we meet with for our spendthrift philanthropy, in paying an extravagant price for the manumission of their slaves, and our grant to them of a monopoly of the home market for sugar."

The following communication was made to Government by the Cork Committee of Merchants, March 17th, 1843:—

"STATEMENT."

"A new schedule of inland duties has lately passed the Legislature of Jamaica, for the purpose of raising a revenue for that colony, and now waits the sanction of the home Government."

"Finding that these proposed duties are very considerably increased, and unequally proportioned, the Committee of Merchants of Cork have directed the attention of the Secretary to the Colonies, Lord Stanley, to the subject, as one which would be seriously disadvantageous to Irish commerce and agriculture, and demanding the most decided interference on his part."

"The proposed new scale is to this effect:—

"On beef, 20s. a barrel, equal to from 30 to 75 per cent., according to quality."

"Pork, 20s. per barrel, equal to 45 per cent."

"Butter, 4s. per 64 lbs., equal to 8½ per cent."

"Bacon, 8s. per cwt., equal to 20 per cent."

"Candles, 1s. 6d. on 56 lbs., equal to 7 per cent."

"Lard, 3s. on 70 lbs., equal to 12½ per cent."

"Porter, £3 3s. per ton, equal to 25 per cent."

"Soap, 2s. per 56 lbs., equal to 25 per cent."

"Its rates on English manufactured goods, when contrasted with the preceding, are very unequal. On glass, silks, cotton, hardware, manufactured paper, &c., the duty proposed is no more than 4 per cent. on the value."

"The imports of Irish produce into the island of Jamaica for the year ending 1840, which may be considered a fair criterion on antecedent years, and before the introduction of foreign provisions into the West Indies, were—

- "1,200 barrels of pork.
- "12,700 firkins of butter.
- "7,400 firkins of lard.
- "15,000 boxes of candles.
- "37,000 boxes of soap.

"Besides beef, porter, hams, and other articles."

"Irish imports into the other islands are also very considerable; and though the new Jamaica tariff is of very deep importance, as has been shown, yet it is very possible that the other colonies may follow the example, unless the Irish interests unite without delay to check the present, as well as any other similar proceedings."

"The different duties in favour of articles the produce of the United Kingdom and its possessions, shall, in no case, be lower in the colonies than they are at home."

"This statement requires no comment: but what becomes of the peculiar advantages, the special security, of our colonial trade, if, for the sake of revenue, the colonial legislatures are permitted to raise their duties at the very time we are reducing ours, and allowing increased privileges to their produce?"

We have shown that it is unwise, and no less dangerous, to withdraw our attention from our neighbouring customers in Europe and the United States, to give a preference to the distant markets of our colonies. There is a principle of self-adjustment in commerce which it is dangerous for any government to meddle with. The balance is so nice and delicate, that any forcible regulation is sure to disturb it. With equal propriety might Government interfere in every relation of buyer and seller. Merchants manage their own affairs best, and all they ask from political powers is, full liberty to pursue their avocations in peace.

We have nothing to fear from the hostile tariffs of foreign countries, provided we take care of our own; and we must not suffer ourselves to be led astray by those interested in monopoly, who labour to impress the public mind with the belief that we are dependent chiefly on our colonial demand for our export trade, and that it is the only source of an extended business. The progress of our trade since 1831 dissipates these fallacies, as will be seen from the following official statement of exports:—

| | Colonial Exports. | Foreign Exports. | Total Exports. |
|------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1831 | £10,254,940 | £26,909,432 | £37,164,372 |
| 1842 | 13,261,436 | 34,119,587 | 47,381,023 |

At both periods our whole colonial trade constituted only about 28 per cent. of our entire export trade. During that period the increase of our colonial trade has been £3,006,496, of which sum our East India territories, to which Free-Trade principles have been applied during that period, represents £1,311,919; the Australian new markets, £557,693; and Gibraltar, for the purpose of smuggling into Spain, £570,434, leaving only as an increase during that period on the whole of our colonial trade the trifling sum of £566,450; and on the whole of the North American and West India colonies, for which so much sacrifice in the shape of protection is made, the increase has been only as follows:—

| | Exports to North American colonies | 1831. | 1842. |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| | | £2,089,327 | £2,333,325 |
| Ditto West India colonies. | 2,581,949 | 2,591,425 | |

Total..... £4,671,276. £4,924,750

Showing an increase of only £253,674, or very little more than 5 per cent. while our foreign exports increased upwards of 26 per cent. To the West India colonies, which are protected in a higher degree than any other, the increase has only been £9,476!!

Notwithstanding the continued efforts of grasping nations to monopolize the benefits of commerce by protection, and draw it into an artificial channel, all such attempts have proved unavailing. The inducements to trade must be naturally tempting, or will prove vain. Laws and regulations may contract the range, but can never succeed in bestowing the profits on one party only. Commerce is founded on barter, and no person can be induced to exchange that which he has for that which is offered in exchange, unless he prefer the latter. To speak of one-sided trade, therefore, is a contradiction and an absurdity. The thing cannot permanently exist. We have striking evidence of this in our intercourse with France and Russia, two countries which have been drawing closer their restrictive system while we have relaxed ours. Mark the results:—

| | 1831. | 1842. |
|-------------------------|------------|------------|
| Exports to France | £602,688 | £3,193,939 |
| Exports to Russia | 1,191,565 | 1,885,958 |
| | £1,794,253 | £5,079,897 |

Showing an increase of our trade under our *relaxing* tariff, in spite of their *hostile* tariffs during that period of £3,285,644, a larger increase than has taken place during the same period to all our colonial possessions in the world!

We think we have demonstrated, in the language of Adam Smith, that "the maintenance of monopoly has hitherto been the principal, or more properly, perhaps, the sole end and purpose of the dominion which Great Britain assumes over her colonies;" that we have nothing to gain by the continuance of the connexion, unless that monopoly be abolished; and that, however foreign nations may mistake their own interests by endeavours to monopolize trade by prohibition and restrictions, it is folly for us to follow the absurd example, seeing that every relaxation of our own tariff is followed by an increase of our trade. Finally, the freedom we ask from, the freedom we would grant to the colonies, to the *whole world*—is, to BUY IN THE CHEAPEST AND SELL IN THE DEAREST MARKETS.

MEETINGS.

GREAT MEETING IN EDINBURGH IN AID OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

[Abridged from the Scotsman.]

On Thursday, the 11th inst., a most important meeting was held in this city, to receive a deputation from the Council of the League, consisting of Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., John Bright, Esq., M.P., Colonel T. P. Thompson, and R. R. Moore, Esq.—the immediate object of the meeting being to aid in the collection of the great fund of £100,000. The New Music Hall—the largest room in Edinburgh—was completely filled; and at least 1000 more tickets could easily have been disposed of had there been the means of accommodating a larger number.

The audience was composed of a most intelligent and influential body of our citizens, and not a few ladies were present; and we can safely assert that a meeting more enthusiastic, more thoroughly in earnest, never assembled in this city. The speeches were most able and impressive, and their reception by the auditory such as must have been most gratifying to the deputation, and to all the friends of Free Trade. The Right Honourable the Lord Provost was in the chair; and among those on the platform were, Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., John Bright, Esq., M.P., Colonel T. P. Thompson, R. R. Moore, Esq., Baines Duncan and Gray; Wm. Dick, Esq., Dean of Guild; Councillors Wright, James Duncan, Stark, Lothian, Stott, Cruickshank, Grierson, Dodds, Drummond, Lindsay, and Sanderson.

There were thirty-four clergymen present:—Of the Secession Church, Reverends Dr. Brown, Dr. Harper, Dr. Ritchie, Dr. Wm. Piddie, George Johnston, P. Davidson, Jas. Robertson, George Deans, John Cooper, A. Elliot, Joseph Brown, George Sandy, W. Marshall, Andrew Thomson, W. Thompson, and Dr. Thomson, Coldstream. Of the Relief Church, Revs. John French, Francis Muir, G. O. Campbell, and Thos. Stevenson. Of the Independent Church, Revs. W. L. Alexander, C. H. Bateman, Dr. Paterson, A. T. Gowan, and James Robertson. Of the Baptist Churches, Revs. Christopher Anderson, Jonathan Watson, John Horsburgh, and A. Arthur. Of the Free Church, Revs. Henry Grey, A. W. Brown, and James Noble. Of the Methodists, Rev. C. Wallis; and of the Unitarians, Rev. George Harris. Also, John Wigham, Jun., Esq., chairman of the Anti-Corn-Law Association; George Stone, Esq., Muirhouse; R. Catell, Esq.; W. Mackenzie, Esq., of Muirton; J. Hunter, Esq., advocate; J. Straton, Esq., of Kirkcaldy; R. Simpson, Esq., advocate; Duncan McLaren, Esq., Arch. Thomson, Esq., R. Grieve, Esq., William Tait, Esq., James McLaren, Esq., Wm. Miller, Esq., Dr. Daun, John Ritchie, Esq., Wm. Renton, Esq., Andrew Symington, Esq., John Gregory, Esq., Peter Howden, Esq., J. M. Bell, Esq., Thomas Russell, Esq., James Grant, Esq.; James Donaldson, Esq., advocate; Alexander Inches, Esq.; G. H. Girdle, Esq.; James Leishman, Esq.; Edward Maitland, Esq., advocate; Arthur Dingwall, Esq., advocate; Wm. Hutchison, Esq.; G. D. Fordyce, Esq., advocate; R. W. Jameson, Esq., W.S.; Andrew Rye, Esq., S.S.C.; James Piddie, Jun., Esq., W.S.; James Walker, Esq., Wm. Chambers, Esq., Robert Glass, Esq., Ralph Richardson, Esq., James Taylor, Esq., G. McCallum, Esq.; Donald Mackenzie, Esq., advocate; Alexander Robertson, Esq., of Eldin; John Foyer, Esq.; J. Anderson, Esq.; Francis Richardson, Esq.; John Lees, Esq.; A. C. Dick, Esq., advocate; Joseph Baird, Esq.; John Stewart, Esq.; A. Cunningham, Esq.; Morris Scott, Esq.; John McIntosh, Esq.; Wm. Dunlop, Esq.; George Inglis, Esq.; Simon Campbell, Esq., S.S.C.; Jas. McIntosh, Esq.; George Fenwick, Esq.; J. H. Burton, Esq., advocate; G. K. McCallum, Esq.; John Gray, Esq.; John Howison, Esq.; Jas. Crawford, Esq., adv. cate; John Dunlop, Esq., R. S. Grieve, Esq.; Alken Megget, Esq.; P. Wilson, Esq.; J. Wigham, Esq.; Geo. Muirhead, Esq.; R. Scott, Esq.; John Jopp, Esq., S.S.C.; Chas. Black, Esq.; C. Kennington, Esq.; C. McLaren, Esq.; W. Porteous, Esq.; C. Jenner, Esq.; Patrick Paul, Esq.; Alex. Jameson, Esq., S.S.C.; J. B. Gracie, Esq., W.S.; Alex. Jameson, Esq.; James Boyd, Esq.; A. Adie, Esq.; Jas. Smith, Esq.; Michael Wilshire Esq.; Hew Crighton, Esq., S.S.C.; John Spence, Esq.; James Bridges, Esq., W.S.; Peter Jameson, Esq.; W. Waddell, Esq.; A. Robertson, Esq.; Captain Wilkie, V. C. Baird, Esq.; Andrew Miller, Esq.; Jas. Macdonald, Esq.; D. Nicolson, Esq.

There was also present a deputation from Leith, consisting of George Binny, Esq., chairman of the Anti-Corn-Law Association; Bailie Gillon, Councillor Crabbie; David Thom, Esq.; William Muir, Esq.; and W. G. Cassells, Esq.

A deputation from Dalkeith, consisting of Alexander Mitchell, Esq., James Gray, Esq., and others.

A deputation from Musselburgh, consisting of H. Kemp, Esq., and others. Edward Baxter, Esq., Dundee.

The following tenants of large farms in East Lothian, viz., Mr. Waterston, Balgonie Barns; Mr. Archibald Hepburne, Whittinghame; Mr. George Hope, Penton Barns; Mr. Miller, Newhouse; Mr. John Skirving, Hales Mains; Mr. Reenie, Oxwell Mains.

The Lord Provost was received with enthusiastic cheers. He said, I thank you for the honour you have done me, in calling me to preside on this very important occasion. I cannot help thinking, however, that I have some claim to this distinction, for when my fellow-citizens

elect me to the office, in virtue of which alone I could aspire to the honour of this chair, it was the only one which I specifically stipulated for being permitted to occupy, whatever might be the opinions of my constituents on the subject. (Cheers.) It is not my intention to occupy your time by discussing the principles of Free Trade, or the iniquity of restricting and diminishing the food of the people, or the virtues of the sliding scale—these have been dealt with on other occasions by our honoured guests in such a way, that the outworks of monopoly have been surrendered one after another—the citadel itself is now assailed, and breaches begin to open in the walls. One vigorous assault more, and the fortifications of monopoly and restriction are levelled for ever. (Loud cheers.) It has long appeared to me one of those self-evident truths, that require no discussion, that men ought to be permitted to buy where they can purchase most advantageously, and to sell where they can find the best market; and above all things, that they should enjoy this right in regard to articles of food. When I was a young man, I used to think it would be only necessary to state distinctly such self-evident propositions to secure the assent of every one that was possessed of ordinary intelligence; but experience has taught me that, such is the power of prejudice, habit, education, and a thousand disturbing influences, the minds of many are entrenched so strongly against the truth, that they require line upon line, and argument upon argument, before the slightest impression can be made upon their preconceived notions. Nothing can be more admirable than the conduct of Anti-Corn-Law League in this respect. They saw that no progress could be made towards the attainment of their object, while this mass of ignorance and prejudice lay in their way. They did not oppose prejudice by prejudice, nor pander to the passions of the multitude, nor resort to acrimony and abuse; but they employed the only weapons that were legitimate in this warfare—the omnipotent arms of truth. Their lecturers have disseminated the principles of Free Trade in every village and town; their pamphlets and tracts in millions cover the land, and find their way into the humble cottage and the baronial hall. The champions of Free Trade, whom we have the honour and pleasure of seeing among us this night, have bearded the lion in his den. (Enthusiastic cheers.) They have plainly and affectionately expostulated with the agricultural labourers, the farmers, and the landlords, in the most sordid, the most landlord-ridden, and the most priest-ridden districts; they have instructed and delighted crowded audiences in Manchester, Liverpool, London, and all the great towns. In short, they seem to possess a sort of ubiquity. The papers of the same day record their triumphs in the town and in the country—in the south and in the north. They were in the great commercial capital of the west yesterday—to-day they are in Edinburgh—to-morrow they will be in Perth—the next day in Aberdeen—up through the length and breadth of the land they go, conquering and to conquer. (Cheers.) Their labours have been herculean, and they have been cheered with corresponding success. They have secured the support of the great mass of the middle classes; and notwithstanding the outrageous libels and inflammatory harangues of Ferrand, Oastler, and Co., the labouring classes are now generally convinced of the deceptions of these unscrupulous charlatans, and acknowledge the Free-Traders as their best friends. (Cheers.) In the higher classes opposition is rapidly giving way; even Sir Robert Peel, and the more intelligent of his party, are evidently wavering; and I hope and believe that it will not be long till the great party in opposition, as a body, disregarding all the apprehensions of the timid and the sophistries of the interested, will give full practical effect to the principles which they have so long theoretically promulgated. Allow me to say, that although I am personally interested in no party, and no party has any claim upon me, I cannot cease to remember with gratitude the services rendered to the cause of civil and religious liberty by the associates of Fox, and Grey, and Romilly, and Spencer, and Russell. (Cheers.) I cannot forget the sympathy and aid we received from them in the struggles of former years; they were my first political love; and while I deplore the evil influences which have as yet prevented their cordially and unanimously joining the present movement, I hail with delight the symptoms of their speedy accession. Earl Fitzwilliam has declared in our favour; Lord Spencer has spoken still more decidedly; the Marquis of Westminster has followed Lord Spencer; the prejudices of others are fast breaking down; and we may now hope that, as a great and influential party, we shall soon find them in their proper position, united with the great body of the people struggling for their rights. Attempts have been made to excite apprehensions of the League as an association too powerful and somewhat dangerous in the state; but it is not the mere association of the League that is working so powerfully on the public mind; there is a power beyond that of the League—the power of truth (cheers)—it is this that arms the League with energy and vigour, and leads it on to victory. If dangerous, it is only dangerous from the continuance of the privations and sufferings of the nation;—remove them, and the League will become weak as Samson when shorn of his locks. Till these are removed agitation will continue and increase—discontent will increase—destitution will increase—disorder will increase, till the country sink in anarchy and crime. (Hear, hear.) Will you endeavour to avert so sad a calamity? then use the means—our friends are willing to carry on the contest against the powers that threaten the existence of our national prosperity, but they must be furnished with the sinews of war. Say not we have too much to contribute for other objects—we have to subscribe for labourers out of employment—for the sick and destitute—for schools and for churches. In subscribing for the removal of restrictions on trade, you gave the most effectual contributions to the unemployed labourer—for the removal of restrictions naturally increases the demand for goods;—this again requires an additional number of workmen—the increased demand and competition for workmen raises the wages of labour, instead of doling out a scanty pittance in the shape of charity degrading the unhappy receiver, procure for him the comfortable wages of honourable industry, which will elevate him in the scale of society. If you wish to prevent the spread of disease, secure for the labouring classes the means of procuring health—giving food and clothing and shelter. Do you desire to banish ignorance and immorality? Furnish means for procuring instruction and an honest livelihood, break the shackles of industry, remove the restrictions of trade, lay

open the field of the world to British skill and enterprise—this will afford relief to the labourer, the tradesman, the manufacturer, the merchant, and to all classes in the British Isles. The blessing would not be confined to Britain, but would be spread and multiplied wherever our commerce reached—still educing good,—

"And better still, and better thence again,
In infinite progression."

(Loud and long-continued cheers.)

The Lord Provost then read the copy of a letter which had been addressed by the committee to the members for the City, with their several answers to the same, as follows:—

"Edinburgh, Dec. 21, 1843.
"DEAR SIR,—At a meeting of the committee, I was desired to send you the enclosed *serje* ticket, and to invite you to be present at the meeting, without reference to the opinions you may hold on the question."

"I was likewise desired to request you to take part in the proceedings, on the condition that your opinions are such as to allow you to speak in support of the object of the meeting—the immediate abolition of all the duties on the importation of corn, and the propriety of raising a fund to aid the League in promoting this object.—I am, &c."
"D. M'LENNAN,
"Convener of Committee."

"The Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, M.P., &c. &c."

"Albany, London, Dec. 23, 1843.
"DEAR SIR,—I have often expressed my opinion on the subject of the Corn Laws, and am not aware that I have anything to add, to retract, or to explain. You will not, therefore, be surprised at my saying that I do not think it right to attend the meeting of the 11th of January."

"I have the honour to be, &c. (General hissing.)"

"T. B. MACAULAY."
"DEAR SIR,—I have received your note, enclosing a ticket to the *serje* to be held on the 11th of January, to receive a deputation from the League, and informing me that the Anti-Corn-Law Committee had requested you to invite me to be present, 'without reference to the opinions' I may hold on the question; and that you had also been desired 'to request me to take part in the proceedings of the meeting, on the condition that my opinions are such as to allow me to speak in support of the objects of the meeting—the immediate abolition of all duties on the importation of corn, and the propriety of raising a fund to aid the League in promoting this object.'"

"As I do not entirely concur in the first of these objects, and disapprove of the extent and manner in which much of the agitation on this subject has been conducted, I am unable to comply with the request of the committee to take part in the proceedings; and my conduct would obviously be liable to misconception were I to be present without doing so."

"While I regret that I must therefore decline attending the meeting, I think it due to the Anti-Corn-Law Committee, as representing a large body of my constituents, to state to them, explicitly and respectfully, my opinions, and the course I intend to pursue in Parliament this session upon this most important question."

"I voted for Mr. Villiers's motion last session for the total repeal of the Corn Laws, on the grounds taken by Lord Howick, that if it were carried, any amendment might be moved upon it in committee. As everything that has since occurred confirms me more strongly in the opinion I expressed in my letter of the 25th of February last to Mr. Wigham (the former Convener of the Anti-Corn-Law Committee), that the abolition of all duties would be greatly preferable to the continuance of the sliding scale, I shall in this session vote for every motion that has for its object the getting rid of the present laws; but I reserve to myself the power of adopting a low fixed duty, if the time and circumstances under which it is proposed shall still induce me to consider it the most beneficial arrangement for all the great interests of the country. In the present state of parties on this question in both Houses of Parliament, no measure for the total repeal of the Corn Laws could be carried; and there can be no doubt that a low fixed duty would at least be infinitely more advantageous to the country than the existing injurious regulations."

"I am quite aware of the progress this question has made during the last few months, and that the time is rapidly passing away during which any compromise of it can be made; and I have no hesitation in saying, that if the intimation of the agricultural interest shall prevent them perceiving the necessity of settling it within a short period, I shall again on the maintenance of any duty at all, because the advantages attending it would be more than counterbalanced by the irritation and disunion between the different classes of society which the present agitation is engendering, and which, I fear, may produce consequences more permanent than this question, and even more serious than the good which any change in the Corn Laws would effect.—I remain, &c.,
"W. GIBSON CRAIG."

"Riccarton, Dec. 26, 1843." (A few hisses.)

Mr. COBDEN then rose amidst great and reiterated shouts of applause, and said:—When I entered this magnificent hall, and looked around upon the intelligent audience before me, and recollected the enlightened city in which I found myself, I could not help inquiring at my next neighbour, whether it could be necessary in such a place, and to such an audience, to say one word on the general merits of the question of the Corn Laws, or in favour of the principle of Free Trade. I am told, however—that I must be here prepared to make good our cause, and show not only the justice of the principles of Free Trade, but that I must here demonstrate to you that our principles are not only true and just in the abstract, but that they are susceptible of immediate practical application, and are adapted to the exigencies of the present times and circumstances of this country. Now, this is a task which I undertake, so far as I am able, to accomplish in your presence this evening. All parties I believe—at least the members of all parties whose opinions are worth a moment's attention—are agreed that the principles of Free Trade are the principles of common sense, and that they are true and right in the abstract. (Cheering.) But when you ask those who are willing to acknowledge their justice and truth as a theory to apply them practically, we are told there are certain circumstances, in the present condition of this country, which render these principles wholly inapplicable. What are these difficulties? In the first place, we are met with the objection, that this is an old country in an artificial state. My answer is, we are in an artificial state, because bad laws, which war against nature and nature's laws, have brought us into that state. We can remedy this by returning within the laws of nature; and making our legislation more in accordance with what is evidently the design of Divine Providence. Again, we are told this country is heavily burdened with debt and taxation; and that in such a country to apply the principles of Free Trade would be to endanger the safety of our revenue. Now, it may appear to be returning to the A B C of our agitation, if I reiterate in your presence that it is not the object of the League to remove a single item of revenue which is levied directly with a view to the Queen's Exchequer; but that our sole object is to abolish all duties which are levied for the purpose of taking money out of the pockets of a certain class of the community, and that the most numerous, in order to put it into the pockets of another class of the community, and that the least nu-

merous. In other words, our object is to abolish all duties that are levied for what is called protection. Mr. Cobden then proceeded to consider the question in its several bearings, and concluded a speech of great power as follows:—I hope there will be no hanging back in Edinburgh on this question. (Cheers.) I am glad to tell you that your support has been already of vast importance to our agitation, and I am glad to see so splendid a meeting to forward our present campaign, presided over by your Lord Provost with so much honour to himself. I ask you on the ground of policy—I ask you with reference to its effect on the revenue—with reference to its effect on the welfare of the farmers—on grounds of justice to the great body of the people—on the score of humanity, for it is a better cause than charity itself—I ask you for the sake of peace, prosperity, education, and vital religion itself, for I believe that all these great interests are bound up with our cause—I ask you on all these grounds to give to the cause of Free Trade your hearty support. I thank you for the kindness you have shown me on this occasion. (Great applause.)

Mr. HUNTER, advocate, then rose amid loud cheers, and said that his object in addressing the meeting at this early stage of the proceedings was to submit for their consideration, and, he trusted, for their ultimate, cordial, and unanimous approval, a resolution pledging themselves to support the principles and the plan of operations which had been so clearly and powerfully explained to them by Mr. Cobden, and which they would hear farther developed and enforced by the other members of the deputation of the League. (Hear, hear, hear.) The resolution was:—

"That, deeply convinced that the only means of reviving trade, of saving agriculture as well as commerce from ultimate ruin, and of preserving the peace and welfare of the nation, is totally and immediately to abolish the Corn Laws, and all other unwise restrictions on the free interchange of commodities with other nations, we cordially approve of the objects and exertions of the National Anti-Corn-Law League; and, heartily concurring in the plan promulgated by them, and now explained by their distinguished representatives, we now pledge ourselves to do everything in our power fully and effectually to carry that plan into speedy operation."

On the introductory portion of the resolution it would be superfluous, indeed, to consume time by entering into argument. Mr. Hunter then proceeded to comment on the details of the plan by which the results aimed at by the League were to be obtained; and, having pointed out that the basis of their operations was the diffusion of information among the people, the propriety of which could not be questioned even by their most uncompromising opponents, continued:—But the efforts of the adversaries of the League have been directed against those parts of the plan intended so to influence the electoral body as to ensure the return of representatives convinced of the magnitude and danger of the existing evils, and determined on their removal; and these efforts seem to have made an impression in quarters undoubtedly entitled to respect. When calmly considered, these objections will be found to be wholly untenable. He held that the formation of the League, and the details of the plan by which its objects were to be obtained, were strictly conformable to law; and he spoke advisedly, that they were in perfect accordance with the spirit of the constitution, and sanctioned by recognised usage. (Cheers.) There can be no doubt that every profession, trade, or class of men, possessing a common material interest, are entitled to combine and unite for the purpose of obtaining the repeal of laws by which they deem that their interests are seriously injured, and by the abrogation of which they have reasonable grounds for believing that their prosperity will be promoted in future. (Hear.) As applicable to particular manufacturing, or commercial or agricultural bodies, this rule has never been questioned; and daily experience proves that persevering exertions are made by them, avowedly acting in unison, to secure the election of men qualified by their knowledge or weight to procure legislative measures for the maintenance or advancement of those interests. The same principle must apply with equal soundness and force to the means adopted for obtaining an alteration, not, be it observed, of any of the rules or forms of constitutional law, but of statutes by which the material interests of the whole manufacturing and commercial classes are as much injured as those of any one class can be by any special enactments. The details of the measures proposed to effectuate these objects must, indeed, be in entire accordance with the preservation of public tranquillity. Those embodied in the plan of the League not only possess this character, but are eminently fitted to promote the efficiency and purity of the electoral body, and extending much more widely in their beneficial results, eminently to advance the moral worth of the nation at large. The two parts of the plan which he thought of chief importance were the superintendence of the electoral registers and the adoption of vigorous measures for the extinction of intimidation, and more especially of bribery. The importance of the former of these objects, although perhaps not obvious at first, is well understood by those practically conversant with the value of securing to constituencies the means of rendering the elective franchise truly available. The most careful attention to the electoral lists is indispensable for the removal of unqualified persons, of objecting to those who have no right to be registered, and of aiding the enrolment of those who, although friendly, might from supineness or timidity, hesitate to insist upon their privileges. He grieved to say that much apathy in this most essential particular had been shown by those from whose liberality of principle and commanding position more energy and perseverance might justly have been expected. Their unaccountable indifference contrasted remarkably with the ceaseless and unwearied diligence of the abettors of monopoly, whose present strong position in Parliament was mainly to be attributed to the temporary ascendancy which they thus acquired in the electoral bodies. But by the active measures of the League this evil would be remedied, and the constituencies would be so purified and strengthened as to ensure, hereafter, to the friends of commercial freedom the means of making the franchise available for the great purposes for which it is held—the promotion of the welfare of all. Great as this benefit would be, it shrank in dimensions when placed by the side of that mighty good which was to be achieved by the adoption of vigorous measures for the suppression of bribery. The fearful operation of this heinous sin in perverting all classes, the bribers and the bribed—in spreading a desolating moral pestilence throughout the land—and in threatening to convert the moral sentiment of the people into a noisome mass of corruption—could not be deplored

with grief too strong or felt with abasement too profound. The whole of the large sum asked for the League would be expended in its cure; and should the League effect it, they would be entitled to the blessings of their countrymen, and to those of all future generations. (Loud cheers.) After some further observations, Mr. Hunter moved the resolution, and concluded amidst loud cheers.

Mr. DUNCAN M'LAREN then rose amid loud and long-continued cheering. He said: I feel it a great privilege indeed to be permitted to support the principles of the League before so large an assemblage of my fellow-citizens. The resolution which has been moved is expressive of our cordial concurrence in what they have done—of our determination to support them, and to take what other steps they may think necessary to adopt. The outline of the plan of operations which they had chalked out for themselves has been generally explained to you by the honourable member for Stockport; and the way in which you received his explanation convinces me that it would be a waste of time to enforce the necessity of acting on his recommendation. I see that every one here is prepared to support the views embodied in the resolution, and to give the Anti-Corn-Law League the most cordial support in all its plans, including, of course, the means of carrying those plans into effect by subscribing to the funds. (Cheers.) It seems to me, that it would be out of place for me to enter on any discussion with regard to the Corn Laws, after what you have already heard so powerfully stated, and considering that we are yet to be addressed by the honourable member for Durham—by that veteran in the cause, Colonel Thompson—by Mr. Moore, as well as by Mr. Jameson and others. I shall therefore be very brief in the observations I have to make, and I would rather direct your attention to the practical conclusion, as a minister would say. Each of you will find enclosed in a bag, a little paper billet with these words:—Enter my name as a subscriber to the fund of the League for such and such an amount. The League have given those facilities to all who are present. All of you have within your reach the opportunity of giving sums, great or small; and the subscriptions will be sent for or may be paid in as most convenient for the parties who contribute. I may state that the committee who have taken the management of these matters have been very successful. They have individually contributed among themselves in a private way. A number of subscriptions have been intimated to me on the platform; a number have been intimated to me during the day both personally and by letter. The spirit evinced is such, that I hope the amount realized here will be the double of what it was last year. (Loud cheers.) Having announced some subscriptions, and explained the mode of their further collection, Mr. M'Laren said:—To-day I had a conversation with a very benevolent and excellent individual, who gave me a subscription of £20, and said he subscribed to this fund as, in his opinion, a great national charity. He said he felt greatly for the poor and destitute. He would be anxious to promote the good of the poorer classes in any way he could. But he expressed his strong conviction that the removal of the Corn Laws was the most certain means of removing pauperism and destitution, and that by subscribing to what is pre-eminently of a national character. (Loud cheers.) The Lord Provost has expressed the same views; and for myself I can say, that if I considered this merely a political question, I should not have given my money or my time to it as I have done. But regarding the removal of restrictions on trade as the means of giving employment to the poor, of raising their condition, of enabling them to subsist on the fruits of their own industry, instead of depending on the charitable collections which we have every now and then to make; believing that the principles advocated by the League when carried into effect will to an immense extent remove the cause of destitution, and thus increase the comforts of the poor, and elevate the condition of the people in a moral as well as physical point of view—I have no hesitation in earnestly entreating all my friends to support the great League Fund. (Cheering.) Mr. M'Laren concluded, by expressing a hope that the inhabitants of Edinburgh, who subscribed so liberally last year, would on this occasion exceed the expectations formed of their efforts. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. BRIGHT, M.P., then came forward, amidst great applause, and delivered an eloquent and forcible speech. The following are the honourable members' remarks, having reference to the letters of the members for Edinburgh:—I cannot forbear from remarking on the position in which you stand in reference to this question. You are here confederated with us—we, the representatives of the Anti-Corn-Law League, did last year, and do now, shake hands with you, and you are incorporated with the League. You have subscribed already; you are again about to subscribe, to enable us to do that in other constituencies which we have already done here. But what, if you send us to teach and enlighten other constituencies—what, if you neglect yourselves—what, if the missionaries and apostles are the first to fall away from the faith—what, if the constituency of Edinburgh, who are so intelligent, so well informed, and so zealous—what, if you rest satisfied to be represented in the House of Commons (tremendous cheering) by men, one of whom gives you a half-hearted and a hollow support, and the other meets your invitation to attend the discussion of this great question with a reply so brief that it looks like a rebuff? (Cheers.) One of your members is a man of some celebrity. Our vast possessions in the country of India are subject in part, I believe, to a code of laws which he took the chief part in drawing up. He is also known as a powerful and beautiful writer, especially on historical subjects. But does he know anything of the philosophy of history? Can he not look—for he possesses vast stores of knowledge—can he not look back to the history of other countries, and to the history of this country, and find there that the real way to disturb the happiness of a people is to substitute injustice and selfishness for justice and philanthropy? Can he not look there and find that true Conservatism is based on the elements and immutable principles of truth? Does he not know that the temper of the English people, and still more the temper of the people whom I now address, though it may be slow to move—though they may be friends to order, though they may venerate the institutions of our country, and look upon the aristocracy and the monarchy with awe and with affection—yet it is possible, when evils like these exist, that the iron may enter into their souls, that injustice may accumulate, till all the learning and the morals of the country—all the prejudices and preconceived notions that now exist—nay, all the

religion that is in the land, may be insufficient to keep the people from breaking down suddenly, destructively, and for ever, the great and giant evils under which they feel oppressed. (Loud and long-continued cheering.) I much fear that this representative of yours contracts his vision, and looks only upon party, and supposes that to be his country; or that he regards the interests of party as greater than that of the twenty-seven millions of people of Great Britain and Ireland, four millions of whom are in a state of abject suffering and hopeless pauperism. (Hear, hear.) But if he is not to be convinced—if in him, as his letter expresses, no change need be sought, and no change will be found—then we have here a field for the exercise of our special duties. (Cheers.) As a body sent by the dense population in which we live, and authorised by certificates ratified by 100 public meetings in the country, we appeal to you and remonstrate with you as to the position in which you stand with regard to your representation. I have no hope of deliverance from the Crown—I expect no justice from the House of Lords—(hear, hear, hear); but I do look to the constituencies of the empire, that they will return men to the Commons House of Parliament who will not pander to the improper authority of the Crown, still less who will support the unjust rights of the aristocracy, but who will pursue the great, and noble, and glorious object of defending the rights and interests of humanity, which are bound up in the rights and interests of the common people. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution moved by Mr. Hunter, and seconded by Mr. D. M'Laren, was then put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

The collection of the subscription tickets, one of which had been put into the parcel of fruit given to each individual, was then proceeded with, and occupied a short time.

Colonel T. P. THOMPSON was received, on coming forward, with enthusiastic cheering. The veteran advocate for total repeal addressed the meeting in his peculiarly characteristic style, and resumed his seat amidst cheering as prolonged and hearty as that which greeted him on rising.

Mr. R. W. JAMESON, W.S., rose and said:—The duty assigned me is a proud but now an easy one—to collect and declare your opinion of the conduct of the men to whose principles you have now pledged yourselves, in whose objects you are so deeply interested. The authors, the actors, the leaders of this great national movement are now before you (cheers); and to me it is given to ask, how think you have they performed their great and self-imposed task? What think you of their League? What think you of themselves? The League is now crowned with unparalleled success (hear, hear); but this is no absolute criterion of merit; merit is not measured by success. The League is a great and growing combination of intelligent men. Such combinations are not new. Clubs, societies, unions, leagues, associations, are but the terms we use when men combine for common objects, good or bad. We have had societies whose efforts have been blessed in the freedom of the slave, and associations who have trampled down the perhaps viler outrage of tyranny and exclusion in religion's name; while we must also confess to unions whose object is disunion and dismemberment; and yet more strange, while we have legislating houses and selected clubs whose avowed and (as yet) legal—I do not say lawful—object is to preserve the monopoly of the very rich, we have also had unions whose miserable object has been to create a pernicious monopoly among sections of the very poor. These combinations are the result of our political position and power. What the despot once attempted by force, to be resisted or obeyed as force might incline, is, in our happier days, obtained by such combinations acting on the governing power, according to position, numbers, influence, and, though more rarely, goodness of object. So far the League is but a copy—a necessary conformity to the mode in which power is now procured, or made available; but the mode of its contrivance—the means of its progress—are its authors' own; and here I claim for them undivided and exclusive approbation. (Cheers.) Mr. Jameson having referred to the past and unsuccessful efforts made to obtain by petition the repeal of the Corn Laws, to the dreadful state of the country and suffering of the people subsequently induced by them, and to the origin and progress of the League, moved, amidst great applause, a vote of thanks to that body.

Mr. STONE seconded the motion.

The CHAIRMAN said he wished the meeting would express their opinion by holding up their hands.

The vote of thanks having been enthusiastically responded to,

Mr. R. R. MOORE, a member of the deputation, in a brief but eloquent speech, acknowledged the vote.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the amount of subscriptions, including the sums subscribed previously, was £1142. He wished to remind the meeting, at the same time, that last year, during the whole time, the sum collected was £1090; and he begged also to mention, that on account of the crowded state of the room, the subscription had been imperfectly received. (Of the sum collected on the present occasion, we believe £260 was received by cards.)

The announcement of the amount of contributions was received with loud cheers.

Mr. COBDEN, in highly complimentary terms, moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was passed with three times three, the hon. member giving the signal.

The CHAIRMAN said the honour was so great, he could not return thanks for it.

The meeting then separated about eleven o'clock.

Edinburgh subscriptions to the League fund:—

Alex. Annandale, 20l.; James Aytoun, 5l.; James Anderson, 2l.; A. B., 1l. 1s.; A. Adam and Sons, 2l.; a Friend to the League, 1l. 1s.; Alexander Aitken, 1l. 1s.; David Aitchison, 1l.; Richard Alexander, 1l. 1s.; H. Armour, 2s. 6d.; a Friend to Free Trade, 1l. 1s.; A. S., 1l. 1s.; a Convert, 1l. 0s. 9d.; Jane Anderson, 2s. 6d.; A. B., 2l. 2s.; John Anderson, 7s. 6d.; a Well-wisher, 2s. 6d.; a Lady, whose heart is willing, but purse is weak, 1s.; a Friend to Free Trade, 1s.; John Anderson, son, 5s.; a Friend to the Poor, 5l.; Thomas Angus, 2s. 6d.; A. B., 10s.; a Friend, 2s. 6d.; a Friend to Free Trade, 2s. 6d.; W. Anderson, 10s.; a Friend, 5s.; A. Alexander, 1s.; A. Aitken, 10s. 5d.; R. Aitken, 2l. 2s.; a Friend, 2s. 6d.; a Farmer who wishes he could give more, 1l.; a few Stocking Makers, per Hugh M'Pherson, 1l. 5s.; J. Anderson, 7s. 6d.; a Free Churchman and Free Trader, 1l. 1s.; Rev. Christopher Ander-

son, 2l. 2s.; John Adie, 1l.; Robt. Aitken, 2l. 2s.;
Magdalene Aitken, 1s.; Alex. Allan, 5s.; a Friend,
1l. 1s.; an Old Stager, 1l.; a Cobdenized Farmer, 6d.;
James Anderson, 1l. 1s.; A. Z. (double of last year),
2l. 2s.; A. and C. Black, 20l.; J. M. Bell, 4l. 4s.; Rob-
ert Bryce, 1l.; William Boak, 1l.; Joseph Baird,
1l. 1s.; J. H. Burton, 3l. 3s.; Wm. Brown, 10s. 6d.; B.
Hall Blyth, 1l.; Alex. Banks, 1l. 1s.; James Balford,
10s. 6d.; George Beattie, 1l. 1s.; Dr. Beilby, 3l.;
James Bruff, 1l.; James Boag, 3l. 3s.; Barely free from
Debt, 5s.; James Brown, 1l. 1s.; John Brunton, 1l. 1s.;
B. M., 7s. 6d.; William Balleny, 7s. 6d.; A. Brooks,
10s. 6d.; John Brown, 1l.; R. Brown, 2s.; James
Barlas, 1l.; D. Burns, 1l.; Wm. Bartram, 1l. 1s.; J.
Blair, 1l.; Rev. Dr. Wm. Brown, 1l. 1s.; Hugh Brown,
1l.; A. Black, 5s.; A. Breck, 1l. 1s.; A. H. Balfour,
5s.; K. C. Banks, 2s. 6d.; Jonathan Bladworth, 2l.;
George Badeses, 2s. 6d.; L. Berry, 1l. 1s.; Barely free
from debt, 5s.; Robert Cadell, 20l.; W. Chambers, 10l.
10s.; Messrs. J. Clapperton and Co., 10l.; A. Cunning-
ham, 10l.; Robert Cox, W.S., 4l.; Thomas Calder, 1l.;
George Clark, 1l. 1s.; A. Cuthbert, 5s.; James Car-
rick, 5s.; — Clark, 1l. 1s.; Edward Cruickshank, 2l.
2s.; Robert Chisholm, 1l. 1s.; Wm. Scott Chisholm, 1l.
1s.; A. Cushnie, 2s. 6d.; J. Clark, 5s.; A. Cochran,
5s.; J. H. Chisholm, 5s.; John Carton, 5s.; Hen.
Crichton, S.S.C., 2l.; — Colthart, 1l.; W. Crouch, 1l.;
J. Craig, 1l.; — Campbell, 2s. 6d.; J. B. Campbell, 2l.;
Simon Campbell, S.S.C., 1l. 1s.; A. Cameron, 1l.; Miss
Carruthers, 1l. 1s.; N. Cushnie, 1l.; John Clark, 1l.;
John Curister, 5s.; Jos. Coulshard, 1l.; William Dun-
lop, 20l.; Dr. Daun, 10l.; Mrs. Drummond, 6l.; Wm.
Dick, 5l. 5s.; Arthur Dingwall, 1l. 1s.; William Deans,
1l. 1s.; Bailie Duncan, 2l. 2s.; Quintin Dalrymple, 1l.;
John Dick, 1l. 1s.; P. E. Dove, 1l. 1s.; Rev. P. David-
son, 1l.; A. C. Dick, 2l. 2s.; John Donaldson, 2s. 6d.;
James Donaldson, advocate, 1l. 1s.; Andrew Dods, 1l. 1s.;
Mr. Dickenson, 1l.; James Duncan, W.S., 10s. 6d.;
George Drummond, 10s. 6d.; James Dymock, 5s.;
William Darling, 2l.; John Dalrymple, 5s.; Geo. Dick-
son, 2s. 6d.; D. R., 10s. 6d.; D. M. M., 10s.; — Dou-
glas, 5s.; James Donaldson, 1l. 1s.; J. Eagle, 10s.; Friend
to the League, 5l.; Friend to the Cause, 2l. 2s.; A. Fyfe,
S.S.C., 1l. 1s.; Thomas Fleming, 1l.; Rev. John French,
1l.; James Ford, 1l.; Alexander Fletcher, 2s. 6d.; Father
of ten children, 2s. 6d.; W. Fleming, 1s.; John Foyer,
10s.; — Findly, 10s.; F. R. K., against iniquity, 2s. 6d.;
Dan. Forester, 1l. 1s.; John Gray, 10l.; Robert Grieve,
10l.; G. R. and Co., 5l.; Bailie Gray, 10l.; John Greg-
ory, 5l. 5s.; G. H. Gille, 5l.; James Grant, 2l. 2s.;
Robert Glass, 1l. 1s.; Andrew Gray, 1l.; James Gray,
1l.; R. P. Greig, 2l.; Thomas Gourlay, 5s.; A. Gibb,
1l. 1s.; Thomas Glen, 5s.; A. Gulland, 5s.; George
Gourlay, 2s.; W. C. Gregory, 5s.; J. B. Grace, 2l.;
Wm. Gray, 2s. 6d.; Dr. Gairdner, 10s.; Thos. Gairdner,
10s.; J. F. Galloway, 1l. 1s.; J. S. Galloway, 1l. 1s.; G.
Gulland, 1l.; G. S. J., 1l.; T. Glen, 5s.; Mrs. Glen, 3s.;
Messrs. J. and W. Howison, 10l.; Messrs. W. Howison
and Son, 5l.; Robert Hunter, 10l. 10s.; Wm. Hutchison,
S.S.C., 5l.; George Hope, 2l. 2s.; Forrest Hay, 1l.; John
Hutton, 2s. 6d.; Geo. Horne, 5s.; P. Howden, 1l. 1s.;
Rev. George Harris, 1l.; George Harrison, 1l.; James
Hogg, 5s.; H. J., 1l.; A. Hay, 2l. 2s.; J. Hill, grocer,
2s. 6d.; Thomas Hately, 5s.; J. Henderson, 5s.; George
Harvey, 1l.; W. Hughes, 5s.; J. Horsburgh, 1l. 1s.;
Thomas Ireland, 1l.; George Inglis, 3l.; Alex. Inches,
10s. 6d.; Andrew Isles, 1l.; R. Irvine, 1l. 1s.; E. Iron-
side, 2s. 6d.; Ionohodie, 1l.; James Jamieson, 25l.;
Alexander Jamieson, 5l.; R. W. Jamieson, 2l. 2s.; Adam
Johnston, 1l. 1s.; J. H., 2s.; Peter Jamieson, 1l. 10s.;
J. W., 10s. 6d.; — Jameson, 5s.; J. Johnston, 1l. 1s.;
a Lady, per J. J., 1l. 1s.; J. M., 5s.; Davie Johnston,
1l. 1s.; Mrs. Dr. Kennedy, 10s. 6d.; G. Knight, 1l.;
W. Kemp, 2s.; Thomas Kerr, 1l. 1s.; Dr. Kennedy,
10s. 6d.; Messrs. Kennington and Jenner, 5l. 5s.; David
Kay, 5s.; John Kyd, 2l. 2s.; Jas. Leishman, 5l.; Messrs.
Laidlaw and Sons, 5l. 5s.; J. Lees, 2l. 2s. 2d.; W. Leckie,
2l.; Thos. Lindsay, 10s. 6d.; John Laing, 2s. 6d.; Wm.
Murray, 20l.; Thos. Milne, 10l.; Wm. Miliar, 1l.; Jas.
Mitchell, 10s.; C. Morton, 1l. 1s. 6d.; W. Millar, S.S.C.,
3l.; E. F. Maitland, 4l.; Geo. Mushet, 5l.; John Murray,
1l. 1s.; Messrs. Mould and Todd, 1l. 1s.; W. B. Mof-
fat, 1l.; John Millar, 5s.; Charles Muirhead, 1l. 1s.;
James Millar, 2l.; W. Marshall, 1l. 1s.; J. Maxwell, 10s.;
Thomas Moffat, 1l. 1s.; J. Malcolm, 3l. 3s.; H. Morrison,
1l.; A. A. Morton, 5s.; J. Milne, 3l. 3s.; L. Millar, 1l.;
Thomas Millar, 1l.; J. Millar, 5s.; Money makes the
mare to go—the last kick at the rogues in grain, 1l. 1s.;
C. Muirhead, 1l. 1s.; Messrs. A. and E. Murray,
10s. 6d.; Alexander Marshall, 1l.; W. H. Macfarlane,
1l.; Duncan M'Laren, 50l.; George M'Callum, 20l.;
H. M'G., 5l. 5l.; Charles M'Laren, 10l.; Messrs. Jas.
M'Claren and Son, 5l.; William M'Murray, 50l.; George
K. M'Callum, 5l. 5s.; Mrs. M'Farlane, 5l.; J. F. M'Far-
lane, 2l. 2s.; J. M'Intosh, 5l.; John M'Pherson, 1l.;
— M'Gill, 5s.; J. M'Intosh, 3l. 3s.; James M'Donald,
1l. 1s.; J. M'Farlane, 5s.; Peter M'Laren, 5s.; John
M'Queen, 2s. 6d.; Miss Grant M'Laren, 2s. 6d.; Miss
Agnes M'Laren, 2s. 6d.; Master John M'Laren, 2s. 6d.;
— M'Kenzie, 10s.; Wm M'Gregor, 1l. 1s.; J. M'Intyre,
5s.; J. Nelson, 1l.; R. R. Nelson, 1l.; A. Nisbet, 5s.; W.
Nicolson, 10s. 6d.; No Sliding Scale or Fixed Duty,
4s. 6d.; W. Oliphant and Son, 2l. 2s.; One who fears the
Jews, 1l. 1s.; Charles Oliphant, 2l.; W. Pike, 1l. 1s.; J.
Paterson, 1l. 1s.; W. Paterson, 1l.; P. Q., 1l.; G.
Paterson, 1l. 1s.; J. Pringle, 2s. 6d.; P. Paul, S.S.C.,
5l.; J. Paterson, 1l.; Rev. Dr. W. Peddie, 1l.; J. Pe-
die, jun., 2l.; J. Pryde, 1l.; Charles Peter, 10s.; Mrs.
Pringle, 1s.; W. Fairman, 1l.; Messrs. Richardsons,
Brothers, 100l.; John Ritchie, 5l. 5s.; Alexander
Robertson, 5l. 5s.; Wm. Renton, 5l.; John Russell,
1l.; Wm. Renton, 5l.; R. B. S., 5s.; Wm. Reid,
builder, 1l. 1s.; T. Russell, 1l. 1s.; David Robertson,
1l. 1s.; Andrew Reynolds, 2s. 6d.; John Ralph, 2l.;
Francis Richardson, 5l.; John Ritchie, D.D., 1l.; J.
Reid, 1l.; James Robertson, 1l.; J. B. Ritchie, 5s.; A.
Roe, 5s.; T. Robson, 2s. 6d.; J. Ritchie, 2s.; — Ro-
bertson, 7s. 6d.; J. Robertson, 1l. 1s.; J. Rutherford,
1l. 1s.; J. Robertson, 1l.; Alex. Reid, 1l. 1s.; A. Rich-
ardson, 1l. 1s.; J. Robertson, 1l.; A. Robertson, 10s.;
John Robertson, 1l. 1s.; T. Russell, 2l.; Hugh Rose,
2l. 2s.; Hugh Ross, 5s.; Stone and Kemp, 150l.; W. Som-
merville, 21l.; W. Sommerville, jun., 20l.; G. Smith, 2l. 2s.;
John Stewart, 1l. 1s.; Stewart and Todd, 1l. 1s.; James
Simpson, 1l. 1s.; D. Syme and Son, 2l. 2s.; Thomas
Sharp, 10s.; George Simson, 1l.; James Scott, 1l.;
Archibald Scott, 1l. 1s.; E. Forsyth, *Scotsman* Office,
5s.; W. Skeen, jun., 7s. 6d.; James Stewart, 10s.; A.

F. Sommerville, 1l.; Mrs. Smith, 5s.; J. H. Stott,
10s. 6d.; William Syme, 5s.; J. Sinclair, jun., 2l. 2s.;
Councillor Stark, 1l. 1s.; R. Scott, 2l. 2s.; A. H. Smith,
1l. 1s.; G. T. Straton, 5l.; David Scott, 1l. 1s.; George
Stewart, 1l.; George Sandy, 1l.; H. G. Smith, 1l. 1s.;
Andrew Scott, 1l.; R. Shand, 1l. 1s.; P. Sinclair, 1l.;
J. H. Stewart, 2l. 2s.; John Smart, 5s.; James Slater,
2s. 6d.; David Smith, 7s. 6d.; M. Taylor, 2s. 6d.; John
Taylor, 5s.; James Taylor, 10l.; George Tibbets, 1l. 1s.;
James B. Tod, 1l.; George Thomson, 5s.; T. G., 5s.;
A. Thomson, 10l.; F. Thomson, 5s.; Two Young Re-
pealers, 2s.; G. W. Willis, 2l.; James Walker, 1l. 1s.;
James Watt, 2l.; John Wood, 1l.; John Wright, 10s. 6d.;
James Wilson, 10s.; John Walls, 7s. 6d.; J. Wilson, 5s.;
George Wilson, 1l.; W. Watherston, 5s.; J. O. C.
Whitson, 2s. 6d.; R. Winter, 1l.; X. Y. (double of last
year), 2l. 2s.; George Young, 5s.; John Young, 1l.

We are happy to learn that the subscriptions in this
city in aid of the great League fund are going on with ex-
traordinary success. On Monday and Tuesday not less
than 230 new subscriptions were sent to the local treasurer.
The whole number of subscribers is already 657, and the
amount of their subscriptions £1362. We have no doubt
that the number and amount of subscriptions will yet be
largely increased, as the circulars for the city were de-
livered only on Monday and Tuesday.—*Scotsman*.

BANQUET, IN SUPPORT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF FREE TRADE, IN THE CITY HALL, GLASGOW.

(Abridged from the *Glasgow Argus*.)

This great and important demonstration, in support of
the principles of Free Trade, and especially in behalf
of a total repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws, took
place on Wednesday night, the 10th instant, in the
City-hall, when, as we anticipated, it proved one of
the most powerful exhibitions of public sentiment on
this question which has yet been witnessed in the
West of Scotland. In point of respectability, accord-
ing to the ordinary acceptance of this term, the meet-
ing was perhaps never surpassed in Glasgow; and, as re-
gards general intelligence, sound and enlightened views
of national policy, and an intimate and rational acquain-
tance with the principles of Free Trade in particular,
coupled with an ardent determination to carry these prin-
ciples into practical effect, it might fairly stand compar-
ison with any kindred assemblage which has hitherto
met to promote the great and engrossing object which
formed its grand and central basis. Indeed, for every
attribute which can give moral weight, and add increased
energy to a cause having truth and justice on its side, the
demonstration of last night was pre-eminently remark-
able; and blind must be the man who fails to see that any
cause so supported must in the end triumph over every
obstacle. The entire number of persons in the hall was
about 2000, including ladies, of whom 150 occupied the
western gallery.

The Chair was occupied by the Hon. the Lord Provost.

Vice-chairmen:—Walter Buchanan, Esq.; John Ten-
nant, Esq.; Alex. Graham, Esq.; Wm. Cross, Esq.

On the chairman's platform we observed the following
gentlemen:—

The Hon. Fox Maule, M.P., James Oswald, Esq., M.P.,
Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., Colonel Thompson, R. R. R.
Moore, Esq., John Bright, Esq., M.P., Archd. Hastie, Esq.,
M.P., Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, Rev. Dr. Heugh, Rev. Dr. Willis,
George Stirling, Esq., Samuel Higginbotham, Esq., John Wil-
son, Esq. (Dundee), P. W. Kennedy, Esq. (of Drumellan),
Robert Stewart, Esq., George Anderson, Esq., David Chapman,
Esq., William Gemmell, Esq., Walter Crum, Esq., Alex. Cou-
per, Esq., David Murray, Esq., George Brown, Esq., Charles
Gray, Esq., James Scott, Esq., John Ker, Esq., Andrew Gal-
braith, Esq., Thomas Speirs, Esq., John Young, jun., Esq.,
George Stevenson, Esq., John Kerr, Esq., John Kerr, Esq.

At the Croupiers' table were:—Provost Bain (Greenock),
Baillie Hamilton, Whitehead, Hastie, Anderson, Buntin; Pro-
vost Bankier, James Dunlop, Esq., George Crawford, Esq.,
George Wilson, Esq., Jn. Wilson, Esq. (Auchencroft), John
Robertson, Esq., Robt. Hutchison, Esq., Robert Bartholomew,
Esq., Wm. Gray, Esq., John Pattison, Esq., John Anderson,
Esq., H. E. Crum, Esq., A. C. Dick, Esq. (advocate), Alexan-
der Denny, Esq., William Couper, Esq., William Logie, Esq.,
P. Cowan, Esq.

The following letters of apology were received from
noblemen and gentlemen, who found it inconvenient to
attend:—

From the Right Hon. Lord Dunfermline.

"Colinton, Dec. 20, 1843.

"DEAR OSWALD,—I last year declined to attend a Free-Trade
meeting in Edinburgh, and to which I was urgently invited by
my old constituents. No person can be more favourable to the
principle of Free Trade in corn than I am, and I do most ear-
nestly wish, for the sake of the country, that the question was
finally settled. I am much obliged to you, and to the Glasgow
committee, for having done me the honour to invite me to at-
tend their meeting; and, in declining, I am anxious that I
should not be supposed to have any doubts in my mind with
regard to the expediency of obtaining, as quickly as possible,
the establishment of Free Trade in corn. Yours truly,

"DUNFERMLINE."

From the Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird.

"Rossie Priory, Inchture, Dec. 20, 1843.

"SIR,—Having to attend two similar meetings to the one to
which you have done me the honour to invite, the one at Perth,
and one at Dundee, I must trust to your making my excuses
to the committee of the Glasgow Anti-Corn-Law Association.
I remain, Sir, your obedient servant, KINNAIRD.

Letters of apology were also read from the Hon. C. P.
Villiers, M.P., P. M. Stewart, Esq., M.P., Geo. Duncan,
Esq., M.P., and from John Fergus, Esq., and W. D.
Gillon, Esq.

The Lord Provost, along with the distinguished stran-
gers, and others named above, entered the hall about 20
minutes past six, and were greeted with the most enthu-
siastic cheering by the gentlemen, and the waving of hand-
kerchiefs by the ladies, who lent an agreeable interest to
the west gallery. Dr. Wardlaw, at the request of the
Lord Provost, invoked the divine blessing on the assem-
bly, and the successful accomplishment of the objects for
which it had met, in language alike touching, beautiful,
and appropriate.

The Lord Provost, in rising to propose the first
toast, was loudly cheered. He said:—Ladies and Gentle-
men, I have great pleasure in taking the chair on this oc-
casion. The question of Free Trade has long occupied
the attention of the citizens of Glasgow, many of whom,
towards the close of last century, zealously maintained
the sound principles which the celebrated Adam Smith so
ably and admirably propounded, and practically illus-
trated, whilst he filled one of the chairs in our university.
(Cheers.) I am happy to find that so many of our intelli-

gent merchants and manufacturers of the present time are
becoming every day more and more alive to the important
principles involved in this all-engrossing subject—the
abolition of all monopolies; and I assure you that I feel
gratified, when an opportunity occurs, that I can, in the
exercise of my duty as chief magistrate, give countenance
and support to any measure that will tend to ameliorate
the condition of the working classes, or improve the com-
mercial and manufacturing interests of this great and
flourishing city, the mercantile metropolis of Scotland.
(Cheers.) We have met here to-night to express our ab-
horrence of those laws which, by enhancing the price of
bread, cut deeply into the comforts of this great commu-
nity, as well as of the country generally; they also tend,
by restricting our intercourse with foreign nations, to
limit the demand for our manufactures, diminishing the
employment of the working population—and the neces-
sary consequences follow, the reduction of the wages of
our operatives and artisans. (Hear.) I am well aware
there are many gentlemen, whom I have the pleasure of
seeing around me, who will, in the course of the evening,
explain and enter upon the details, and picture to you in
more glowing terms than I can, the misery those unjust
laws inflict on the vast majority of our population. To
them I leave the task; and I now request you will fer-
vently join in doing special honour to one whose father's
principles, as well as her own education and feelings, leave
us no room to doubt that in her we have a friend to every
measure that can promote the social happiness, comfort,
and prosperity of her people.—"The Queen." (Great
cheering.) Tune—The national anthem—the vast assem-
bly standing.

His LORDSHIP then proposed, successively, "His Royal
Highness Prince Albert." (Loud cheers.) Tune—
"Prince Albert's March."

"The Prince of Wales and Royal Family" was drunk
with equal enthusiasm. Tune—"What'll be King."

The Lord Provost then called on the Hon. Fox
Maule for the next toast.

Mr. Fox MAULE, on rising, was loudly and enthusias-
tically applauded, and "one cheer more" was given for
the member for Perth, before the approving feeling of the
assemblage allowed him to proceed. He said:—Ladies and
Gentlemen, in rising to address you on this occasion, I
feel that to-night I have been placed in a position which
there are many here present much more worthy to occupy
than myself. Indeed, I should have been disposed rather
to follow those who have already led the way in bringing
the great principles of Free Trade before the public, than
to be put forward as the first to introduce that subject to
you this evening. But it has been the pleasure of the
committee to arrange it so, and I shall, therefore, endeav-
our, in as few words as I can, to give the toast which
they have allotted to my share. It embraces the great
and wide subject of "Free Trade"—(cheers)—a toast into
all the ramifications of which I will not enter in detail—
for, were I to do so, in the first place, I should weary
your patience, and, in the next place, I should do that
of which I have sometimes had occasion to complain in
following the toasts of other speakers—I should trench
upon my neighbour's ground. I shall endeavour to
avoid that, if possible, and I shall endeavour to
speak to those paramount principles which, if they
exist anywhere, I should imagine must and will
exist in that city in which Adam Smith taught and
wrote—(hear, hear)—in that city which boasts itself
not only the commercial and manufacturing metropolis of
Scotland, but in second scarcely to any city in the empire.
(Applause.) The principles of Free Trade, gentlemen,
have begun to force themselves so convincingly, day after
day, upon the minds of the inhabitants of this country,
that it scarcely requires—indeed it would be an insult to
your understanding—that I should go back into their
origin, or trace them to their ultimate objects. I consider
that the proper business of such a meeting as this is to
consult together, and to listen to practical suggestions as to
how, in the speediest and most effective, and at the same
time in the safest manner, we can carry these principles
into effect in the Government and the Legislature of our
country. (Loud cheers.) I think you will admit that we
have had, of late years, pretty clear and plain proof, that
the old systems of special protection are not those upon
which—even though you might believe and countenance
them for the moment—the vast interests of such a country
as this can permanently stand. ("Hear," and applause.)

Like a plant, which may be reared or forced in a hotbed
or hothouse, monopoly may be of benefit for the mo-
ment; but to stand all the tear and wear of a changeful
climate—to be thoroughly fixed and permanently rooted in
our soil—monopoly is not the plant to flourish in this
country, nor is our soil fitted to measure its growth.
(Cries of "Hear, hear.") We are free men, and why
should we not have Free Trade? (Great applause.) I
think it stands to reason, that that system is best, and
promotes to the greatest extent the wellbeing of all,
which shall give to us the easiest enjoyment of that which
the rest of the world produces, and which shall convey
to the rest of the world the produce of our own industry
in return. Now, these are the principles upon which I for
one wish to see legislation; and I wish to see them em-
braced not in this point only, but in all. In fact, I wish
to see no taxation in this country which is not solely for
the purpose of maintaining our national credit, and an-
swering our national engagements (hear); and I would
further wish to see that taxation so levied that its pres-
sure might be equal on all classes, and that no class or
section should have exemption at the expense of another.
Now, in speaking of Free Trade, I think all I have said
may be included in this principle. There are various sub-
jects to which the principles of Free Trade have been
more peculiarly directed; but as one deeply interested in
the prosperity of agriculture, I am not sorry to have the
opportunity before this company, in this great city, to bear
my public testimony to that which has been asserted by
others—that I believe Free Trade in agriculture, or, in other
words, the repeal of the Corn Laws, which give a monopoly
to the owners or holders of land, should be, for the general
good of the country, conceded—that these laws should be
immediately repealed. (Loud applause.) I have not come to
this opinion suddenly, nor have I arrived at it from any
personal motive or purpose; but the more I have con-
sidered the subject, the more I have been convinced, not
only that the landowner or landholder will not be losers
by the repeal of the Corn Laws, for that is a narrow view
of the question, but they will be so far gainers, that,
without any loss to themselves, the repeal of these laws
will confer an immense boon on the rest of the com-
munity. (Hear, hear.) Now, in reference to the article

of corn, I would like to say one or two words on that subject to any farmers who may be here present; and I would wish to express my conviction, from the little experience I have had in communication with agriculturists, and especially with the tenantry of this country, that I believe there is a growing opinion amongst the tenantry that the sooner the Corn Law is settled the better, and that they will not consider any settlement satisfactory which does not involve a total repeal of these laws. (Applause.) This I believe to be a growing feeling among the agricultural population; and our agricultural population, you will bear in mind, and the gentlemen from England will bear in mind, depend mostly upon leases and fixed engagements with their landlords. But to what do I trace this change and growth of opinion. I trace it to the efforts of a body of which, though I am not a member myself, yet I cannot have looked unobservantly upon what they have been doing during the last twelve months. It was not my intention to have entered into any details regarding the Anti-Corn-Law League; yet when I see a body of men as much entitled to hold their opinions, and to press them on the public, as I or any other class of the community are entitled to hold opinions—when I see a body composed of such gentlemen as those on my right and left, to whom have been attributed malicious motives, and who have been falsely attacked and challenged for using the most atrocious of language, and the most horrible of doctrine—when I see this, I must take the liberty of stating my opinion of the high merits of that body, and of the important services which the Anti-Corn-Law League have rendered during the last twelve months. (Hear, hear.) I have often remarked quietly to various members of that body, that, in the first commencement of their career, they, as well as their opponents, dealt too much in bandying hard words with each other; I told them that this was not only a waste of their time, but a highly impolitic proceeding into the bargain; but during the last twelve months we have seen that body scattering arguments throughout the length and breadth of the land—reams of reasoning flowing from their pens, and working by that machinery, and fighting with those weapons, which are most worthy of reasoning men, and most likely to convince reasoning beings. (Applause.) There may, no doubt, have been here and there, in a large body such as this, some men whose vivid imagination and fiery temperament may have occasionally run away with them; but we must judge a body like this by its written feelings and opinions, not from the sudden speeches of some of its members. And, when we look upon the endeavours of the Anti-Corn-Law League to inform the public upon all the bearings of the great question of Free Trade, I must admit I have seldom seen an association, and I have never known one which had such beneficial objects in view, or urged them with such legitimate and laudable weapons. I have thought it right to say this much, and to express publicly my opinion in order to show that, though I do not belong to them, I am so far from discouraging their efforts that I regard them as the means of vast good, and it is our duty, therefore, to bear them up against those who would foully and unjustly calumniate them. (Hear, hear.) Having said this much in regard to this great and growing body in the country, permit me to go on to state that I believe the cause they have been advocating is coming by slow and sure degrees to a crisis. (Hear.) When I look into England—when I regard the counties of England, and observe the different tone of language which is now held at agricultural meetings—I cannot help being struck with a strong feeling that the landlords and farmers of England, though they won't confess it themselves, are making up their minds for what they see is inevitably approaching. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) Why, we begin to hear in the counties of England remarks on the necessity of leases, and suggestions as to the utility of draining; we begin to have the practice of the Lothians quoted in Devonshire and Dorsetshire; and we find that Agricultural Associations are no longer mere bodies met for the purpose of dining together, and hearing or making speeches in favour of monopoly; but they have set themselves earnestly to do business in their own line, by endeavouring to point out to the tenantry of the country how they may make the land grow more, and how, by increased production, they may meet the defalcation, should there be a defalcation produced by a repeal of the Corn Laws. (Hear.) It has been generally imagined that the most prosperous tenant was the man who held the farm at the lowest amount of rent; but, let me tell you—and in doing so I have the authority of eminent agriculturists—that a rent inadequately low is nothing more nor less than a reward for indolence. The man whose rent is so low that, with the merest daily labour, he can extract from the ground that which is necessary for his ordinary wants, will leave his land in the same state that he got it. (Hear, hear.) But the man who is spurred on by a moderate rent and a large family, will exert every nerve to make the ground produce to the uttermost; and that man, of all others, is he who will not fear any repeal of the Corn Laws, but would rather court the settlement of a question which distracts his attention, and which, when settled, will leave him liberty to apply his energies in a manner from which he will be sure to derive a fair return. Such sentiments, I am convinced, will, in due time, prevail all over England; but I believe we shall not succeed in this great question till we can secure leases to improving tenants. But some of the English landlords complain that they cannot do without the Corn Laws, because their estates are burdened with mortgages. These men then may not be able to afford the money to improve their own estates, but if they give leases, enterprising tenants will be found to improve these lands, and lay out the money. And shall the indisposition of the proprietors to lay out this money—which may more properly be stated as an indisposition to part with their hold over the consciences of their tenantry—shall this indisposition interfere between the public and their obtaining this great boon? (Hear.) A boon it is not; it is their right. It is the right of the people of this country to have food at the lowest possible price, and, when this can be had without injury to any class, I say the longer we are in obtaining this right from the Government, the more blame we should take to ourselves that the question is so long unsettled. But that we shall obtain it in a few years, I am convinced—we shall secure, either from the principles of a liberal Government, or the fears of a Tory Government—we shall either have it in the same spirit in which the repeal of the Test and Corporations Acts, or Municipal Reform, were given; or we shall obtain it in the same way as Catholic emancipation was secured in

1829. (Hear, hear.) But it is a most wretched state for the country to be in in the meantime; and it is worse to have men in power who will nibble at reforms without making them while there is time. There must be no nibbling in the case of Free Trade. "Nibbling," as Lord John Russell said to Sir Robert Peel, "unsettles every thing, and settles nothing." And therefore the safest, and wisest, and best course for all parties, is to let us have done with all these laws which give any one class a superiority over another—which give a boon and protection to which they have no title in justice; for I maintain that no man or class is entitled to protection in the shape of monopoly, on any pretence whatever. (Applause.) It is not my intention to detain you longer from the business of the evening. I have merely made these remarks as leading to the practical development of the subject before us, and I conclude by inviting you to join me in drinking the toast of "Free Trade; in condemning all opposite principles of legislation; and in pressing for a speedy abolition of those monopolies which are a burden to the country and a bane to the people."—The toast was received with great enthusiasm. Tune—"Weel may the boatie row."

The Lord Provost, after some preliminary remarks on the origin and progress of the League, requested all to join him in "The health of the Gentlemen composing the Deputation from the League." (Loud cheering.) [At the conclusion of the Lord Provost's speech, his lordship, amid loud cheers, exhibited a specimen of Glasgow manufacture—a handkerchief—which had been presented to him for the occasion, having designed upon it excellent likenesses of two of the distinguished guests of the evening, Messrs. Cobden and Bright. The handkerchief, we understand, was designed by Messrs. Doherty, Steven, and Fulton, Duke-street.]

Mr. COBDEN, on rising to acknowledge the toast, was received with every demonstration of the most enthusiastic welcome—the cheering continued loud and long, and the hon. gentleman, at the outset of his speech, was more than once interrupted by a repetition of the plaudits. The hon. member then delivered a speech of great power, in which he reviewed the present progress of the League; noticed, in a happy strain of humour, the species of opposition to which it was now subjected, and the support it was receiving from eminent landowners; and concluded with an eloquent eulogium on the beneficial principle of Free Trade. Before sitting down, Mr. Cobden gave—"The Agricultural Interests of the Country, and may all classes connected with it become satisfied that they cannot prosper while Commerce and Manufactures decay." (Drunk with loud cheering.)

Mr. ALEXANDER GRAHAM proposed "The Ministers of Religion who have identified themselves with the cause of Free Trade." A few years ago, said Mr. Graham, in the course of an excellent speech, two clerical convocations were held on this special subject. The first was at Manchester, and consisted of 650 Dissenting ministers of all denominations. Besides, nearly 900 other absent ministers also addressed letters to the assembly, expressive of their approbation of its object. (Hear.) The other convocation, held at Edinburgh, consisted of 200 ministers. Each assembly closed its sittings with a solemn address to the public, condemning all monopolies as alike offensive to God and injurious to man. United, they form a sacred cloud of witnesses to the justice of our cause. (Cheers.) I would not maliciously keep alive from oblivion the memory of that act of the General Assembly, by which they petitioned Parliament against a repeal of the Corn Laws, as threatening to depreciate the value of their grain revenues; but the fact is worthy of record, as an illustration of this—one most repulsive aspect—of a bad system, under which the ministers of religion have become vested with an interest antagonical to that of the people, and are exhibited before the world as collateral sharers in the spoils of an unjust monopoly—one even tempting them, in the secrecy of their hearts, to contradict and recall the weekly public prayer of their lips for plenty in the land both to man and beast. (Hear, hear.) To fancy that all ministers are bound by their spiritual office from giving their sanction to such a movement as the present, seems little better than a revival of the ascetic or monkish spirit of a darker age. As religious instructors, they have not ceased to be members of civil society, in all the varied interests of which, for weal or for woe, they and their families continue to be as deeply involved as ever. (Hear.) If selfishness, avarice, and unfaithfulness demand their condemnation, we ask from them a verdict of guilty against the Corn Laws, on each of these charges. They were selfish and avaricious in their origin. They are a violation of duty in those representatives of the people, who, in breach of the trust reposed in them, in that character enacted laws to swell their own rent-rolls, at the expense of those very constituents whom they had sworn to guard from all injustice. (Hear.) If the abstraction of the wages of the hireling, and the avaricious enhancement of his bread, have been denounced in Scripture, we ask them to recognise and condemn, in the present system, living examples of the same offences. Above all, if low physical condition is now obstructing the religious and moral cultivation of the popular mind, we ask those Christian ministers who still contemplate from a distance the present struggle, to co-operate in removing a barrier so formidable to the success of their own sacred labours. (Cheering.)

The Rev. Dr. HUTTON rose amidst loud cheering to propose the next sentiment—"The progress of knowledge, a necessary guarantee for the extension and permanence of Free Institutions." (Immense cheering.) In reference to the question of Free Trade, and the justly-hated Corn Monopoly, I may say generally that I do not know any aspect in which that cause is to be viewed in which any well-informed man, no matter what class of society he belongs to, need hesitate to avow himself an honest and uncompromising friend. (Cheers.) I know that the question is entirely political—that is, that it falls within the province of legislation; but, notwithstanding that, where is the man in the nation who has not a deep personal interest in it? and where is the man who should not feel the obligation which rests upon the entire body politic to rectify public legislation, if that legislation be faulty? (Loud cheering.) I never was a political man in the ordinary sense of that term, and never will be; but for myself, I wish that such a political information should be abroad, that should qualify the people to have sound and rational views upon the national interests, and for exercising some influence upon the legislation of the country through the electoral franchise, by the free expression of their conscientious convictions,

as well as by the sending up (on all convenient and necessary occasions) of respectable, but firmly-worded remonstrances and petitions. But it appears, my Lord Provost, from the eloquent remarks of your distinguished friend on the right, that this question comes under the character of the rational rights of individuals, and rational liberty; that is, the liberty which every man ought to have, to purchase in the cheapest market what he wants, and to sell in the most advantageous that which he has to dispose of, and as Britons who have liberty for their birthright, to transmit that liberty in its entirety to unborn generations. We must struggle for this department of liberty until we have finally obtained it. (Cheers.) But the question is not only political, it is ethical—it appeals to our sympathies and duties as men, as well as our duties as citizens; and it is religious also. I cannot suppose a man can be fully alive to the just and good law of God—which inculcates his loving his neighbour as himself, and doing all the good he can—and knowing that duty, who can consistently sanction a law which taxes the bread of the poor in order to add to the luxuries of the wealthy. ("Hear, hear," and cheering.) If such be the case, I think no matter to what class of society we belong, we should endeavour to give all the force and efficacy we properly can to this great movement. The rev. speaker then proceeded to remark how much depended, in all great questions, on individual effort, and eulogised the untiring efforts of Mr. Cobden. After some further observations of a general character, the rev. gentleman gave the toast amidst loud and repeated cheering.

Mr. BRIGHT, M.P., rose amidst prolonged cheering, and spoke to the sentiment:—"The total and immediate Repeal of the Corn Laws." He concluded an eloquent speech with the following peroration:—"England is speaking out in significant language; £100,000 is not a small sum to be given by a people that is not particularly prosperous. (Cheers.) They are in earnest, or they would not subscribe so; and you are in earnest or you would not subscribe the £5000 I understand you are about to remit to the League. (Cheers.) The time for tampering with this question has gone by; the time for hoodwinking the people is passed; and nothing now will suffice but a total and immediate repeal of this law. (Tremendous cheering.) There must be no fixed duty to mar the victory truth is about to achieve—no farther changes and delays only to continue the miseries our countrymen are enduring. (Great cheers.) I have heard of a two-legged animal that has feathers, which, if placed on a floor with a chalk mark in a circle round him, fancies that he cannot get beyond it; and though there is plenty of food on the outer side of the circle, his impression is so strong that he cannot reach it, that he will perish with hunger. (Laughter.) We are much in this position. There is a chalk line round about us; and there is food enough, and liberty enough to take the food beyond it; but, some way or other, we have got ourselves impressed, that we cannot get over this local difficulty. But time presses, and we must go over it. (Cheers.) No more prejudices, no veneration for aristocracy, if such a thing ought to exist at all, should prevent us. (Cheers.) Think not that the present cessation of distress will be permanent. Has Providence granted you the blessings of bountiful harvests for ever? Does not the same divine wisdom rule now that ruled in 1839; and may not the same evils await us in 1845 and 1846, and then come a scarcity, followed by all the distresses which fell upon us a few years ago? I ask, may not these calamities become so dense and unbearable that it may be that men may break the bonds they can no longer bear? (Great cheering.) I may say that the deliverance of the industry of this people is at hand. I speak not without authority. We have attended hundreds of meetings. No men in this country have seen the faces of so many of their countrymen as we have. (Cheers.) We have shaken by the hand, from our heart of hearts, hundreds of thousands of the intelligent population of this country; and we have authority for saying, that it is the opinion of the middle classes of this country, who are the intelligent, and the powerful, and the electoral classes, that this law is bad, that it originated in injustice, and has been maintained by an unjust exercise of power. (Cheers.) And we ask you, the people of this city, whether you are willing to come with us to the breach—to bear all, suffer all, and work all that is necessary for the carrying out of our principle, the fundamental principle of the Anti-Corn-Law League? (Great cheering.) I know you well—I have not read the history of your country for nothing; and I need not point out to you passages in that history which prove beyond dispute that there is in the people of Scotland a love of liberty that can never die. (Cheers.) Your country has been the cradle of liberty, the home of freedom for centuries back. (Cheers.) You have not been oppressed and trampled on by England, as some other parts of the world have been. (Cheers.) And now I trust that what you have done for freedom—what you have done for civil and religious freedom—you are now ready to do for your commercial liberties. (Great cheering.) I ask you to resolve with me that—

"By oppression's woes and pains—
By our sons in servile chains,
We will work while strength remains,
But we shall be free." (Cheers.)

Mr. Bright then gave "The total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws," which was drunk amid enthusiastic cheering.

Mr. BRIGHT again rose, and intimated that cards would be found in the hall on which friends of the cause who might be inclined to subscribe to the League might attach their names and addresses.

Colonel THOMPSON, who was received with loud cheers, spoke in his usual style of happy illustration to the following sentiment:—"An adjustment of taxation to give relief to the industry of the country and the masses of its population."

Mr. OSWALD, M.P., rose amidst loud cheers, and said:—"My Lord Provost, ladies and gentlemen, a toast has been put into my hands, and, gentlemen, were I to attempt to make a speech previous to giving it, I am quite sure that anything I might say, when compared with what has been already said, would be so exceedingly beneath what the learned gentlemen who have preceded me have spoken, that I believe it will be wisest on my part not to make a speech at all. Gentlemen, I believe all that I have to do is to congratulate you on the progress the cause is making, and to observe that, I believe in a much shorter time than the Hon. Mr. Stanley anticipates, the Corn Law will be put an end to. (Cheers.) But to the toast that has been

put into my hands: allusion has been made to "The noble lords of the Upper House of Parliament who support the principles of Free Trade." Now, I believe I may safely state, that the last people in the country to be convinced of the propriety of repealing the Corn Law are the members of that house (hear, hear); and I believe I may also say, taking the landlords as a body, that they have not only set themselves against considering this question, but have absolutely shut their ears against hearing any information on this subject. But I believe also, as one of the gentlemen who has already spoken remarked, there is not a class in Great Britain who are so grossly and lamentably ignorant on the question. (Great laughter.) They will not listen to anything against their own preconceived opinions. But there is one circumstance which is evidence of their fear of the result, and of the sure foundation of our hopes of repeal. The monopolists are beginning to be outrageously angry when the question is mooted at all. (Laughter and cheers.) They are beginning to believe that the end of their monopoly draws nigh—and, gentlemen, I will venture to predict what will happen before repeal is gained. As on the passing of the Reform Bill; King William IV. induced the greater portion of the Upper House to retire, such will be the case when the Corn Law is repealed. (Loud cheers.) They will have no arguments—they will not attempt to argue—they will, in a sulky and angry mood, tell the others that they are wishing to revolutionize the country—the bill will be passed, and the country will be in greater tranquillity than it has been. (Cheers.) Now, although I told you that the great body of the House of Peers are opposed to this movement, there are such names as Westminister, Percy, Ducie, and Lord Kinnaird (cheers), who approve and support it. We see, at least, that some of the ablest and best-informed, and some who have the largest possessions in the kingdom, are along with us. I therefore have much pleasure in drinking the healths of those Members in the Upper House who support the principles of Free Trade. (Loud cheers.) The toast was given with all the honours.

Councillor Cross next addressed the meeting, and in a neat and appropriate speech proposed the toast: "The Abolition of the Sugar and all other Colonial Monopoly," which was received with enthusiastic applause.

The Rev. Dr. WILLIS proposed:—

"The speedy repeal of all those laws which enhance the price of food, and are productive of poverty, immorality, and crime."

Of nothing, said the reverend speaker in the course of his speech, am I more satisfied, than that the depressed physical condition of the masses interposes a great obstacle in the way of their moral amelioration. [Here Dr. Willis read, in support of this view, a short extract from Mr. Chadwick's report on the state of the labouring population. The general bearing of the extract was, that generally a deteriorated physical condition has been found, by the teachers of pauper children, to render the intellects of the scholars more torpid. It is also found, in the experience of the metropolitan police, that the majority of juvenile delinquents are deficient in bodily strength—"though the impression is very prevalent that the criminal population consists of persons of the greatest physical vigour. Instances (says Mr. Chadwick) of criminals of great strength certainly do occur; but, speaking from observation of the adult prisoners from the towns, and the convicts in the hulks, they are in general below the average standard of height." It seems plausible to say, educate men, multiply schools and churches, and never fear for their external comfort. I demur to this. I believe that godliness is profitable for all things, that it brings present and future blessing; but schools and churches are not capable of working miracles in feeding and clothing men, nor, however they may elevate and cultivate men's minds, can they provide labour for their hands, or ensure a market for their labour. (Hear.) Religion, Sir, is a friend to prudence; and, so far from superseding wise and equitable legislation, requires it. Schools and churches!—these are no doubt invaluable, but if our educational and moral appliances are to be worked with any good effect, the masses, who are to be wrought upon, must be elevated further than at present above extreme need and wretchedness. (Loud cheering.) I utterly deny the principle, which so much pervades certain schemes of religious and political economy, that because religion brings comfort in its train, we are to trust the outward health and preservation of society to moral means. (Hear, hear.) The Christian revelation supposes a law of nature existing, which it recognises. It does not create the rights of men in respect of each other, or the essential relations of civil society: it acknowledges these, hallows and consecrates them, and directs how to use them well. But religion is perverted, and placed at an unfair disadvantage, when it is made the pretext, by uncalculated compliments to the admitted value of moral appliances, for opposing any of the original rights of rational beings, or undervaluing the provisions of a humane and equitable civil policy. (Cheers.) Sir, I feel it a privilege, as a minister of religion, to have an opportunity, on such an occasion as the present, were it only to declare on behalf of religion, that it is misrepresented and wronged when it is made an occasion of treating, with comparative indifference, any direct method of improving the physical state of the labouring classes. (Cheers.)

Mr. CONDEN said it devolved on him to propose a toast in which he was sure he would have the most zealous and cordial co-operation. In proposing the health of the chairman, he remarked that it had given him great pleasure while in the South to observe the remarkable promptitude which the chief magistrates of this city and the metropolis of Scotland had exhibited, in taking a prominent part in, and presiding over Free-Trade meetings. (Cheers.) The toast was drunk with loud cheering.

The LORD PROVOST briefly thanked the meeting for the honour they had conferred upon him, and after passing a high eulogium upon "The Free Trade members of the House of Commons, who have honoured us with their presence," proposed the toast, coupling with it the name of Mr. HASTIE, M.P. for Paisley.

Mr. HASTIE, M.P., said he had hoped that he would have been allowed to remain a silent listener on the present occasion. To be a listener to what he had heard was a treat of no ordinary kind. No House of Commons debate had ever put the question so ably or so clearly, or so plainly to the understanding of every man in the British empire, as the speeches of that evening had done. He would not detain them with any remarks of his own, seeing he had not the happy gift of eloquence which belonged to some of his friends; but he begged to propose a toast

that he was sure would come home to the hearts of every gentleman present. He then proposed "The Ladies." (Great cheering.)

The LORD PROVOST said, seeing no other person had come forward to return thanks for the ladies, he begged to take that honour upon himself (cheers), and expressed a hope that on every future occasion of a similar nature they would find the gallery equally graced with the presence of the fair sex, as it had been that night. (Cheers.)

Colonel THOMPSON gave the health of "The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and other office-bearers of the Glasgow Anti-Corn-Law Association." After the enthusiastic meeting which their efforts had been the means of bringing together, they could feel no doubt that it would be closed by a specimen of liberality which he and his friends would be proud to convey to their countrymen in the south. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. BUCHANAN returned thanks in a few sentences.

Mr. BRIGHT expressed his regret, that, owing to the arrangements and the late hour, they had not been able to carry out the subscription in the hall in the way intended, and as they were accustomed to do in England. Several tickets had been handed up with subscriptions, and the Lord Provost informed him, that there was one gratifying subscription from a Lesmahagow farmer—(cheers)—but at that late hour of the evening, it would be injudicious to read the amounts. Arrangements had been made, however, for waiting upon the citizens of Glasgow in their respective districts; and he hoped that they would then show, in an efficient manner, their attachment to the cause which all had at heart. (Cheers.)

The LORD PROVOST then proposed three cheers for the Anti-Corn-Law League, which were heartily given, and the large meeting separated a little before eleven o'clock, in the most decorous and orderly manner.

GREAT ANTI-CORN-LAW TEA-PARTY IN CARLISLE.

(Abridged from the Carlisle Journal.)

On Monday evening, the 8th instant, a tea-party was held in the large and splendid room of the Athenæum, Lowther-street, for the purpose of receiving a deputation from the Council of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and originating a subscription in aid of the great League Fund of £100,000.

The meeting took place at six o'clock, when about 300 persons sat down to tea, which had been provided by Mrs. W. Fisher, in great abundance and of excellent quality. Amongst the company were the principal manufacturers and tradesmen of the city, and a number of ladies. The chair was taken by Joseph Ferguson, Esq., of Fisher-street. About seven o'clock, John Bright, Esq., M.P., entered the room, and was received with great applause. Other members of the League had been expected; but being engaged elsewhere, were unable to visit Carlisle. A great number of persons entered the room after tea; and, in all, about 500 persons were present.

The CHAIRMAN said, he felt exceedingly glad to see so numerous an attendance; it argued that they felt a due interest in that great cause which they had met that night to support. This question had been long before the public, and Carlisle was among the first towns to raise its voice in denunciation of the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear.) Several public meetings were held, and they were always strongly impressed with a sense of their impolicy and injustice—of their impolicy, because they narrowed the field of commerce, paralysed the industry of the people, and sapped the foundations on which alone could be reared the prosperity and happiness of the country; of their injustice, because they made employment scarce for the working man, preventing him from selling his labour to the best advantage, and because they interrupted the bounty of Providence, by raising the price of bread to such an extent as to produce a scarcity which the Almighty had never intended. (Applause.) These were their impressions many years ago, and time had but served to strengthen them. (Cheers.) It might have been expected that a great cause like this would have to encounter opposition, and opposition it had experienced in abundance. There was a formidable array of power and influence against it, but thanks to public discussion, by which truth was elicited—thanks to the exertions, and to the zeal, time, and talents which his friend on the right (Mr. Bright,) and others like him had bestowed; but, above all, thanks to the goodness of the cause itself, notwithstanding every opposition—it had made great progress, and now possessed a powerful influence on the public mind, and which, he trusted, was soon destined to achieve a triumphant consummation. (Cheers.) He would now proceed to the business of the evening, by introducing a gentleman, who, though personally unknown to them, was known by every individual to be one of the most able and powerful champions of the Anti-Corn-Law League—one who had devoted his great talents, and employed his time, in furtherance of this great cause:—there was no one to whom they owed more gratitude for what he had done—he therefore begged to introduce Mr. Bright. (Loud cheering.)

Mr. BRIGHT on coming forward was received with warm plaudits. The honourable member then spoke at great length and with his customary vigour and eloquence, and concluded amidst reiterated cheering. Our limits compel us to omit the report of the honourable member's speech.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon

PETER DIXON, Esq., of Holme Eden, to move the first resolution. He was received with applause. He said:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I have come reluctantly before you. I dislike public speaking; and I had hoped when I came into the room that one more qualified to do justice to this resolution would have been present—one deeply connected with the agricultural interest; and why he is not here I cannot tell. Such being the case, however unqualified, I determined not to shrink from the duty, a duty which I conceive of the greatest importance. I believe that if we can render one good service more than another, it is to aid in that great work for which we are assembled to-day. (Cheers.) I will read the resolution to you.—

"That this meeting expresses its unabated confidence in the League, and pledges itself to aid it in its exertions for the abolition of the Corn Laws."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, appearing after this excellent and eloquent man, and after the appropriate remarks of our worthy chairman, anything I can say must appear but feeble; but I have known this Corn Law for nearly 30 years; at least since its first enactment in 1815, when

the worst of the Corn Law Bills was passed. (Hear, hear.) That, I recollect well, was opposed to public opinion at the time, and the persons who brought it forward had their houses besieged. But, notwithstanding the feeling against it, the unreformed Parliament carried it; and what was the consequence? Facts are stubborn things. I was then in business with my brothers, as at present; and from the United States of America we had orders for thousands of pieces on our books; at that time we had free intercourse with America. (Hear, hear.) What is the case now? In looking over our order-book to-day, I find that we have not a single order from the United States. (Hear, hear.) That is really a striking fact. At that time we were paying the weavers, and were happy to do so, three times their present amount of wages. (Cheers.) Ever since this Corn Law was passed, trade has been going backward, and masters have been most uncomfortable. If there be anything more unpleasant than another, I declare it honestly, it is that of reducing wages. (Hear, hear.) Nothing but extreme compulsion would really induce us to do it. Well, that is the case in regard to America; and now with regard to Europe. Why, our orders for Europe were very extensive before the Corn Law was passed, but now they are crippled to an extraordinary extent. We have orders for Europe certainly, but nothing to what we ought to have. I attribute this to the Corn Law. How is it that we cannot sell our manufactured goods, but that the very labour we should give our people has to be sent away from them? The cotton is spun in this country, and sent to other countries to be woven. Warps and weft go out ready to put on the loom of the foreign weaver; and the consequence is, that our weavers are not well off. (Hear, hear.) If these Corn Laws were repealed there would be such a stimulus to industry as nobody can calculate. (Hear, hear.) I was disappointed beyond measure by the Reform Bill, about which there was such a stir made in this country. We got a reformed Parliament, and what did they do? Instead of attending to the interests of the poor man, most of them seemed only anxious to feather their own nests. (Hear, hear.) What did Earl Grey do, but get his cousins places. ("Hear," and laughter.) To him, certainly, we are indebted for the Reform Bill, but it was not worked out rightly, and I must say I was exceedingly disappointed at the result of that measure. (Hear.) The Parliament had not the courage to deal with the grievances of the people, but went on cobbling one thing after another, and now the Anti-Corn-Law League has come forward, and for the manner in which they have acted the country owes them an eternal obligation. They have come forward clear of all party tincture. I believe that party has been the ruin of this country, but these men have taken a line of conduct which is honourable to themselves and advantageous to the people, and we have this day heard their determination to steer clear of all party and private objects. Good sense and truth must prevail, they must have away. (Cheers.) I do feel grateful to these men for the very magnanimous part which they have taken, in sacrificing their time and comfort for the advancement of the cause. Mr. Bright has scarcely been at home these twelve months. None of us would do this, and therefore we cannot sufficiently estimate their services; we may give our money, but it is nothing compared to their personal exertions. I feel warmly upon this subject. We cannot aid the League without money, and I hope, after the bright example set to us in almost every town in the kingdom, that we will not be found wanting. (Hear, hear.) If we do that, we lend a helping hand to give peace to our country, and every blessing that attends it. (Cheers.) I believe that Providence has ordered it in this way—that these men have been specially raised up for the purpose of saving their country from absolute ruin,—I have therefore much pleasure in moving the adoption of this resolution.

Mr. J. D. CARR seconded the resolution, which was put, and carried unanimously, amidst great applause.

Mr. JAMES STEEL was called upon to move the next resolution:—

"That this meeting pledges itself to assist by every means in its power, in the collection of the fund of £100,000, required by the Council of the League for the prosecution of its objects; and that a subscription be now entered into for that purpose."

There was nothing like striking when the iron was hot; and after the speech of Mr. Bright, he (Mr. Steel) thought the iron was hot enough, and they might expect some good work from it. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. T. T. RAILTON seconded the resolution. He said the time of the meeting had already been occupied by the able speech of Mr. Bright. The sinews of war were the money; and one great object the League had in view in raising this money should be borne in mind, it was an excellent and important object, and one without which they could not succeed, namely, the putting down of bribery. (Hear, hear.) He trusted they would succeed in that determination, and that in every case in which bribery might be found, they would expend a portion of their money in prosecuting parties who might be guilty of it. He most heartily seconded the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN, in putting the resolution, trusted they would second it in a more effectual manner than by showing their hands. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) He trusted they would show how much they were attached to the great objects they had in view, and how much Mr. Bright had impressed them with the necessity. "For my part," said the Chairman, "before I came I had written on a piece of paper the amount I intended to give; but at Mr. Bright's suggestion, I will add a figure to it, or at least alter one. (Cheers.) Let us show that we consider it an honour to assist in the great work, and follow the example of other towns, which have doubled their subscriptions of last year. (Cheers.) Carlisle never was deficient in liberality and public spirit, and I am sure it will prove on this occasion that it means to maintain its character. (Cheers.)"

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. BRIGHT said some sums were already put down, but he did not like to read them, as some of them would be increased. (Laughter.) Their worthy friend, Moore, generally took that part of the business at subscription meetings, but he (Mr. Bright) could make no pretensions to imitate his exertions. If it should happen that the subscription at Carlisle was less than the most sanguine expected, the blame would be laid at his door. (Laughter.) He then proceeded to read over some of the heavier subscriptions (which will be found in our list below), and which were hailed by loud cheering.

Continued on page 267.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending
Wednesday, January 17, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from
Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on
Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the
LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding,
but are included in the list of the week following.

| | | | | | |
|---|----------|---|--------|---|---------|
| James Heywood, banker, Manchester | £100 0 0 | John Longland, do. | 20 2 6 | George Knott, shoe manufacturer, Bow-street, Little Bolton, Lancashire | £1 0 0 |
| Ralph Andrews, at Hyde, Moss, and Sowerby's Mill, Dukinfield, near Manchester | 1 0 0 | John Small, do. | 0 1 0 | John Rilly, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Jonathan Cox, do. | 1 0 0 | A Free Trader, do. | 0 1 0 | James Andrews, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thos. Arrowsmith, do. | 1 0 0 | Henry Holland, do. | 0 1 0 | John Jeffery, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Robert Holt, do. | 0 1 0 | Thomas Lenden, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Small Subscriptions from St. Austell | 0 4 4 | Smaller Sums, do. | 0 7 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | James Hood, Halliwell, Little Bolton, Lancashire | 2 2 0 | John Morton, Witfield Example Farm | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Jas. Mather, Church Inn, Whitfield, near Manchester | 2 0 0 | Thomas Bennet, Milbury House | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas Chaplin, 160, Oldham-road | 0 5 0 | James Watts, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas Whitehead, 204, do. | 0 5 0 | P. Shirreff, Buckover, near | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Samuel Crook, 107, do. | 0 2 6 | Joseph Laver, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | James Moore, 138, St. George's-road, Eccles, near | 1 0 0 | William Dove, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | George Wroe, do. | 1 0 0 | James Elliot, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Samuel Wilkinson, do. | 1 0 0 | John Frank, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Richard Herfort, do. | 1 0 0 | Daniel Falser, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Dr. Welsh, do. | 1 0 0 | A Friend, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Wilson Dickenson, do. | 1 0 0 | C. H. Shirreff, Buckover, near | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | W. H. Smith, do. | 1 0 0 | From a few Friends at Battle | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas B. Booth, do. | 1 0 0 | T. P. Pocock, Upton Level, Heytesbury | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Caterall, do. | 0 10 0 | Arthur Morgan, New Bridge-street | 5 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Worth, do. | 0 10 0 | Edward Sheldon, ironfounder, Coastly, near Bilston, per James Raby | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Stanley Pollitt, do. | 0 10 0 | Samuel Roscow, Edmonston | 2 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Chardle, do. | 0 10 0 | S. Renter, Finsbury Chambers, London Wall | 1 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | James Langhaw, do. | 0 10 0 | John Gibbs, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Kliner, do. | 0 5 0 | J. Rolfe Gibbs, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | James Sherlock, do. | 0 5 0 | Robert Gibbs, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Plant, do. | 0 10 0 | A Friend, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Worthington, do. | 0 5 0 | A Friend, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas Wilson, do. | 0 5 0 | R. Reid, do. | 0 10 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Harrison, do. | 1 1 0 | J. R. P. Payne, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Jonathan Leigh, Patricroft, do. | 1 1 0 | R. Dickens, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas Mort, do. | 1 0 0 | C. Wheeler, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | H. H., a Friend, do. | 1 0 0 | E. Margesson, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Thos. Burton, 10, Victoria Bridge-st., Salford, Manch. | 0 5 0 | Members of the Mechanics' Institution | 0 10 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Worthington, 12, Marsden-street, do. | 5 0 0 | A Tenant Farmer, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | James Whiteley, Medlock-street, Hulme, do. | 2 2 0 | Cockings, 145, Long-acre, per W. Crookford | 1 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | James Boyle, 4, Victoria-street, do. | 1 0 0 | A Friend, South Lambeth | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Geo. Richmond, 14, Moreton-st., Strangeways, do. | 1 0 0 | Henry St. John Joyner, Chadwell-place, Essex | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | James Paton, 81, Thomas-street, do. | 0 5 0 | George Borrowman, Hawick, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Jonathan Hague, Failsworth, near | 1 0 0 | W. Pugh, Hay, Breconshire | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Joseph Marsden, do. | 1 0 0 | Tannahill, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Crouch, do. | 1 0 0 | A. Cock and Son, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | James Dawson, do. | 0 5 0 | S. T. Williams, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | David Taylor, do. | 1 0 0 | Dr. Paddon, do. | 0 10 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Samuel Barlow, do. | 1 0 0 | A Friend to Repeat | 0 10 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | A Friend to Sir Robert Peel, per H. W., do. | 1 0 0 | Anonymous, Leeds | 0 0 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | A Friend, per Wm. Harvey | 5 0 0 | Samuel Buckley, smith and wheelwright, Old-street, Ashton-under-Line | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Pair-play, per Wm. Harvey | 7 0 0 | Samuel Trend, 66, James-street, Devonport | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | T. W. Dyson, 28, Oldham-street, Manchester | 1 1 0 | Robert Jinks, tanner, Stanion, Thrapstone, Northamptonshire | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Lee, 1, Mount-street, do. | 1 1 0 | Working Men's League Rent, per James Barnet, 60, Castle-street, Edgeley, near Stockport | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | A Corn-Law Repealer, by J. Leatherbrow, 74, Stratford New-road, Manchester | 1 0 0 | John Jubb, do. | 5 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Arnon Gough, 12, Red-bank, do. | 0 2 6 | Joseph Jubb, do. | 2 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Sam. Vernon, 6, Oxford-street, do. | 0 2 6 | C. R. Greenwood, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Ashurst, 16, Downing-street, do. | 0 5 0 | Thomas Blakeley, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | A Tory Friend, per A. Nodal, Downing-st., do. | 2 2 0 | Timothy Ellis, do. | 0 10 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Nell, Manor-st., Ardwick, do. | 1 1 0 | John Halden, 6, Bread-street, City | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Zachariah Richardson, Higher Ardwick | 0 2 6 | Joseph Travis Clay, do. | 100 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Taylor, do. | 0 2 6 | Woodhouse B. and J. Walker | 5 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Froggatt, 6, Hall-st., Oxford-street, do. | 2 0 0 | John Thornton | 1 10 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | James Dawson and workpeople, at M. and J. Briggall's, South-st., Peter-street, Manchester | 2 2 0 | Charles Sheffield | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Hewitt, Ardwick-green, do. | 1 1 0 | William Helm | 1 10 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | R. C. Hulley, M.D., St. John-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Robinson Maclean | 1 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | R. Wolstencroft, 56, Booth-st., C.-on-M., do. | 1 0 0 | John Broughton | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Josh. Ogden, jun. Long-mill-gate | 1 0 0 | Thomas Dearnaly | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | A Lady, do. | 0 2 6 | John T. Armitage | 0 10 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Yates, Dean's-gate, do. | 0 2 6 | William Hodgson | 0 10 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Elizabeth Pool, do. | 0 2 6 | Benjamin Mellor | 1 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Adams, 268, do. | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 1 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Currie, 93, do. | 1 0 0 | William Park | 0 10 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Abm. Ward, 51, do. | 1 0 0 | James Eastwood | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | J. Irving, 39, do. | 1 0 0 | James Marshall | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Alexr. Waddell, Town Hall-bdgs., King-st., do. | 2 2 0 | William Morton | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Hugh, do. | 2 2 0 | John Walker | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Robt, Cleveland-bdgs., Market-st., do. | 3 3 0 | Thomas Aspinall | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Sam. Holt, Chapel-place, Upper Brook-st., C.-on-M. | 0 5 0 | Joah Shaw | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Small sums, Manchester | 0 7 0 | J. H. Rivett | 0 10 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Rev. Alex. Jack, High-street, Dunbar, N.B., do. | 1 0 0 | John Schofield | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Jas. Black, do. | 0 5 0 | Jonas Wilkinson | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Whitehead, do. | 0 2 6 | Samuel Walker | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Purves, do. | 0 2 6 | David Robinson | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Alexander Barclay, do. | 0 2 6 | Charles Keeler | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Robert Brown, do. | 0 2 6 | John Taylor | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Alexander Cunningham, do. | 0 2 6 | John Schofield | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Archibald Dickson, do. | 0 3 0 | Joseph Riley | 0 1 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | James Dods, Silver-street, do. | 0 2 6 | George Pawson | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | George Bayne, High-street, do. | 1 0 0 | James Bartin | 0 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Brown, brewer, do. | 1 0 0 | Jonathan Hinchliff | 0 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Alexander Wood, do. | 0 2 6 | A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | R. S. Morton, High-street, do. | 1 0 0 | George Bower | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Robert Murray, do. | 0 2 6 | Joshua Cuttill | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | James Morton, Cottages, do. | 0 2 6 | Benjamin Thewlis | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Gillespie, High-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Joshua Dewa | 0 1 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Robertson, do. | 0 5 0 | Samuel Dodgson | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Weddell, do. | 1 0 0 | George Clay | 0 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Simeon Savers, Silver-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Matthew Mellor | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Miss Margaret Kelly, Dunlop Cottage, do. | 1 0 0 | John Eastwood | 0 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | James Wilson, Belhaven, do. | 6 10 0 | Balance of an old subscription | 2 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Miss Haig, do. | 1 0 0 | William Bird, Abington-street | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Kirkwood, do. | 0 10 0 | J. Stimpson, Springfield | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | D. Dunlop, do. | 0 10 0 | G. Moore, St. James's-street | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | George Comb, do. | 0 10 0 | J. Edens, St. Mary-street | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Rennie, Orwall Mains, do. | 0 2 6 | R. Robinson, Wellington-place | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | A Friend to the Cause, Belhaven, do. | 1 0 0 | E. Cotton, Newland | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Small sums, do. | 0 17 6 | W. D. Borton, Horse-market | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Taylor, Preston Brook, Lancashire | 1 0 0 | G. Hester, Bridge-street | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Robert Lees, Hogshead Colliery, near Rochdale | 5 0 0 | E. Cooke, Albion-place | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Smith, Langley, near Macclesfield | 2 10 0 | J. Jee, Abington-street | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | A Friend to Free Trade | 2 10 0 | W. Hollis, Western-terrace | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Samuel Bartlett, Week-street, Maidstone | 1 0 0 | S. Mason, Commercial-street | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | W. P. Shirley, farmer, Basted, Wrotham, Kent | 1 0 0 | Thomas Grundy, Victoria-place | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | A Friend, Maidstone | 1 0 0 | W. Rice, Royal-terrace | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Small sum, do. | 0 1 0 | Joseph Watson | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Alfred Andrew, Droydsden, near Manchester | 2 2 0 | Henry Welland | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas Worsley, Ormskirk | 0 2 6 | George Cooper | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | A Merchant, Dundee | 5 0 0 | John Gooden | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Andrew Storrier, do. | 1 0 0 | J. F. Butler, Childerditch Hall, near Brentwood, Essex | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Hugh Samson, do. | 1 0 0 | J. A. Nicholson, 4, Stephen's-green, Dublin | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | George Stephen, do. | 1 0 0 | Joseph Garrett, Braintree, Essex | 2 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | A Free Trader, per J. Walker, do. | 0 5 0 | Shaw, Philadelphia | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | George Oxley, Bradford, Yorkshire | 0 5 0 | J. and G. Seward, 8, Hereford-place, Commercial-rd. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Grove, Swan Inn, Tenbury, Worcester | 30 0 0 | A poor man at Colchester, whose name would crush him | 0 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Joseph Griffiths, Crow Inn, do. | 1 0 0 | John H. Hutchinson, 19, Little Pulteney-street, Golden-square | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Richard Wade, do. | 0 10 0 | Mrs. Winiford, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Edward Jones, do. | 0 5 0 | Henry Hutchinson, jun., do. | 0 10 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | R. R. Saver, do. | 0 5 0 | A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | B. T., do. | 0 5 0 | R. J. | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Woollams, do. | 0 5 0 | James Jackson, 3, Kemp's-ct., Berwick-st. | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Small sum, do. | 0 2 6 | Geo. Brettell, 17, Sherard-st., Grosvenor-sq. | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | A Friend, per Joseph Schofield, Littleborough | 1 0 0 | Wm. Hunt, Wellington-mews, Queen-street, Golden square | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Robt. Brown, Camoen Coffee House, Ishington-green | 0 2 6 | A Friend | 0 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | John Gardner, Hertford | 1 0 0 | A Mother's Mite | 0 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | N. E. Toomer | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 0 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | George Muthing | 1 0 0 | James Howell | 0 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Joseph Young | 2 0 0 | John Quin | 0 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Joseph Young | 1 0 0 | Edmund Ratford | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Henry Hall, Northampton | 1 0 0 | John Mills, Grove-street, Walworth-common | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | T. E. Rev. S. Wood, Lewes | 0 10 0 | James Matland, 44, Bridge House-place, Stone's-end, Borough | 0 2 6 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Polard, Sea View Cottage, Ventnor, Isle of Wight | 1 0 0 | R. J. Nettlefold, 54, High Holborn | 1 1 0 |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | William Alexander, Yarmouth | 1 0 0 | | |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | W. E. Hickson, 20, West Southfield | 5 0 0 | | |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas Leavelly, Forest House, Dalston | 1 0 0 | | |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Stroud, 13, Clarendon-place, Vassall-road, Kennington | 0 10 0 | | |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Charles Constable, Horley Mill, Crawley | 1 0 0 | | |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Robert Pattison, ironmonger, South Shields | 1 0 0 | | |
| John H. Field, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas Dawson, Bank Cottage, Little Bolton, Lancashire | 1 0 0 | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--------|---|--------|---|----------|
| Dr. Hamilton, Plymouth | £1 0 0 | John Wilkinson, Whitehaven | £1 0 0 | Roberts and Walton | £100 0 0 |
| Workmen to the employ of Messrs. Maudslay, Sons, | 3 8 0 | Pottery | 3 0 0 | Geo. Barnes and Brothers | 100 0 0 |
| and Field (1d. weekly subscriptions) | 1 0 0 | Charles Magee | 1 0 0 | Spencer and Moon | 100 0 0 |
| A Deadly Enemy to the Deadly Bread-tax .. | 0 2 6 | Daniel Douglas | 1 0 0 | James Marsland and Son | 60 0 0 |
| Dr. Irons | 0 2 6 | Richard Gordon | 1 0 0 | John and Geo. Hoigate | 60 0 0 |
| George Douglas | 0 3 0 | Rev. J. Harbottle | 2 0 0 | William Hopwood | 40 0 0 |
| David M'Kie | 0 3 0 | Thomas Whalley, Fort, Brothers, | 1 0 0 | Geo. Slater | 40 0 0 |
| James Bruce | 0 5 0 | and Co., Oakenshaw, near | 1 0 0 | John Sellers and Sons | 30 0 0 |
| Thomas Crawford | 0 2 6 | Blackburn | 1 0 0 | John and William Brennand | 25 0 0 |
| John Lees | 0 2 6 | Thomas Briggs | 1 0 0 | John and Lord Massey | 20 0 0 |
| John Ramsay | 0 2 6 | Whittaker Haworth, Britcliffe- | 1 0 0 | Altham Coal Company | 20 0 0 |
| Andrew Wylie | 0 2 6 | row | 1 0 0 | James Folds | 20 0 0 |
| Thomas Duncan, confectioner | 1 0 0 | Joseph Long, grocer | 1 0 0 | Smallpage and Bracewell | 20 0 0 |
| John Rutherford | 1 0 0 | James Entwistle | 1 0 0 | Henry Knowles, manufacturer | 20 0 0 |
| Mrs. Beton | 0 10 0 | Stokes and Nephews, Belvoir-street | 50 0 0 | Jas. Howorth, worsted spinner | 20 0 0 |
| A Friend, J. C. | 0 5 0 | Brewin and Whetstone, Northgate-street | 50 0 0 | Henry Holroyd, sizer | 10 10 0 |
| William Fairney | 0 2 6 | Joseph Fielding, Lancaster place | 30 0 0 | William Lomas, grocer | 10 0 0 |
| Andrew Sharp | 0 2 6 | Isaac Hodgson, Bank, St. Martin's | 20 0 0 | James Sutcliffe, manufacturer | 10 0 0 |
| Thomas Rattray | 0 2 6 | Whetstone and Gittins, Northgate street | 20 0 0 | Saml. Howard, Healey-wood | 10 0 0 |
| James Dewar | 0 2 6 | Burgess, Brothers, Belvoir-street | 20 0 0 | John S. Witham, Oak-mount | 10 0 0 |
| William Thomson | 0 2 6 | Paget and White, Loughborough | 20 0 0 | John Wilkinson and Sons, Lane-bridge | 10 0 0 |
| Alexander Young | 0 2 6 | T. and W. Archer, Market-place | 10 0 0 | William Pollard, cotton spinner | 5 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 | R. Carter and Son, Churchgate | 10 0 0 | Edward Pollard, Turf-moor | 5 0 0 |
| John Grey | 0 2 6 | J. and J. Harvey, Market-place | 10 0 0 | Hughes and Co. | 4 0 0 |
| James H. Main | 1 0 0 | J. W. Noble, M.D., Danett's Hall | 10 0 0 | John Vevers and Son | 2 2 0 |
| David Scott | 1 0 0 | R. and G. Toller, Cank-street | 10 0 0 | Ladies | 2 0 0 |
| Graham Speedy | 1 0 0 | Thomas Corah, Regent-street, Welford-road | 10 0 0 | James Hopwood, Westgate | 2 2 0 |
| James Robertson | 1 0 0 | Mr. Alderman Richards, London-road | 10 0 0 | Two Friends to the League | 2 2 0 |
| R. Pullens and Sons, warpers and darners | 0 10 0 | John Ellis and Son, Westbridge | 10 0 0 | Henry D. Fielding | 2 2 0 |
| Ditto, dyers | 0 10 0 | Rev. Geo. Legge, London-road | 5 0 0 | Mrs. Fielding and Son | 1 1 6 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 | Frisby and Chawner, Belvoir-street | 5 0 0 | Thos. Chaffer, timber merchant | 2 0 0 |
| John Anderson, Kinnoul-street | 0 2 6 | Thomas Biggs, Belgrave-gate | 5 0 0 | A Friend | 2 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 | Ann Wood and Sons, Friar-lane | 5 0 0 | John Sutcliffe, spirit merchant | 2 0 0 |
| Alexander Greig, Melville street | 0 10 0 | Wm. Bates, Friars'-causeway | 5 0 0 | Williamson and Harling, Lane-bridge | 2 2 0 |
| Mrs. Bramwell | 0 5 0 | Sargeant and Sons, Charles-street | 5 0 0 | Geo. Graham, Lane-bridge | 1 1 0 |
| Alexander Menzies | 0 3 0 | Robert Briggs, Crown and Anchor, Belgrave- | 3 0 0 | Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury, Rawtenstall, near | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Lun | 0 10 0 | gate | 2 2 0 | Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 | George Eaglesfield, New-walk | 2 0 0 | Thomas Booth, at Mr. Marsland's | 1 0 0 |
| St. John's Foundry workmen | 0 10 7 | — Latchmore, Gallowtree-gate | 5 0 0 | Mrs. S. Knowles | 1 0 0 |
| John Jamieson, D.D. | 0 10 6 | N. Westerman, Regent-street, Welford-road | 5 0 0 | Mrs. Watson, Healey-wood | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Scott | 0 5 0 | Swan and Paddy, Southgate-street | 5 0 0 | Anthony Cardwell, Kinsley-mill | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Bayley | 0 5 0 | Thomas Nunneley, High Cross-street | 5 0 0 | George Howorth, Hargreaves-street | 1 0 0 |
| William Forbes | 0 2 6 | A Friend | 5 0 0 | James Richmond, Yorkshire-street | 1 0 0 |
| George Fleming | 0 5 0 | Charles Billson, New-walk | 5 0 0 | Ralph Lomas, grocer | 1 0 0 |
| Erskine Gillespie | 0 2 6 | Fielding and How, West Bond-street | 5 0 0 | John M'Ghie, Canal Warehouse | 1 0 0 |
| Malcolm Campbell | 0 2 6 | Thomas Chapinan, Stockdale-terrace | 3 3 0 | John Dean, manufacturer | 1 0 0 |
| J. and W. Gowans | 0 5 0 | J. and H. Jarvis, hosiers | 2 0 0 | John Harker, tinner | 1 0 0 |
| Hugh Dow | 1 0 0 | Thorpe and Sons, Belvoir-street | 2 0 0 | John Taylor, Yorkshire-street | 1 1 0 |
| John Watson | 0 2 6 | Neal and Sturges, Swan's Mill | 2 0 0 | James Hird, Lane-bridge | 1 0 0 |
| Andrew Roy | 0 2 6 | Hiffe and Breward, Rutland-street | 2 0 0 | John Pickles, at Turnbridge-mill | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 | Leicester Mercury | 2 0 0 | John Halsted, Parker-street, Park | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 3 0 | Edward Newton, Church-gate | 2 0 0 | Wm. Horner, St. James's-street | 1 0 0 |
| Archd. Campbell, dyer | 0 3 0 | John Baines, London-road | 5 0 0 | John Kay, Turf-moor | 1 0 0 |
| Peter Campbell | 0 2 6 | Wm. Hall, Friday-street | 1 1 0 | Norton Fletcher, glazier | 1 0 0 |
| David Sime | 0 2 6 | Abraham Hodgson, West-bridge | 1 0 0 | Operatives at Bridge-street Mill | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Innie, High-street | 0 2 6 | Joseph Branstom, Humberstone-road | 1 1 0 | A Friend | 1 1 0 |
| James Barlass | 1 0 0 | Thomas Jackson, Granby-street | 1 1 0 | A Friend | 1 0 0 |
| James Henderson | 0 2 6 | John Cole, King-street | 1 1 0 | S. Smith, draper | 1 10 0 |
| Rev. Wm. Lindsay | 0 2 6 | Wm. Scott, Market-street | 1 0 0 | Edmund Robinson, Gas-street, Lane-bridge | 1 0 0 |
| James Croom | 0 2 6 | Wm. Rowlett, Canning-place | 1 0 0 | P. Phillips, druggist | 1 0 0 |
| Garvie and Deas | 1 3 0 | S. Grundy, 11, Humberstone-road | 1 0 0 | — Arrowsmith, tailor | 1 0 0 |
| A. Miller and Son | 1 0 0 | Joshua Shenton, London-road | 1 0 0 | William Sellers, Healey, near | 1 0 0 |
| John Dewar | 1 0 0 | R. W. Gillespie, High Cross-street | 1 0 0 | Wm. Muschamp, grocer, Lane-bridge | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Clark | 0 3 0 | James Hunter, Pocklington's-walk | 1 0 0 | Edmund Cunliffe, grocer, Lane-bridge | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Whittet | 0 5 0 | An American Free Trader | 1 0 0 | Wm. Wilson, grocer, Lane-bridge | 1 0 0 |
| John Cowans | 0 10 0 | A Friend | 1 0 0 | Henry Hale, grocer, Lane-bridge | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 | Rev. J. Goodby, 6, East-street | 1 0 0 | — Branstom, Canal Warehouse | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas H. Marshall | 0 8 0 | A Friend | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Williamson, South-parade | 1 0 0 |
| James Horne | 0 2 6 | A Real Friend | 0 10 0 | Henry Tunstall, Marsden, near | 20 0 0 |
| Wm. Murdoch | 0 2 6 | James Parkins, hatter, Bond-street | 1 0 0 | William Ecroyd, Lomebaye, near | 20 0 0 |
| John M'Kerechar | 0 2 6 | Miss Shenton, London-road | 1 0 0 | William Smith, Hill End, near | 15 0 0 |
| John Murray | 0 2 6 | Rev. H. H. Arnold, New Walk | 1 1 0 | R. T. Roe Walton, Marden Hall, near | 10 0 0 |
| David Greig | 1 1 0 | — Scampton, Belvoir-street | 1 0 0 | John Farrer Ecroyd, Lomebaye, near | 5 0 0 |
| J. and J. Readie | 1 0 0 | John Beales, Wellington-street | 1 0 0 | James Smallpage, carrier | 5 0 0 |
| W. and P. Arnott | 1 1 0 | John Carryer, New Walk | 1 0 0 | Tickle and Hargreaves | 5 0 0 |
| James Arkman | 1 1 0 | D. Wilford, Welford-road | 1 0 0 | John Halsted, jun. | 4 0 0 |
| A Friend | 1 1 0 | A Friend | 1 0 0 | Robert Smith, manufactur, Park | 3 0 0 |
| Simpson and Scott | 0 10 0 | S. Cartwright, Braunstone's-gate | 1 0 0 | John Frankland, ditto | 2 0 0 |
| Rev. J. Newlands | 0 5 0 | T. Wheeler, Belgrave-gate | 1 0 0 | William Roberts, North-parade | 1 0 0 |
| James Lawrence | 0 5 0 | William Mowbray, Navigation-street | 1 0 0 | James Smith, Hill, near | 1 10 0 |
| George Croll | 0 3 0 | T. Dalby, Belgrave-gate | 0 2 6 | George Lonsdale, Yarn-place | 1 0 0 |
| James M'Donald | 0 2 6 | T. Collin, do. | 0 10 0 | Baldwin and Crossley | 1 1 6 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 | Charles Lees, Market-place | 0 5 0 | Rev. B. Firth | 1 0 0 |
| William Peacock | 2 2 0 | Joseph Lawrence, Belgrave-gate | 3 0 0 | Ralph Landless, Marsden, near | 1 0 0 |
| John Peacock | 1 1 0 | — Rushin, Albion-hill | 1 1 0 | A Lady | 1 0 0 |
| James Readie | 0 10 6 | A Friend | 1 1 0 | Simon Harker, tinner | 1 0 0 |
| James White | 1 0 0 | James Dudgeon (Messrs. R. Harris and Sons') | 1 0 0 | Martin Brown, Keighley-green | 1 1 0 |
| Peter Carmichael | 1 0 0 | William Dove, 4, Marble-street | 1 0 0 | Henry Walton, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Anderson, Pomarium | 0 2 6 | Benjamin Russell, Horsefair-street | 1 0 0 | William Clarke, Eastgate | 10 0 0 |
| Food-tax Haters | 0 2 6 | James Hodges, Ashby-de-la-Zouch | 1 0 0 | William Wood, Crow Nest | 0 10 0 |
| John Carmichael | 0 5 0 | James Ward, Masons' Arms, York-street, | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 0 15 0 |
| Charles Robertson, Laigh Cawsey | 0 2 6 | Welford-rd | 1 0 0 | — Clegg | 0 10 0 |
| James Robertson, Hospital | 0 5 0 | John Mee, Asylum-street | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Brooks, Hall Inn | 0 10 0 |
| Workmen at Suncarty Bleachfield | 1 8 7 | M. Townshend, Watling-st., St. Margaret-st. | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 0 10 0 |
| Workers at Tulloch Bleachfield | 2 0 9 | Isaac Cockshaw, Welford-road | 1 0 0 | Hindle Rawcliffe | 0 10 0 |
| James M'Leish | 3 3 0 | Thomas Addison, Duke-street | 1 0 0 | William Smith, mason | 0 10 0 |
| G. L. Cornfute | 3 3 0 | William Wess, Marlborough-street, King-st. | 2 0 0 | Epsilon | 0 10 0 |
| H. Sandeman | 3 3 0 | C. N. Cartwright, Sarah-street, Friar's | 0 5 0 | — Lees, surgeon | 0 10 0 |
| J. Jamieson and Brothers | 3 3 0 | Towards the Conversion of Lord John Russell | 2 0 0 | Richard Sellers | 0 10 0 |
| John Pullen | 3 3 0 | Joseph Peag, Stockdale-terrace | 1 0 0 | John Williamson, Lane-bridge | 0 10 0 |
| Lawrence Pullen | 2 2 0 | George Evans, The Talbot | 1 1 0 | Miss Robinson | 0 10 0 |
| John Bower | 1 0 0 | A Lady | 1 1 0 | — Newton | 0 10 0 |
| Joseph Bower | 1 0 0 | James Crossley, High-street | 1 0 0 | F. Best and Friend | 0 7 6 |
| John Barlas, M.D. | 1 0 0 | M. Dowling, London-road | 1 0 0 | Three Servants | 0 7 6 |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 | J. Foxon, Gallowtree-gate | 1 0 0 | John Sutherland | 0 7 6 |
| James Moncrief | 1 0 0 | John Collier, Southgate-street | 1 0 0 | "As we are struggling for a Cheap Pie, let me | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Halley | 1 1 0 | James Page, Wellington-street | 1 0 0 | have a Finger in" | 0 5 0 |
| M'Gregor and Chalmers | 1 0 0 | Frederick Grocock, Market-place | 1 0 0 | A Female Servant | 0 5 0 |
| George Imrie | 1 0 6 | Do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas Lister | 0 5 0 |
| William Wilson | 0 2 6 | George Daniell, High-street | 1 0 0 | A Rochdale Gent, for Parr's Pills for B. | 0 5 0 |
| William Miller | 0 2 6 | Clement Pretty, Market-place | 1 0 0 | Ferrand | 0 5 0 |
| William Clunie | 0 5 0 | William Elgood, London-road | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| Alexander Sutherland | 0 2 6 | Thomas Porter, do. | 1 0 0 | J. C. Rawtenstall | 0 5 0 |
| Andrew Anderson | 0 2 6 | Valentine Harris, Regent-street, Welford-road | 1 0 0 | William Brown | 0 5 0 |
| Lawrence Rintoul | 0 5 0 | John Blakesley, Free-lane | 1 0 0 | No. 91 | 0 5 0 |
| James Christie | 0 2 6 | Laurence Staines, Russell-square | 1 0 0 | Charles Owen, currier | 0 5 0 |
| John Carron | 0 5 0 | T. W. Palmer, Market-street | 1 0 0 | Rev. Mr. Gill | 0 5 0 |
| David Glass | 0 2 6 | Mrs. Chapman, Stockdale-terrace | 1 0 0 | William Cowell, Westgate | 0 5 0 |
| Small Sums | 2 7 11 | John Holland, Humberstone-gate | 1 0 0 | Miss Forehan | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Gilbertson, 90, Leeds-street | 1 0 0 | Samuel Noon, Watts-causeway | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| George A. Mills, 85, London-road | 1 0 0 | Rev. T. Stevenson, Canning-place | 1 0 0 | Miss Karnshaw, Wheat Sheaf | 0 5 0 |
| I. A. Owen, 8, Mill-street | 0 2 6 | J. H. Clarke, Haymarket | 1 0 0 | John Rowell | 0 5 0 |
| Slack and Howden, 134, Park-lane | 1 0 0 | William Thurlby, Cheapside | 1 0 0 | James Best | 0 5 0 |
| Firth Woodhead, 69, Church-street | 10 0 0 | George Streetly, Gallowtree-gate | 1 0 0 | William Hudson | 0 5 0 |
| S. and T. Burley, 12, Fleet-street | 10 0 0 | Joseph Roberts, Market-place | 1 0 0 | An Enemy to the brewing Corn Laws | 0 3 0 |
| A Friend, per S. Bulley | 5 0 0 | Thomas Sharpe, Cheapside | 1 0 0 | A Lover of rational Efforts for Peace and | 0 3 0 |
| A. B., per S. Bulley | 5 0 0 | Thomas Rodgers, Regent-street, Welford-road | 1 0 0 | Plenty | 0 3 0 |
| Wm. Croxfield, jun., 11, Rake-lane, Edgehill | 1 0 0 | J. and W. M'Alpin, Gallowtree-gate | 1 0 0 | William Booth, Meadows | 0 2 6 |
| James Paterson, 1, Arcade, Newington | 1 0 0 | John Manning, High-street | 1 0 0 | William Harrison, from America | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Harrison, 5, Manchester-street | 1 1 0 | Joseph Nunneley, Friar-lane | 1 0 0 | Steam-loom Weaver | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Ray, 25, Banett-street | 0 2 6 | James Dilkes, Loughby-lane | 1 0 0 | David Platt, Garrow-lane | 0 2 6 |
| Bartholomew Backhouse, ditto | 0 2 6 | William Stevenson, Market-place | 1 0 0 | James Rawlinson | 0 2 6 |
| Jabz Reynier, 6, Exchange-alley North | 1 1 0 | David Shaw, Cheapside | 1 0 0 | John Marsden | 0 2 6 |
| Knoch Harvey, Hamilton Hall, Wavertree, nr. | 1 1 0 | E. Clephan, Paget and Kirby's | 1 0 0 | Sandy Clink-scales | 0 2 6 |
| John Travis, 21, Upper Stanhope street | 1 1 0 | John Newman, Market-place | 1 0 0 | For a Muzzle for S. Ferrand | 0 2 6 |
| Richard Crossley, 40, South Castle-street | 1 1 0 | H. Kemp, do. | 1 0 0 | Looking-Glass, &c. | 0 2 6 |
| A Conservative Free Trader, and no mistake | 5 0 0 | James Shadlaw, East-gate | 0 10 0 | A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| William Pitt, in addition to 10s. before, 2, | 0 10 0 | William Haines, High-street | 0 5 0 | T. H. | 0 2 6 |
| Strand-street | 0 10 0 | G. Viccars, N.w.-walk | 1 0 0 | Lawrence Hargreaves | 0 2 6 |
| George Francis, 100, St. James's-street | 1 0 0 | Thomas Viccars, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Dyson, Marsden, near | 0 2 6 |
| Taylor, Brothers, 16 Temple-court | 10 0 0 | J. Brewin, Mount Sorrel | 1 0 0 | Emery Howorth, Marsden, near | 0 2 6 |
| William Robinson, 14, Everson-crescent | 1 0 0 | P. Colston, St. Martin's | 0 2 6 | Wm. Parsons, Park | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. Wright, Canton Tavern, Temple-court | 1 1 0 | Charles Beale, Regent-street, Welford-road | 0 2 6 | Equal Representation | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Sergeant, 4, Roe-street | 1 1 0 | William Booth, Albion-street | 0 5 0 | Betty Marsden, South Parade | 0 2 6 |
| J. Northcote Ryder, New-Cross Station, Surrey, | 1 0 0 | Robert Warner, Leicester Abbey | 0 5 0 | Saml. Greenwood, currier | 0 2 6 |
| Works of London and Croydon Railway | 1 0 0 | C. Fisher, Handsworth | 0 5 0 | Law B. own, Duke of York | 0 2 6 |
| George Armstrong, 1A, Fenwick-street | 2 2 0 | William Clarke, Jury Wall-street | 0 5 0 | B. njamin Bury, Lane-head | 0 2 6 |
| Mary P. Coventry, 3, Phyllian-st., Low-hill | 2 2 0 | H. and T. P. Hull, Belvoir-street | 0 4 0 | James Spencer | 0 2 6 |
| | | Small sums | 0 4 0 | | |

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| Wm. Whitaker, Woodman Inn, near Vevers Cunniffe Jonathan Allen Miss Wood John Wood, Lane bridge John Coupe, Lane-bridge Marguerite and Co. J. H. Roberts James Pollard, Bridge-end Small sums John Rogers, Carlton-street Wm. Cripps, Park-terrace T. Shepherd, Lenton, near B. Walker, Derby-road A Friend A Friend A Lady A Friend Mrs. Cripps, Park-terrace J. G. Johnson, Bromley-place A Lady Hy. Watkinson, Parliament-place A Lady K. H. Brooks, Peck-lane — Harlow A Friend Thomas Cullen, Pilcher-gate — Barney Y. Z. Frank Ward, Hasford, near A Chartist Two Young Men, whose hope is in Free Trade Thomas Donnelly, Woodborough, near A Friend to the Cause George Youle, Park Wells and Bell, Cheapside Wm. Holbrook, Haslington, near J. and G. Trueman, Stoney-street A Complete Suffragist A Friend William Watts, Angel-row Wm. Graham, do. Geo. Baldwin, Long row William Thorpe, Long-row William Knifield, Low-pavement Barton and Stair, Houndgate D. Christie, Edale, by Halcrow John C. Christie, do., do. Lorenzo Christie, Houndgate A Friend Francis Leavers, Stoney-street William Crofts, Derby-terrace George Galloway, George-street J. T. Bishop, St. Marygate John Mosley and Son, Red Lion-square R. Cowen, Beck-lane G. A. Beadmore, Pilcher-gate S. Parrott, Broad-street William Aulton, St. Marygate C. James, Radford R. Gray, Red Lion street George Spencer, Castle-terrace Robert Burton, Woodville, Sherwood George Cowen, Beck-lane Small Sums John Grundy, Belle Vue Richard Hamer and Son, Summerseat, near Rev. Franklin Howorth, Silver-street Robinson Jackson, Tithebarn-street Mrs. Jackson, do. Bartholomew Hamer, New-road J. and J. Porritt, Edenfield, near James Kay, Paradise-street Henry Ramabottom, Shuttleworth, near John Parkinson, Silver-street Mrs. Parkinson P. Valentine, Rock street Isaac Whitworth, Water Mill Robert Holt, Wood road, near John Lord, Union-square John Mansell, Bolton-street Robert Parks, surgeon, Silver-street David Smith, Rochdale-road J. A. Grundy, Belle Vue R. R. Grundy, do. E. H. Grundy, Bridge Hall, near F. H. Grundy, do., do. James Buckley, Rock-street Edward Potts, Bolton-street James Kay's Workmen, Paradise street Joseph Kay, Paradise-street E. Ackroyd, Fleet-street Thomas Horrocks, Croft House, near Gavin Packer, Hollin's Vale, near Wm. Buckley, Deepley Vale, near Joseph Wood, New-road Richard Lord, Fleet-street Adam Kay, do. Thomas Holt, Agn-street Henry Peck, Fleet-street James Park, Stanley-street Mrs. Park, do. J. Lethwaite, Bolton-street R. T. Grundy, Stanley-street Frank Grundy, do. Henry Grundy, do. James Charles, Bolton street John Pickering, do. Wm. Carnes, Union-street John Habstead, Eden street T. Bowker, Mechanics' Institution, Radcliffe John Bolton, Bolton-street Wm. Pittfield, Two Brooks, Tillington, near Joseph Pollitt, Deepley Vale, near John Bridge, do. Sundries from Deepley Vale Workmen Joshua Barnes Fielden, Oldshop A Friend, per do. Robert Hargreaves, Brook street Richard Chambers, Pavement John Lord, George-street Samuel Lord, Hanging ditch John Lord, Odd Fellows' Hall Edmund Lord Abraham Lord Elizabeth Lord, Woodshade John Howorth, Church street Edmund Roberts, do. John Pilling and Family, Roomfield lane (2nd subscription) Lawrence Wilson, Cornholme Mill John Lacy, Bankfield John Stanfield, Kwood, near Joshua Fielden, Mount Pleasant Robert Fielden, Inchfield-fold Robert Mils, Patmos Wm. Butterworth, York street Thomas Greenlees, Patmos John Chatter, Salford Abraham Horsfall, York-street Robert Walmsley, Pavement Jonathan Barker, Millwood Mrs. Blomley Mrs. Chadwick, Banks William Hargreaves, Cockden James Hardman, Woodshade Small sums | 20 0 0 0 2 6 0 2 6 0 2 6 0 2 6 0 2 6 20 0 0 20 0 0 10 0 0 0 6 8 10 0 0 5 0 0 2 10 0 2 0 0 2 0 0 2 0 0 1 0 |
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| James Carter, grocer, &c. | 24 0 0 | Jonathan Ellis, Hinchliff-mill, near | 21 0 0 | Holmforth, 21 0 0 | (Hear, hear.) It was sometimes said that ministers of religion should not enter into public matters; but if they were not to meddle in endeavouring to enforce the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," he did not know what they should meddle with; and if one thing was plainer than another, it was that the Corn Law was an infringement of that commandment. But he trusted that he would see it abolished, and that the time was coming when such a blot on the character of the country would be wiped away, and men taught to do to others as they would that others should do to them. He begged to propose the following resolution:— |
| John King, Rawtenstall near Manchester | 1 1 0 | Nathan Littlewood, grocer | 1 1 0 | Mr. Huddersfield, 2 2 0 | "That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Bright, for his attendance here this day, and for the address he has delivered; also to Mr. Cobden and the other members of the Council of the League, for the zeal, perseverance, judgment, and ability with which they have advocated the cause of Corn-Law abolition." |
| James Draxton, grocer, &c., Longbalm, Rawtenstall, near Manchester | 1 0 0 | Nathaniel Booth, Horagatehill, nr. Chorlton, near Huddersfield | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | Mr. P. SYDENHAM DIXON was the next speaker. He said:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I beg leave to second the resolution proposed by Mr. Wight; and though the evening is somewhat advanced, you will bear with me a minute or two while I endeavour to make a few remarks upon one of the fallacies which have been so prominently put forward by the monopolists in support of the system of Corn Laws which we are met to protest against this evening. The fallacy is, that Free Trade is good in theory, but cannot be reduced to practice. |
| Hartly Willman, ironmonger | 1 0 0 | Charles Flitton, Lane-side, Cum-berworth, near Huddersfield | 1 0 0 | 10 0 0 | (Hear, hear.) Now, we have the authority of Sir Robert Peel that it is true policy to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest; we have, too, the authority of Sir James Graham, that "the principles of Free Trade are the principles of common sense;" and we have also the authority of a man who, above all others, should be acquainted with commercial matters, Mr. Gladstone, who says that Free Trade is beautiful in theory, but he doubts its applicability under existing circumstances. Now, my friends, all sensible men agree that a correct theory must be founded on actual practice. (Hear, hear.) What would be thought of a surgeon who set to work to write a book on the theory of anatomy, if it was not founded upon his own, or some other man's actual practice and experience?—what, for instance, I say, would be thought of a surgeon, who, when called upon to amputate a limb, should say, "Oh, amputation is a beautiful thing in theory, but it cannot be carried into practice?" (Laughter and cheers.) |
| Henry Tattersall, Shawclough, Newch., nr. James Hardman, at Mr. Jas. Ashworth's, Acre-mill, near | 2 0 0 | John Harpin, Birks House, near Thos. Wild, Union-buildings, Great Bolton | 2 0 0 | 1 0 0 | Now, gentlemen, we, who are subscribers and supporters of that "great fact," the League, are Free-Traders both in theory and in practice; and I believe it can be clearly shown, if there was time enough to go into the subject, from facts,—which you know are stubborn things,—that whenever the principles of Free Trade have been approximated to, by a reduction of duties on articles of general consumption, the revenue has been increased to an enormous extent. (Loud cheering.) Now, gentlemen, I hope that the excellent spirit evinced at this numerous meeting, and above all, that the subscription after it, will convince the monopolists of this city, especially those who are so fond of exalting the agricultural at the expense of the manufacturing interest, that you, the Free-Traders of Carlisle, are Free-Traders both in theory and practice; and that you will never rest till those principles which are acknowledged in theory by her Majesty's Government have been carried into practical effect (cheers); till all those unwise restrictions which tax the many for the supposed advantage of the few, shall have been done away with; and above all, till that greatest of all monopolies, so erroneously, as we think, termed "protection" to domestic agriculture has been totally abolished. (Loud cheers.) My friends, what a fallacy it is, to call it protection to domestic agriculture. Why, the agriculturists have a protection nobody can deprive them of—they have the protection of being in a country distinguished above all others for its mechanical skill—a country the wealthiest in the world—a country rapidly increasing in population—and which, as far as we can see, must be for many years a food-importing country. I may go further than this. I say the agriculturists have a natural protection—they have a protection wide as the German Ocean, and they have a protection as broad as the proud waves of the Atlantic; they have a protection as long as ships cannot be built without money; as long as seamen will not work without wages; and as long as harbour dues and town dues are demanded at our seaports. (Cheers.) Is not this a fact? Gentlemen, I am aware I use strong language; but at the same time I may be allowed to add, that I feel strongly, and "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh"—("hear," and cheers)—from the bottom of my heart I do feel strongly upon this subject; and I call upon you all, young and old, rich and poor, but especially upon the young men of this city—(hear, hear)—electors and non-electors, be their station in life what it may, I call upon those of my own age who are just about take a part in the active pursuits of this world—I call upon them, as they value the happiness of their common country, to make up their minds on this subject. (Cheers.) I believe the more they examine into the cause of Free Trade, the more it will be found consistent with the most enlightened patriotism—the most high-toned morality,—and, I may add, with Christian principles (hear, hear); and of one thing they may rest assured, that whatever is morally wrong can never be politically right (cheers); and that a fixed duty upon the provisions of any people, as that "great fact" the League calls it, must ever be a fixed injustice. I honour the League for not listening to the talk of a fixed duty. (Hear, hear.) I believe there was once a time when an 8s. duty would have satisfied the country, but it pleased Providence that that offer should not be accepted, and we are nearer total repeal now than if it had been accepted. No one regrets more than I do the distress which has prevailed for the last four or five years, owing to a depressed state of trade, which we think is clearly traceable to those vicious laws. But, at the same time, what is to be done? In this country, where aristocratic principles have such sway; where it is considered genteel to be a bit of an aristocrat, no reform of this sort can take place without the question being brought before the public mind, and agitated at meetings like the present. But I am wandering from the resolution. I am sure you will agree to it, and I need not add one word to it. It must be admitted that the labours of Messrs. Ashworth, Bright, and Cobden, who are called the A, B, C, of the Anti-Corn-Law League, have been almost superhuman; whether they are gifted with ubiquity or not, I cannot say, but they look like it. One thing is certain, that they have been successful, especially in the |
| John Twiner, stone dealer, Nann-hills | 1 0 0 | J. B. | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| W. E., at Mr. John Earnshaw's | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Isaac Hoyle | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Lawrence Lord, druggist, &c. | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| George Stewart, grocer, &c. | 1 0 0 | Robert Harwood, Deansgate, Great Bolton | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| James Ashworth, woollen manufacturer, Acre-mill, near | 5 0 0 | A Lady | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| James Ashworth, Lumb-hill | 1 0 0 | A Cold-water Drinker | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| Abraham Jackson, Stacksteads | 1 0 0 | A Lady | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | |
| John Bradshaw, Stacksteads | 1 0 0 | A Friend to Free Trade | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | |
| John Ashworth, do. | 1 0 0 | Robert Green, Kersley, near | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| John Stansfield and Son, grocers, &c. | 1 0 0 | David Cardingley, Oxford-st., Great Bolton | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| Clement Nuttall, innkeeper | 1 0 0 | Aaron Dyson, Princess-street, do. | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | |
| Timothy Nelson, saddler | 1 0 0 | John Gordon, Rose-hill, do. | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Edward Cockcroft, grocer, &c. | 1 0 0 | A Female Testotaller | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| John Lord, reedmaker | 1 0 0 | John Wild, Union buildings | 0 3 6 | 0 3 6 | |
| Servetus Ashworth, Boothfold, Newch., near | 0 10 0 | Anti-Corn-Law Advocates | 0 18 1 | 0 18 1 | |
| John Pickup, Tunstead-mill | 0 5 0 | Mrs. C. Thistlethwaite, Sharples, near | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| John Fowler, draper, Church-st., Haslingden | 0 5 0 | James Higgin, Horwich Vale, near | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Richard and James Pickup, Stackstead | 0 2 6 | A Friend | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| Isaac Taylor, Newchurch, near | 0 2 6 | C. J. Darbishire, Folda, Little Bolton | 10 0 0 | 10 0 0 | |
| George Taylor, Tunstead-mill | 0 2 6 | A Farmer's Son from Lostock | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| George Ashworth, grocer, &c., Bottoms | 0 5 0 | A Poor Man | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| James Hinson, Irwell Springs | 1 0 0 | Charles Henton, Sharples, near | 1 1 1 | 1 1 1 | |
| Richard Horrocks, Irwell Springs | 1 1 0 | John Kitta, Green-street, Little Bolton | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | |
| John Ogden, Heald | 1 1 0 | A Lady | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | |
| Thomas Hunt, Irwell Springs | 1 0 0 | Mrs. John Horrocks | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| James Howorth, Lower Tunstead | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| Samuel Howorth, Waterbarn | 1 0 0 | Ottiwil Yearshaw, Hay-street, Great Bolton | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| John Earnshaw, woollen manufacturer | 21 0 0 | T. B. Garstang, surgeon, Moor-lane | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| John Ogden, bookkeeper | 1 0 0 | Mary Greenwood, Kersley, near | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Charles Hardman | 1 2 6 | A. R. Varley | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| James Barlow, jun., Dog Pits | 1 0 0 | Lee Leigh, Saltpetre-row, Great Bolton | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| — Green, saddler | 0 5 0 | "Come Freely" | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| James Gregory, tailor | 0 5 0 | John Mosley, gardener | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| Francis Heyworth, corgor | 0 5 0 | A Friend | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Edward Lord, mechanic | 0 5 0 | A Servant Girl | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| Joseph Taylor | 0 2 6 | I. O. U. | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Small sums from Weavers | 0 9 8 | Joseph Baron, Lam-street, Little Bolton | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | |
| A Friend, by Mr. Lord | 1 0 0 | An Englishman and Scotchman, 22, Bark-street, Little Bolton | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Do. do. | 1 0 0 | Abraham Watson, Deansgate, Great Bolton | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Small Sums | 0 8 6 | James Bromley | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | |
| Joshua Brough, Buxton-road | 5 5 0 | R. R. R. O'Moore | 0 12 8 | 0 12 8 | |
| Thomas Birch, Overton's Bank | 5 0 0 | A Chartist | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| Nathan Davenport, Clark's Bank | 5 0 0 | James Mancor, Bridge-street, Great Bolton | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| John Brough, jun., Ballhay-road | 8 0 0 | A Well-wisher to the Working Man | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| James Johnson, Queen-street | 3 0 0 | A Lady | 7 2 6 | 7 2 6 | |
| John Lovatt, Mill-street | 2 12 6 | A Chartist and Repealer too | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| Joseph Gould, do. | 2 12 6 | A family numbering ten, who want the Repeal of the Corn Laws | 0 14 0 | 0 14 0 | |
| James Alsop, Queen street | 2 0 0 | Henry Lever, Johnson-street | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| James Brough, Mount | 2 0 0 | Mrs. Little, Wood-street | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| John Wain, Ballhay-street | 2 0 0 | John Brown, Churchgate | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| A Tenant Farmer, near | 2 0 0 | Henry Hollins, Rose hill | 25 0 0 | 25 0 0 | |
| Josiah Astles, London-street | 1 0 0 | William Woods Cooke, Kensington-place, Little Bolton | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Charles Ball, Bridge | 1 0 0 | A Lady | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| John Brough, Mount | 1 0 0 | E. H. T. | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| D. Cartwright, Sheep-market | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Geo. Wynne, Deansgate, Great Bolton | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | |
| D. Colquhoun, Clark's Bank | 1 0 0 | John Mitchell | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| Mrs. Clowes, Mill street | 1 0 0 | James Shuttleworth | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | |
| T. Denay, Union-street | 1 0 0 | Henry and Southworth | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| Rev. R. Goshawk, Ballhay-street | 1 0 0 | Thomas Kirkham, Moor-lane | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| Joseph Hambleton, Spout-street | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 0 2 6 | 0 2 6 | |
| Hammersley and Bentley, Union-street | 1 0 0 | Ralph Almond, Bradshawgate | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | |
| John Heath, King street | 1 0 0 | J. M. Robinson, surgeon, Little Bolton | 1 1 0 | 1 1 0 | |
| W. M. Hillard, Market-place | 1 0 0 | Ed. Edwards, Hillfold Cottage, Sharples, near | 0 10 0 | 0 10 0 | |
| Henry Ind, Regent-street | 1 0 0 | Richard Cunliffe, Byng-street | 3 0 0 | 3 0 0 | |
| W. Johns, Union-street | 1 0 0 | Thomas Ormerod, St. George's-terrace, Little Bolton | 1 1 0 | 1 1 0 | |
| Joseph Large, King-street | 1 0 0 | Joseph Brown, Churchgate | 1 1 0 | 1 1 0 | |
| William Mellor, Buxton-road | 1 0 0 | James Crompton | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| J. and W. Morley, Spout-street | 1 0 0 | John Morley | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Joshua Nicholson, Buxton-road | 1 0 0 | Henry Howarth | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| S. B. Whittles, Market-place | 1 0 0 | Wm. Darbishire | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Benjamin Wolfe, do. | 1 0 0 | John Burns | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| R. S. Walters, Overton's Bank | 0 10 0 | Peter Stones | 1 5 0 | 1 5 0 | |
| Joseph Flowers, New-street | 0 10 0 | Charles Mayoh | 1 2 6 | 1 2 6 | |
| Thomas Slack, Derby-street | 0 10 0 | James Dean | 0 8 0 | 0 8 0 | |
| G. A. Smith, King street | 0 10 0 | Extra subscription at Ladies' table | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Samuel Tatton, Clark's Bank | 0 10 0 | R. Crossley, at Messrs. Henry and Southworth's | 1 1 0 | 1 1 0 | |
| John Weston, Buxton-road | 0 10 0 | James Haslam, Folda's-street | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Young and Lea, Spout-street | 0 10 0 | William Lomax, Halliwell | 5 0 0 | 5 0 0 | |
| A Friend | 0 10 0 | Samuel Taylor, cotton spinner, Chorley New-road | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Joseph Howard, Market-place | 0 5 0 | John Rigby, ironfounder, Pillingwell, Great Bolton | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| — Jackson, King-street | 0 5 0 | Jonathan Haslam, beerseller, Moor-lane, Great Bolton | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| H. L. Johnson, Queen-street | 0 5 0 | Wm. Thistlethwaite, at W. Flesketh's, Bradshawgate | 0 5 0 | 0 5 0 | |
| John Newall, Buxton-road | 0 5 0 | Wm. Warburton, grocer, &c., Deansgate | 1 10 0 | 1 10 0 | |
| John Newell, London-street | 0 5 0 | Anthony Thistlethwaite, 9, Bullock-street, Little Bolton | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| James Rigby, Market-place | 0 5 0 | Wm. Heaketh, Bradshawgate, Great Bolton | 1 0 0 | 1 0 0 | |
| Luke Stone, Derby-street | 0 5 0 | James Morris, Deansgate, ditto—20s. for self, 10s. each for his children | 5 0 0 | 5 0 0 | |
| Charles Walker, King-street | 0 5 0 | Wm. Greenhaigh, Railway-st., Great Bolton | 0 6 0 | 0 6 0 | |
| Thomas West, Sheep-market | 0 2 6 | John Gerrard, Derby-street | 2 2 0 | 2 2 0 | |
| William Bloore, Hare-hay | 0 2 6 | James Hood, Halliwell | 1 2 10 | 1 2 10 | |
| Hugh Ford, Mill-street | 0 2 6 | Small Sums | | | |
| George Hulme, Derby-street | 0 2 6 | | | | |
| Charles Lees, London-road | 0 2 6 | | | | |
| George Massey, Sheep-market | 0 2 6 | | | | |
| Paul Prince, Ballhay-green | 0 2 6 | | | | |
| Joseph Rigby, Market-place | 0 2 6 | | | | |
| James Rogers, Spout-street | 0 2 6 | | | | |
| Joseph Charne, Pickwood-road | 0 2 6 | | | | |
| Japeth Trafford, do. | 0 2 6 | | | | |
| George Yeomans, Church-street | 0 2 6 | | | | |
| Four Friends, half-a-crown each | 0 10 0 | | | | |
| Small Sums under 2s. 6d. | 0 17 6 | | | | |
| John Hadwin and Sons, Kebroyd, near | 100 0 0 | | | | |
| Wm. Appleyard and Son | 40 0 0 | | | | |
| Isaac Green, Horley-green | 10 0 0 | | | | |
| Dani. Ramsden, Kingston | 10 0 0 | | | | |
| Swindell and Jeffery, "to make up £1500" | 11 0 0 | | | | |
| Richard Ingham, Bedford-street | 5 0 0 | | | | |
| James Firth and Son | 5 0 0 | | | | |
| John Styling | 5 0 0 | | | | |
| J. W. Gregory | 2 0 0 | | | | |
| John Holt, Woolpack Inn | 2 0 0 | | | | |
| John Walker, Old Market | 2 0 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Joshua Appleyard | 1 1 0 | | | | |
| T. C., Southgate | 1 0 0 | | | | |
| "For Four Children, 5s. each" | 1 0 0 | | | | |
| "For League Paper" | 1 0 0 | | | | |
| Mrs. Jonathan Crowther | 0 10 6 | | | | |
| "One who would give more if he could" | 0 2 2 | | | | |
| Mrs. Holbrook Gaskell, Prospect Hill | 20 0 0 | | | | |
| James Marson, Bewsey-street | 1 0 0 | | | | |
| John Brazil, Oxford-lane | 0 5 0 | | | | |
| Thos. Waddington, Golden-sq. | 1 0 0 | | | | |
| Wm. Thomason, Scotland-road | 1 0 0 | | | | |
| Thos. Davis, jun., Lyme-street | 0 10 0 | | | | |
| Wm. Jones, Foundry, Bewsey-st. | 1 0 0 | | | | |
| Robert Wilson | 1 0 0 | | | | |
| William Oddie | 0 2 6 | | | | |
| John Toth | 0 2 6 | | | | |
| Alfred Gaskell | 0 10 0 | | | | |
| A. H. Torry | 0 10 0 | | | | |
| Small subscriptions from 102 other mechanics employed at | 3 4 5 | | | | |
| Nathan Gaskell, Oxhouse, Upholland, near | 1 0 0 | | | | |
| John Jackson, Law's-aleph, do., do. | 1 0 0 | | | | |
| John Molyneux, Chapel-lane | 0 2 6 | | | | |

ERRATA.

In LEAGUE 16, for Joseph Brook, 75, East-street, Bank, Leeds, read George Brook; and for P. R. Hopwood, Harrogate, read Harrogate House, Wigan.

For want of time and space we are reluctantly compelled to postpone the publishing of the list of contributions from Edinburgh until next week.

GREAT ANTI-CORN-LAW TEA-PARTY IN CARLISLE.

Continued from page 263.

Cards and pencils were then handed round the room, and while they were filling up, the CHAIRMAN called upon

The Rev. H. WIGHT to move the next resolution. He said, the resolution intrusted to him he had much pleasure in proposing for their adoption; it was a motion of thanks to Mr. Bright for his attendance, and to the other members of the League, for the perseverance and judgment with which they had advocated the cause of a total abolition of the Corn Laws. He had met Mr. Bright in Edinburgh above a year ago; they had not then commenced their series of meetings in the agricultural parts of the country—a plan of which he (Mr. Wight) highly approved, and which, at the time mentioned, he had sent a message to Mr. Bright, strongly recommending the mode of operation of entering the agricultural parts of the country, and he thought it was the duty of those now assembled to express their thanks to Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, and the others, for the labour they had bestowed in sending truth among those people who were least likely to get it otherwise.

agricultural districts, in teaching the A, B, C of Free Trade to grown-up men. (Hear, hear.) I am sure you will all agree with me in wishing every success to them in their present mission, in hoping that they may have health and happiness in their family and domestic concerns, and that they may long survive the iniquitous system of monopoly against which they are so honourably contending. (Cheers.) He concluded by seconding the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN said, he felt it was almost unnecessary to put the resolution to a show of hands, but he would recommend that they signify their accordance with its sentiments by standing up. The whole audience immediately arose, and the resolution was carried by loud cheering, clapping of hands, &c.

Mr. BARNETT said:—My colleagues will be glad to hear that their labours have been approved of by the inhabitants of this city; and I shall consider it a substantial method of showing how you hold their services, if you will do what lies in your power by adding means to what they possess to carry out the objects we have in view; and I have to say, on behalf of my friend behind me (Mr. P. S. Dixon), who says we have had his maiden speech, the first he ever delivered, that if it should happen to be the last speech, a very great weight of responsibility will rest either upon himself, for not coming forward, or upon his fellow-townsmen, for not bringing him out. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I cannot see why Carlisle should not produce a working member of the League.

The subscription cards were then handed up. Mr. Steel handed in one from, he said, one of the best farmers of the county, Mr. Dixon, of Broadwath, £5. (Cheers.) The cards containing the various subscriptions were then handed in, and read to the meeting by Mr. Bright—a duty which he performed very efficiently, interspersing the whole with good-humoured remarks. We subjoin the various sums, which were read amid applause,—the half-crown of the working man being as much honoured as the pound of the more wealthy citizen. Amongst the subscriptions is one of £40, from W. Marshall, Esq., M.P. for this city, upon which Mr. Bright remarked that he wished the other member for the city had been present, to put down his subscription; at all events, it was pretty clear that his constituents should either convert or change him. (Hear, hear.) The collection of the cards occupied a considerable time; and it was eventually announced that the total sum subscribed at the meeting amounted to £103 18s.—an announcement which was received with the greatest applause and satisfaction.

Mr. BRIGHT moved that the thanks of the meeting be given to the chairman, for his exceedingly proper conduct in the chair, and for his kindness in presiding over that meeting.

The motion was seconded, and carried by three hearty cheers.

The CHAIRMAN acknowledged the compliment, and the company dispersed.

The following is a list of the subscriptions announced in the room, with two or three others since received:—John Dixon, 100l.; Peter Dixon, 100l.; Mr. J. D. Carr, 10l.; W. Marshall, Esq., M.P., 40l.; T. Foster, 2l.; — M'Gibbon, 1l.; E. Brockbank, 2l.; — Nicholson, 5s.; — Wallace, 2l.; J. P. Harrison, 2l.; E. Bowman, 1l.; — Huthert (2nd sub.), 10s.; Hugh Earl, 10s. 6d.; H. Twiddle, 1l.; P. S. Dixon, 10l.; James Carruthers, 7s. 6d.; Edward Harrison, 5s.; — Aikin, 1l.; G. Robinson, 2l.; J. Carrick, 2l.; Messrs. Macknight, 10s.; T. T. Railton, 2l.; Thomas Sheffield, 1l. 1s.; — Steel, 2l.; — Irving, 2l.; Joseph Ferguson, 50l.; George Dixon, 20l.; Joseph Dixon, 5l.; Robert Ferguson, 5l.; Mrs. Carrick, 1l.; H. Scott, 1l.; Misses S. and J. Latimer, 5s.; Miss Sheffield, 10s. 6d.; J. Slater, 10l.; S. Back, 10s. 6d.; T. Barnes, 10s.; C. W. Henderson, 10s.; J. W. Browne, 5s.; Wm. Fleming, 2s. 6d.; John Shack, 2s. 6d.; Joseph Lonsdale, 5s.; J. L. Harris, 1s.; Thos. Ivison, 5s.; James McCutcheon, 1l.; John Mason, 10s.; Wm. Armstrong, 2s.; D. Stevenson, 1l.; Samuel Blaylock, 1l.; Joseph Smithson, 1l.; John Sheffield, 1l.; James Muncester, 2s. 6d.; Thomas Johnston, at Messrs. Dixons', 1l.; Andrew Routledge, 1l.; John Welsh, 1l.; a Friend, per Mr. Steel, 1l.; C. Taylor, 10s.; John Duncan, 2s. 6d.; George Armstrong, 5s.; Jos. Hannah, 10s.; Alexander Brethner, 1s. 6d.; William Fisher, 2s. 6d.; Joseph Smith, 1s.; John Taylor, 2s. 6d.; George Ivison, 2s. 6d.; W. Salkeld, 5s.; John Anderson, 5s.; Thos. Nelson, 2l.; Thos. M'Alpin, 1l.; H. M'Alpin, 1l.; Jas. Boyd, 2s.; Daniel Conlon, 2s.; Richard Muncester, 2s. 6d.; Thos. Rudd, 5s.; Mrs. C. Cockburn and Son, 2l.; Jos. Henderson, 2s.; J. M. Noble, 7s. 6d.; Richard Morris, 2s. 6d.; Robert Foster, 1s. 6d.; Wm. Fletcher, 5s.; Friends, per Mr. Rushton, 1l. 5s.; W. Miller, 2s. 6d.; J. Cowen, 2s. 6d.; Chas. Ivison, 2s. 6d.; Friends, by Mr. H. Scott, 10s.; A Friend, Glasgow, per J. D. Carr, 10s.; Geo. Rowell, 1l.; — Sheffield, artist, 1l.; — Gillbanks, 1l.; E. Harris, 5s.; David Forster, 3s.; Jos. Banks, 2s.; Wm. Sturdy, 5l.

We have found it impossible to give the reports, although in type, of the Perth and Aberdeen meetings. We regret also that we can give no report this week of the vast meetings held in the Free-Trade Hall, Manchester, on Thursday night, and in the Music Hall, Liverpool, on Wednesday evening. Perhaps the excuse we have to offer for these and other omissions will be sufficiently gratifying to our readers, when we inform them that the necessity for it arises from the great length to which the list of this week's paid subscriptions extends.

HAWICK.—ANTI-CORN-LAW DEMONSTRATION.—This demonstration took place within the Town-hall, on Thursday the 11th inst. The chair was ably filled by Mr. Wm. Scott, chief magistrate, supported by Mr. A. Haddon, junior magistrate. The audience, which was numerous and unanimous, was ably addressed by W. Wilson, Esq., Orchard House; Mr. Wm. Irvine, commercial traveller; and Mr. James Scott Foreman. The sum subscribed amounted to £70, which was merely a beginning; before the subscriptions close £200 will be realized, which is quadruple last year's contributions. The following are the principal subscribers:—W. Wilson, Esq., Orchard House, £10; John Wilson, manufacturer, £10; a Friend, £10; Walter Armstrong, draper, £3; M. Wilson and Sons, skinner, £3; Alex. Laing and Sons, £10; Robert Fraser, draper, £10; G.

Wilson, manufacturer, £5; William Turnbull, draper, £3; six other subscribers, £6.

STOCKPORT.—THE LEAGUE FUND.—We understand that a public meeting, in aid of the great League fund, will be held in this town, on the evening of Tuesday the 30th inst., and that Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and Mr. R. H. R. Moore will attend and address the meeting. Mr. Batty's Circus, in the New Market, is spoken of as the place where it is likely to be held, unless the fears of proprietors be successfully worked upon by certain parties, who, we are informed, are using their influence to prevent its being let for the purpose, by representing the Leaguers as revolutionists, and intimating that utter ruin would attend the circus if such a meeting were allowed in the building.—*Manchester Guardian*.

AMERICAN PROVISIONS.—At a tea-party and conversation of the National Association, held at their hall in Holborn on Monday evening, at which Dr. Bowring presided, samples of foreign meats were placed upon the table; viz.—American beef, pork, and tongue; and Port-Phillip beef recently imported into this country, and in which it appears certain that a considerable trade will be carried on. In the course of the conversation after tea, Mr. Statham stated that the samples had been sent in by some provision brokers in the City, and that the prices at the public sales were, for the Port-Phillip beef, 1½d. per lb.; American beef, the sample of which was of fine quality, 2½d. to 3d. per lb., and pork about the same price: they were rather too salt, which can be easily obviated. A fine sample of cheese was also tasted, sold at 4½d. per lb., and equal to good Cheshire. He then drew attention to an extract from a statement of the New York prices on the 30th of December, when provisions, including beef, pork, hams, &c., ranged from 1½d. to 3d. per lb.; lard and butter, 2d. to 5d.; cheese, 2d. to 4d.; and raised the inquiry, why there should be so many millions who do not taste animal food, or taste it only as a luxury, when it can be obtained at those prices within fifteen days' sail from Great Britain? The millions "who rejoice in potatoes," would be stimulated in their rejoicings if they could obtain animal food to eat with them. A great deal of commiseration has been manifested for the starving sempstresses and the houseless poor; but they are the true friends of those classes who assist in opening the ports for the surplus produce of the world, and by Free Trade provide a fruitful return for the work of the labourer, who, if he could not get the roast beef of Old England, would find some consolation in the salt beef of brother Jonathan. Dr. Bowring stated that he entirely agreed with what had been stated by Mr. Statham as to the desirableness of our receiving the animal food of other countries. In order to assist this object, a party of noblemen and gentlemen connected with the Free-Trade movement, including Lord Radnor, Mr. Hume, Mr. Villiers, himself, and others, were going to see the samples at the importer's prior to the next public sale. The conversation was attended by about 500 persons, and passed off with great spirit. An exhibition of a great many objects of interest, works of art, &c., took place in the coffee-room of the association.

ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE AT IDLE, NEAR BRADFORD, YORKSHIRE.—On Wednesday evening last a meeting of the inhabitants of this village took place in the Odd Fellows' Hall. Christopher Dibb, Esq., acted as chairman on the occasion. Mr. Thos. Plint attended, as a deputation from the Leeds Association; and Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Yates, Mr. Farrar, and other gentlemen, from the Bradford Association. The chairman, in opening the proceedings, briefly alluded to the objects of the meeting, offered a few observations on the iniquity of the Corn Laws and the Sugar Monopoly, and concluded by calling upon Mr. Wilkinson, one of the deputation from Bradford, to address them. Mr. Wilkinson addressed the meeting on the Corn Laws, their nature, tendency, and effects. Mr. Yates followed at considerable length. Mr. Plint, of Leeds, then delivered an able speech, which was listened to throughout with the most marked attention, and elicited the warm approbation of the meeting. The following subscriptions were then announced:—C. Dibb, 3l. 3s.; F. Audsley, 2l. 2s.; S. Humble, Esq., 2l. 2s.; a Decided Free-Trader, 1l. 1s.; Our Bread Untaxed, our Commerce Free, 1l.; Thomas Rider, 1l.; John Rushworth, 1l.; Richard Sugden, 5s.; Joseph Rawson, 5s.; Chas. Illingworth, 3s. 6d.; Sam. Hardacre, 2s. 6d.; John Oldfield, 5s.; Benjamin Ryecroft, 2l. 2s.; Charles Newall, 2s. 6d.; Wm. Craven, 2l.; Thos. Rustick, 1s.; Wm. Russell, 1l. 10s.; John Wade, 5s.; John Lee, 10s.; Wm. Bird, 5s.; George Vint and Brothers, 1l.; Wm. Booth, 10s.; a Friend, S. D., 5s.; George Oldfield, 1l.; James Wade, 1l.; Mrs. James Wade, 5s.; Miss Elizabeth M. Bannister, 2s. 6d.; John Hardacre, 2s. 6d.; John and James Ward, 1l.; Jonas Fletcher, 1l.; William Glover, 10s.; Thos. Hutton, 10s.; Small sums per J. Ward, jun., 1l. 8s.; Small sums from the workmen at Albion Mills, 2l. 6s.; Total, 30l. 3s. 6d. Other sums are expected. This village last year raised 16l. towards the League; this year it will more than double it.

THE COUNTER LEAGUE IN SUSSEX.—The movement for the formation of a counter League in Sussex is fast losing the character—if it ever possessed it—of being a tenants' movement, which the monopolists and their organs would fain have led the country to believe it was. The meeting at Chichester—the proceedings at which the *Post* reported with such a flourish of trumpets—was certainly addressed by two or three tenant-farmers, but amongst the dozen persons present was Mr. Rusbridger, agent to the Duke of Richmond, whose influence is paramount in that neighbourhood; and in all probability the agent was the "whipper-in" on the occasion. A preliminary meeting, said to be of "farmers," was also held at the King and Queen, Brighton, on Thursday week; what was said at it has not been published, though we are informed a reporter was present; but the

resolutions have been advertised in the local papers, and they are signed, as honorary secretary, by Mr. W. W. Burrell, son of Sir Charles Burrell, M.P. for the rape of Bramber, a circumstance significant enough of the source of this movement. At Lewes, too, there was a meeting on Tuesday, which was of a more public character, having been called by advertisement. It purported to be a meeting of "the East Sussex Association for the Protection of Agriculture," an association which it appears was formed when the Whig ministry proposed the eight-shilling fixed duty, but which has been inert since that time. Its president is Lord Gage, and its vice-president Mr. W. C. Mabbott, a county magistrate. The object of the meeting, as stated in the advertisement, was "for the purpose of considering what steps to adopt to frustrate the attempts of the League to deprive them of the protection they now enjoy against foreign capital and labour;" but though it was market day, and there was a good attendance at the market, the farmers held aloof from the meeting, not more than from 20 to 30 of them being present at it; besides these were several magistrates and other landowners. The principal speakers at the meeting were Mr. John Ellman, who claims the honour of being the inventor of the sliding-scale; and Mr. Darby, the member for the county, who complained sorely of the apathy of the farmers, and made a moving appeal to them to unite to preserve their protection. Not a word was said as to the principle or policy of these laws, the principal object of the meeting apparently being to prepare for the aggregate meeting which is to be held at Steyning on the 29th inst.

AGRICULTURE.

DOINGS OF THE MONOPOLISTS.

The following extract from a correspondent of the *Times* affords some notion of the kind of sympathy that active monopolist, the Duke of Richmond, entertains for the poor:—

"I shall not trust myself to do more on the present occasion than make and authenticate the following statement:—
"John Holder and Ann, his wife, resident within that district, are both of the age of 80 years and upwards, and of unblemished character. They recently applied for outdoor relief from that board, and it was refused. Application was then made on their behalf to the Duke of Richmond, his Grace being chairman of the board, and then at Goodwood. Without any needless remark on the peculiarly delicate treatment which that letter experienced (written as it was by a lady, and worthy as it was of the lady by whom it was written) in being laid before the board to be answered by his Grace's attorney as its clerk, the substantive reply was a slip of paper bearing the following words, viz., 'John and Ann Holder his wife, aged 81. Admit the bearer.'"

Such an incident speaks volumes.

Now, the Duke of Richmond is a prime mover of the Pro-Corn-Law meetings—hole-and-corner meetings as most of them are—which are being held in the rural districts, and we trust the friends of Free Trade throughout the country will inform us, by letters addressed to Mr. PAULTON, the Secretary of the League, or to the Editor of the LEAGUE NEWSPAPER, at 67, Fleet-street, of such particulars of the names, rank, calling, interests, and connections of the prime movers of these fraudulent attempts to use the tenant-farmers, as may enable us to expose them in their true character to the public.

A LESSON FOR LANDLORDS.

We have before had occasion to refer to the remarks of Mr. Johnson Daniell, a landowner in Rampisham, Dorsetshire, a parish particularized by Mr. Sheridan as offering some painful illustrations of the destitute condition of the Dorsetshire labourers; and the following passages from a letter addressed by Mr. Daniell to the *Dorset County Chronicle* prove that even the landlords themselves must ultimately benefit by the hearty shaking they are receiving at the hands of the League. Nor are Mr. Johnson Daniell's suggestions the less valuable because he has thought fit to spice his communication with a fling at the LEAGUE, and to mis-state our advocacy of Free Trade in a manner which shows that he either entirely misunderstands, or wilfully misrepresents, our views. The spirit, however, which pervades this gentleman's letter, is that by which we should be glad to see all landlords actuated, namely, a desire to advance improvements in land and husbandry, by the healthy operation of enlightened self-interest on all the minds of all classes connected with land. With such a spirit, reliance on "protection" is utterly inconsistent; and, though Mr. Johnson Daniell may at present entertain a class-prejudice against the League, we have no doubt he will ere long become a Free Trader. At all events, his advice to landlords, if followed, is calculated to remove from their minds all apprehensions of Free Trade. And first, on the preachments of the squires at agricultural meetings, Mr. Daniell says:—

"Some landlords wisely and well instruct their farmers at public meetings, and elsewhere, to employ more labourers, to improve their lands, and so forth. Suppose they were to begin by employing them themselves?"

This is to the point, and how it is to be done in Dorsetshire is thus made obvious:—

"Every landlord may do this; every estate is capable of improvement; draining, planting, enclosing, are, more or less, the landlord's province; so also (rightly considered) is the reclaiming of waste or uncultivated land. Let any one get upon the Magnet coach at Salisbury, some fine windy day in December, and cast his eyes (if the wind will suffer him) in every direction, and without fear of anything to obstruct his view, as long as he traverses the county (cleared with the richest land and the most favourable climate, according to the LEAGUE), and then say whether we are over-planted, over-improved, or over-enclosed. Let him ride the vale of Blackmoor, and report whether we are over-drained, under-drained, or not. The winter climate would be another thing to them [sheep and cattle] under the 'leath' of a system of plantations, and the lands would bear record for years where the sheep had nestled under the break-blast of a wood of firs."

As probably most readers know, a considerable part of Dorsetshire consists of open land on the high chalk hills, which are very bleak in winter; and here the field for improvement by planting is immense. The vast in-

crease which has by such means been given to land in many districts of Scotland would be nothing compared with the benefits accruing to Dorsetshire by protecting the high-lands from the cutting west winds. Mr. Daniell then states the effect the general adoption of such an improvement would have upon the condition of the Dorsetshire labourers:—

"The prosecution of such improvements as a duty—as part of the yearly functions of a landlord—would probably have some such effects as these. A landlord's employment is proverbially the best. He is expected to give, and ought to give, a shade better wages than the renting farmer. On his own part he looks to get the best workmen. His example in point of wages will be something. The effect of his employing many hands at once would be more. The certainty of his employing them annually would be invaluable. There would be (if all landlords would pursue the plan) a gradual, temperate, well-sustained rise in the labour-market. Not the hasty rush of a momentary torrent from an artificial or accidental cause; but the steady rise of a stream fed by more abundant, natural, and perennial sources. The labourers would hold up their heads—not with vain anticipations of 'something about to be done for them,' they know not by whom; but with well-grounded confidence in the annual employment of spare hands by their natural friends and protectors, and now their masters. When a neighbouring proprietor employed a large number of hands at good wages in his judicious improvements, it became difficult to obtain a sufficiency of labourers for winter work; and wages rose."

Here is the practical operation of the landlords, to quote the words of Lord Hardwicke, "doing their duty to themselves and the labourers." The following passage will speak volumes to those acquainted with rural life:—

"The landlord's work comes, for the most part, at a season when other work is hardly to be had. Planting, enclosing, and even draining, are usually jobs for the dull months of the latter autumn or winter, or (that worst of winters) the earlier part of an English spring. It is in some one of these periods, according to the locality and the nature of its occupations, that the dispirited labourer casts a rueful eye towards the Union. He holds out as long as he can; he gets work, if he can, on the roads; but cracking flints is not (any more than tending a spinning-jenny) the natural work of man. Agricultural labour is, and he will gladly seize the offer of the landlord's bailiff, to take a job of planting, draining, or embanking. It is not once nor twice that I have watched the hard weather-worn countenance of a man of 'staid' years, with a frame built to last out a century, but a face looking wan and woeful from long-continued want of work and consequent inferior food; more than all, from the hopelessness of any satisfactory resource. When such a one has said, in answer to my inquiry, 'I've had no work, Sir, since ha'arst,' and you recollect with a pang that, perhaps, three months have passed since that short period of activity and high wages—I say that to see the eyes of such an one glisten at the intelligence that he may go at once for a long job of planting by the piece."

Nor is it amongst the slightest benefits that such improvements cause no injurious disturbance in the labour market: they produce no heartburnings between the farmer and his men, but, on the contrary, while they offer an additional source of income to the labourer, which forms a clear gain to him, they benefit the farmer also, by taking off some of his men when he least wants them. Mr. Daniell says:—

"Such improvements, while they dispense benefits, interfere with no man. The labourer gains employment when the farmer needs him least. When the landlord's work is done the tasks of the farmer's year recommence. To do this is to do something visible, permanent, and systematic. Self-denial is a glorious word, but is apt to elude our vigilance in testing it in ourselves (for I maintain that we have no right to apply the test to others, or to judge them in this, any more than in more abstract matters); but here is something which, if done, cannot be gainsaid; if left undone, cannot be made good by words. Let us write our benevolence, not in transitory subscriptions only, which may cost a pound or two, but in broad characters of green and gold on the bleak hills of Dorset—in plantations which may defy the cutting south-west wind, the shelter of which may be felt far beyond the fields which it protects, or inscribe the same in wide ranges of corn which never would have flourished there but for the wise expenditure of the landlord."

But it is far easier to give a few paltry pounds to the agricultural society "for encouraging industrious labourers," and to attend an annual dinner or two, and there cant and whine, or lie and bluster, than to surrender personal enjoyment of income for the improvement of their patrimony, whilst landowners believe they can by means of Corn Laws secure to themselves high rents out of the sweat and toil of the industrious part of the community. Of the permanent benefit of such works to the landlord himself there can be no doubt:—

"For planted woods call for continual thinnings, and well repay the expense and labour. The fields drained will imbibe and be grateful for manure, which the undrained lands reject as unprofitable. The crops increase the stock multiplies—the farmer's means are improved—his own and the landlord's powers of usefulness are advanced. I need not say a word to show how the reclaimed lands require more hands to till them, and reward the expense. No one can foretell how far such improvements may extend their influence, as becoming the means of making still more—how many labourers may owe their bread to those who are now breaking up the land."

Nor is there anything new in these remedies: all that is required is a systematic adoption of them.

"In urging these topics I beg to be understood as recommending no novelties. I am convinced that many landlords (perhaps all) do what I humbly suggest; but I venture to print my opinion by way of recommending them as a system. It is one thing to apply a casual cure, and another to propose it as a treatment, and take some pains to collect the arguments for its usefulness. I know nothing of any one's property but that committed to my own care; but I am quite sure that, individually, I have enough to employ much of the energies of my mind, and more than the abilities of my purse, and all the unemployed poor of one parish, at least, for years."

Then comes the rub—the cost. Where is the money to come from? The squire probably spends as much or more than his income already, and it might affect his station in the county to retrench. But hear Mr. Daniell on this point:—

"This leads to the main objection. No men are apt to stand in more need of ready cash themselves than those who, in these times, depend wholly on the land. It will be urged that the want of this sovereign medium of cure is (in many cases) a grievous preliminary objection. I am well aware that it is so. I see it feelingly. Nevertheless, the employment of the disheartened poor is the cheapest of all improvements, the least costly of all true luxuries. The mere posting expenses of a journey to Naples would clothe a hill with wood, or drain a valley; and, at the same time, would clothe the labourers also, and provide nutriment for them, as well as for the land. The men who are planting for me at present (I cite my humble example only because I am best acquainted with my own case) earn (those who are able-bodied) 2s. a-piece per day when digging holes by the thousand; and though they receive less for day-work when they put in the trees (which I do not make piece-work), yet, balancing the one against the other, their wages average at the very lowest 9s. a week for able-bodied and not able-bodied, allowing for stoppages from bad weather. Twenty

labourers at 10s. would be £10 per week (the rent of a good ready-furnished house, in an eligible part of London, for the same time), or, for thirteen of the worst weeks of the year, £130; which couriers, postillions, and postmasters would soon imbibe on the route to Naples or Vienna. There is not, of course, the least moral objection to that most enchanting of all luxuries, a well-planned and well-conducted tour; but I am setting one luxury against another—the most fascinating against the most useful and most permanent."

This goes to the root of the matter. The first step to agricultural improvement is, that landlords should realize to their own minds that "property has its duties as well as its rights." Neither are the returns for such outlays very distant. Mr. Daniell says:—

"Nor is it long before profit comes in to reward and aid expenditure. Trees planted not fifteen years ago, on land not worth more than 14s. per acre, now return me more than £3 per acre for the same in thinnings for poles and fuel."

Yet what paralyses those landlords who would undertake these things but our old enemy—the monster Monopoly, which meets and impedes all classes at every turn—the Corn Laws. He says:—

"The most deadly objection is the uncertainty which hangs over our agricultural horizon. With the hundred-handed and thousand-tongued League clamouring against us; with the possibility, perhaps the prospect, of a fixed duty, which would be un-fixed as soon as levied; with a sliding-scale fearfully remodelled, and which appears to have imparted to our Premier something of its own lubricity; barley unsold, and oats scarcely saleable—(iron railroads consume no provender of this sort); with light crops, and light sovereigns; he is undoubtedly a bold man who now breaks up land for tillage."

This is a mistake, for it is by breaking up land—properly and judiciously breaking it up, and farming it well afterwards—that the farmer and landlord can best provide against low prices. And it is by such means that landlords can alone unite all the classes connected with land.

"I have stated, what appears to me one present available resource for bettering the condition of the poor, by immediate employment;—of the farmers by diminution of the rates—(a triple-headed monster demanding to be fed continually for poor, church, and roads,—but of whose very existence some landlords seem to have only indistinct and hazy perceptions); and of the landowner by the improvement of his estate; binding all together by the golden links of mutual dependence and combined utility."

This is just what the squires are so fond of talking about, but to prevent which their acts and systems do so much. Now, this is a really useful letter, and proves, that as soon as the landowners are compelled to rely on their own resources instead of attempting to tax the public to keep up their rents, they will be benefited, not injured by the change.

MONOPOLIST TACTICS.

The following is the notice by which Lord Elcho, the Vice-Lieutenant of the county of Haddington, calls a county meeting.

"In compliance with the foregoing requisition, I hereby call a meeting of the noblemen, gentlemen, commissioners of supply, justices of the peace, tenant-farmers, and others, of the county of Haddington, who are favourable to the maintenance of the present Corn Laws, to be held in the Assembly-room, Haddington, upon Friday the 4th January current, at two o'clock afternoon, for the purpose therein mentioned."

Is it usual for a public officer to call a meeting of a party? To express a foregone conclusion? To pre-judge a question on which most extraordinary diversities of opinion exist? At all events, such a notice shows that the monopolists feel safe only in a packed meeting. Of course none but protectionists will go, and the determination of the meeting will not be that of the county of Haddington, but of a meeting of protectionists in that county. This is like the anonymous paper just circulated in the county of Hertford, which says:—

"It is proposed to establish an Agricultural Protection Society, composed of the tenant-farmers in the county of Hertford; the objects of which are to protect the British agriculturists against the present attack and threatened innovations of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and to oppose all measures that may be brought forward having a tendency to deprive the agriculturists of protection, to which they are justly entitled,"

and so forth. Now, this emanates from the agents of the Marquis of Salisbury, who has recently attained a somewhat unfavourable notoriety amongst the Hertfordshire farmers, and Lord Verulam, and has been carefully distributed amongst the safe men and dependent farmers only. All these protection societies, of which the monopolist press would make something for their clients, are mere failures. That of Essex, the most plausible, is a mere "bottle of smoke;" a correspondent says, "A friend of mine counted the assembly at Colchester, 186 in number, including fourteen reporters. The Morning Chronicle states that £300 were subscribed at the meeting. This, surely, is an error? Only two sums of £5 each were publicly announced at the meeting. The subscriptions, if published, would prove their landlord and clergy origin."

This is from an eyewitness. Some of the monopolist journals tell us that £1200 have been subscribed in Essex, but by whom? We dare the monopolists to publish the list? We doubt its existence to anything like the amount stated, and whenever the list of subscribers appears, it will be found to be chiefly composed of mortgaged landowners, clergymen, game-preservers, squires who know nothing of agriculture, and are mere rent-devourers, land-agents, the nameless brood of hangers-on of the squires, and political landlords and partisans.

Of the tolerance with which any difference of opinion was received, the reader may judge by the following extract from a letter published in the Ipswich Express:—

"I was exceedingly disgusted on Saturday last with the conduct of some who attended the Agricultural Protection Meeting at the Cape Hotel, Colchester, which, without any provocation whatever, grossly annoyed and insulted a very respectable member of the Society of Friends, who attended as a spectator. It would appear that, in their zeal for the support of their views, some individuals could not bear the sight of an opponent. Some interruption was created in the meeting, owing to the unmanly taunts with which a few noisy farmers endeavoured to annoy the party referred to; but it is much to his praise that he treated silently all their endeavours to excite him to an expression of his feelings, which was obviously their intention, in order that they might have a pretext for turning him out of the room. A tradesman of Colchester endeavoured to remonstrate with the noisy clique, but he was instantly met by vulgar abuse."

This is akin to the ruffianism of Mr. Chaplin at Lincoln; but such conduct invariably recoils on the ill-doers.

THE SQUIRES UNMASKED.

We have elsewhere shown that the "protection societies," formed and forming in various agricultural districts, are the result of landlord instigation, carried out by means of the creatures and agents of the landlords, and with an exclusive reference to landlord interests. The disguise of a tenant-farmers' movement has been best preserved in Essex; elsewhere the mask has slipped aside; while in East Suffolk it has been altogether cast away. At the meeting held at Framlingham by the "East Suffolk Protective Society," the speakers, the speeches and the resolutions, besides being eminently silly and childish, were entirely directed to uphold the landlord-interest in monopoly. The most notable persons were squires and clergymen, and a landed proprietor occupied the chair. To record all the rich things which were said and done at this meeting would exceed our limits, but we will cull a few of the most striking sayings. The Chairman, Mr. Moseley, seems to be a real monopolist—none of your half-and-half ministerial apologists for "protection;" he said:—

"They were all aware that at the last general election the majority expected by the friends of the present Government was twenty or thereabouts. By the exertions of the yeomanry, and of the agricultural interests generally, a majority of one hundred was secured. Yet, what was the result? In the very first session after the present Government were placed in power, Sir Robert Peel brought in his Corn Bill, which lessened the protection given to the agricultural interests;"

and more to the same effect. This seems more like bullying than backing their own selected Minister. Now, what the objects of the society are, the following passages from the chairman's speech will disclose. He said:—

"The first object the members of the East Suffolk Protective Society had in view in the present meeting was to contradict the assertion of the Anti-Corn-Law League, that the maintenance of the Corn Laws was only a matter of importance to the landowner and the owner of tilth. The meeting assembled at Framlingham that day demonstrated the contrary. Knowing the strength of the agricultural interests, their enemies were endeavouring to divide them, and to create jealousies between landlords, tenants, and labourers. They asserted that the Corn Laws were only for the benefit of the owners of land. It would, however, require but a very few words to show that they were for the benefit of all classes."

And how was this shown? Why, by the stale trick of assuming that Free Trade would throw land out of cultivation, whereas it would have exactly the contrary effect:—

"If land were thrown out of cultivation, the labourers now maintained by the cultivation of that land would be thrown out of employment."

But land would not be thrown out of cultivation, as is admitted by all farmers whose opinions are worth a straw; on the contrary, the certainty of moderate prices would direct the attention of all farmers to increase their produce, and in so doing they would employ more labourers than at present. Again he says:—

"The landlords would, it was true, be the last to suffer; but they would, eventually, be sure to lose. And if their rents were reduced one half, what, he begged to ask, would be the effect upon the blacksmiths, the carpenters, the wheelwrights, and the shopkeepers in the rural districts?"

This gentleman finds great virtue in an "if;" but there is no chance of free trade in corn reducing rents one-half, except where landlords shall persist in granting no leases, in preserving game, and harassing their tenants by restrictions on culture, by timber growing, political annoyance, and perpetual interference; and their mortgages will generally prevent them from making any such sacrifice to their prejudices. But why do the squires everywhere say we shall be the last to suffer, whereas, in truth, if suffering there is to be, they must be the first? Rent is the residue after expenses of cultivation and the farmer's profit have been repaid; and if a less receipt is obtained, the first parties who must take less are the landlords; and they know that well enough, and hence these recent Pro-Corn-Law moves. Then he goes on to say:—

"If rents and prices were thus reduced, how, he would ask, were the rates to be paid? How was the national debt to be sustained, and the interest of it paid?"

Rents again! Why, it is rent calculated on a scale of prices much higher than is actually obtained, which has kept up the rates. The funds, which should have been profitably expended in labour on the farm, have gone into the landlord's pocket, while the farmer has had besides to keep the labourers as paupers.

Next we have Lord Henniker, one of the monopolist members for the eastern division of the county:—

"He would tell the agriculturists present at that meeting, that it was the policy of the Anti-Corn-Law League to divide and command. They were desirous of persuading the tenant-farmers that the tenantry were cajoled by their landlords."

Did not the landlords, by law, promise their tenants, first 80s., then 70s., and next 56s. a quarter for wheat? and have the tenants ever obtained those prices for three years together? Yet, have not rents been estimated according to the act-of-parliament scale? Is not this landlord cajolery? Then, having indulged in some silliness about "Bashaws in the East" and an "eel in a tub," his lordship said:—

"He was anxious to impress this one consideration on their minds:—What would be their case if 20s. of protection were taken away from them?"

Do? why their 20s. of protection only afford Lord Henniker and his class an excuse to set rents at a scale of 56s. a quarter for wheat, while the actual average of last week was 49s. 10d.? Protection is at this moment entirely inoperative; in the actual state of our market, if the trade were free, no corn could now be profitably imported.

Lord Rendlesham, the other monopolist member, said:—

"The time had now arrived when the tenants, the clergy, the gentry, and all men who lived by agricultural pursuits, or who were in any way dependant upon agriculture, should combine," &c. &c.

But the gentry, simple-minded men, had no thought for themselves; they only moved for the instruction of tenants and labourers.

"Their (the Free Traders) object was to bring down the price of labour in this country to the level of the wages paid on the Continent."

And then he quoted some alleged calculations as to the rate of continental wages, and added:—

"Who then, he would ask, was the poor man's friend—the Anti-Corn League, who would reduce him to this condition, or the landowner, who claimed protection for agriculture in order that he might give a fair day's wages for a fair day's work?"

Does this lordling legislator know the first principle on

which the rate of wages depends? Does he suspect that it is only when employment is constant and profitable that the labourer will be well paid? And has it not been demonstrated again and again that the Corn Laws render employment irregular and profits precarious? Then, after bewildering himself amidst some columns of figures, he said:—

"At one time it was said by the Anti-Corn-Law League, that the repeal of the Corn Laws was to reduce the price of the poor man's bread; yet, at another time, they told the farmer that free trade would do him no harm, as bread could not be much lower in price than under the protective system. Then, why seek the repeal of a law that was inoperative? Why declare that the landlords had taxed bread?"

This is a willful perversion. The Free Traders say, and facts show, that when the crops of this country are not very abundant, the landlords tax the bread of the community, and drive it up to famine point; but when there is a full crop here, the Corn Laws, as regards the farmer, are inoperative, inasmuch as home competition has reduced prices as low as Free Trade would do. The Corn Laws are always robbing somebody, at one time it is the consumer; at another time, the farmer; but the landlord, protected by the law of distress, sits serene amidst national calamity, and either mocks the distress of the public, or groans hypocritically over the ruin which periodically overtakes so many of his victims—the farmers.

But the cream of the whole was the resolutions and the petition; and they strongly marked the landlord origin of the meeting.

Mr. Frewer, who called himself a farmer, moved:—

"1. That any further delay of resistance to the incessant and unprovoked attacks by the Anti-Corn-Law League on the landed interest, would be a dereliction of duty."

Mr. Sims, in moving the second resolution, used this unanswerable argument against a fixed duty; he said:—

"He was opposed to a fixed duty. He believed that it would be what it had been termed, though in a far different sense, by the Free Traders, a fixed injustice. If the price of corn were low, it would not be wanted; if high, it would not be maintained; and he declared that in his opinion, in such circumstances, it ought not to be maintained."

Now it seems not to have occurred to Mr. Sims or his hearers that the same decisive objection applies to the sliding scale, besides some others which are peculiarly its own. The second resolution was:—

"2. That our tacit reception of the declarations of the orators deputed by the League, namely, 'that the Corn Law is a question solely belonging to the proprietors of land and tithes, in which neither the tenant nor agricultural labourers are interested,' may induce the Government and Parliament to believe that the tenant and the labourers in agriculture admit the invidious declaration, which attributes the natural union between landlord, tenant, and labourer, and so weakens the landed interest, that it would be incompetent to oppose the wicked machinations of its enemies."

Now such a resolution could not have been framed by any one but a landowner or a titheowner. Why will farmers suffer themselves to be made catspaws, to propose such nonsensical twaddle?

Mr. Dykes, in proposing the third resolution, said:—

"Was it not unjust that the League should wish that corn alone should be cheap?"

But the League do not want to render corn cheap, they only want it to be left to find its natural price, that it should not be artificially enhanced for the benefit of the only unproductive class in the community, the owners of land. He proposed:—

"3. That it is the imperative duty of the tenantry, labourers, and tradesmen, who derive their chief support from the wealth of the soil, to unite with the proprietors of land and tithes, and to declare in petitions, &c. &c."

Here we have the voice of Jacob, the shrill cry of "land and tithes" again. Mr. Gross said:—

"How was it possible for the farmers of Suffolk to compete with the farmers of Poland?"

Seeing that the Suffolk farmers have good roads and markets, capital, implements of the best kind, intelligent labourers instead of unwilling serfs, and the best agricultural climate in the world, it does argue a somewhat undue share of humility in Mr. Gross and his fellow-monopolists, to imagine they cannot compete with the farmers of Poland. He moved:—

"4. That they are convinced that the ruin of the said proprietors would involve them in its vortex. That they will, therefore, cordially co-operate in the objects of this meeting, the expression of which will strengthen the arguments of our representatives in our support, and induce the Government more favourably to receive the petitions of this meeting."

Here we have the real object of the movement, namely, to act on the Government, exposed with infinite simplicity; and then the meeting was invited to subscribe.

Then we have the petition, a most choice morsel which says:—

"We submit to your consideration that at the last general election their exertions were needlessly employed in returning such representatives as would support the landed interest in your honourable House, and being successful, thereby added to the majority in favour of the present Government in the expectation of a just protection of their interests."

What will Sir Robert Peel and his adherent, Lord Heniker, think of that?

However they may have been disappointed in this by the alterations in the Corn Laws of 1828, and by the Tariff, they did not oppose them with that hostility which the apprehension of diminution of protection suggested; but submitted to the change to their disadvantage in the hope of concluding the violent asperity of the master manufacturers, in which they lament their total failure; indeed they are forced by those disappointing results to state, that concessions only add strength to the inimical projects for the complete ruin of all classes in agriculture; for it is admitted by both political economists and the Corn-Law Leaguers that the abrogation of that law would throw out of cultivation the inferior soils of this country; and this must deprive the husbandmen now employed upon them in proportion to their extent, which would create a surplus demand for work, and consequently reduce the wages of labourers in agriculture."

Now, nothing of this sort is admitted by the League, or by any economists we know except such crotchety persons as Colonel Torrens, whose absurdities have been so ably exposed and refuted by Mr. Senior in the "Edinburgh Review." There is a long declamatory conclusion, but it is so innocent of meaning that we do not think it worth reprinting. We have thus fully examined the Suffolk meeting, because it discloses, with less disguise than most others, the landlord-machinery by which these "Protection Societies" are worked. Can the squire really imagine any one, or any class besides themselves, will be duped by such demonstrations? The ostrich hiding its head in a bush is a model of provident discretion compared with the squirearchy, who hope in this eleventh hour

to avert the fate of Monopoly by any thing so false, so hollow, and so feeble as the recent Pro-Corn-Law demonstrations.

FARMERS, BEHOLD YOUR "FRIENDS!"

The following passages are from an agricultural journal, and from an article in that journal expressly intended to urge the farmers to become active participants in the landlords' notable scheme of getting up the steam in favour of the Corn Laws:—

"Alas! for the farmer! high and low, rich and poor, are set at him. Ministers of state squeeze him because he is simple and solitary, and only speaks through his landlord. Landlords squeeze him, because if he do not consent to pay them the rent they demand, there are plenty more who will. Labourers are set against him, because, being squeezed by both, he cannot pay for their labour as much as he would wish."—*Mark-lane Express*.

And again:—

"His landlord, who, without him, would be nothing (how many landlords per thousand, are there, who would rise early and go to bed late, after a whole day of toil, in cultivating their vast estates as he cultivates them?)—his landlord, we say, takes advantage of being a party in making those laws to double or treble his rents, knowing that he must pay whatever is charged because he cannot help himself."—*Mark-lane Express*.

Though these truths are now put forth by the employees of the landowners as the means of stimulating the farmers to political agitation in aid of monopoly, they will outlive the occasion. The landlords were trusted by the farmers in 1841, and the farming-class universally believing they betrayed their trust, to ask the farmers again to move under landlord leadership is obviously hopeless; and the scheme of getting up a Pro-Corn-law movement, in which the farmers should seem to act for themselves, has been attempted instead. But the naked avowal of objects and motives—rents, mortgages, marriage settlements—which arouse the majority of landowners, will not attract the farmers; and it, therefore, becomes necessary for the agents and organs of the squire to season their fallacies and exaggerations with some spice of truth. Hence such statements as those we have extracted from the *Mark-lane Express* are slipped into monopolist articles or speeches, and are attempted to be connected with the delusive views the landlords desire to promulgate. Let the farmers remember the admission of these truths, and a little reflection and observation must quickly show them that the truths will remain after the unsubstantial delusions, in which for immediate objects they have been set, shall have been dissipated into thin air. It is no small part of the benefit of the meetings by which the landlords are now compelled to put a pressure upon their own Ministry, that the farmers will learn a lesson of self-reliance. They are now invited, for the first time, into the councils of the landowners; they are asked, by reference to their own supposed interest in the Corn Laws, to come to the rescue of a failing and a bankrupt monopoly.

HINTS FOR AGRICULTURISTS.

COMPETITION FOR LAND.—It is a matter of common remark that the ordinary, every-day transactions of men of business form a better test of the real effect of changes, past or contemplated, in the laws which affect their business than the loud assertions of political partisans. Take, for instance, the following paragraph:—

"The customary period for letting farms in the county of Northumberland is at hand, and it has been remarked that competition for occupying and working land was never more active than at present."—*Provincial paper*.

Now, the fact here recorded shows that, in Northumberland at all events, the absolute certainty that the Corn Laws will be repealed within a very short time does not diminish the "competition for working and occupying land," and the same thing is observable in other districts.

DESTITUTION OF THE PEASANTRY.—The following letter from a correspondent draws attention to a passage from the Agricultural Society's Journal, which discloses the actual state of the Wiltshire labourers in husbandry. In fact, the condition of the labourers of England forms a standing indictment against the Corn Laws and those landowners who support them.

"To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

"SIR,—Enclosed you will find an account of the condition of the Wiltshire labourers, from a source at which even Mr. Banks can hardly cavil, viz., a letter to Mr. Pusey, published by him in the 'Journal of the Agricultural Society,' vol. iv., part 1.

"The poverty of the labourer, arising from a bad system of farming, is lamentable to contemplate; they only who have been masters of well-paid labourers, as well as of men who only receive the miserable pittance of 7s. or 8s. per week, can fully appreciate the advantages to be derived by making work as plentiful here as in other parts of the kingdom. The injuriousness of a system that creates so little labour is most apparent by a comparison of the different states of the labourer in the north and the south of England. In every respect the Wiltshire labourer has the disadvantage: most of his necessary wants are dearer; land is generally let to him at a higher rate than to the farmer; his house often comfortable and confined, even to decency; his wages barely sufficient to find his family with food."—By Mr. Walkden, Salisbury-plain, near Devizes.—*Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, part 1, vol. iv.

"Here we see the real opinion of the agriculturists themselves (in their unguarded moments) respecting the labourers' share in the blessings of the sliding-scale!" "H. W."

ANTI-CORN-LAW LECTURE.—On Monday evening last a second lecture, on the evils of the Corn Laws, was delivered in the Temperance Hall by Mr. Falvey.

NEWCASTLE.—The Newcastle Anti-Corn-Law Society will either hold a public meeting in the theatre, or a *soirée* in the Music-hall, on the occasion of Mr. Cobden's visit. The committee have requested Mr. Harle's permission to present a copy of his "letter" to each of the freemen in Newcastle.

THE CORN LAWS.—On Monday evening, the Young Men's Free-Trade Association, Gateshead, met at Mr. Rickaby's, when it was resolved, that at each meeting essays be read and addresses made on the principles of Free Trade. W. Kell, Esq., was elected president, and Mr. John Robson and Mr. John Fawcett vice-presidents, for the ensuing year.

FREE TRADE.—THE CORN LAWS.—Thursday evening the 11th inst., Mr. Falvey delivered, in the Temperance Hall, the first of two lectures on the Corn Laws, and other restrictive laws, passed by the class legislators of this country for their presumed benefit, under the specious plea of "protecting native industry." The hall was about two thirds filled by an attentive and orderly audience, consisting almost entirely of working men.—*Bolton Free Press*.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We had prepared upwards of two columns of replies to our correspondents this week, but must postpone their insertion from a very heavy press of other matter of more immediate interest.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadaby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

LEAGUE MEETING.—THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN.—THE FIRST MEETING for the present year of the NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE, will be held in the THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN, on THURSDAY EVENING NEXT, the 26th inst. The meeting will be addressed by T. M. Gibson, Esq., M.P.; the Hon. Edward Bouverie; the Rev. John Bunney, of Camberwell; and W. J. Fox, Esq. GEORGE WILSON, Esq., will take the Chair precisely at Seven o'clock. Cards of admission to the stage and boxes may be had on application after Monday next, at the Central Office of the League, No. 67, Fleet-street. The Cards of Registered Members of the League will, as heretofore, admit to the Pit and Galleries of the Theatre.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, January 20, 1844.

AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTES.

The formation of clubs and societies, in which farmers will have opportunities of discussing their real interests, affords good reasons for congratulation to the friends of Free Trade. Hitherto the agriculturists have been contented to let others think for them, to take their opinions ready-made from the squire, the parson, or the land-agent, and hence they have been led to clamour for laws which, under the name of protection, condemned them to servitude. Mutual discussion, an examination of each farmer's condition, and a comparison of his position with that of tenant-farmers in other parts of England and on the Continent, will soon lead the agriculturists of the south to discover the real evils against which they require protection, and the grievances which ought to be redressed. We regard these societies as a kind of agricultural institutes likely to be of as much value to the farmers as mechanics' institutes have been to the operatives; they will soon have lectures on natural history, comparing the national value of a pheasantry and a peasantry—teachers of botany, who will estimate the service rendered to corn-fields by hares and rabbits—arithmetical instructors, who will calculate what share of the farmer's produce goes to pay rent and tithe, and who will compare the proportion with that paid by his forefathers—and historians, who will show that property in land was a social institution, framed for securing the defence of the country, and that not only has property duties as well as rights, but that the duties are more imperative than the rights.

The necessity of these institutions is abundantly proved by the gross ignorance manifested at the meetings for forming these associations. Refuted fallacies have been gravely repeated, and have been heard without shouts of laughter. Misrepresentations so coarse and palpable, that one wonders at the power of face possessed by the utterer, have been vented by men of title and nominal education; and clergymen have descended from the pulpit to show, by their actions, that they believe in the repeal of the ninth commandment. But we are consoled for this melancholy exhibition of the low state of intelligence in the country by seeing that the farmers have begun, many ways, to think and consult for themselves. When once movement has been given to the stagnant waters, their future progress may be considered a matter of certainty. In the first instance, to be sure, many impurities will be thrown to the surface, and "slimy things that crawl with legs" will croak, and hiss, and dart venom; but, as the mass moves onward, it will leave its pollutions behind in the mud, and, by mere progression, clarify itself into a limpid stream.

That these associations should in the first instance assail the League, neither surprises nor annoys us. Men for the first time trying the experiment of thinking for themselves are like patients who have just been couched—the first glimmerings of light they obtain mislead rather than direct them. But the term of probation will soon be passed. Like the fabled islanders on whose shores a cargo of mirrors had been cast, and who,

"By means of looking-glasses, soon became a most reflecting nation,"

the farmers will soon become accustomed to the process of thinking, and will soon discover the proper objects on which to exercise their awakened faculties.

So far from regarding these associations with jealousy, we are eager to extend to them the right hand of fellowship. If they send us reports of their proceedings, we shall gladly publish them in the LEAGUE, accompanied by such comments as will accelerate the progress of agricultural enlightenment. We are ready to supply to their secretaries

explanations of all that perplexes, and refutations of all that misleads, the farmers. We are anxious to deliver them from the mental thralldom which is the great source of their political bondage.

Their lies before us an advertisement of an estate to be sold within nine miles of Cambridge, and we find the tenants enumerated as part of the live stock, with just such an attestation to their character as the planters of South Carolina give when announcing the sale of slaves. Here are the very words:—

"Seventy-two acres of highly productive arable land, second to none of the gardening ground in the most esteemed districts of Bedfordshire, highly recommending itself to the market gardener, who could, with great facility, command three important markets, at neither of which has the supply of garden produce been hitherto equal to the demand; also an excellent farmhouse and homestead, several cottages, orchards, and gardens, inhabited by a people most respectful to their superiors, most grateful, most obedient."

Independent thinking is what the farmers sadly want, and we are heartily glad that they have discovered this truth for themselves. We will venture to predict that the new associations will find but little favour with landlords of the Buckingham and Newcastle school. "Cannot I do what I like with my own?" is a question too likely to receive a rough answer from an instructed agriculturist for its propounder to encourage any process of self-education among the farmers. We, therefore, in all sincerity, offer to the new associations all the aid which the LEAGUE can afford; and we shall pay every attention to the communications which, we hope, will be forwarded to us by their secretaries.

REVIEW.

A System of Logic. By J. S. MILL, Esq. London. Parker.

Whately, Whewell, and Mill are unquestionably the three most eminent cultivators of mental and moral philosophy in the present generation. Archbishop Whately revived the study of logic at a period when reasoning had ceased to be regarded as an art worthy of cultivation, and when all through our literature declamation was fast usurping the place of argument, and amplified assertion was commonly mistaken for continuous proof: the publication of his treatise on logic forms an era in literary history; his unequalled powers of illustration enabled him to give vigour and vitality to its dry scholastic forms—the skeletons became clothed with flesh, the lifeless abstractions were endowed with animation. He showed that logic, instead of being an exercise of the schools, entered largely into the business of public and private life, and he pointed out the source of multitudinous practical errors in the fallacious reasoning by which men imposed not only on others but themselves. Passing from pure logic, or the reasoning on certainties to the more general reasoning on probabilities, the archbishop in that work, to which we wish he had given a more appropriate name—his Rhetoric—entered fully into the consideration of the causes that induce assent to probable evidence, and thus completed the system of logic so far as it is applicable to life and business.

Professor Whewell, whose range of scientific examination is probably unequalled by any living philosopher, directed his attention to the evidence for the truths of the experimental and inductive sciences, a subject which had been all but wholly neglected since the days of Lord Bacon. Over the entire circle of experimental science he shed a light which pointed out the paths for investigation, and cleared away "the shadows, mists, and darkness" which rest upon "the wide unbounded prospect" of unexplored physical truths.

Mr. Mill has struck out for himself a new line of usefulness; without quite neglecting the practical applications of logic as an art, his main object is to establish what are its principles as a science, to fix the immutable laws by which the mind estimates truth, and to show the modifications which these laws receive in their several relations to the abstract and the concrete. Equally eminent as a metaphysician and a moralist, Mr. Mill everywhere manifests an intense love of truth, and his admirable analysis of the human faculties is rendered subservient to the high and holy purpose for which man was endowed with such faculties by his Creator, the acquisition of truth, and the rejection of error. While, as a philosopher, Mr. Mill has won for himself a place beside Locke and Bacon, as a moralist he is superior to both, for he has successfully shown that the principles of ethical science may be based on the most rigid rules of reason.

In a popular newspaper like the LEAGUE, it would be out of place to enter into a scientific discussion of a work, every page of which might easily be developed into a volume; but we may be permitted to say, that none are more concerned in the diffusion of correct principles of reasoning than the friends of Free Trade. The whole occupation of the League, from its first formation, has been the exposure of fallacies; and that we have been tolerably successful, is pretty evident from our adversaries being compelled to have recourse to direct

falsehoods: when "abuse of words" fails, recourse is always had to "words of abuse."

It is of importance that we should bear constantly in mind, that every thing which promotes general intelligence, facilitates the discovery of truth, helps the detection of error, and tends to develop high moral principle, directly advances the cause of Free Trade. In all these various ways Mr. Mill has rendered special service to us, while he has conferred important advantages on the general community; and we therefore earnestly recommend his work to our readers.

The Child's Picture and Verse Book, commonly called "Otto Speckter's Fable Book." Translated by Mary Howitt. London: Longman and Co.

We regret that this beautiful little work did not appear before Christmas, for we should have earnestly recommended it as one of the best gift-books that has appeared for many a long day. Splendidly bound, illustrated with more than one hundred wood engravings, and printed in the first style of typography, the book has few rivals in external attractions; but these are the smaller part of its merits. Mary Howitt has versified the fables with a poetic vigour, united to a moral purity, which is calculated to implant good principle and cultivate sound taste. French and German versions are given on the pages corresponding with the English fables, and thus, in addition to its other merits, the work will be a valuable help in the domestic teaching of foreign languages.

We are reminded by this work of another less-worthy publication, with which the name of Otto Speckter is connected: we allude to "Puss in Boots," just published by Mr. Murray, which is very creditable in its outward appearance, and utterly discreditable in everything else. The very worst and most vulgar version of the old nursery tale is reprinted without any notice of the interesting variations with which the story is told in different countries; the Neapolitan form of the story adds a conclusion which admirably "points the moral and adorns the tale;" but to get these variations Mr. Murray must have employed a competent editor, and this the worthy publisher did not think necessary. The descriptions appended to the plates are written in a loose slipshod style, which renders the book unfit for the young, unless we wish to render them familiar with bad English.

The lithographs which form the chief attraction of the volume are copied from Otto Speckter's plates, but we are not told whether the consent of the original proprietors was obtained to this proceeding. Now, Mr. Murray has been one of the loudest declaimers against the interference of foreign publishers with English copyright, and we therefore feel some curiosity to learn whether Mr. Murray has or has not been guilty of the legalized piracy which he has made himself not a little conspicuous in denouncing?

KNARESBOROUGH.—The agents of the Anti-Corn-Law League were actively employed on Wednesday last in this town, it being market day, in distributing the address of that body to the electors for the West Riding, who attend that market.—*Leeds Mercury*.

THE FUNDS.

| | Mon. Jan. 12 | Tues. Jan. 13 | Wed. Jan. 14 | Thurs. Jan. 15 | Fri. Jan. 16 | Sat. Jan. 17 |
|--------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Bank Stock..... | 187 | 187 | 188 | 189 | 189 | 191 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Cons. Ann. | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| 3 1/2 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| 3 1/2 per Ct. Cons. Ann. | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| Long An. Ex. 1850 | 12 11-16 | 12 11-16 | 12 11-16 | 12 11-16 | 12 11-16 | 11 1/2 |
| Cons. for Acc. | 96 1/2 | 96 1/2 | 96 1/2 | 96 1/2 | 96 1/2 | 97 |
| Exc. Bills, £1000 | 66 7 pm. | 67 pm. | 67 pm. | 67 pm. | 67 pm. | 67 pm. |
| India Bonds..... | 274 | 274 | 274 | 274 | 274 | 275 |
| Belgian 5 per Ct. | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 |
| Brazilian 5 per Ct. | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 |
| Chilian..... | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 | 102 |
| Colomb. ex. Venes. | 11 1/2 | 11 1/2 | 11 1/2 | 11 1/2 | 11 1/2 | 11 1/2 |
| Danish..... | 87 | 87 | 87 | 87 | 87 | 87 |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 |
| Dutch 2 1/2 per Ct. | 84 1/2 | 84 1/2 | 84 1/2 | 84 1/2 | 84 1/2 | 84 1/2 |
| Mexican, 1837 .. | 32 1/2 | 32 1/2 | 32 1/2 | 32 1/2 | 32 1/2 | 32 1/2 |
| Portuguese, conv. | 42 1/2 | 42 1/2 | 42 1/2 | 42 1/2 | 42 1/2 | 42 1/2 |
| Russian 5 per Ct. | 31 | 31 | 30 1/2 | 30 1/2 | 30 1/2 | 30 1/2 |
| Austrian..... | — | — | — | — | — | 113 1/2 |
| Peruvian..... | — | 22 1/2 | 22 1/2 | 22 1/2 | 22 1/2 | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, Jan. 15.—There was a short supply of English Wheat at market this morning, and the condition of it being rather improved, an advance of 1s. was readily obtained for the best qualities; other descriptions were held firmly for a similar advance, but they were taken off slowly, and the stands were not cleared at the close of the market. The best qualities of free Foreign were held at higher rates; but for this considerable business would have been done; as it was the transactions were not extensive. The supply of Barley was large, and prices were 1s. lower than last week. There was no alteration in the value of Beans and Peas. Notwithstanding a good supply of Oats from Ireland, and a fair show of Scotch and English, an improvement of 6d. per qr. was obtained on all descriptions from this day week.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|--------------|--------|---------|--------|--------|-------|
| English..... | 44 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 12 1/2 | 9 1/2 |
| Scotch..... | — | 36 1/2 | 10 1/2 | — | — |
| Irish..... | 12 | 18 1/2 | 27 1/2 | — | — |
| Foreign..... | 14 1/2 | 37 1/2 | 24 | — | 4 1/2 |

Flour, 4870 sacks, 1509 bls. Malt, 6607 qrs.

| Currency per imperial measure. | | Peas, Grey | |
|--------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| Wheat, English, White | 48s to 60s | Maple..... | 30s to 32s |
| New..... | 48s to 60s | Malt, Pale Suffolk and | 32s to 34s |
| Do. do., Old 60s to 64s | | Norfolk..... | 34s to 36s |
| Do. Red, New 42s to 44s | | Oatmeal..... | 34s to 36s |
| Do. do., Old 50s to 52s | | Do. Short..... | 31s to 33s |
| Dantzic..... | 57s to 63s | Do. Scotch..... | 31s to 33s |
| Stettin..... | 50s to 57s | Do. Potatoes..... | 22s to 24s |
| Barley, Malt..... | 32s to 34s | Do. Short..... | 17s to 18s |
| Distilling..... | 30s to 32s | Do. do., New 19s to 21s | |
| Grinding..... | 26s to 30s | Do. Black..... | 17s to 18s |
| Beans, Tick, New 26s to 28s | | Do. Galway..... | 16s to 17s |
| Do., Old..... | 23s to 30s | Flour, town made and | |
| Harrow, New 28s to 30s | | best country marks 45s to 60s | |
| Do., Old..... | 30s to 32s | Norfolk and Suff. | |
| Pigeons, New 29s to 31s | | folk..... | 40s to 42s |
| Do., Old..... | 28s to 30s | | |
| Peas, White..... | 31s to 32s | | |
| Do., Bolders..... | 34s to 36s | | |

MARK-LANE, Friday, Jan. 19.—There is very little English Wheat fresh up since Monday; it meets a ready sale at the prices of that day. The demand for Foreign is also, but Monday's prices are well supported. There is a good supply of English and Foreign Barley; the best qualities maintain Monday's rates, other descriptions are scarcely so good sale. The supply of Irish Oats is very moderate; a few English and Scotch vessels have arrived during the week. The trade is not brisk, but Monday's rates are fully supported, and in some instances a trifling advance has been obtained. No alteration in Beans and Peas.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

Account of Corn, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 13th to the 19th of Jan., both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|-------------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat..... | 3240 | — | 3280 |
| Barley..... | 6500 | 620 | 3070 |
| Oats..... | 5730 | 3030 | 800 |

Flour 4870 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT of the NUMBER of QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE of CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED JANUARY 19, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Qrs. Aver. | Qrs. Aver. | Qrs. Aver. | Qrs. Aver. |
| | sold. price | sold. price | sold. price | sold. price |
| Weekly Averages..... | 101,759 50 | 9,121,612 | 53 0 47,080 | 18 9 0009 |
| Aggregate Averages..... | 50 5 | 32 3 | 18 7 | 30 7 |
| Duty..... | 20 0 | 6 0 | 8 0 | 10 6 |

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Jan. 19, 1844.

| | Qrs. | Price. | Qrs. | Price. |
|-------------|-------|-----------|------------|----------------|
| Wheat..... | 4193 | 51s. 10d. | Rye..... | 1849 28s. 7d. |
| Barley..... | 7463 | 30s. 1d. | Beans..... | 1026 30s. 10d. |
| Oats..... | 21753 | 19s. 11d. | Peas..... | — |

FOREIGN PROVISION TRADE.

At public sale yesterday, by Messrs. Keeling and Hunt, 35 tierces Labrador salmon sold at 63s per tierce, duty paid—about 24d. per lb.; 50 boxes cheese, ex Victoria, a New York, sold at 48s. per cwt., duty paid; 50 ditto, ex Prince Albert, from the same port, realized 53s. to 54s., being the finest yet imported; 50 ditto, ex Hendrik Hudson, a New York, sold at 44s to 45s.; 30 kegs ox tongues, ex Gladstone, a New York, sold by the keg, in bond, at 20s. to 21s.—these prices are about equal to 2s. 2d. each tongue, duty paid; 20 half-barrels sausages, ex Wellington, a New York, sold at 10d. per lb., duty paid; 100 dried American hams, ex Mediator, a New York, sold at 38s. per cwt. in bond; 50 half barrels fine family beef, ex Prince Albert, a New York, went at 35s. to 36s. 6d. in bond, each barrel contained 100lbs.; 5 cwt. American smoked beef sold at 35s. to 36s. 6d. per cwt. duty paid; 30 tierces prime mess beef, ex Toronto, a New York, all sold at 74s. in bond, the tierces contained 304lbs.; 25 barrels prime mess pork, ex Empress, a New York, went at 45s. per barrel of 200lbs. in bond; 9 tierces pork middles sold at 24s. per cwt. in bond; 30 kegs lard, ex Hendrik Hudson, a New York, sold at 37s. 6d. per cwt., duty paid—in selling this parcel, the broker stated that the candle tins burning on the table was made from the stearine extracted from hogs' lard, and that parcels of such candles were expected in this country, and could be sold on terms to compete with the best English make; 25 tierces of prime mess beef, ex Lady Seaton, a Montreal, sold at 74s. in bond—tierces contained 304 lbs. each; 30 tierces beef, ex Ellen, a Port Phillip, found no offer; 30 casks mess beef, ex Barrys, a Cape of Good Hope, was in the same predicament. The goods thus sold presented a marked improvement in their saleable quality, and an Irish curer in the room informed us that the staple of the American provisions, as well as of the refused colonial beef, was as good as possible, but that inferior salt and too much saltpetre had been used in curing.—*Commercial Daily List*.

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 16.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

J. KIDD, Kendal, Westmorland, grocer.

J. and F. HARWOOD, Fenchurch-street, City, stationers.

BANKRUPTS.

J. PIGGOTT, jun., Richmond, Surrey, cabinet maker. [Brown and Co., Commercial-chambers, Mining lane.

M. J. DYKE, Romsey, Hants, innkeeper. [Curtis, Romsey; Bower and Co., Chancery-lane.

W. BROMLEY, Gray's-inn-square, Gray's-inn, scrivener. [Wilde, Rees, and Co., College-hill.

C. S. Sweeney, Albion-place, Hyde Park-square, apothecary. [Mawc, New Bridge-street.

H. BLEBINGER and J. BLEBINGER, Cataton-street, City, warehousemen. [Sperry, Broad-street-buildings, City.

E. HOUBON, Thrapston, Northamptonshire, linen draper. [Sole, Aldermanbury.

W. BAKER, Lower Grosvenor-street, Bond-street, surgeon. [Lloyd, Great James-street, Bedford-row.

J. C. KNILL, Gloucester, tailor. [Smallbridge, Gloucester.

G. PHILLIPS, Leicester, innkeeper. [Henderson, Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields.

DIVIDENDS.

Feb. 8. T. Creeke, Cambridge, tailor—Feb. 6. J. Marshall, Birch-lane, merchant—Feb. 6. J. W. Uyer, Colchester, plumber—Feb. 7. A. W. and T. S. Lowman, Eastleap, chiselmongers—Feb. 7. T. H. Jackson, Sheffield, glass cutter—Feb. 13. T. W. Wilson, Barnsley, Yorkshire, linen manufacturer—Feb. 12. W. Sheppard, Iron Acton, Gloucestershire, miller—Feb. 8. C. Pearrell, Anderton, Cheshire, boiler maker—Feb. 8. W. H. and T. B. Turner, Blackburn, cotton spinners—Feb. 9. W. Smithson, Thirsk, Yorkshire, linen and woollen draper—Feb. 9. M. Willock, Huddersfield, merchant—Feb. 9. T. Johnson, Liverpool, printer—Feb. 8. G. Brinsmead, Bideford, Devonshire, retailer of flour.

CERTIFICATES.

Feb. 8. J. R. Spencer, Halstead, Essex, tanner—Feb. 13. C. Leaf, Wood-street, Cheapside, warehouseman—Feb. 8. T. Wright, Blackmore-street, chiselmonger—Feb. 6. R. Hale, Margate, bookseller—Feb. 7. R. T. Millbank, Burwood-place, Rdgware-road, apothecary—Feb. 6. T. Martin, Pavement, Moorfields, victualler—Feb. 7. J. Mallett, Hadley, miller—Feb. 6. G. Z. White, Southampton, stone mason.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

A. MACKAY, Musselburgh, merchant—J. CAIRNS, Kippen-

davis, Perthshire, farmer—W. BROWN, Troon, merchant—C. BLAIR, Alloa, maltster.

FRIDAY, JAN. 19.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.
J. HOWE, table knife manufacturer, Sheffield.

BANKRUPT.
J. REAVELEY, paper commission agent, Hammond's-wharf, Queenhithe, [Cooper, Old Cavendish-street, W. BEARUP, builder, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. [Lambert, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
W. LEWIS, jun., baker, Axbridge, Somersetshire. [Robins and Co., Wells, Somersetshire.
T. BENTLEY, calico printer, Eccleston, Lancashire. [Alcock and Dixon, Burnley; Bennett, Manchester.

PRICE OF SUGAR.

The Average Price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar for the Week ending Jan. 16, 1844, is 35s. 2d. per cwt., exclusive of the Duties of Customs paid or payable thereon on the Importation thereof into Great Britain.

Just published.
BRITISH AND FOREIGN REVIEW, No. XXXII.

- Contents:—
1. Criticism and Criticism in France.
2. Dr. Arnold's Lectures.—The Church and State.
3. The Musical Antiquarian Society.
4. The Principles of Taxation applied.
5. Secret Diplomacy of Louis XIV.
6. The Oxford Controversy.—Anglo-Catholicism.
7. The Oregon Territory.
8. Laing's Notes of a Traveller.
9. Ireland.—Repeal of the Union.
10. Note on the Law of Debtor and Creditor.
11. Postscript on the Oregon Territory Question.—The Prel. Davis's Message.

London: R. and J. H. Taylor, Red Lion-court, Fleet street.

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Three Premiums will be given with the 4th, 8th, and 12th Parts.—(See Prospectus.)

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London: Published by Brain and Payne, 12, Paternoster-row; and to be had of the following Agents, and of all Booksellers:—Wrightson and Webb, Birmingham; G. and J. Smythe, Liverpool; Galt and Anderson, Manchester; Blincoe and Sims, Leeds; John Kennedy, Edinburgh; David Bryce, Glasgow; Henry Davies, Cheltenham; K. Nettleton, Plymouth; Wreart and Co., Exeter; Oldland, Bristol; Blinn and Goodwin, Bath; J. Tyler, Brighton; Cussons, Hull; Hargreaves, York; Bruce and Co., Newcastle-upon-Tyne; E. Simmonds, Farnham; Bradford and Co., Cork; H. Green, Belfast.

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THE PAPAL AND HIERARCHICAL SYSTEM
compared with the RELIGION of the NEW TESTAMENT.
A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so, and what will ye do in the end thereof?—Jer. v. 30, 31.
So clear and scriptural are the views put forth, and so truly Protestant, that the Author in writing and publishing the work has conferred an incalculable benefit, and at a most seasonable time, upon the Christian church.—Evangelical Magazine, Aug., 1843.
"A reasonable and able discussion of a subject which will, ere long, command the rapid attention of the civilized world."—Nonconformist, Sept., 1843.
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London: Charles Gilpin, 8, Bishopgate Without.

WORTHY OF REMARK.—The fact that many of the principal Hospitals in the kingdom—among which it is sufficient to name Guy's, St. George's, and the Westminster, in the metropolis, and the Manchester, Bristol, and Brighton Infirmarys—have adopted HETTER'S PATENT BRANDY, in preference to Foreign, affords a sufficient guarantee to the consumers of Brandy of the extreme purity of the article; the connoisseur being, at the same time, baffled in his attempt to distinguish between its flavour and that of fine Cognac.—Price, pale or coloured, in quantities not less than Two Gallons, Eighteen Shillings per Gallon, at the Distillery, No. 7, Smithfield-bars, leading to St. John-street.

A BRONZE SCROLL FENDER for 15s.—RIPON and BURTON are now offering the most extensive assortment of FENDERS in London, embracing every possible variety, at prices 20 per cent. under any other house. Iron fenders, 3 feet long, from 4s. 6d.; 2 feet 6 in. 3d.; 4 feet, 6s.; ditto bronzed, 3 feet, from 6s.; 3 feet 6 in., 7s.; 4 feet, 8s.; rich scroll fenders bronzed, from 10s.; or with steel rod and moulding, from 12s.; polished steel and ornate mounted fenders at proportionate prices. Fire-irons for chambers, 1s. 9d. per set; ditto steel ditto from 1s. 6d.; handsome ditto, with cut heads, 6s. 6d.; newest patterns, with elegant bronzed heads, 11s. 6d.—Detailed catalogues, with engravings, sent (per post) free.

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THE PATENT CHUNK and VESTA STOVES are the only ones recommended by the faculty for the bedrooms of invalids, and other places where a genial warmth is requisite. They are without doors, from which, in Arnold's (whether improved or not) and all others, the impure gases escape; consequently, the evils attendant upon such escapes, as headache, dizziness, &c., as well as fatal explosions, cannot occur in the use of them. These stoves having stood the test of five years, during which time upwards of five thousand have been fixed in churches, schools, halls, forcing pits, nurseries, &c., they are most confidently offered to the public. They have been found to combine, in an extraordinary degree, great simplicity of use and certainty of action, with perfect safety, at an almost incredible small cost for fuel (coke or clinders).—Chunk, 60s. each; Vesta, 80s. each.

THE PYRION STOVE (also a patent) has most of the advantages of the Chunk and Vesta, with the extremely novel one of showing the fire (as in a register stove) in one moment; it is eminently a ventilating stove, and will be found invaluable where any prejudice exists against a close stove: price 60s. Full particulars, with engravings and testimonials, post free.

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| | Middle | Threaded | VICTORIA |
|--|----------|----------|----------|
| Table Spoons and Forks, full size, per dozen | 12s. 0d. | 27s. 0d. | 30s. 0d. |
| Desert ditto and ditto, ditto | 10s. 0d. | 21s. 0d. | 25s. 0d. |
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Manufactured by D. DUNN, Fentonville, London, Manufacturer of Chocolate Powder, Essence of Ginger, and other Spices, Herbs, &c.
Sold in Bottles from 1s. to 4s. each, and may be ordered of any respectable Grocer in the United Kingdom.
Directions.—Put about a teaspoonful of the Essence into a coffee-cup, add sugar and cream or milk, then fill it up with boiling water, and a cup of Coffee, of superior flavour, is instantly made.

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6th. A quarter of a pound will go as far as three quarters of a pound of the best Gunpowder Tea.
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"Since the use of this infusion the disease has entirely disappeared. I sleep soundly often for six, seven, and eight hours together, and am in better health than I have been for many years—and others, to whom I have recommended it, have experienced the same beneficial results."
"You are at liberty to use this testimonial, which I am ready to confirm in person any day you think proper."
"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,"
"G. TANGREDIN."

"Sir,—The Beverage sold by you under the name of Mr. Evans's Plant I have drunk for some time, it was first recommended to my notice as a Salubrious Beverage by a friend who is a great dyspeptic, and I have since recommended it to several patients suffering from Chronic affections of the Digestive Organs, Heart and Lungs, with manifest advantage."
"July 1, 1843." "And am, Sir, yours, &c."
"To Mr. Wm. Evans." "JOHN BARRETT, M.D., 50, Edgware-road."
Numerous testimonials from Physicians, and others of undoubted authority, may be seen at Mr. Evans's office. The Plant is patronized by many of the great families in the land.

The amount in economy derived from the use of Mr. Evans's Plant compared with Tea, is as follows. Suppose a family using one pound of Tea per week, worth 4s. per lb., substitute Mr. Evans's plant at 8s. 6d. per lb., which requires but one-third the quantity to make the infusion of equal strength, the saving would be, per week, 3s. 10d. and the cost to the family 14d., instead of 4s.; for one third of a pound of Mr. Evans's Plant will go as far as one pound of Tea.
Families supplied with Six pounds for 21s., sent to any part of England postage free, by remitting a Post-office order.
Sold at Mr. Evans's Pigua Plant Depot, No. 1, Savoy-street, Strand, London, in quarter pound tins, at 3s. 6d. per lb.; also by Mr. Gadaby, Newall's-buildings, Market-street, Manchester.
It greatly improves the Voice; it is recommended to Singers and Public Speakers. One Agent wanted in each town where there is none; any respectable trade approved.

MIDDLESEX REFORM REGISTRATION OFFICE, 11, Beaufort-buildings, Strand.—The REGISTER for the County of Middlesex being now published, Free-Trade Electors are so called to INSPECT it to ascertain if their names, addresses, and qualifications are correctly inserted; and to give information of any amendment whose name is on the previous and present year's Register or who may have parted with the qualification he claimed for (the new Act of Parliament disqualifying such persons from voting). The result of the last revision has been highly satisfactory, having reduced the Register to 643. As renewed exertions are expected and required during the ensuing year, liberal subscriptions are cordially looked for to carry out the undertaking.—Subscriptions received by Mr. W. H. James, at the Office; and at the bankers, Messrs. Cocks, Biddulph and Co., Charing-cross.

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The patent CAMPHINE LAMP gives a light of surpassing power, softness, and purity, without any kind of grease or dirt, smoke or smell. The lamp is simply and beautifully constructed, and can be fitted to any description of lamp, pedestal, or gas fitting. It is not easily put out of condition. The Camphine (also a patent) is 4s. per gallon, and is so pure that if spilt on any article of dress or furniture will not leave either mark or stain, while it consumes so slowly that, at the cost of three farthings for two hours, it gives a light equal to twelve mould candles, without any attention. It will be found far less expensive than any, and incomparably superior to all existing lights. To be seen burning at Rippon and Burton's (sole wholesale and retail agents for English's Patent Camphine).—N.B. THE ONLY Patent Camphine Lamp has "Rippon and Burton, Wells-street, Oxford-street," conspicuously placed on its head. The public are cautioned against all not so marked.

PATRONIZED AND SANCTIONED BY HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT, THE ROYAL FAMILY, AND THE SEVERAL COURTS OF EUROPE.

ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL, for the Growth and for Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair. Price 3s. 6d.—7s. Family Bottle (equal to 4 small) 10s. 6d., and double that size, 21s.

CAUTION.—SPURIOUS COMPOSITIONS are frequently offered for sale under a FICTITIOUS name or the word "GENUINE." It is therefore imperative on purchasers to see that the words "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" are on the Wrapper of each bottle, and on the back of the wrapper nearly 1500 times, containing 39,928 letters. All others are FRAUDULENT COUNTERFEITS. The principle on which "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" is prepared, is confined solely to the knowledge and practice of A. ROWLAND and SON, who are still at an immense expense in completing its preparation, and the amalgamation of its PURELY VEGETABLE MATERIALS renders abortive any attempt to discover its component parts.

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LOWDEN'S CELEBRATED COUGH PILLS,

A safe and effectual cure for Coughs, Colds, Shortness of Breath, Asthma, &c. &c. They promote free expectoration, and hence prevent that accumulation of phlegm which causes a sense of choking, all irritability, tickling in the throat, and relieve that sense of oppression, fulness, and difficulty of breathing, which nightly deprives the patient of rest.
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Sold by Mr. Lowden, Chemist, 205, Fleet-street, London, in boxes at 1s. 1d., 2s. 6d., and 4s. 6d.; also by one or more respectable Medicine Vendors in each town in the United Kingdom.

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This invaluable Medicine proves efficacious in removing all Scrofulous and Scrofulic Diseases. It attacks the cause of all eruptions on the skin; it purifies and nourishes the blood, invigorates the digestive organs, and effects an entire cure of Scrofula and Scurvy in all the forms which these diseases assume.
This medicine is free from those mineral preparations which cannot be taken without injury to the constitution. Its action on the system is remarkably mild and gentle, and will not interfere with the patient's ordinary pursuits.

* * See a pamphlet entitled "Health and Comfort for the afflicted," which may be had, gratis, of Mr. William Bailey, North-street, Wolverhampton, and also by all other vendors of Bioukrene; which is sold by Sutton and Co., Bow Church-yard; Edwards, St. Paul's Church-yard; Hannay and Co., Oxford-street; and by all Druggists and Medicine Vendors.
Bottles, 2s. 6d., 4s. 6d., and 11s.

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Price 1s. 1d. per box.
This excellent Family PILL is a Medicine of long-tried efficacy for correcting all disorders of the Stomach and Bowels, the common symptoms of which are constiveness, flatulency, spasms, loss of appetite, sick headache, giddiness, sense of fulness after meals, dizziness, the eyes, drowsiness, and pains in the Stomach and Bowels. Indigestion, producing a torpid state of the Liver, and a consequent inactivity of the Bowels, causing a disorganization of every function of the frame, will, in this most excellent preparation, by a little perseverance, be effectually removed. Two or three doses will convince the afflicted of its salutary effects. The Stomach will speedily regain its strength; a healthy action of the Liver, Bowels, and Kidneys, will rapidly take place; and, instead of listlessness, heat, pain, and jaundiced appearance, strength, activity, and renewed health will be the quick result of taking this medicine according to the directions accompanying each box; and if taken after tea free an indulgence at table, they quickly restore the system to its natural state of repose.
Persons of a FULL HABIT, who are subject to headache, giddiness, drowsiness, and slinging in the ears, arising from too great a flow of blood to the head, should never be without them, as many dangerous symptoms will be entirely carried off by their immediate use.

For FEMALES these Pills are most truly excellent, removing all obstructions; the distressing headache so very prevalent with the sex; depression of spirits, dulness of sight, nervous affections, blotches, pimples, and coldness of the skin, and give a healthy and juvenile bloom to the complexion. As a pleasant, safe, easy Aperient, they unite the recommendation of a mild operation with the most successful effect, and require no restraint of diet or confinement during their use. And the ELDERLY PEOPLE they will be found to be the most comfortable medicine hitherto prepared.
Sold by T. FRAMPTON, 250, Strand, London. Price 1s. 1d. and 2s. 6d. per box; and by the Vendors of Medicine generally throughout the Kingdom.

Ask for FRAMPTON'S PILL OF HEALTH, and observe the name and address of "Thomas Frampton, 250, Strand, London," on the Government stamp.

London: Printed (at the office of Palmer and Clayton, Orange-court, Fleet-street) by A. W. PEARSON, of Tavistock-square, London, and of Fleet-street; and published by him at Ten Leaves Office, 67, Fleet-street, Saturday January 20, 1844.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 18.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1844.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

LANDOWNERS' MOVEMENT AGAINST THE LEAGUE, AND TRICKS TO GET UP FARMERS' MEETINGS.

The last act of the drama approaches. For thirty years the landowners have had a rent league, of which the Houses of Lords and Commons have been the executive council. Why are they not content with this league?—Because the oppressions of this rent league have at length driven the people, like the cities of the Hanseatic League in olden time, to unite together to repel the injustice of the barons and landowners, who, under the forms of law, as effectually plunder the people of the present day as the barons and pirates of former days plundered the Hanseatic cities by violence and force of arms. The Anti-Corn-Law League, the PEOPLE'S LEAGUE against starvation and robbery, is already become a mighty body, daily increasing as it rolls along through the length and breadth of the land. Its claims, founded on the eternal principles of justice, unite the wise, the learned, and the good of every name and denomination, and assure its final triumph. It is *this* League, founded on the broad basis of truth and justice, and engrafted in the hearts of the great mass of the people, that those who tax the people's bread, and defraud them of their right to labour—dread. The landowners feel that their days of oppression are numbered—they know that the hearts of the people are not with them—they see that they stand on the point of the pyramid, and that all around is insecurity and danger. And they cry for help to keep up rents—to whom? To the poor farmers and labourers, the especial victims of their oppression! They have sought to delude them with the cry that high prices of food are as equally beneficial to the farmer and labourer as to the landowner. But the League has not laboured five years in vain; its lecturers and tracts and publications have spread over the whole country, and opened the farmers' eyes so far, that they were shrewd enough to see that the protection societies and Anti-League associations which they were incited to form were neither more nor less than clubs to keep up rents and tithes. The deep-laid scheme of inducing the farmers voluntarily to become the dupes of the landowners, by forming rent-clubs, failed. But the landowners felt that, without the semblance of support from those for whose pretended benefit the Corn Laws (rent laws) were passed, these iniquitous laws could no longer be sustained, and so they set to work forthwith to effect by force that which they found it impossible to accomplish by persuasion. The stewards, land-agents, bailiffs, land-surveyors, and parsons were instructed to take those measures which such kind of personages know so well how to arrange, to bring farmers and labourers to meetings to vote for resolutions proposed by the lords of the soil to maintain high prices and high rents.

We know the whole secret of these "great Anti-League meetings," who are the movers, and who the active agents in getting them up; and we earnestly invite our friends in every part of the country to continue to keep us informed of all their proceedings. They may rely on our confidence. We do not mean to say that there are not some few farmers who take part in these meetings who may be ignorantly sincere; but we do say, without fear of

contradiction, that the great body of the farmers have no sympathy with the objects of these rent-clubs, and will neither subscribe to them, nor attend their formation, unless urged by those significant hints which stewards and bailiffs are accustomed to give to poor, trembling, and heart-broken farmers and labourers. We know the arts that have been resorted to to collect the "great meeting" at Northampton. We know that Free-Traders were compelled to attend and to vote against their consciences. We know too, notwithstanding the allusions to the happy condition of the agricultural labourers in that county, that such is the lamentable distress of these labourers that their employers, dreading lest the effects of their wretchedness may lead them to acts of desperation, take it in turns every night to watch their premises!! If those who talked of the happy condition of the labourers be ignorant of the facts we have stated, we invite them with all seriousness to inquire into them. Landowners are sleeping on a volcano. Let them no longer trust to the reports of stewards and bailiffs, but inquire for themselves, if the blazes of incendiary fires have not already illuminated their minds.

There is to be a great Anti-League meeting on the 29th instant at Steyning, in Sussex. If the tricks which have been resorted to be successful, our readers must be prepared to hear this meeting trumpeted forth as the most important ever held. There are to be present dukes, lords, and squires. The landowners' agents are going round in every parish with requisitions for signature by the farmers and tradesmen; and, in many cases, creditors are calling on their debtors to sign and to attend the great meeting. Farmers' labourers are to be sent in great numbers, that the landowners may boast of their presence and support. Many who have not had more than ten days' work in a month are being drilled for the meeting, and are promised constant employment if they do their work well. Even paupers in distant towns are to be provided with horses to go to the meeting and back, to swell the hurrah for high rents and dear bread!! Such are the pretended farmers' associations or Anti-League meetings, but really landowners' clubs to perpetuate monopoly and high rents.

We hear great boasts of the sums subscribed; we know, however, that few farmers will part with their money except on compulsion. The object of the fund has not been made known, but we hope one object will be the publication of a journal in opposition to the LEAGUE, and that the practice of the League will be imitated in publishing the names and amounts of all subscriptions, and then the world will see who are the supporters of high rents and dear bread.

We warn the landowners of their course, and, in all sincerity, recommend them to turn their attention to the deplorable condition of their farmers and labourers. We are in possession of facts and materials of so extraordinary a character, that, if we give them credit for feelings of common humanity, we must believe they are ignorant of everything beyond their own castle gates. This ignorance may be bliss to those nursed in the lap of ease and luxury, but will any sane man say that it is wisdom?

PROTECTION TO AGRICULTURE.

The first association formed in England for granting real protection to agriculture was the Anti-Corn-Law League, and we have little doubt that the rival associations now in process of formation throughout the country will ultimately be absorbed in that body. Legislative interference between them and their customers is the great evil from which farmers require to be protected; because the obvious result of such interference is to diminish the ability of the customers to purchase their produce, to throw an increasing amount of the support of unemployed labour on the land by diminishing the demand for manufacturing labour, and to furnish a pretext for continuing that state of dependence, uncertainty of tenure, and variability of rent, which constitute the chief grievances of the farmers in the midland and southern counties.

If these agricultural associations are conducted as well as constituted by farmers, we have no doubt that they will lead to much good; but if the leaders belong not to the class of farmers but to the class of landowners, instead of these associations being directed to the protection of agriculture, they will be used to maintain rent, to support mortgages, and to secure settlements. They will, in fact, become associations against agriculturists and for monopolists. To show the farmers that they are menaced by such a danger, we shall examine some of the

speeches delivered at the late meeting in Northampton, and show that the sentiments uttered and the plans proposed are decidedly hostile to the farmers, and, if carried out, must lead to agricultural ruin.

One of the first speakers was Mr. Canning, and, among other curious things, he said:—

"A foreigner bringing corn to England would go to the manufacturer, perhaps, and look over his stock, but would he take it in return for his corn? No, he would not, but he would take the gold instead. Of the ships trading to this country in corn most of them returned in ballast."

Mr. Canning describes a state of trade which could only exist with a variable market; now it is one of the greatest evils arising from the Corn Laws, that they render all dealings in corn more or less gambling transactions, and derange the natural current of exchange. Mr. Canning seems to have fallen into the blunder which was exploded some centuries ago, that the exportation of gold is an evil to the nation; but as that gold represents some previous product of industry, else it could not have come into the hands of the possessor, the foreigner would still take manufactures in an indirect form, and would do so at a double loss—first, of the difference of the cost price between the manufactures and the price realized for them by the possessor of the gold; and, secondly, of the freight lost by the return of the ship in ballast. The cause of corn-ships returning in ballast is, that the opening of the ports to corn is so uncertain that it comes in gluts, and renders the mercantile arrangements impossible, which would naturally take place in a regular and steady trade.

Mr. Canning goes on to say:—

"But the object of the manufacturers was to reduce the occupiers of land to their own low level, and until they can do that, they never would attain the position they evidently wish to occupy. Their object is to get money, and their accusation was, that the farmers were too prosperous. Now he (Mr. Canning) defied any man to prove that the agriculturists were obtaining a large per centage for their outlay of capital. It was a fact beyond dispute that they obtained a less interest for their money than any other class of her Majesty's subjects."

It would be gratifying news to the agriculturists to discover that their rates of profit are equal to those of the large manufacturers. We should be glad to know how many fortunes have been made by farmers in Northamptonshire, and to compare them with the number of fortunes made by manufacturers in Lancashire. Mr. Canning, indeed, soon contradicts himself; for, instead of showing the manufacturers to be on a low level, he declares, with truth, "that the farmers obtain less interest for their money than any other class of her Majesty's subjects;" this is the very evil of which the Anti-Corn-Law League has laboured to convince the country, and it is from a deep conviction of the evil that it earnestly seeks the repeal of those laws which compel the farmers to play so losing a game. To such reasoners as Mr. Canning it leaves the logic of saying, "because you farmers receive too small profits under the present system, therefore you farmers should exert yourselves for its continuance."

The commonplaces about Church, State, and Constitution have been so hackneyed in defence of every oligarchical and monopolist abuse, from the days of the slave-trade to those of rotten boroughs, that we must be excused from noticing such stereotype formularies. Mr. Canning, in conclusion, insinuated that the League had some other secret plans beyond the repeal of the Corn Laws; but, as he did not even hint their nature, we must leave him to his imaginings until they take "form and pressure."

Mr. Cartwright, M.P., was the next speaker, and he furnishes us with the following novel information:—

"It is madness for the manufacturers to look further for a better market abroad than they have at home, while they know that, if they depress the land, they must lose the market at home—and the home market, every one knows, takes four-fifths of the whole produce of the manufacturers."

It so happens that everybody knows the direct contrary: four-fifths of our manufactured cottons are exported, and only one-fifth retained for home-consumption. The abolition of the Corn Laws, by increasing the amount of general employment, will improve the home market, and will enable the farmers to become purchasers. The foreign competition to be dreaded is the irregular and sudden importation of corn in large quantities, which prevents the farmer from having that steadiness of market which would enable him to calculate his returns with tolerable certainty.

The next speaker was Sir C. Knightley, and of

his speech the following bit of elegance is a pretty fair specimen:—

"This League, called the Anti-Corn Law League, is, I think, the most pestiferous society that has ever been formed since the days of the Jacobin Club during the French Revolution. It is matter of wonder to me how any harmony can exist between these people; how gentlemen of education and rank can have any sympathy with such raggamuffins. Many people may wonder at the apparent sacrifices which some of these people appear to make. I may say, 'Oh! what good and virtuous men they must be to sacrifice their property for the sake of the poor.' But, though the means appear to be the same, the end is very different. I can only compare them to what, in my younger days, we used to call a scratched pack of hounds—that is, the drafts and culls from every pack in England."

As we can only argue with gentlemen, we must pass over this effusion of vulgar vituperation, simply pointing to it as a proof that the race of Squire Westerns is not yet extinct in England. As a sample of his political economy, take the following exquisite *morceau*:—

"Philanthropy may be a very fine thing, but there is no law which directs us to starve our own people for the sake of benefiting foreigners. The present low prices, the present extreme depression of agriculture, I attribute mainly to the agitation of the itinerant vagabonds belonging to the League, who are daily, at all their various meetings, taking opportunities of saying that the Corn Laws are virtually repealed; that they must be repealed, and that Sir Robert Peel will and must repeal them before another session of Parliament shall have passed away. I myself am one of those who do not believe that he has the slightest intention of repealing them. You and I have heard enough of the Corn Laws lately, and so I should think has Sir Robert Peel too."

The sneer against philanthropy was admirably well placed; there is a law which directs us to starve our own people to swell the rents that are to be expended in foreign luxuries. The power attributed to the League of lowering the price of corn has only the merit of being supremely ridiculous. It has often been asked "how many acres would make a wisacre?" The problem is not likely to be solved by Sir Charles Knightley.

Next came my Lord Southampton, and all that he said having any bearing on the subject is contained in these words:—

"These agitators go into the towns and districts, collect people together, and say they want to get cheap bread for the people. But how do they propose to get cheap bread? By taking off the duty on corn, and what will be the result? The result will be that half the land will be thrown out of cultivation, to the entire ruin of the occupying farmers; and what, then, will become of the agricultural labourers, who constitute the great mass of the population of this country? Bread may be cheap, but what means will they have to buy it with? It is all very well to say 'cheap bread,' but let us have some means of paying for it, or it will be very dear to those who cannot procure work, and who must either go to the workhouse or starve."

We have hopes of the conversion of Lord Southampton: he is decidedly with the League in declaring that the true question in issue is the means of providing employment for the people. We say that more trade will give more work, that more work will give more wages, that more wages will enable the operatives, now miserably underfed, to purchase more food, and that the demand thus healthily created will more than counterbalance the removal of a sickly and artificial monopoly of market.

Mr. Maunsell followed, and also took up the question of employment. We agree with him that the land of England cannot give full employment to the labourers; and we, therefore, propose to widen the sphere of their industry. The country does not produce sufficient food for its present population, and must import corn; the only question is, whether this importation shall be conducted on a principle of justice to the land-cultivator or of advantage to the landowner. To keep up an unnatural competition for land is, of course, at the first view, an advantage to the proprietor, but it is ruinous to the farmer, and, in the long run, destructive of the proprietor's own interests.

The fourth member for the county, Mr. A. S. O'Brien, made the most characteristic speech of the whole. He asserted that the present is a landlords' Parliament, and then claimed credit for the said house of landlords not having done all the mischief that was in its power. It appears that farmers should be grateful for the income-tax taking from the profits of their industry only as much as it takes from the non-producing possessors of estates and other fixed property. In conclusion, he quoted the beautiful expression of the Psalmist—"The Lord shall bless her land with increase; I will satisfy her poor with bread." There was something very like blasphemy in thus closing a speech which advocated that policy by which the poor operatives of Britain are deprived of employment and consigned to starvation.

In the remaining speeches we find little more than abuse of Earl Spencer, whose manly denunciation of monopoly has shown that it is not the landed interest, but the mortgaged interest of England that is anxious for the support of monopoly.

The speeches at the Northampton meeting are admirably calculated to procure for such assemblages the best wishes of the friends of Free Trade. Much has been achieved when the Cartwrights and the

Knightleys have been brought to appeal to conviction rather than coercion—to the reason and not the fears of their tenants. It is unfortunate for them that they cannot lay aside the old form of dictation, and insulting assertion of the ascendancy of class—"The hands, verily, are Esau's hands," though "the voice is the voice of Jacob." We have too much confidence in the common sense of the farmers to believe that they will remain in the leading-strings of such nurses as the quartetto of Northamptonshire: the process of their conversion has already begun, and we firmly believe that it will be greatly accelerated by the exhibition of the utter weakness and incapacity of the oracles in which they have confided; for obstinacy itself would shrink when asked to join company with such defenders of its cause as those who enacted the last farce of monopoly at the George Hotel of Northampton.

MEETINGS.

GREAT MEETING AT COVENT GARDEN THEATRE.

The first aggregate meeting of the friends of the National Anti-Corn Law League (after an interval of two months) was held on Thursday evening at Covent Garden Theatre. The applications for tickets had been more numerous than ever during the preceding week, and a few minutes after the doors were opened every seat within the walls of the theatre was occupied, large numbers filling the lobbies and avenues. The proceedings throughout were marked by the greatest enthusiasm, and the audience several times rose *en masse* to greet by deafening applause the more striking points of the addresses during the evening.

At seven o'clock, George Wilson, Esq. (the Chairman of the League), appeared on the stage, accompanied by several distinguished members and supporters of the League; they were greeted by loud plaudits.

On the platform we recognized, among others, The Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P.; Thomas Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; Dr. Bowring, M.P.; D. Christie, Esq., M.P.; William Williams, Esq., M.P.; the Hon. E. P. Bouverie; W. J. Fox, Esq.; Rev. John Burnett; Charles Thompson, Esq.; F. Pattison, Esq.; Arthur Pattison, Esq.; John Potter, Esq.; Manchester; B. Baines, Esq.; W. A. Wilkinson, Esq.; David Carr, Esq.; John Macleod, Esq.; John Anderson, Esq.; W. A. Thompson, Esq.; J. Cox, Esq.; W. Adam Smith, Esq.; W. H. Le Breton, Esq.; T. Wadsworth, Esq.; W. Pye, Esq.; W. Smith, Esq.; D. Shephard, Esq.; Sir Wm. Baynes, Bart.; Oliver Wilcock, Esq.; W. Thornborrow, Esq.; T. Sharer, Esq.; Charles Davy, Esq.; Henry Lloyd Morgan, Esq.; W. Geein, Esq.; Richard Ware Cole, Esq.; Edward Edwards, Esq.; British Museum; George Ridout, Esq.; Dr. Simpson; Dr. Girtin; Joseph Phelps, Esq.; J. P. Burnard, Esq.; William Hewitt, Esq.; David Aumonier, Esq.; J. Ridge, Esq.; A. Fox, Esq.; Z. T. Purday, Esq.; J. Crookford, Esq.; David Price, Esq.; George Beaton, Esq.; P. A. Taylor, Esq.; S. Harrison, Esq.; Professor Key; J. Coppock, Esq.; Edingham Wilson, Esq.; John Adolphus, Esq.; Dr. Cooke Taylor; Francis Place, Esq.; Cowden Clarke, Esq.; — Cummings, Esq.; J. Welford, Esq.; James Fordat, Esq.; John Bathope, Esq.; Crawford Birkett, Esq.; J. L. Boothby, Esq., &c. &c.

The Secretary (Mr. SAUL) having read the minutes of the last meeting, it was moved by the Hon. C. P. VILLIERS, M.P., and seconded by Mr. J. POTTER, that they should be confirmed. The motion was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN then came forward, and was received with a burst of applause. He spoke as follows:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I have no doubt that the first question which every friend to Free Trade would now put to me would be this—"What has the League been doing? What progress has been made upon this question since we have assembled within these walls?" (Cheers.) I will shortly tell you. In the first place, I suppose it is unnecessary to remind you that the Anti-Corn Law League is not yet abolished. (Cheers.) The Duke of Buckingham has not yet joined the League. (Laughter.) The Duke of Richmond has not signified his approbation of the proceedings of this body. Sir Edward Knatchbull still gropes over marriage settlements and mortgages; and Col. Sibthorp gives the immense sum of £50 to an Anti-Corn Law League—(loud cheers and laughter)—and the members of the League have been obliged to put up with the insignificant subscription of £500 from a nobleman, who, perhaps, if he be not rich enough to buy them all up together, is very nearly so—I mean the Marquis of Westminster. (Loud cheers.) That we have made some progress, that we have had some meetings which our opponents can neither afford to overlook nor to deny, you will agree with me when I shall enumerate them. In the first place, we had a meeting at Liverpool, where £4600 was received towards the Great League Fund; which sum has subsequently been increased to £6000. Then we had a meeting at Ashton-under-Lyne, a borough within seven miles of Manchester: at that meeting speeches were made by my hon. friends Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden, and other members of the Council of the League, and £540 was received, which, added to £3800 previously received from Ashton-under-Lyne, amounts to £4340. Then we had a meeting at Leeds, which was presided over by the Mayor of Leeds (Mr. Stansfield), who you recollect took the chair at the first League meeting in London (cheers); the Messrs. Marshall, one of the largest manufacturing firms in the kingdom, gave £800 to begin with towards the fund—£500 for the firm, and £300 for the senior partner: the subscriptions at Leeds amounted to £2700, and are not yet completed. Then we had a meeting at Halifax, in Yorkshire, where £2000 was received for the fund. At the next meeting, at Huddersfield, in Yorkshire, we received £2000. At Bradford upwards of £2000 was received. At a small place in Lancashire, called Bacup, £245 was collected; the principal people in the village had previously subscribed £1100 to the fund, making £1345 from an obscure village in the north of Lancashire. Then we had a meeting at Bolton—the borough so well represented by my friend Dr. Bowring (loud cheers)—where £1205 was received to the fund. (Cheers.) Then we had meetings in the midland counties, Derby, Leicester, and Nottingham. At Derby, the old firm of Strutt gave £500 to commence with; and the subscriptions amounted to £1200 there. Then at Leicester, where £800 was collected; and there was another meeting at Nottingham, where £520 was collected, which has subsequently been much increased. Then there was a

meeting at Burnley, another small place in Lancashire, where £1000 was collected, which has since been paid. Then we had a meeting at Oldham, where upwards of £1000 was collected. Then at Todmorden, a small village, £611 was collected to the League fund. At Hebden Bridge, near Todmorden, there was a meeting, at which £500 was subscribed to the fund. At Warrington a meeting was held, and £341 was collected. At Coalbrookdale, in Shropshire—the centre of the district represented by the twelve apostles—(cheers and laughter)—a meeting was held, and nearly £400 was collected on behalf of the League fund. Then there was a meeting at a small place in Yorkshire called Pudsey, where £200 was collected. There was a meeting also at Macolesfield, where £180 was collected. At Holmfirth, another small place in Yorkshire, 100 guineas were received. At Dewsbury, also in Yorkshire, £100 was collected. At Otley £100 was collected. And at a number of small places in Lancashire—very obscure places, where meetings were held, and the subscriptions did not amount to £100 each—I shall not trouble you with them. And then we had a meeting at Stroud, where £558 was collected. (Cheers.) In addition to this, a deputation from the League, consisting generally of Messrs. Cobden, Bright, Moore, Col. Thompson, Henry Ashworth, and others, proceeded to Scotland. (Cheers.) At Glasgow, they held a meeting, at which the Lord Provost took the chair, and upwards of £3000 was collected on behalf of the League fund. At Edinburgh, the next day, a meeting was held, the Lord Provost in the chair, when £1500 was collected. At Dundee, £500 was collected. At Leith, £350. At Paisley, £230. And coming back, at the small village of Hawick, £70. (Loud and long continued cheers followed the announcement of these proceedings.) This, then, is the evidence which we present to you of the progress which this question is making in the public mind. (Cheers.) It is a fresh bond of union—a new agreement—a new covenant, to which the various members of the League in Scotland and the north of England have attached their names, pledging themselves to each other, to you, and to the country, that so long as they are blessed with health and strength, so long they will, in the course they have chalked out for themselves, persevere and cease not, till they have gained the great object which the League have in view. (Loud cheers.) But we have been told, that, gratifying as has been our progress, we are to meet with opposition and impediment in some of the southern counties of England; and we have had our attention directed to the number of associations which are springing up on every side, in opposition to the League, and in support of the present Corn Law—(ironical cheers and laughter); and we have heard it stated, that these meetings have been organised by tenant-farmers. Now I don't believe it (cheers), and I'll tell you why. (Cheers.) In the first place, one of their chief objects is to oppose the National Anti-Corn Law League. The speeches at their meetings generally consist, three-fourths of them at least, of vituperation against the League. Now the tenant-farmers have no such ill feeling towards the League. (Cheers.) The tenant-farmers do not make those speeches at their meetings. The tenant-farmers don't occupy the chair—tenant-farmers don't write M. P. at the end of their names, nor the title reverend before their names. (Loud cheers.) The tenant-farmers know that we never deceived them from the first. The tenant-farmers know that in 1841 we never marshalled them to the meetings, on our flags inscribed "No Surrender;" then, in a moment—in the very midst of their rejoicings—gave them a new sliding scale, a tariff, and an income-tax to rejoice over. (Loud cheers.) The tenant-farmers know that from the first we told them, in their own districts, through Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, that the League was for total and unconditional repeal—that they derived no advantage from the imaginary benefits which the Corn Laws were said to confer upon them, and that, if they would persist in impoverishing their customers, they must suffer in return. (Cheers.) These were the doctrines the League professed to them. The tenant-farmers listened, heard, and voted in favour of Free Trade; it will not do, therefore, for the squires and lords to come out and call themselves the tenant-farmers of England. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I have heard some other little facts of those reported meetings, which have occupied so many pages in the newspapers. We first saw an account of one of the most important of these meetings at Colchester, and it was said that there were from 500 to 600 persons present. Now it so happened that one of the members of the League (a tenant-farmer) was at that meeting, and he took the trouble to count the people who were present on the occasion. Well—there were neither five, nor four, nor three, nor two hundred present. There were just 186 persons present, including 14 reporters. (Loud laughter, and cries of "Bravo the Press.") Then, there was another meeting very near—I think it was in the next county. There certainly was a great deal said at that meeting; there were 11 people present in the room, and about as many columns of a report of the proceedings appeared in one of their favourite papers. (Laughter, and cries of the "Morning Jenkins.") Then we are told that a great deal of money has been raised on behalf of their side of the question—they will have occasion for it. (Loud cheers.) What did the League do after the meeting at Colchester? What did it do? Why, an article was written and published in our organ; copies of the voters' lists, county and borough, were taken down from the shelves of our office, and 18,000 copies of the LEAGUE were sent off specially addressed to every elector in the county of Essex. (Cheers.) We shall never disturb their meetings. We shall never interfere; for we have an inviolable respect for organized meetings for discussion; and we give them credit for the statement which they profess—nay, any man—for any object, especially by that class who are supposed to live by the sweat of their brows. (Loud cheers.) We shall not disturb their meetings; but, at the same time, we shall take care that every fallacy which is put forth by their best speakers shall be answered in our publications (hear, hear), and a copy of each publication sent to every voter in the county in which such meeting takes place. (Cheers.) But, it may be said—Why oppose the League now—it has existed five years—what particular necessity is there for opposing it at the present time? I will tell you why. We are amongst the electors now; the League has pledged itself, and will fulfil its pledge, as far as practicable, to contest every seat in Parliament whenever any vacancy may arise. (Immense

cheering.) We may be defeated, but we shall return again and again to the combat (cheers); we may lose close boroughs like Salisbury—we may lose other boroughs in which vacancies may arise—as we shall not have the selection of the places where the question may be put in issue; that will not make the slightest difference in our mode of action; for we have laid it down as a rule, that no monopolist shall ever again take his seat in Parliament without having it said that he had to meet the concentrated strength of the League directed against him. (Loud applause.) These Anti-Anti-Corn-Law meetings, then, we may imagine will be continued until the feeling has exhibited itself through the whole of the counties of England. Are we prepared for them? If they bind themselves together—lords and squires, and monopolists in every direction—is the League prepared for them? My answer is "Yes, it is—was never better prepared." I point to the meetings which have been held in aid of the great League fund. (Hear.) I point to the increased array of intelligence and local strength everywhere developing itself on behalf of the objects we have in view. (Cheers.) I know we may be defeated once or twice; but I know that no good, no true question ever yet sunk into the minds of the people of England—was ever taken up by an honest body, the middle class more especially—which ultimately did not become the law of Parliament, and receive the sanction of the Sovereign. (Loud cheers.) We may have to wait some time before this question is settled; but we shall not grow weary in well-doing. (Cheers.) We know this, at least, that no period of suffering will ever be permitted to recur in this country equal to that which we have passed through within the last five years in the manufacturing districts. (Hear, hear.) We know that no Minister will ever again dare to place this country in that position in which the manufacturing districts were placed during the succession of bad harvests two years ago. (Hear.) And knowing this, and knowing that every day we add numbers to the League who were formerly opposed to us; and knowing that, on every hand, we are increasing in strength while they are diminishing; and knowing that our resources at this time of the year are treble what they ever were on any former occasion, we bid you have hope and take courage that we are near the termination of this great struggle. The hon. gentleman concluded his address amid loud and general applause.

The CHAIRMAN then said:—I have now great pleasure in introducing to the meeting the Hon. Edward Bouverie.

Mr. BOUVÉRIE, on coming forward, was received with loud plaudits, which having subsided, he spoke as follows:—As this is my first appearance on the London stage, I must request your indulgence—honestly and unaffectedly—during the remarks which I have to make on this occasion; and I need this indulgence the more because you do not require to be told that amongst gentlemen like these around me on the platform—veterans who have fought in the foremost ranks of the battle of Free Trade—I am but a new recruit, unskilled in handling weapons, and without their power or ability to use them. (Cheers.) This, however, is not the first occasion on which we have acted together. On a late occasion—I mean at the last Salisbury election—we fought the common fight together, and, though I was not at that time enrolled under the banners of the League, yet a common cause and a common object formed a bond of union, amity, and good feeling between us. (Cheers.) We were defeated then, gentlemen, and, singularly enough, we were defeated, I may say, by Free Trade. (Laughter.) There is one subject of all others—Free Trade though I am, and Free Traders though those gentlemen who supported me were, to the backbone—there is one article which I cannot agree that any one man has a right to sell, or another man to buy—and that is, the vote of an elector. (Tremendous cheering.) But in spite of all this, I do rejoice to think that the League, and the great cause which it advocates, have been making progress ever since—have been going on from strength to strength, and, as you have heard from the Chairman, daily gathering fresh influence and weight. (Hear, hear.) I do rejoice, too, that those counter associations of the League have been formed, and for this reason—What is the object the League has in view? Is it not that the truth should be asserted? (Cheers.) All we ask is, inquiry—we do not want to smother the truth—we ask the people to think and investigate for themselves; therefore it is, that the greater the discussion of this subject, the more it is agitated and inquired into, the more likely the people are to become converts to our views. (Cheers.) I must say that it appears to me, so far as I have read the accounts of the meetings that have taken place in opposition to the League, that the gentlemen who composed those meetings have not taken the course most likely to elicit truth on the subject. (Hear, hear.) I have read several columns of very violent abuse, couched in the coarsest Billingsgate expressions, showered most bountifully upon gentlemen who at any rate profess to, and, I believe, act conscientiously (cheers); but there is not one mite of argument to convince either those who heard, or the country at large who read, that they were right in their view of the question, and that we were wrong. (Cheers.) I find, in the midst of all this mass of calumny and abuse, one little solitary fact adduced by a noble peer, who, in stating things upon his legs in a public meeting, ought to take care to ascertain the correctness of his facts before he asserts them. He stated, as an instance of the dreadful suffering which had been inflicted upon the agricultural interest by the new tariff, that the west of Scotland was suffering greatly from the alteration of the duties on cheese. What is the fact? Why, there was no alteration at all in those duties! No; Sir R. Peel was satisfied with the little he had done—God knows it was little enough (cheers); and as a sop to the agriculturists these little matters of butter and cheese were left pretty much as they were before. (Hear, hear.) It is not only a fact that there was no alteration, but it is a fact likewise that, each year since the passing of the tariff, there has been a less quantity of cheese imported into this country than there was before. (Hear, hear.) In 1841, being the year preceding the passing of the tariff, there were upwards of 246,000 cwt. of cheese imported into this country. In 1842, the year of the tariff, there were but 178,000 cwt., being between 60,000 and 70,000 less than the year preceding; and in the year 1843, when the tariff was in full operation, there were only 158,000 cwt. imported, or nearly 100,000 cwt. less than in 1841. (Loud cheers.) It is very natural to inquire "What is the reason of this?" why, they used up the customers: that is the truth of the

matter. It is the labouring classes—the people who are in full employment, and are tolerably well to do in the world—who buy these articles; and if they are out of employment, and their employers are ruined, they can have no means to purchase; and thus it is that the farmer is unable to sell his cheese. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, we are on the eve of the meeting of another Pro-Corn-Law Association—Parliament; and little enough I fear is to be expected from that body, containing, as it does, a protectionist majority with Sir Robert Peel at its head. (Cheers.) Now, I have some hopes, I confess, of seeing Sir Robert Peel in this place—a member of the League some day—(laughter)—perhaps kindly offering to you the use of his bull (renewed laughter and applause), or offering to destroy the rabbits in his gardens at Whitehall, for the benefit of the public; and I will tell you why I expect this. It is because, if you look at his whole public life, you will see that those great measures which he most assisted in passing are those which he previously most vehemently opposed and held up to derision. (Cheering.) I will bring him to book. Some 30 years ago Sir Robert Peel opposed resolutions brought forward by one of the leading members on the Liberal side of the House of Commons—Mr. Horner, on the great currency question—which at that time were of deep interest to the community. What did Sir Robert Peel do? Why, eight years after that—in 1819—he brought forward a measure based upon those very resolutions, and he stated in the House of Commons, that without shame—he had no shame (cheers and laughter)—and without regret, he did confess that at that time he had opposed those resolutions, and that he was in a different mind to what he was before. (Cheers.) Then there was another great question—I mean that of Catholic Emancipation; and how any mortal man with ordinary sense sufficient to guide him in the judgment he forms of his fellow-creatures, and of the affairs of the world which are going on around him, can put his trust in Sir Robert Peel after what he did upon that occasion, I am at a loss to conceive. (Hear, hear.) In 1827, when Mr. Canning came into office, Sir Robert Peel stated, as his reason for giving up the situation which he held in the House of Commons, that Mr. Canning had always been favourable to granting the claims of the Roman Catholics, and as he (Sir Robert Peel) had all his life been opposed to the granting of those claims, and as he believed that the granting of them would endanger the constitution of the country and the safety and welfare of the Church, he must give up his office. Two years after that, he not only supported a measure, but, as the minister of the Crown, introduced and carried through Parliament a bill for granting those claims to Roman Catholics. (Cheering.) Well, I have not done with him yet. In 1833, Sir Robert Peel, then a leader of the Opposition, in the course of those functions which that position cast upon him, made a speech upon the financial condition of the country, and, as an income-tax had been adverted to, he expressed his opinion with regard to that. (Cheering.) At present, mind you, he is not so fond of expressing those frank opinions, because he has so often expressed them, and has been so often made to eat his own words, that he has now become most particularly delicate upon that matter, and scarcely ever gives utterance to his opinion at all; and hence the difficulty of finding out what the hon. baronet means. (Laughter.) However, then he did favour us with his opinion upon the income-tax; and what did he say? "Nothing but a case of extreme necessity could justify Parliament in subjecting the people of this country, in a time of peace, to the inquisitorial process which must result from rendering that impost productive." (Hear, hear.) Now, mark this—it's so beautiful, and applies so famously to the present income-tax. (Great laughter.) "And to have recourse to such machinery to raise 2 or 3 per cent., would be most unwise. The application of the tax to Ireland would be attended with extreme difficulty; but, if the property-tax were established, Ireland should not be exempted from its operation. He wished to see Ireland as much favoured as possible, consistently with justice (a laugh); but to impose a property-tax upon England and Scotland, and to exempt Ireland, would, in his opinion, however unpopular that might be, be exceedingly unjust;" therefore, by his own showing, the right hon. baronet not only has now done that which, under other circumstances he declared to be exceedingly unwise, but he has also done that which he positively pronounced exceedingly unjust. (Cheers.) Surely, after a man has so gone back from what he has frequently stated in his place in Parliament, no honest person can trust in his declaration. (Loud cheers.) Therefore, though I do say that, in forming general conclusions from these particular strong reasons, one may hope to see him here, yet I do not say that I should rejoice to see him here enrolled as a leader in this society. (Loud cheers.) Now, gentlemen, I often think that hereafter, when we shall all be dead and gone, and shall have passed away from this scene—when our descendants shall examine into the history of those times, and study the character of the public men of this age—what opinion they will form of the public character, the public morals, and virtue of our days, when they shall behold prominent amongst our leaders two such bright examples, pure and disinterested public servants, devoted and admirable men as Sir Robert Peel and Alderman Gibbs. (Loud cheers, mingled with laughter, which lasted some minutes.) With respect to the party, the great party, who are in favour of agricultural protection, and who support Sir Robert Peel at present—though most unwilling support they give him—they contend for no less a proposition than this: That, supposing there were no customs' duties required at all—supposing that the revenue of the country could be raised entirely from some internal source of taxation, such as crown lands, or any other more advisable source—they say that we should still have to maintain the whole staff of Custom-house commissioners, tide-waiters, searchers, inspectors, overseers, preventive-service men, and revenue cutters, for the mere purpose of keeping out foreign produce. (Hear.) That is the principle which they contend for, inasmuch as they say that "all we want is to keep them out." And they ask it as a right to which they are entitled. Yet whilst they claim this right they admit that we have the abstract principles on our side. (Hear.) Mr. Gladstone says that Free-Trade principles are the principles of common sense; and Mr. Baring says that he is a Free Trader in the abstract; and we hear a gentleman, who lately made an oration in Essex, say he is a Free Trader in principle. Now, what is the meaning of a thing being true in principle or theory, and not true in fact? The very substances contained in the assertion, that a thing is true in theory, means that it is true in fact.

What would you think of a person, living amongst rational beings, who would say that he admitted Copernicus was right in saying that the sun went round the world, and then add, "So it is in theory but not in fact, because I see the sun rise in the east;" in fact the sun goes round the earth. That is what those people contend for, who say a thing is true in theory but not in fact. But these gentlemen bid us look at the burdens there are upon the land. Now, admitting for the sake of argument, (because I won't admit on any other account,) that there are burdens—what comparison is there between the burdens on land, which are peculiar burdens upon the land and not upon the landowner, because he bought the land subject to those burdens for centuries past, and that other burden placed upon the country to maintain protection laws? The one is a mere burden of gold—the other of starvation, sorrow, life, and death. (Loud cheers.) That is the difference between the burdens; and we cannot weigh them against each other—we cannot put tears in one balance and gold into the other. (Renewed cheers.) Therefore, supposing those burdens to exist, they are not to be compared with the other burdens to which I have referred, and ought not to be taken into consideration. (Hear.) Let us consider the burdens they really have, and what they are. Sir Robert Peel enumerated them at Tunworth. First, there are tithes. Now when were tithes introduced into this country? How are they a burden upon the landowners? A thousand years ago, the owners of the land and the Legislature consented to contribute a portion of their property for the payment of the clergy—thus it is no burden on the landowner—he bought it subject to that, or he inherited it subject to that, and it is no more a public burden upon it than any rent a farmer may have to pay (hear, hear), and indeed he gets his land so much cheaper on this account. (Cheers.) Then rates are said to be another burden, and no doubt a portion of that burden does fall upon the land; but does it fall entirely upon the land? Do not you all who occupy houses pay house-rates, and police-rates, and gas-rates, and water-rates, and twenty other rates? and you claim no protection upon that account. (Cheers.) Well, then, we come to what I admit is a burden, and I think it ought fairly to be admitted, because we should always give our opponents the full benefit of their hardships when they have so many! (cheers and laughter),—the land-tax—that is a burden, and what is its amount? In 1841, the produce of the land-tax was £1,214,000. Then I turn to the legacy-tax and probate duty: and perhaps some of you are not aware that land pays neither of these duties: so that if I were to succeed to £50,000 a year to-morrow, in land, I should not have to pay a penny for it; but if the person from whom I inherited it turned it into money, and sold it for £1,000,000, I should have to pay ten per cent. on the whole of that sum, if I were no relation to him (hear, hear); and I find that the amount of these two duties was £2,100,000—no bad set-off, I think, against the land-tax. (Cheers.) I must apologize for entering into these details, because, in point of fact, the question depends upon detail, and further, because I am not able to make you a fine oration even if I wished. (Cheers.) But there is another section of the House of Commons who say, "We disregard the notion of protection altogether, but we must have a revenue collected, and we think it ought to come as much from corn as from any other article imported into this country." We Free Traders say, "No—corn is not an article which ought to be made the subject of taxation when imported. We say, first, it is one of the necessities of life—one of the raw materials which is worked up into all other produce, and therefore it should be admitted duty free. We say further, that a duty if any ought to be levied upon those articles, the supply of which is as regular as possible, so that the produce of the duty one year should equal the produce of another year; but that corn is not an article that would produce such a constant duty as this, is evident from the variations of the seasons: it is, therefore, manifestly unfit to be made the subject of a fixed duty. We say, also, that a tax should take as little as possible from the pockets of those who pay it, whilst it should give as much as possible to the Government who has to receive it; but we say a fixed duty on corn is not such a duty,—and why? Because, for every quarter of wheat imported into this country, subject to duty, and sold in the market, we have to pay upon every other quarter grown in the country an amount of duty equivalent to that paid upon foreign wheat; because, if they be of the same quality they will be sold at the same price, and in consequence of the duty home-grown wheat will be allowed to rise to the same price as foreign wheat before it can compete with it. Therefore, if the duty be 5s. or 6s. upon foreign wheat, we pay a like duty on the home-grown wheat, and that not to the Government, but into the pockets of those who grow it; and, therefore, we say corn is not the subject for a fixed Custom-house duty. (Cheers.) I must again apologize for having returned to these details. I am happy to be able to agree with what the Chairman of the League has said about the ultimate success of this question. Who can doubt it? (Cheers.) Is there a man here who doubts that ultimately this law must be repealed? (Cheers, and cries of "No, no.") Let him look at the history, if there be such a one, of all the great questions which have been carried in this country. Let him see, if he can, one for which the people of this country clearly and determinately expressed themselves, which has not ultimately become the law of the land. (Cheers.) Was it those great landowners and squires, who got up and talk about Jacobin and republican associations, who granted the Reform Bill to this country? No, but the people of this country said, "It is just and right;" and the Reform Bill, long resisted, was ultimately carried. (Cheers.) Was it the members of the upper classes of this country who first brought forward the abolition of slavery? No; there was one gentleman, no doubt, in a distinguished position, who did advocate the African's cause; but those who carried that measure were hard-working men in the middle classes of life; they contrived the means, adopted the measures, and slavery was abolished. (Loud cheers.) To come to a more practical question, which was of great importance to all of you—Was it the aristocracy of this country who proposed, or willingly carried for your benefit, the Penny Postage? No. Why, the Whigs and the Tories both opposed it, but the middle classes asserted their strength, and all reasonable, thinking, and hard-working men say that it would confer a great public benefit. (Cheers.) But we need not look merely at the present time. If we go back 200 years, we shall find that we have been fighting over again the same battle that was fought then. We shall see that there were men in that age

who could make a bold stand against monopoly in the House of Commons, or wherever it should meet them; and we must remember that they had a great deal to contend with which we have not. (Hear.) The Government was not then in the hands of the middle classes as it is now, but they had to battle against the prerogative of the Crown; and yet they did it, and what was the result? Why, monopoly was abolished, and an act of Parliament was passed 220 years ago, commanding that all monopolies should cease in the realm (cheers); and no doubt we shall see an act of Parliament passed, not, perhaps, in quite such general terms, but declaring—and that is what we want—that the Corn Laws are injurious to the best interests of the country, and that they shall from henceforth be repealed. Mr. Bouverie resumed his seat amid loud applause.

The CHAIRMAN then announced that Mr. W. J. Fox would next address the meeting.

Mr. W. J. Fox came forward amidst enthusiastic cheering. Silence having been obtained, he proceeded as follows:—I have to address you on the first meeting of a new year of agitation, at a time when confusion, anxiety, and uncertainty are prevailing throughout the country,—when the Legislature is expected shortly to meet,—when the people look on rather with sullen expectancy than with any degree of hopefulness,—when the League has gone on marshalling its strength, augmenting its funds, and multiplying its numbers,—when political parties are on the look-out to see what chance may turn up for retaining their position, or for getting into the position of their adversaries,—when Anti-League Associations are forming in different counties,—and when, therefore, it is appropriate and desirable to reiterate, though in terms that have been often heard, but which cannot be too frequently repeated—to reiterate the League principle—the one aim and object of this association, that for which we are banded together—without which we will never be content; till we attain which our organization and exertions will continue—the one broad simple principle of Free Trade; and, as applied to the greatest practical case, the total, the immediate, and the unconditional abolition of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) That is the star by which we steer; to that single point we bear right on, heedless of all other considerations. We care not for parties; we care not for demarcations of faction, new or old; we care not for the consistencies or inconsistencies of this or that leader of any portion of the House of Commons—the total, the unconditional, and the immediate abolition of the Corn Laws is what we ask, and all we ask. We require no more—we will take no less—from Sir Robert Peel on the one side, or Lord John Russell on the other. (Loud cheers.) We ask no more, and we will take no less, from Lord Melbourne on the one side, and the Duke of Wellington on the other—or from my Lord Brougham on all sides. (Loud laughter, and cheers.) We wage no further warfare with those who concede this principle; we wage everlasting warfare with all who will not grant it; and because it is a principle, in our minds it admits of no compromise whatever. (Cheers.) That is our watchword. If a certain class in the country reiterates the cry, "No surrender," we reply by "No compromise." If this movement were what it has been sometimes mistakenly represented,—if it were a mere manufacturers' combination,—if it endeavoured to put certain portions of the trade and commerce of this country on a different, a safer, and more profitable footing, and this were all,—if this were a mere party movement, an action of hostility towards one set of politicians, and an endeavour to introduce into their place another set of politicians,—if this movement were a class feeling,—if we really did the absurd thing that has been ascribed to us in the published resolutions of societies,—if we hated agriculture (an inconceivable absurdity! for how can any man hate that without which he gets no bread to eat?)—or if this were a mere popular, or a mere cuckoo cry, set up by individuals for their own personal aggrandisement, or for political ends, like "No Popery," and similar cries that have so often led multitudes astray, and wrought confusion in the country, why, then, there might be compromise in the matter. But we say it is "the very stuff of the conscience;" it is a principle upon which we have made up our minds as embracing the right of man anterior to the existence of civilized society; for if anything can be called a natural right, it is that of man's exchanging the produce of his honest labour freely in the world's markets for whatever he may desire which may be most welcome to him, ministering to his subsistence or enjoyment. (Cheers.) This is not a question that admits of degrees; it is not a thing to be settled piecemeal. We respect all rights; but we have no respect for wrongs. (Renewed cheers.) We understand not the doctrine of tolerating a certain portion of robbery, iniquity, and oppression upon the community, and on individuals. We take up our position on the right and the wrong of the case—for property of all sorts, as realized by human skill and labour, and as sanctioned by human laws and institutions. We avow our respect for, and we hold in sacred veneration, the property of the class which has most opposed itself to our claims. The broad acres of the landowner are his; we mean not to touch them; we set up no scramble for their division. We interfere not with his regulations of that which, by inheritance or by purchase, belongs to him. Let him do as he will with his own; he is amenable to opinion if he violates decency and morality; but, so far as he keeps within the limits which the great objects of human society prescribe, we respect his rights even there. Let him have his game or let him decimate his hares and rabbits; let him grant leases or refuse them; let him cut down the ancient timber on his estate to put cash into his pocket, or let him have a great respect for and be conservative of timber and institutions. We meddle with nothing whatever of this; let him have his whole rights. The land is his; the produce of the land is his, or theirs to whom he hires out that land; but there is one thing which is not his, and that is, the industry of other people, their labour, and their skill, their perseverance, their bones and sinews, their daily toil; and the bread which they earn by that toil and work, he has no right to diminish by taxation. (Loud cheers.) They are his fellow-countrymen and not his slaves. The labourer's bones and muscles are his own property, and not the landlord's. We claim for ourselves that which we concede to him—the fair produce of whatever power, privileges, or advantages we possess. Here our principle claims the same respect, the same sacred veneration for the rights of property of the man who has nothing in the world but the physical strength with which

he goes forth in the morning to earn his dinner at noon, and that of the inheritor of the widest and most princely domain which can be boasted of in this country of Great Britain. (Cheers.) And, in our regard for this principle, we are opposed, not only to the form of invasion of the industrious man's property, but to any other mode or plan of invasion of that property which might be substituted by any other parties or for any other purpose. Our principle is as opposed to a fixed duty as it is opposed to a sliding scale. (Cheers.) The one is as much an invasion of the common rights of the people as is the other; for what is its tendency, under whatever pretext it can be levied? There is no doubt that any duty on the importation of corn must enhance the price of food; and whatever enhances the price of food takes away from the fair earnings of the industrious. When we call to mind the condition of great multitudes of the industrious classes—when we think how they rise early and sit up late, and eat the bread of carefulness, by what miserable and wearing toil their poor pittance is won from the world—when we remember how many there are the whole history of whose lives is summed up in the well-known verse—

"Work, work, work,
Till the eyes be red and dim;
Work, work, work,
Till the brain begins to swim,"—

when we look on such a destiny as this, if a fixed duty would take but a farthing out of the pound, we say it should not be taken off their pittance to augment the stores of the Dukes of Buckingham and Richmond, or any other landlord. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Why, there are cases in which the imposition of a fixed duty on corn, whatever the amount, would lead to more objectionable results, perhaps, than those which belong to the sliding scale. It has been often urged, and I believe it has been felt as an objection, "What will you do with your fixed duty, your 10s., your 8s., or your 5s., what will you do with it when the price of food rises as it is subject to, and at times does rise to—a famine price?" (Hear, hear.) And it has been replied, "Then it must be relaxed. And what power shall determine the relaxation, and by what test? Only realize in your imagination, for a moment, the condition of a Prime Minister who has to watch the country to see whether the time is come, or coming, at which the fixed duty on corn must be relaxed by a special interposition of the Government, because food is reaching a famine price! He must note in the papers how many are picked up fainting in the streets from want of food; how many cases of starvation will prove that bread has risen to the price at which the relaxation must take place; what amount of disease, how much typhus, will be a justification of the relaxation of that duty? These are the inquiries a Prime Minister must make in such a case. He must watch the country, and feel its pulsation, as the regimental surgeon stands by when a soldier is flogged—finger on wrist, eye on the bleeding wound, ear upon the sound of the cat on the bare back, with a stop-watch noting whether the instant has yet arrived when he is to interpose and say, "Hold, enough!" (Loud cheers.) Is this a fitting position for the chief of the legitimate government of a free nation? (Loud cries of "No, no.") One violation of justice always leads to another. Forget justice, and charity will not long be remembered, and humanity cry in vain. A fixed duty! It is only protection under another name! That which is called "protection"—and "protection" is the very thing against which this League wages warfare, and which it exists in order to put down and annihilate for ever (loud cheers)—we have no more charity for protection in this form than another. What is it? "The protection of agriculture." What portion of agriculture? What class of persons? Strip it of devices and sophisms, and circumlocutions—it is the protection of rent, and nothing else. (Cheers.) The protection of the farmer! The tenant-farmer!—has it ever enriched him? The protection of the labourer; what has been his history for many a year past? He has been protected downwards from one stage to another of descent,—protected out of his old clothes into rags,—protected out of his cottage into a ruined hovel, with but one filthy room in it for wife and family, all to pig together. He has been protected till his wife and children are so ragged that they cannot go to church for the rites of religion. He is protected out of the field into the union workhouse, or perhaps into a court of justice, or a gaol; and at last he is protected into that narrow home,

"Where the wicked cease from troubling,
And the weary are at rest;"—

finding in the cold shelter of the grave more reality of protection than he ever got from the Corn Laws. (Loud and continued cheering.) Protection! Why, what should we protect? Not a losing trade, for that is taxing all the community for the advantage of a class; that is pursuing an object that cannot repay the labourer. Not a thriving trade, for that needs no protection. And why should any one class be singled out? What is there in the condition of the recipient of rents that he is to be protected at the expense of all the rest of the community? Why not protect the philosopher, the artist, the poet? What can protection do for them, or for any thing that is intrinsically valuable? There was a poet born this day—some Scotchmen here will immediately remember to whom I refer, for many are engaged elsewhere in celebrating the birthday of Robert Burns. (Loud cheers.) Nature made Burns a poet, and aristocratic protection made him an exciseman. (Cheers.) But the protection he most desired was that which his own stout heart and strong arm could give him. He was a man who would not humble himself in the dust before an aristocrat. He could adopt such language as this in reference to servility—

"For me aye low I nee I nee low,
For the Lord be thankit I can plough,
When I downa yoke a naig,
Then, Lord be thankit, I can beg."

And the independence of the beggar was with him, and is, in reality, a more desirable thing than that pecuniary independence which is obtained by plundering others of their rights and their means of subsistence. (Loud cheers.) It was justly said by an honourable gentleman who preceded me—if it be considered as a question of revenue, what is there in the world from which a revenue ought not sooner to be derived than from human food? (Hear.) Tax anything but that! But revenue is a mere pretext in the case. In fact the operation of these laws is full of petty juggling: some saying "revenue," when

they mean "protection," others saying "protection," when they mean "revenue." Sir Robert Peel contrived, in the first year of his tariff, to realize a duty of 8s. a quarter on corn—3s. a quarter more than it had ever before brought to the country. Those who are crying out that this is a question of revenue, are only leading us by a roundabout way towards the same object—the putting money into the pockets of a class, derived from the earnings of the rest of the community. (Hear.) But it is not the less an invasion of their rights, though the circuitousness of the method obscures and mystifies the process. They draw it silently and unobservedly, as they think, on account of this roundabout way of getting at it. But, after all, there it is! They are like the dishonest churchwarden. (Laughter.) I did not mean—(Renewed laughter.) There have been more dishonest churchwardens in the world than one (hear), however unenviable the pre-eminence that he has obtained. My allusion was to the old story of the churchwarden, who carried round the plate for the sacrament money for the poor, and who, upon such occasions, always took care to put sawdust in his pockets, that a few shillings might drop in without jingling. (Laughter.) The Corn Laws are the landowners' sawdust (great cheers and laughter); but the money goes not in a less quantity, because its abstraction is more noiseless in the way of robbery by act of Parliament, than in any other irregular abstraction of property. With such men and such dealings as these, we make no compromise. Indeed, why should the League compromise now? (Hear.) "Compromise" is not exactly the word that belongs to our present position. If we dreamed not of it when we were weak, we are not likely to listen to it now that we are strong; if it was not our word when we were but few, it is little likely to be so now we are many. Allow me to say, that you in London scarcely imagine at present what the strength of the League is. It would be worth while your sending a deputation down into the North, there to mark and observe the nature of that strength, its progressiveness, and its intensity. (Hear, hear.) You should see the multitudes flocking together in those districts—men, women, and children—persons of all ranks and classes—as to a work that called forth the deepest sympathies of human nature. Yes, you should see them coming and mingling together in the same assembly—masters' and men pouring out from the factories. There is no heed paid there to the calumnies and stories which are circulated in some quarters; there are no symptoms there of the tyranny which has been talked of elsewhere. Whether it exists in other cases I know not; it certainly does not in the towns I have visited, and where I have seen this question agitated; but there come the operatives from the factories, not choked with "devil's dust," as Mr. Ferrand says, but ready to "down with their own dust" in the cause—contributing, and that largely—women bringing their portion, and showing that they feel that it is indeed a woman's part to help the helpless, to sympathise with the oppressed, to relieve the struggling—old and young combining, the very children feeling, as it were, an atmosphere of patriotic exertion, and having a presentiment that in times to come—when the victory of Free Trade shall be gained, and men will look back upon it as a matter of history and glorious achievement—that they, too, will have pride in saying, "I, also, was a repealer in my infancy!" (Cheers.) Could you see the spirit with which they are animated, the enthusiasm that pervades their meetings, you would feel that indeed the death doom of monopoly was sealed; and whenever London shall take its proper position—when the feeling in the provinces shall be proportionally responded to here—when you meet with their religious principle in this matter—when you meet with their pecuniary liberality in this great cause—when you are animated with this firm determination—why, then, the work is accomplished, and these laws will be totally and finally abolished. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Not but what compromise would be as remote from the thoughts of the leaders of the League if they were alone in this great struggle. (Hear.) This was manifest from the spirit of the seven men at the meeting in Manchester several years ago, when they banded themselves for this purpose. Their principle from the beginning was complete abolition and repeal, and nothing short of repeal; and I believe that they and others would have adhered to it, although no public sympathy had been aroused—though none of these great meetings had been held to cheer them on in their course; for when once a principle like this gets possession of the soul of man, it is indomitable. It is the fight of martyrdom and of victory! There may be victims—there cannot be defeat; there may be delay, but there cannot be eventual repulse. It is to individual devotion—to the determination never to compromise a principle—that we owe most of the world's great blessings. Without it we should have had no political freedom—no Protestant reformation—no Christian religion! (Cheers.) Could the League falter in its course now—a thing which I hold to be morally impossible—it would still not signify in the great cause, for the leaders in such a cause as this, could they prove traitors, cannot stop the movement, they are but foremost in the ranks—they are marching on "regular as rolling water;" and if they will not themselves keep in advance, why, they will only be trampled under foot in the progress of the country till the great consummation. (Cheers.) I say again, "no compromise," because we are challenged—we are summoned to the conflict. The landowners of England are throwing down the gauntlet; they are going to wage warfare with the League, and they say they will put down the League. (Laughter.) We will try that question with them. They are not the bold barons of Runnymede; the age of chivalry is gone; and most of all it is gone in their ranks, for there is little chivalry in becoming traders in corn and taxing the country to enhance their profits. But what do these people mean by a course which tends to isolate them from every other class of the community?—suspicion in their tenants; hatred and insubordination in their labourers; an interest against which they wage war in the other great classes in the empire; repudiating not their debts but their diamonds; rejecting from their ranks such men as the Spencers, the Westminsters, the Dunces, and the Rednoses—the robbers themselves of what should constitute their dignity and their armour? And what do they mean, I say, by standing aloof from the world, and dreaming that they are strong enough to trample under foot its inhabitants, and to reap its plunder? (Cheers.) Nothing can avert them but discomfiture and confusion. They must see that their state, the more they persist in such

course, is one of insecurity and apprehension; they will feel the ground tremble under them, as it is said to have shaken wherever the fratricide Cain set his foot; and, ramble where they will, no sympathy will cheer their course, no kind and gushing feeling will welcome their arrival: their real interest is, then, to reunite themselves with the nation, in conjunction with which they may have respect, wealth, and happiness; in warfare with which they can only bring on the destruction of their class. (Hear.) As to these meetings of the tenantry, ordered to come, as they seem to be in some cases, and declining to come, as they evidently do in others, the deception and exaggeration of their numbers and their contributions have already been mentioned to you. I have no doubt that large exaggerations do take place wherever a numerous meeting is reported; and would the *Morning Herald* favour us, as it sometimes obliges the Government, with the private notes of its reporters, ("hear" and loud cheers), we should then know something more of the real state of the case. I have seen but one account, and that in a local paper, of a genuine meeting of tenant-farmers, placed beyond suspicion as to the class of persons and the freedom of their discussion. That was a meeting which lately took place at Evesham, of the tenant-farmers, members of the Agricultural Society of the Vale of Evesham. About twenty-five of them met together to discuss the subject of leases; and, after fairly and fully hearing both sides of the question from two of their number, who had studied the subject, and were opposed in opinion, they came to two divisions: one division was on the desirableness of leases, on which twenty voted for it, and two against it; the other was on the subject of corn rents, where there were eighteen for and three against. And such will be the result of these County Protection Associations, if the farmers are allowed fair play. Meanwhile, from their number, it is a pity they do not seek an aggregate meeting. (Hear.) I think, inconvenient as this place is for your number, they might perhaps be accommodated here. Mr. Paulton could find a private box for the Protection Society of each county: we could find a private box for each of them. (Laughter.) The conscientious friends of the present sliding scale, and of Sir R. Peel, might, perhaps, all be accommodated in the manager's box, and then when their discussion were done they might join in yours, and compare notes with you on the great question at issue. But it will never avail for the landlords to attempt to drive the farmers to such meetings, in the same manner as they drive them to the poll at elections; there is more required, and it is difficult to make persons in their present doubting, inquiring, and perhaps suspicious and sullen state of mind, go through the manual exercise which their chairman may desire. I understand that at one of these meetings, when a resolution was to be passed, the chairman had great difficulty in getting a show of hands: he had to tell the farmers over and over again that *now* they were to hold up their hands; but the farmers by, perhaps, a voluntary blunder, instead of holding up their hands turned up their noses. (Laughter.) On the argumentation at these meetings I shall make no remark; for out of nothing nothing can come. (Laughter.) They have been generally a sheer tissue of abuse, and the only fragments or grains that are to be found in these bushels of chaff are the old iterations of fallacies which every labourer can detect, of wages rising with the price of corn,—of the need of protection against competition,—of the desirableness of independence on the foreigner, and so on; things that we may heartily rejoice to hear are brought into something like discussion; for where all the rest of the world has exploded them as nonsensical, in those regions where they have been turned to account, it is well that they should be now put forward and subjected to investigation. It is a favourite theme, this independence of foreigners. One would imagine that the patriotism of the landlord's breast must be most intense. (Laughter.) Yet he seems to forget that he is employing *guano* to manure his own fields; that he is spreading a foreign surface over his English soil, through which every atom of corn is to grow; becoming thereby polluted with the dependence upon foreigners, which he professes to abjure. To what is he left—this declaimer against foreigners, and advocate of dependence upon home? Trace him through his career. This was very admirably done by an honourable gentleman, who just now addressed you, at the Salisbury contest. His opponent urged this plea, and Mr. Bouverie stripped him, as it were, head to foot, showing that he had not an article of dress upon him which did not render him in some degree dependent upon foreigners. (Hear, hear.) We will pursue this subject, and trace his whole life. What is the career of the man whose possessions are in broad acres? Why, a French cook dresses *his dinner for him*, and a Swiss valet dresses *him for his dinner*. (Laughter.) He hands down his lady, decked with pearls that never grew in the shell of a British oyster (laughter); and her waving plume of ostrich feathers certainly never formed the tail of a barn-door fowl. The viands of his table are from all countries of the world; his wines are from the banks of the *Rhine* and the *Rhone*. In his conservatory he regales his sight with the blossoms of *South American* flowers. In his smoking room he gratifies his scent with the weed of *North America*. His favourite horse is of *Arabian* blood; his pet dog of the *St. Bernard* breed. His gallery is rich with pictures from the *Flemish* school, and statues from *Greece*. For his amusements, why he goes to hear *Italian* singers warble *German* music, followed by a *French* ballet. If he rises to judicial honours, the ermine that decorates his shoulders is a production that was never before on the back of a British beast. (Loud laughter.) His very mind is not English in its attainments, it is a mere *pic-nic* of foreign contributions. His poetry and philosophy are from *Greece* and *Rome*; his geometry is from *Alexandria*; his arithmetic is from *Arabia*; and his religion from *Palestine*. In his cradle, in his infancy, he rubbed his gums with coral from oriental oceans; and when he dies his monument will be sculptured in marble from the quarries of *Carrara*. (Loud cheers.) And yet this is the man who says, "Oh! let us be independent of foreigners!" (Laughter.) Let us submit to taxation; let there be privation and want; let there be struggles and disappointments—let there be starvation itself; only let us be independent of foreigners!" (Hear.) I quarrel not with him for enjoying the luxuries of other lands; these are arts that make it life to live. I wish not only that they may have all the good that any climate or region can bear for them—it is their right if they have wherewithal to exchange for it. What I complain of is the so-

phistry, the hypocrisy, and iniquity of talking of independence of foreigners in the article of food, while there is dependence in all these materials of daily enjoyment and recreation (cheers); food is the article the foreigner most wants to sell; food is that which thousands of our operatives most want to buy; and it is not for him—the mere creature of foreign agency from head to foot—to interpose and say, "You shall be independent; I alone will be the very essence and quintessence of dependence." We compromise not this question with parties such as these: no, nor with the Legislature. We are not going to the Legislature this session. (Hear, hear, hear.) No more petitioning (cheers) Members of the House of Commons! Members of the House of Lords! do as you please, and what you please—our appeal is to *your masters*. (Tremendous cheering, which lasted for a considerable time.) The League goes to the constituencies, to the creators of legislators, and tells them they have made the article badly, and instructs them how to form it better on the first occasion. (Renewed cheering.) Here we carry on the warfare, appealing—not as has been falsely said to calumny, delusion, or to corruption, but calling up in those who possess political power the intelligence and independence which dignify humanity. And it is remarkable the contrast in the elections that have already taken place since this course was adopted by the League,—that while their adversaries seek out for every little spot, for every speck of dirt and corruption in human character, and build upon that,—while those who espouse the interest of the great land monopoly hunt up the tailor and shoemaker, or the glove-maker, and say, "Have you not a little monopoly of your own? Keep up our great monopoly, and we will uphold your little monopoly." "Tickle me, toby; tickle me, do" (loud laughter);—while they endeavour in every way to play upon all the foolishness and baseness of human nature, the League has endeavoured to work by intelligence and principle, and by these alone, calling out not what is brutal, but what is most divine in human nature—the realizing that spirit of independence, without which no institution, no forms of freedom, no rights of voting, nothing that society can enact or sanction, ever made a people free and great, or ever will. For this reason it was that they were held to be such "monstrous interlopers," such "strangers;" this has raised the cry in London and Salisbury, "Here are people come up amongst us whose homes are in Lancashire—great strangers who have no business here." This was the same sort of indignation that *Doctor Caius* manifested in "The Merry Wives of Windsor," when he found *Slender's* man in his closet. ("Hear," and laughter.) When he inquired of *Dame Quickly*, who was there? the lady only inflamed his wrath the more, by saying, "He is an honest man." Why, the monopolist uses the same language as *Doctor Caius*: "Vat shall do honest man do in my closet—there is no honest man shall come into my closet." (Laughter.) But the honest man has got into their closet—with a search-warrant, and finds there what shall bring them to shame and confusion, exposing the sophistry, laying bare the tricks, and paving the way for future struggles of a similar description, and of yet more resplendent consequences. We have no compromise on such a question as the Corn Laws, because we cannot compromise with crime; and I hold these laws to be one great crime, both in themselves and in their consequences. On the very face of the thing they are a fraud; for when a class says to a nation, "Exclude all foreign corn; be independent of foreigners;" does it not imply that they, the home growers, will furnish the supply? Do they not, by the very fact of interposing to prevent our getting provisions abroad, undertake that there shall be food of their raising at home? Have they done this? (Loud cries of "No, no.") Have they produced it at a price at which the great mass of the community, however industrious, could afford to purchase a sufficient quantity? Have there not been want and starvation both in this country and Ireland, while there has been ample abundance which has been increasing the wealth of the landowners, but not ministering to the necessities of the community? Have they the power? Why, the very increase of our population, some 230,000 a year, would require to feed it, the addition every year, of a county as large as that of Surrey, for its produce to minister to this additional number of mouths, a sufficient quantity of bread and meat. Can they do this? Can they add another county to England? Can they make, as it were, another England? Can they create and furnish us with the produce of a new Ireland; or can they keep the old Ireland? (Loud cries of "No, no," and vehement cheering.) I say that those laws are a crime that occasion the destruction of human food. (Hear.) Not long ago—about the time I was at Liverpool—large quantities of American butter were brought out of the warehouses; a hole was bored in each firkin—the butter would not answer, as a commercial speculation, to pay the duty on it—and into those firkins pitch and other substances were poured, in order that this butter might be rendered altogether unfit for human use. I believe that it was ultimately actually made into grease for the wheels of the locomotive engines. (Loud cries of "Shame!") At Sunderland the same thing has occurred twice within no great number of weeks, with respect to wheat kept there in bond. The people were starving, and the wheat was all the while rotting within the warehouses, until at last it was brought out from under the Government lock and key, by her Majesty's servants, the Custom-house officers, taken to a dunghill, mixed with all sorts of substances; and thereby rendered utterly unfit for use for the common purposes of human food, was there converted into manure—and this at a time when the people were talking about the poor laws, charities, subscriptions, and collections, and of their tender feelings for the sufferings of the poor. (Cheers, and cries of "Shame!") And there is more yet of crime. Let any one look at the table of committals for offences, and compare it with the price of wheat from year to year. The exceptions are very rare in which a rise in the price of corn is not also attended by an increase in the number of committals. In the years from 1834 to 1836, when wheat was at 44s. 3d. a quarter, the average number of committals was 21,000; from 1837 to 1841, when wheat averaged 63s. 2d., the annual number of committals was 25,000; 4000 criminals a year added by this horrible sliding scale of guilt and misery! To take extreme years: in 1835, wheat was a little under 40s. a quarter; the number of committals was 20,751. In 1842, when wheat was 57s. 3d., the committals rose to 31,309. There are calculations indicating, by the expe-

rience of many years, the results of this system. It is a horrible operation to trace out these iniquitous laws, depressing the circumstances, murdering the soul as well as the body, making even the generous and meritorious tendencies of our nature subservient to crime, rendering the love of a man for his own family, and those dependent upon him, a motive and an incentive to guilt, creating crime, and mocking the repetition of the Queen's proclamation for the suppression of vice, by an act of Parliament for the production of criminality. (Hear.) Oh! I do declare, before heaven and earth, that I would rather hold up my hand at the bar of the Old Bailey as a culprit driven to crime by the feeling which these iniquitous laws produce, than be one of those who have profited by their enactment to coin money out of the hearts, lives, and consciences of their fellow-creatures. (Immense cheering; the assembly rising, en masse, and waving hats and handkerchiefs.) Nor is this all. The annual table of mortality shows analogous results to those of the table of crime; with the price of wheat, the number of deaths falls and rises. In 1798, and in 1802, wheat was 59s. a quarter; the average of deaths 20,508 in London. In 1800, an intermediate year, and therefore not liable to any exception on the ground of increased population, when wheat was upwards of 60s., the number of deaths was 25,670: 5000 deaths in that year, analogous with the increase in the price of food, directly tending to impress on our mind, the connexion of cause and effect. It seems as if that grim monster had forgotten his impartiality—as if the bony tyrant had become the very servant of monopoly; and though it is still, in some measure, true that "the rich and the poor lie down together in the grave," yet wealth, by its laws, sends the poor there first, and sends them there in numbers to prepare for its own reception. The effect of the classification of society by the different degrees of safety, and good lodging, and nutriment, is, that while of the middle and higher class only one child in five fails to attain the age of five years, in the working class half the number die before they reach that period. Are we to be told that further experiments should be made in laws connected with phenomena such as these? Are we to give Peel's bill a longer trial, or any form of monopoly whatever? Are we to have more experiments of privation and disappointment and suffering, of crime and of death? It was an old medical axiom to let experiments be made upon vile and worthless bodies; but here are laws making the most cruel of all experiments, even upon the body of a great and suffering nation. (Cheers.) I say, this is enough to arouse every feeling of our souls, and to proclaim a crusade of men, women, and children, of all ranks and classes, against this iniquity; listening to no compromise until it be put down utterly and for ever. For this we band ourselves. You, inhabitants of the metropolis, will, I trust, take your rightful position, and go forward in the van, and lead on the march of the provinces. For this we combine our exertions, determined not to rest until we behold realized that great object of our anticipation—the giant form of emancipated labour throned on the ruins of all existing monopolies. (Loud cheers.) For this we strive from year to year; and while there is one atom left of restriction on the Statute Book—while there is any enactment injurious to the rights of industry and of labour—while there is any imposition on the food of the people—we will never desist from agitation—no, never, never! (Enthusiastic cheering.) Towards this consummation from year to year we hold onward our course, endeavouring in its realization to effect not only good for ourselves, but for other classes also, however blind they may be to their own interests: for we see in universal freedom the best security for the largest property, as well as the rightful and honourable encouragement for those who have no property at all. (Hear.) We believe commercial freedom will develop intellectual and moral freedom,—teaching the different classes their dependence on each other, uniting nations in bonds of brotherhood, and tending to realize the anticipations of the great poet before referred to, and whom this day gave to Scotland and the world:—

"Now let us pray, that come it may,
As come it shall for a' that;
That man to man the world o'er
Shall brothers be for a' that."

Mr. Fox resumed his seat amidst prolonged and most enthusiastic cheering.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Milner Gibson will next address you.

MR. MILNER GIBSON then advanced to the table and was greeted with a burst of applause. He said:—Sir, I should have preferred to have remained silent, to have had time for reflection, after the spirit-stirring and eloquent oration which we have just heard from our friend Mr. Fox; and I feel confident, Sir, that I speak the sentiments of this vast assemblage, when I say that he has conveyed to the world the full intention of the National Anti-Corn-Law League. (Loud cheers.) He has not gone beyond what they profess, nor has he in the slightest degree fallen short of what they desire. It is true, Sir, I believe, that the principle which we advocate is the total and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws, and, at the same time, we advocate the abolition of all other protective duties. (Cheers.) We are not willing to reserve to any portion of the community that protection which we are resolved, if we can, to take from the agriculturists (hear, hear); and standing here, as I rejoice to do, in the presence of this vast and intelligent assembly, I feel proud in having it in my power to deny most emphatically, a charge which has been brought against the Anti-Corn-Law League, that it is a body which seeks simply to attack the landed interest, and desires to procure protection to manufactures. (Hear, hear.) Representing, myself, in Parliament the metropolis of the manufactures of England, I here emphatically, on their behalf, deny that charge, and assert before you all, that those men who have petitioned the Legislature to repeal the Corn Laws have also desired that the Legislature should withdraw all protection from those branches of industry which they pursue. (Cheers.) My honourable friend Mr. Fox well said, that it was a farce to petition the Legislature. I am glad that we are no longer to waste our energies by getting up futile petitions to the landlords' house. We shall be entertained next session by petitions of another description; we shall have landlords' petitions presented by landlords to landlords. (Cheers and laughter.) These are the petitions with which the country will be entertained; and, believe me, I speak the exact truth when I say, that the parties who got up those petitions will be the same that will

present them in the House, and the majority who rule in that House will be the persons to repulse them. (Loud cheers.) It is difficult to conceive a more ludicrous farce enacted in the presence of any body of men; and that it should be enacted in what is called the collective wisdom of the community—(derisive cheers)—is indeed humiliating to those who reflect that they are supposed to be represented in their opinion by that august body. (Cheers.) Sir, the Anti-Corn-Law League has reason indeed to congratulate itself, and to congratulate the country, upon the progress which this great movement is making. It is called indeed an atrocious conspiracy—it is called sometimes also a petty cabal of rascals—(laughter)—sometimes we are informed that this association is a formidable combination of wicked men, endangering alike the existence of the Throne and the Church; and at another moment we are told that we are a petty clique of manufacturers who have no influence, merely endeavouring to force our opinions upon the community by the help of a little money. (Cheers and laughter.) Now, we can't be all these different things. I remember very well an anecdote related of the late Wm. Cobbett. He said, speaking of himself, "Sometimes people call me the scum of the earth; sometimes they say I am the dregs. I can't be both scum and dregs." (Cheers and laughter.) Let us understand from this that the Anti-Corn-Law Association is neither a formidable conspiracy of wicked men; nor a petty cabal of manufacturers; but that it is a vast union of the middle and intelligent classes of this community, who are determined that they will no longer be constrained to live by sufferance; who are determined to vindicate their social position; who no longer will allow themselves to be kept down in the social scale in order that feudal ascendancy may be maintained, and that they may be ruled over by those remnants of the barbarous ages which are perpetuated by the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) The spirit of the Corn-Law system is this: that the trader, manufacturer, and commercial man, have no right to more trade; no claim to greater enjoyment of the comforts of life than it may suit the landlord and the proprietor to allow them. (Hear, hear.) That is the principle of the Corn-Law system. They proceed upon the assumption that the landed aristocracy of England have some inherent right to regulate trade; to mete out the reward of industry, and to tell their fellow-citizens how far they may enjoy the comforts of life, and to how high a position they may rise in the social scale. (Loud cheers.) I say, Sir, that this association is a great combination of rational and thinking men, who now stand forward determined to abolish this foul tyranny, and to erase from the statute-book these remnants of feudal barbarism. (Cheers.) True it is, as my hon. friend Mr. Fox said, that we neither covet the acres, nor desire to interfere with their property—all we ask of them is, that they should desist from interfering with trade, and that they should allow the great body of the community to have the full enjoyment of those resources which Providence has placed within their reach. (Loud cheers.) We are told that the lion of England is roused, and is shaking his mane. I am afraid that the lion of England is the lion of the fable—a donkey in a lion's hide (laughter and cheers)—and now that the animal has begun to bray, all the rest of the creation has discovered that he is not a lion, but an ass. (Loud cheers.) Was there ever in this world such a collection of wretched trash as has appeared in the speeches lately delivered at the various agricultural associations in the country—very little argument, a great deal of abuse, with, perhaps, an occasional allusion to particular burdens, and to the danger threatening both Throne and Church. (Cheers.) But the old stock in trade seems to be abandoned, and the landed aristocracy would appear to be taking up the position, that might constitutes right. (Hear, hear, hear.) One special burden spoken of I will take the liberty of alluding to to-night. It was mentioned by a gentleman at the Northamptonshire meeting, who said that ambassadors, and diplomatists, and consuls were sent abroad at a great expense to this country, and all for the advantage of the commercial world, whilst the agriculturists paid the expense. And this was said by a gentleman who bears the name, but I fear has not the abilities, of that distinguished statesman, Canning. Yes, Mr. Canning told the tenant-farmers—who, in fact, were not tenant-farmers, but a collection, for the most part, of those persons who usually take a prominent part in contested elections—he told those tenant-farmers, or whatever they may be called, that the ambassadors who were sent abroad constituted that special burden upon land which entitled the landed proprietors to enact a sliding scale upon corn. (Cheers and laughter.) I always understood that ambassadors were chosen from the agricultural, or rather from the aristocratic body itself, and that the diplomatic situations were considered pleasant vineyards, with large salaries, suitable to the taste and fancies of aristocratic legislation; but I never heard any commercial man or trader express the slightest thankfulness they ever rendered to them. (Cheers.) I always heard from intelligent merchants, "For heaven's sake don't let ambassadors meddle with our affairs!" That is what we ask. Let trade be free—let merchants manage their own affairs, and don't imagine that interference in the Legislature or of the diplomatist can direct the merchant how to employ his capital, or what exchanges it will be advantageous for him to make better than he can discover for himself. (Cheers.) I feel, Sir, that at this late period of the evening I should be thought to trespass improperly on your time, upon those arguments, or rather those signs of argumentative weakness which make their appearance at agricultural meetings. There was, however, one old fallacy dished up in Northampton to which I will just allude, viz.: That if we admit foreign corn free of duty, foreigners will not take our manufactures in return, but only our gold. What has struck me is, that it is surprising the audacity those agriculturists express about gold going out of the country. One would think that they had been instrumental in bringing a great deal in. (Cheers.) I should like to know how much gold we should have in England if we had nothing but agricultural produce to send in exchange for it. Are there gold mines in Northamptonshire? or is silver dug up in Buckinghamshire (cheers)—that these should be all this excessive anxiety for exchanges in trade should send it out of the country? Why, all the gold and silver we have in England has been purchased by manufacturing industry, all that ministers to the luxuries of the great, all that adds to the splendour of the aristocracy, is purchased by our manufacturing industry—yet when we ask them to allow our manufacturing

population to purchase bread to relieve the necessities of the poor, and increase the comforts of the industrious class, they say, "No, we cannot let you, for fear gold should go out of the country. We are willing to allow so much trade as will minister to the luxuries of the great, but not so much as will minister to the necessities of the poor." (Cheers.) The amount of 50 millions is imported into this country annually, and we know that the whole gold coin existing in England would not pay for nine months of these imports—so that the peculiarity in the commodity of corn which should raise such excessive alarm is, that if a little bread should be brought into England we should be deprived of the only exchangeable commodity in this country—money. But, sir, it is vain to dwell upon any such futile reasoning as this; the question which we now have to consider is the question of how best we are to abolish these Corn Laws; we do not want in these days to refute fallacies; it is but wasting our energy to attempt to call back again the slain. How are we, I say, to abolish these Corn Laws? If the middle classes of this country will stand by their order, as the aristocracy have stood by theirs, they will succeed in abolishing them very speedily. (Loud cheers, and cries of "We will.") But, if they cringe to wealth, to fashion, and to aristocratic power—if they allow themselves to be wheedled into servility—then these Corn Laws will continue, and all the speeches and the arguments in the world will not get rid of them. It is a consciousness on the part of the ruling power that the great body of the industrious classes understand their true position, are in earnest, and are determined to vindicate their rights, that will induce that power at length to yield. They will not make a free gift; they will not surrender without pressure these "valuable privileges," as they are called. No; they fancy that the aristocratic system has got such hold in the hearts of the people of this country, that they may hope for a long tenure of power, and that the day is very distant when the industrious classes will have that full scope given to their industry to which they have a righteous claim. (Loud cheers.) Sir, I believe that the voices of members of Parliament in the Legislature will be of no effect unless they are backed by the voices of those without; unless it be known that a great body of the middle class are determined, as one man, to stand by their order, the Corn Laws will not be abolished. It is in the power of the electors of this country—the borough electors—to abolish the Corn Laws if they please. (Cheers.) They are not in such a minority as is generally supposed. The county representatives have not that immense ascendancy in the Legislature that has been generally represented. Why, what is the fact? That out of the 500 members which England and Wales return, 330 of them are borough and city members, and only 160 county and university members. Ireland and Scotland are with you now. (Cheers.) You have a majority in Scotland and in Ireland. (Renewed cheers.) It is but to accomplish a majority in England, to conquer this 160 county members with the 338 borough members, and the Corn Laws and all other monopolies are for ever abolished from the statute book. Then let us each and all pledge ourselves to endeavour, to the utmost of our power, at the next general election, to return none but men who are pledged to the total and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) This is the practical mode of dealing with the question; let us go into action—let us attack the registration of electors—let us endeavour, by every possible means to advance the cause amongst the electoral body—let us endeavour to induce our friends to exert themselves, by every possible persuasion and influence, to bring the middle class out of that unhappy servility in which they are placed in many of the southern boroughs—let them stand by their order, and I am convinced that they will compel the aristocracy to surrender these unjust pretensions, and that before no very distant day. (Cheers.) And let them empower their members not now to approach the Legislature with bated "breath and whispering humbleness," but let them authorize their representatives to speak to the Legislature in a spirit and tone of firm remonstrance, as if there was a power at their backs that would, before long, make itself felt. If they will do that, they will find their feelings represented in the House of Commons; and my belief is this, that we shall have, ay, before the close of the present Parliament, a very marked difference in the tone and speeches of gentlemen, who know that the day is approaching when they shall have to meet their constituents. It is remarkable how speeches alter when a general election is at hand! If you begin to press now, and continue that pressure with an increasing and accelerated force, by the time that a general election arrives you will have greatly increased that number of men who will vote for my honourable and distinguished friend, Mr. Villiers. (Loud cheers.) We are about to receive the Queen's Speech (laughter), and I fear that it will contain nothing of hope to the mercantile and trading population of this country. I dare say it will be full of congratulations: some undoubtedly there ought to be, for I am one of those who cannot help feeling that the state of peaceable relation in which this country is now placed with the different powers of Europe, is one which ought to give all men, really anxious for the welfare of their fellow-creatures, the deepest and most heart-felt pleasure; but I believe this, that whatever be the present peaceful relation of England—whether with France, Austria, Russia, or the United States of America—there is no guarantee for the duration of that peace, but unrestricted commercial freedom; and, believe me, that there can be no hope that the blessings of civilization, of peace, and of general good understanding, will be spread through the different nations of the earth, until they are all united by that strongest of ties, a common interest, and a free exchange of their thoughts, their commodities, their goods; and that there be abolished entirely this selfish protective system which does but keep up the walls of separation, and dispose men to embark in hostilities who would otherwise almost view each other as fellow-subjects of one common country. Let us, therefore, not only as wishing peace to England, but as desiring that the blessings of peace and civilization should spread through the most distant regions of the world, all feel that the first and best object for philanthropists to pursue, is the accomplishment of unrestricted commercial freedom. (The hon. gentleman sat down amidst loud cheering.)

The Rev. J. BURNET, of Camberwell, upon coming forward was received with great applause, which having subsided, the rev. gentleman addressed the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I most fully agree with the sentiment of the hon. gentleman who

has just sat down, namely, that the great object of the League should now be,—in what particular way it is to carry out its noble purposes. There was at a time when such meetings as the present would, perhaps, have been dismissed at the point of the bayonet, or by the staff of the constable, under the plea that it was convened with the view of bringing the Government of the country into contempt. But now, Sir, such a multitude as this are actually assembled for the purpose of saving the Government from bringing itself into contempt. (A laugh.) Such assemblies as these treat the Government in a very different way from that in which they themselves would once have been treated by the Government: they do not attempt or desire to use any violence towards the Ministry; all they wish is to throw light upon its proceedings, that its members, under the guidance of this light, may arouse themselves and make such meetings as these their own. (Cheers.) That, I maintain, is the great object which such assemblies as the present have in view. But, Sir, reference has been made to the opposition now being formed against the Anti-Corn-Law League. I should like to see the members of that opposition join with the League (laughter), to make discussion a club business; that the League should meet here upon one evening, and the Anti-League upon the next; and that they should upon such occasions endeavour to make the whole community at large understand the real bearings of the case, and enable them to determine whether the League had or had not been misleading the community. (Cheers.) Why this, and similar buildings, are as open to those individuals as they are to the members of the League. (Hear.) If they are the wealthy of the land, and if the League is composed of an insignificant part of the population of this country, why do not those gentlemen of wealth and importance come forward, in the most open and public manner, to the buildings which are the usual resort of wealth and importance, and there expose the League and all its fallacies, so that it may die to-morrow, and the Corn Laws be established for ever? (Cheers and laughter.) I cannot conceive why they keep in the background, unless it is under the influence of a conviction that they would die in the foreground. (Laughter.) Sir, we have often heard of "protection" in connection with the Corn Laws. As it has been observed, it is sometimes exceedingly difficult to comprehend what is really meant by protection; and, perhaps, at first sight, it is as difficult to understand against whom the protection is expected and desired. If the agricultural interest come forward in order to claim it, then it is evident, and they are bound in honesty to confess the fact, that they occupy the place of helpless individuals who cannot protect themselves. (Hear.) But is it true that they have been reduced to this condition? Is this the state of the aristocracy of the land? Will the lords of the fee of this mighty empire come forward and say, "Helpless are we! So far is our body behind the world in practical science, so incapable to compete with others beyond the seas for the great staple of life, so ignorant are we of everything that is high and commanding in farming, so far do we come short of any thing like equal powers of production or genius to increase our powers of production, and bring them up to an equality with that of foreigners, that we can do nothing at the plough or in the barn, in the field at seed or harvest time, that will preserve our existence—and, therefore, we throw away the plough, the barn, the threshing-machine, and the seed-bag, we rush to the House of Commons, and cry out for protection (cheers and laughter): they only can protect us; our genius is of no avail in the matter; our property, of which we boast, cannot protect us; our influence, in which we profess to exult, cannot serve us—nothing will do but the Imperial Legislature!" (Laughter.) Why, this is a helpless cry after all! There is something in this demand for protection which indicates a consciousness of weakness, while, at the same time, it is grotesquely mixed up with boasting exultations about strength. (Hear.) Those individuals, Sir, are going to put you all down; and yet, at the very same time, they tell you that they cannot keep themselves up. ("Hear," and loud laughter.) Now, I have said that it is difficult to find out against whom the protection is sought. Those gentlemen seek protection against the manufacturers of their own country. When the "agricultural interest," as it chooses to designate itself, asks protection, it is against the men of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Glasgow, and the whole manufacturing population of the country. These are the persons of whom they are afraid, against whom they seek protection, and appeal to the Legislature. But in what way do they ask to be protected against them? Why, they are afraid that all these manufacturers will go to the cheapest market for their daily bread, and they say, "Protect us against them: prevent them from doing this, and we shall be safe; but if you allow them to go to the cheapest market to get their daily bread we are ruined; therefore protect us against them, and against them only." They say, too, they want protection against the foreigner, but this is one of the fallacies that they are always bringing into the market along with their corn. (Laughter.) Foreigners are shut out of our market to a certain extent by a very different kind of protection. Our protection against them lies in our practical science, and also in the difference between the price of the commodity that we can produce, and the price of the commodity which he can produce when taken in connexion with the expenses of its importation. The seas around us give us a natural protection against the foreigner. He must be at the expense of importation before he can come into our market, but beyond that natural protection agriculture has no right to ask anything further: the waves that roll round us are our protection in this particular, as they have been in many other respects; and, therefore, the protection sought by the landlords of the kingdom is a protection against the poor and needy, and the starving, to prevent them from going to the cheapest shop where they may buy their daily food. (Loud cheers.) Ah! how low does aristocracy sink when we see it in its carriage, its splendour, its wealth, its influence, hurrying to both Houses of Parliament, to be protected against the poor woman who has just strength enough to fly out of the way of their bounding steeds, and to buy only half what she could purchase, were they to take away their protection against her. (Loud cheers.) "Protect me," says the great landlord duke, "against that poor woman with her penny, going to buy her bread; protect me against her ever being able to do anything but that; protect me against her ever finding her way into any channel where she might find more for her penny. What a degradation to a lord!" (Loud cheers.) A lord

the soil degrade himself by asking for protection! And yet let us never forget when the term protection is at any time employed in connexion with the Corn Laws that such is really its meaning, is really its application,—that the only persons against whom the protection is desired are the inhabitants of the country. I have said the manufacturer: I ought to go further—the agricultural labourer—nay, the tenant-farmers—have an interest in freedom of trade in the articles which they produce: against them, too, is this protection sought by the aristocracy of the land. But is there any interest in this community that would really reap a lasting, permanent, comfortable, and honourable advantage from this protection against the poor and the miserable? Why, sir, if we look to the gentlemen who are the lords of the soil, are we to suppose that they are to be happier in the enjoyment of their property while that property is let out to tenants, who make the whole study of their farming a system of gambling; for such the Corn Laws will very naturally make, and do always make, the farming interests of this country? They do not know what their prices are to be; they cannot tell how to take their farms; they have no means of valuing them with anything like enlightened views of the future; all is upon the gambling-table of the Corn Laws; and what may be the result they know not. And hence there are cases constantly occurring in which the farmer is breaking down, and in which the landlord does not rise up. Let us for a moment suppose that trade was altogether free; then everything would be fixed and settled. Some ask a fixed duty. We should then, however, have a fixed trade, which is better than a fixed duty. (Hear.) Now, the great obligation of the League is, to take care that the men in power shall receive no countenance from their indolence; that Government shall receive no hope from your becoming lax in your proceedings. If you find, perchance, that Sir Robert Peel may slide out on his sliding scale, you must take special care that Lord John Russell does not slide in on his fixed duty. (Loud cheers.) The men in power have played long enough at sliding out and sliding in; and the best course that you can take now is, to let them know clearly, and without the least difficulty, that you understand this game, and that there shall be no more sliding out and sliding in, whilst the people are altogether neglected by both systems of sliding; but you must let them know that it is your determination that they shall be fixed and settled men, and that sliding and shuffling in the Legislature shall come to an end with the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) But what right have those individuals who call themselves "the agricultural interest" to claim any particular advantage over their neighbours? Why, look at a large machine, and you have an illustration of a great nation. All its wheels stand connected; all are intended harmoniously to work; and when they are combined, and the power is made to tell, woe be to the man who dares to interpose his feeble hand to stay their impetus—he must be crushed to powder! Just so is it with this community: all its interests and classes represent the wheels of this vast machine; and if one interest will take itself away from the working of the whole, or attempt to control that working, and throw itself into the midst of the mighty movement, that interest must receive its own destruction. (Cheers.) But, sir, if we look upon the Corn Laws in their working upon the great body of this country, in bringing them together to discuss the great principles of justice, for which they have banded themselves, I do not know whether we have then any very great reason to regret the occasion of our thus coming together. (Hear.) Let it be remembered that we are indebted to these laws for much of the dissension of our day; and let the reason, too, be remembered which has brought the people together—the Corn Law does not prevent them, but rather encourages them to discuss all the principles in all their bearing of the great body politic of the empire. The Corn Laws have furnished a school in which the rising generation begins to understand its duty in time—a seminary in which the men in their vigour and their strength have found a way by which that vigour and strength may be employed for the public good; and, when these laws shall have passed away, every corruption that may hang around the state machinery shall be dealt with the same energy, combination, and resolution, and the same perseverance which has been employed to annihilate the Corn Laws. (Loud and long-continued cheering.) I do not know, sir, but that this may be found an ample compensation for all that we have suffered even from the Corn Laws. There are evils that work their own cure; and, if the Corn Laws are made to stand out as the representative of all our national evils—that evil has been grappled with in a way that has taught the country its own strength, and has led it up from the lowest point of weakness to the highest measure of power—not physical, but moral—a power which alone can give greatness, and which only can be safely wielded both with regard to those against whom it is directed and those who wield it. (Cheers.) If the nation, therefore, is taught thus to use its own power, we have reason to look, not merely for the abolition of the Corn Laws, but of every evil that a keen-sighted and well-treated community can detect, and which a determined and resolute people have resolved to overthrow. It has been said, "We do not wish to petition." I think, sir, that this resolution is wise. Turn away from your House of Commons, if they refuse to turn to you. (Loud cheers.) There was a time when to have a nod from a member of Parliament, even when an election was coming, was reckoned an honour; but to have him speak, even when an election came, was wonderful. To be permitted to speak to him with all humility became at last the fashion, and the opportunity of speaking to a member of Parliament was thought by the individual so favoured an honour that he might hand down to his grandchildren. (Laughter.) By-and-by, however, as the community were tutored up to a little more courage in approaching those great men, the members and the community got a little acquainted; a little further on they thought they might improve this acquaintance, that they might petition them about their grievances; and a letter to a member was imagined to be a wonderful effort at petitioning! By-and-by it was thought they might venture to ask him to present their petition to the House: when that was done, and recorded in the newspapers, many people supposed that then they were made men. They had reached almost their consummation. By-and-by, however, they conceived they might wait upon them and ask them to support those petitions; subsequently again they thought they might take another step, and find fault with them for not supporting them. They went a little further still, and they asked them to make motions upon the principle

of those petitions. That was going still further; but they went further yet, and they examined the votes, and ascertained how they had supported the motions of others on those principles. They then began to take them to task a little in private on the subject, and they at last learned to catechise them on the hustings. (Laughter and cheers.) They went on in this way, until they have ventured so far that members now begin to think of them even in the House, and to think of them even when they are speaking; and, if they cannot see the idea that such and such an one wants expressed whose ghost haunts them in the House,—if they cannot get the very idea that they think might satisfy him, they will hesitate, and hammer, and stammer, till they get something like it; or they will perplex their phraseology so that he will not be able to detect a fault in it at all (laughter); or, if he does, they will manage to make it so obscure and ambiguous, that they can explain it to him either this way or that way. Well, now, petitions at last were sent in immense numbers, and the members were troubled with deputations on the subject, until at length they found that between their petitioners and their patrons—between the persons who made them, the poor people, and the persons that rewarded them, because they had made them poor—between the one and the other they felt a great deal of difficulty, and now they have mustered up a mighty party, which they are ashamed to call a Tory party; and, therefore, they have baptised it under a new name, and they have called it a "Conservative" party (laughter); as if they were to conserve the olden times, the times gone by. Now, we have been petitioning just in the full vigour of this last effort, when the party has come forward with this Conservative or Tory name—or call it what you please; when like a drowning man—it grasps firmly; it holds powerfully; it lays about it with unusual and unnatural strength; and I think the Anti-Corn-Law League have acted wisely in standing away from the blows of this expiring giant until by the mere strength of his own energy he has exhausted himself and expired. (Loud cheers.) You can send to Parliament to expedite this happy consummation such individuals as will not minister to the continuance of his painful existence. (Hear.) In pity to himself, therefore, let him die in peace; and I am glad that the League have determined that he shall die so; for die he must, I have no doubt. (Cheers.) But it has been said that the Minister of the Crown is a man who is "given to change;" that therefore this dying fit may pass away, and he may lift up himself, and astonish us all, by another resurrection. (Laughter.) Well, let him do so; we have no wish at all to destroy the party, provided the party will come out to its own duty. I despise no man, sir, for change; but I despise the man who appears to live by change; I respect the man that changes before truth and the power of evidence. (Cheers.) I would, however, warn the meeting, as an honourable gentleman has already done—and in whose remarks I fully concur—against their trusting the Minister of the day. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear, hear.") Sir Robert Peel is a servant of all work—(cheers and laughter)—he looks about him and watches the time, and he does it wisely. We say nothing at all of the moral grandeur of such a course in a Minister's career; but certainly it is cleverly and wisely executed. Now, this is another reason for your perseverance. If he is a servant of all work, why not compel him to go and occupy himself in another vocation? (Hear.) If he is ready to change right and left, backwards and forwards, up and down, hither and thither, here and there, why not make use of him? Many, many are the instruments in legislative and political movements that are, politically speaking, contemptible; with which we could not for a moment come in contact without feeling that we were defiled—(cheers)—but with such an instrument you must work. If you find that this instrument stands in your way, you must be satisfied to allow the thing to take its own course. You need not degrade yourselves—(hear, hear)—you have only to persevere, and, if the tide of events should still keep the servant of all work upon the surface, you have got rid of the evil, and therefore either let him float down with any popularity he may contrive to attach to himself. I shall not, however, occupy the meeting at this late hour of the night, as it is now time for us to go home; we do not wish to keep late hours; we will leave that to the aristocracy (laughter); and as we, therefore, mean to keep proper hours as well as proper principles, I think it my duty to take my leave of this meeting, urging, however, at the same time the importance of persevering in the great work which they have begun—for you have only begun it, gentlemen. Never let your diligence for a moment flag; never let your zeal cool; never let circumstances throw you off your guard. Keep your position, not only always ready for battle, but always fighting; not only prepared for what is to come, but always bearing about the things that are coming, and moulding them for the public good; and when the Corn Laws shall have passed away, and when your object shall have been completely realized, generations yet unborn will exult in the manly hardihood with which, in the face of all contempt and all sacrifice, you came forward to plead the rights of the children of men. The rev. gentleman sat down amidst loud cheering.

The CHAIRMAN then said:—Ladies and gentlemen, this is the first meeting of those which we propose to hold weekly in this theatre for some time to come. I am not at liberty to announce the speakers for next Thursday evening, but an announcement will be made in the newspapers in the course of a few days, and on that occasion we shall be glad to see all our friends again.

The meeting then separated at half-past ten.

STROUD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

On Tuesday evening the Stroud Anti-Corn Law Association, which is under Earl Ducie's immediate patronage, held a crowded and enthusiastic meeting in the large subscription-room of the borough. The building is calculated to hold nearly 2000 persons, and long before the hour of commencement of the meeting every nook and corner was filled, hundreds being turned away from the impossibility of gaining admittance.

The noble patron of the association (Earl Ducie) was announced to fill the chair; but almost at the last moment a messenger arrived, stating that his lordship was confined to his bed from a fit of severe indisposition. The post of chairman, therefore, devolved upon G. P. Scrope, Esq., one of the members for the borough. Mr. Flint, of Leeds,

W. J. Fox, Esq., and Mr. Shirreff, a practical farmer, were announced as a deputation on behalf of the League.

Mr. Fox in the course of his speech alluded to the Anti-League movement, and said, that it was now a great fact—almost as great a fact as the existence of the League itself—that that body was working, not only by co-operation, but by opposition—not only by sympathy, but by antipathy. (Cheers.) They had been told, the other day, that the League was an unconstitutional body; that its organisation was contrary to law; that it sought to intimidate the Government, and the Government was called on to put it down. But now the farmers' friends were changing their tactics: they found the League could not be put down, and now they were setting up their own little leagues in opposition to it; and the farmers' friends, by these little leagues, only sanctioned the great League, and made it of more importance. They would have their organisation, too. They would have their public meetings. Ay, and they would have their subscriptions too; and it was positively asserted, in a Leicestershire journal, that at one of these little league meetings, a few days since, they had actually subscribed the magnificent sum of 5s. towards supporting the Corn Laws. (Laughter and cheers.) But he could tell them that these puny attempts at opposition would only promote the success of the cause they had at heart; these little leagues would either incite the great National League to increased exertion, or, if anything like liberty of discussion and action was allowed at them, they would only become Anti-Corn Law Leagues in miniature; the farmers would learn at them to inquire into the bearings of the great question; they would thus become normal schools of repeal; and as the little ducklings followed the great duck into the water, so would these little leagues follow in the wake of the great League, promoting the very principles they were meant to oppose. (Cheers.)

Several other gentlemen addressed the meeting, and resolutions were unanimously agreed to expressing confidence in the League, and a determination to carry out its objects. At the conclusion of the meeting the following sums were handed in as contributions to the hundred thousand pound fund, and were received by the assembly with tumultuous applause:—The Right Hon. Earl Ducie, 100l.; G. P. Scrope, Esq., M.P., 50l.; N. S. Marling, Esq., 50l.; S. S. Marling, Esq., 50l.; C. Stanton, Esq., 40l.; George Hooper, Esq., 40l.; J. Watts, Esq., 20l.; T. Stanton, Esq., 10l.; J. Partridge, Esq., 10l.; the Working Men of Stafford's Mill, 10l. (loud cheers); ditto of Ebley Mills, 20l. (loud cheers); ditto of Stanley Mills, 25l. (loud cheers); ditto of Earlington Mills, 25l. (loud cheers); sundry subscriptions from Nailsworth, 50l.; ditto from Stroud, 50l.; making a total of £558. The amount subscribed last year was only £274, so that this year the contribution is more than doubled, besides considerable subscriptions which are yet expected.—*Morning Chronicle*.

THE LEAGUE FUND AT BIRMINGHAM.

A most numerous and respectable committee of merchants and manufacturers, having been formed in Birmingham for the purpose of assisting the League in its present efforts against monopoly, held a meeting on Tuesday night. Henry Smith, Esq., in the chair.

A spirited address to the merchants, manufacturers, and other inhabitants of Birmingham and its neighbourhood, informing them that a great meeting will speedily be held at Birmingham to promote the objects of the League, and calling on them to attend the meeting, and aid in the abolition of monopoly, was adopted. The demonstration at Birmingham is accordingly expected to be most influential, far more than, and counterbalancing, the anti-league movement in Warwickshire, which has begun there as well as in other counties.—*Ibid*.

NEWCASTLE.

For a considerable period before the time of meeting, on Monday last, the door of the Music-hall was besieged by crowds of persons, eager to gain admittance; and immediately on the opening of the doors a dense body of persons rushed forward, and filled the staircase and the body of the hall in an inconceivably short space of time. Previous to the commencement of the business, the magnificent hall, capable of containing 1000 individuals, was filled from end to end with persons of all classes, amongst whom were a considerable sprinkling of ladies. The gallery was also crowded with a numerous and attentive audience. Altogether, the proceedings were of a more enthusiastic character than we remember to have witnessed on any similar occasion.

Precisely at seven o'clock, the Mayor, Sir John Fife, Knt., took the chair.

The CHAIRMAN then rose and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I am very sensible of the honour you have done me, in placing me in this chair, because I believe that it is awarded to me, not so much in consideration of any official position which I hold, as from my well-known strong opinions in favour of Free Trade—(cheers)—and I hope I may venture to say, in favour of freedom in every form. (Renewed applause.) Although there is no question requiring more temper, more impartiality, more extensive information, perhaps, in its discussion, and for its full and free intelligence and understanding to the public mind, than the question of commercial restrictions, and the importance of Free Trade to our best national interests, yet, unfortunately, it is a question which has awakened a great many selfish interests, and roused many violent and savage feelings. Sir Robert Peel himself imagined that we were instigating even to his assassination. (Hear, hear, hear.) And, on the other hand, some amiable parties in Lincolnshire equitably proposed putting Mr. Cobden into a well. (Loud laughter.) I suppose the pundits of Lincolnshire had heard something about truth being found at the bottom of a well; and, very probably, they would like to keep it there. (Laughter.) But it is our business to bring it to light; and the means we take to do so are by calling such assemblies as this. (Applause.) The Chairman concluded by a few general remarks; after which,

Mr. JOSEPH WATSON read letters, the first from Mr. W. Hutt, the member for Gateshead, excusing himself for non-attendance on the ground that he did not entirely agree with the League, and that, were he even present to explain the grounds of his dissent, he would be a good deal incapacitated from so doing by a severe cold; the second from Mr. Ord, the member for Newcastle, also declining to attend, stating, however, that while he did not differ from the League in the object they sought to attain, he was not

(Continued on page 280)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, January 24, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | |
|---|--------|
| J. Kershaw, Dearnley, near Littleboro', Lancashire | £1 0 0 |
| Richard Holroyd and Co., Mill-street, Manchester | 40 0 0 |
| James Andrews, Gee-cross, near | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Gough, 12, King-street, | 2 0 0 |
| John Chadwick and Sons, 28, do., | 5 5 0 |
| Simpson, Thompson, and Co., | 30 0 0 |
| — Kessell, at Kessell & Co.'s, Booth-st., | 10 0 0 |
| Lemuel W. Wright, Greenford Cottage, near Wrexham | 2 2 0 |
| H. Milnes, at J. A. Simpson & Co.'s, Piccadilly, Manch. | 1 1 0 |
| George Sanders, at do., | 1 1 0 |
| George Pagan, New Cumnock, Ayrshire, N.B. | 1 1 0 |
| Joseph Bannister, Waterloo place, Hastings | 0 5 0 |
| Richard Edwards, Pelham-street, | 1 5 0 |
| John Tree, Fish-street, | 0 3 0 |
| Stephen Thwaites, John-street, | 0 2 6 |
| John D. Thwaites, Meadow Cottages, | 0 2 6 |
| J. L., | 0 5 0 |
| Col. Macadam, 42, Wellington-square, | 1 0 0 |
| Col. Williams, Cotaheld-house, Battle | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. William Davis, Croft Chapel, Hastings | 0 5 0 |
| J. M., | 0 5 0 |
| Small sums, | 0 19 2 |
| Edward Lloyd, currier, Abergelle, North Wales | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Taylor, Rochdale | 20 0 0 |
| A Friend, per Rev. F. Knowles, Park-l., n. Warrington | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend, per do., | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. A. Holland, Knutsford | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Susan Gannon, do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Wareham, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Miss Hodgetts, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Edward Clarke, do. | 0 2 6 |
| William Cunliffe, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Peter Wallden, tanner, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Bennett, shoemaker, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Henry Birch, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Moses Dale, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, | 0 8 0 |
| Rev. R. Johnson, rector of Claybrook, Leicestershire | 1 0 0 |
| James Hopwood, Lutterworth, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Erskine Beveridge, Priory-place, Dunfermline | 10 0 0 |
| Thomas Ireland, Bridge-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| The Workmen at St. Leonard's factory, do. | 4 0 0 |
| Alexander Aitken, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Henry Aitken, Reid-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Robert Kay, Moodies, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Brown, Priory-lane, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Russell, Appin-terrace, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Rev. Professor McMichael, do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Morris, Gardener's Land, do. | 1 0 0 |
| George Inglis and Son, do. | 2 2 0 |
| James Aitken, James street, do. | 0 7 6 |
| George Angus, Kirkgate, do. | 0 10 0 |
| John Marshall, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Dick, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Rev. F. Law, do. | 0 10 0 |
| David Lawrie, Abbey Park-place, do. | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend, East Port, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Andrew Reid, School Rd-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| I. Kershaw, Sladen Mill, Rochdale, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Leader, Leck Parsonage, near Kirby Lonsdale | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas C. Bigwood, Queen-street, Portsea | 1 0 0 |
| John Newlyn, High street, Portsmouth | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, Manchester | 0 1 0 |
| F. Chaplin, The Chantry, Bishop's Stortford | 1 1 0 |
| A. Chaplin, do. | 1 0 0 |
| F. T. Nash, do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Nash, do. | 1 0 0 |
| — Clements, do. | 1 0 0 |
| — Hawkes, Parsonage, do. | 1 0 0 |
| — Johns, Windhill Lodge, do. | 1 0 0 |
| W. Taylor, The Wharf, do. | 1 0 0 |
| — Eddy, do. | 0 10 0 |
| T. Bird, Stort Lodge, do. | 0 10 0 |
| — Waterman, do. | 0 10 0 |
| — Beard, do. | 0 10 0 |
| — Pratt, do. | 0 2 6 |
| — Slater, do. | 0 2 6 |
| — Skipp, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Peter and Dan. Hainsworth, Farley, near Leeds | 10 0 0 |
| George Andrews, do., do. | 5 0 0 |
| John Hainsworth, sen., do., do. | 5 0 0 |
| Reuben Hainsworth, grocer, do., do. | 1 10 0 |
| Samuel Hollings, do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| P. Hainsworth (7 workmen), do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Roberts, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Abimelech Hainsworth, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, do., do. | 0 2 1 |
| John Turner, jun., do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Two Friends, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Smith, cloth miller, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Reuben Hainsworth, clothier, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Benjamin Hainsworth, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Jeremiah Naylor, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| Joseph Whitaker, grocer, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, C. F., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Widow Fairbank, grocer, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Ann Fairbank, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| Ruth Spence, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| Benjamin Walte, clothier, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| Matthew Fairbank, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| Charles Hainsworth, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| W. H. Hurst, woolstapler, Bradford | 0 10 0 |
| John Busfield, Farley, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Isaac Hainsworth, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Mathew Roberts, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Roberts, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Turner, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Richard Varley, Stanningley, near Leeds | 5 0 0 |
| William Varley, do., do. | 5 0 0 |
| John Harrison, do., do. | 2 0 0 |
| Henry Cooke, Paper-mills, Richmond | 0 5 0 |
| Mrs. H. Cooke, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| W. Cooke, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Cooke, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Doeg, Bramley, near Leeds | 1 1 0 |
| Per Arthur Forsyth, workmen in the East Mill, Brechin, N.B. | 1 8 6 |
| Edward King, Church-street, Todmorden | 1 0 0 |
| John Maitland, Causey-wood, near do. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Madden, Banks-mill, do. | 10 0 0 |
| William Dillon, Sea Horse Inn, Coventry | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Rays, silk dresser, Wray, near Lancaster | 0 3 0 |
| Small sums, do., do. | 0 17 0 |
| John Robinson, 17, Spier-street, Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| John Taylor, 3, Princess-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Taylor, do., do. | 2 0 0 |
| Michael Goodall, London, per C. Cobden | 2 3 0 |
| John Law, Remaden-wood, near Todmorden | 2 10 0 |
| El. Hudson, Gale, near Littleborough | 2 10 0 |
| A Well-wisher for all | 5 0 0 |
| Nathaniel Moore, Ashton-under-Lyne | 1 1 0 |

| | |
|---|--------|
| Thomas Carrick, 18, Brown-street, Manchester | £1 0 0 |
| W. Hibbert, Hovey-bridge, Hyde, near Manchester | 3 3 0 |
| Wm. Davis, Mottram New-road, Godley, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Taylor, Hyde-lane, Hyde, near do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Kerley, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Leah, Gee-cross, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Hannah Cheatham, Hovey-bridge, Hyde, nr. do. | 0 10 0 |
| Elliz. Green, 21, Norbury-street, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Peter Oldham, Clarendon-place, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Miss Marsh, Hovey-bridge, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Platt, Newton-green, Newton, near do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Hyding, Russell-street, Hyde, near do. | 0 2 6 |
| Samuel Hyding, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. O. Builivant, Clarendon, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| George Scott, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Stephen Healey, Hyde-lane, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Zachariah Smith, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| H. Slater, Market-place, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Rowbotham, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Davenport, Hyde-lane, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Kerrison, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Isaac Whitaker, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Charles Kerrison, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Oldham, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Sam. Phillips, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John North, George-street, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Sam. Collier, Hyde-lane, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Margaret Collier, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Gledhill, Low-street, Newton, near do. | 0 2 6 |
| Charles Cooper, Hyde-lane, Hyde, near do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Hughton, Gee-cross, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Hanson, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Mark Billinge, do., do. | 0 2 0 |
| Jonas Rowbotham, do., do. | 0 2 0 |
| Thomas Bradley, Mottram New-rd., Godley, do. | 0 5 0 |
| George Barker, 270, Deansgate, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Thompson, 52, Shudehill, do. | 0 15 0 |
| Matthew Irving, 18, Maskell-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Hall, 82, Chapel-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| H. and R. Howden, 28, Oxford-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Muir, 41, Oxford-road, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Greaves, 88, Oxford-road, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Windsor, 65, Piccadilly, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. E. Gidney, 41, do., do. | 0 10 6 |
| James Shannon, 18, Oak-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Hervey, 4, Edward-street, Ardwick, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Smith, Coach and Horses, Booth-st., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Benjn. Harper, Moss-side, do. | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend, by R. Smith, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Emery, Pendleton, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Warburton, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Popplewell, 10, Bank-parade, Salford | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Hughes, Bury-street, Salford | 0 2 6 |
| Alfred Birtha, 15, Higher Temple-street, Chorlton-on-Medlock, do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Lomas, Newton-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Gibbons, 22, Tame-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Roger Higham, 15, Every-street, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Robert Smith, 1, Holt-town, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Brown, 9, Pigot-street, C.-on.-M., do. | 1 1 0 |
| Rev. T. C. Holland, Loughborough | 0 10 0 |
| Wm. Burke, 44, Sidney-street, Manchester | 2 2 0 |
| Thomas Dickinson, 8, Dale-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| — Nelson, Queen Ann-street, Redbank, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Garry and Friends, Hen and Chickens, Deanage, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, per Wm. Jolly, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Samuel Scott, 9, Preston-street, Salford | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 6 0 |
| James Barrow, Great Ancoats-street, Manchester | 1 1 0 |
| Washington Haddington, Bristol-street, Birmingham, | 1 0 0 |
| per Ann Smith, Prestbury | 1 0 0 |
| Stanley-Mills Association, Stroud, per G. Dangerfield | 5 0 0 |
| Edward Jones, High-street, Whitchurch, Salop | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Venables, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Green, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Wythe, Wash Latchford, Warrington | 1 0 0 |
| John Ross, Castle street, Woodbridge | 0 2 6 |
| John Driver, Br. ck kiln, Wickham Market | 0 2 6 |
| David Walker, Dallingborough | 0 2 6 |
| John Walker, Abbey Farm, Campsey Ash | 0 2 6 |
| James Smith, Burgh, near Woodbridge | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 3 0 |
| Ellis Sanders, Broad-street, Ross | 10 0 0 |
| Joseph Drew, mason, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend to Freedom, do. | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Rev. E. A. Claypole, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Rev. W. M. Byrne, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Francis H. Adams, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Mrs. Martha Lewis, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 3 0 0 |
| Samuel Heron, Dob Meadows, Over Darwen | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Christie, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Joshua Baron, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Watson, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Jepson, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Walsh, do., do. | 0 3 0 |
| Peter Croshaw, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Butterworth, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Edward Grainger, Dudley | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Ashworth, Bull's Head-yard, Manchester | 5 0 0 |
| T. P. Moses, Fazakerley-street, Prescott, Lancashire | 0 2 6 |
| Abram. Hollhead, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Owen, Market-place, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Barrow, Yew Tree-place, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| William Barrow, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Peter Barrow, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Edward Bridge, Red Hazles, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| William Orford, Fazakerley-st., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Charles Lynd, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Scarisbrick, Eccleston-st., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Appleton, Fall-lane, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Edward Crump, Eccleston-st., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Hornby, Fall-lane, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Peter Appleton, Market-place, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Traverser, Church-street, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Preston, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Miss Ann Millett, Eccleston-st., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Hopwood, Mill-hill, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Moulesdale, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Leyland, New-street, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Rev. G. W. Elliot, Hillcock-street, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| J. W. Kershaw, Fall-lane, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| William Mercer, Hillcock-street, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| William Haynes, Market-place, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Prescott, New-street, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Yates, Paradise Colliery, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| William Roscoe, Tarbock, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Stephens, Red Hazles, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| W. and J. Copple, Eccleston, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Tyrer, New-street, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Birchall and Cross, Sutton, near do. | 1 0 0 |
| Isaac Johnson, Parr-square, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| P. A. Houghton, Hillcock-street, do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| James Robinson, Yew-tree-place, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| C. and F. Fogg, Market-place, do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| H. and S. Procter, Eccleston-st., do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| Henry Lucas, do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| Miss Gaskell, West End, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Miss Blispham, St. George's-road, Bolton, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Preston, New-street, Prescott, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Beesley, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Andrew Barton, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Tyrer, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Brown, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do., do. | 0 15 6 |
| John Daniell, Deverill-road, Warminster | 0 2 6 |

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| A Friend, | Warminster | £20 2 6 |
| Thomas Hardick, builder, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Rev. Geo. Howe, High-street, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. P. Ubsdell, | do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to the League, Church-st., | do. | 0 2 6 |
| Geo. Lampard, Longbridge, Deverill, do, | | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, | do. | 0 1 0 |
| Sam. Allen, Atherstone, per Thos. Rathbone | | 1 0 0 |
| John H. Watt, Irvine, N.B. | | 1 0 0 |
| A. Laake, hat maker, High-street, Montrose | | 1 0 0 |
| Jas. Booth, 10, Bradshaw-st., Shude-hill, Manchester | | 1 0 0 |
| A Convert | | 1 1 0 |
| A Friendly Farmer | | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend to Trade | | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, Gayfield-square | | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend, 22, Nelson-street | | 0 2 6 |
| An Admirer | | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to the Cause, 25, Arthur-street | | 0 2 6 |
| An Old Friend | | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, 6, Nelson-street | | 0 2 6 |
| George Burn, High-street | | 1 1 0 |
| J. Brough, 14, Calton-hill | | 1 0 0 |
| John Bruce, 16, Scotland-street | | 2 0 0 |
| James Barclay, Balerno Lodge, Balerno | | 1 0 0 |
| John Brown, D.D., 10, Gayfield-square | | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Cooper, 23, Minto-street | | 3 0 0 |
| Kate Dalrymple, hardly earned | | 0 2 6 |
| Lieut.-Col. Duncan | | 1 0 0 |
| William Douglas, 1, Regent-st., Portobello | | 0 5 0 |
| — Dunbar, 44, Dundas-street | | 1 0 0 |
| James Erskine, 17, Brunswick-street | | 0 2 6 |
| John Fyfe, 17, St. Patrick-square | | 0 7 6 |
| A. Grierson, George-square | | 1 1 0 |
| Rev. Henry Grey, 24, Warriston-crescent | | 1 0 0 |
| Miss Stirling Graham, 29, Forth-street | | 1 0 0 |
| C. Hardie, 16, Catherine-street | | 0 5 0 |
| H. M. G. | | 5 5 0 |
| R. Hunter, Amexander, Pennicuik | | 0 2 6 |
| J. S. | | 1 1 0 |
| J. W. A. | | 0 5 0 |
| William Kirkwood, Musselburgh | | 1 0 0 |
| Miss Malcolm, 30, Dundas-street | | 1 1 0 |
| John Malcolm, 9, Greenside-street | | 0 4 0 |
| J. Miller, farmer, Newhouse, by N. Berwick | | 2 0 0 |
| Henry Morrison, Queensferry-street | | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Mackenzie, of Muirton, 29, Charlotte-sq. | | 2 2 0 |
| Kenneth M'Leay, R.S.A., 30, Stafford-street | | 1 1 0 |
| W. Nicol, 86, South-bridge | | 2 0 0 |
| Miss Eliza Nicolson, 10, Salisbury-road | | 2 2 0 |
| "Nix my Dolly" | | 0 2 6 |
| James Nelson, 209, High-street | | 0 5 0 |
| Dr. Purdie, 15, Union-street | | 0 5 0 |
| Robert Russell, Canonmills | | 1 1 0 |
| Robert Richardson, 23, Minto-street | | 2 0 0 |
| John Sheppard, 68, George-street | | 1 1 0 |
| Robert Selby | | 2 2 0 |
| Robert Shells, 29, George IV. Bridge | | 1 0 0 |
| S. M. | | 0 5 0 |
| John Snow, South James-street | | 0 2 6 |
| Frederick Schultze, sen., Ramsay-place | | 1 0 0 |
| Two Friends | | 0 10 0 |
| Robert White, Bonnington | | 1 0 6 |
| A. Wilkie | | 1 1 0 |
| Mrs. Janet Young, Poultry-market | | 1 1 0 |
| Alex. Annandale, Polton-mill, Lasswade | | 20 0 0 |
| John Anderson, 22, Nicolson-street | | 2 0 0 |
| A Friend to the League | | 1 1 0 |
| H. Armour, 18, Buccleuch-place | | 0 2 6 |
| A Convert | | 1 0 0 |
| A Well-wisher | | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to the Poor | | 5 0 0 |
| A. Aitken, 11, Duncan-street | | 0 10 6 |
| A Farmer who wishes he could give more | | 1 0 0 |
| A few Stocking-makers per Hugh McPherson, | | |
| Old Assembly Close | | 1 5 0 |
| J. Anderson, 21, Rose-street | | 0 7 6 |
| A Free Churchman and Free Trader | | 1 1 0 |
| Robert Aitken, 11, Duncan-street | | 2 2 0 |
| Alexander Allan | | 0 5 0 |
| A. Z. | | 2 2 0 |
| A Tradesman | | 3 0 0 |
| J. M. Bell, 4, Forres-street | | 4 4 0 |
| Robert Bryce, Spittal-street | | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Bosk, 25, Laurieston | | 1 0 0 |
| Jos. Baird, 16, Royal Exchange | | 1 1 0 |
| J. H. Burton, Duncan-street | | 3 3 0 |
| W. Brown, Hailes Quarry House | | 0 10 6 |
| George Beattie, 5, Lothian-road | | 1 1 0 |
| Dr. Bellby, Northumberland-street | | 3 0 0 |
| Barely Free from Debt | | 0 5 0 |
| James Barlas, 5, Duncan-street | | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. Dr. W. Brown, 2, Meadow-place | | 1 1 0 |
| A. H. Balfour, 3, St. John's-hill | | 0 5 0 |
| Jonathan Bladworth, Grassmarket | | 2 0 0 |
| L. Berry, Greenside-place | | 1 1 0 |
| John Brown, M. D., London-street | | 1 1 0 |
| Robert Cadell, St. Andrew-square | | 20 0 0 |
| J. Clapperton and Co., High-street | | 10 0 0 |
| H. Cunningham, Bonnington | | 10 0 0 |
| George Clarke, 8, Keir-street | | 1 1 0 |
| A. Cuthbert, 1, St. James's-square | | 0 5 0 |
| — Clarke, 343, High-street | | 1 1 0 |
| Edward Cruickshank, 2, Laurieston-place | | 2 2 0 |
| Robert Chisholm, 15, Bruntsfield-place | | 1 1 0 |
| William Scott Chisholm, do. | | 1 1 0 |
| Henry Crichton, S.C.C. | | 2 0 0 |
| — Colthart, Croftam, Brampton, Cum-berland | | 1 0 0 |
| W. Crouch, 4, North-bridge | | 1 0 0 |
| J. Craig, 3, Armistion-place | | 1 0 0 |
| Simon Campbell, S.C.C., Bellevue-crescent | | 1 1 0 |
| Miss Carruthers, Frederick-street | | 1 1 0 |
| John Custer, 21, Richmond-place | | 0 5 0 |
| Dr. Daun, Drummond-place | | 10 0 0 |
| Mrs. Drummond, 16, Shandwick-place | | 5 0 0 |
| Arthur Dingwall, Rutland-square | | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Dick, Clyde-street | | 5 5 0 |
| Wm. Deans, merchant, Leith | | 1 1 0 |
| Baillie Duncan, 1, Heriot-row | | 2 2 0 |
| Quintin Dalrymple, 29, Frederick-street | | 1 0 0 |
| John Dick, Clyde-street | | 1 1 0 |
| P. E. Dove, 4, Henderson-row | | 1 1 0 |
| Rev. P. Davison, 11, Dean-street | | 1 0 0 |
| J. Donaldson, advocate, 46, Northumberland-st. | | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Darling, 94, South-bridge | | 2 0 0 |
| John Dalrymple, Bath-street, Leith | | 0 5 0 |
| D. M. M., Westerhall Cottage | | 0 10 0 |
| — Douglas, 1, South-bridge | | 0 5 0 |
| John Dunlop, Brocklock | | 10 0 0 |
| Friend to the League | | 5 0 0 |
| Friend to the Cause | | 2 2 0 |
| A. Fyfe, S.C.C., Leopold-place | | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Fleming, South-bridge | | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. John French, Buccleuch-place | | 1 0 0 |
| J. Ford, 29, West-port | | 1 0 0 |
| F. R. K., against iniquity | | 0 2 6 |
| Dan. F. reater, 1, West Newington | | 1 1 0 |
| John Gray, Craigie-terrace | | 10 0 0 |
| G. R. and Co. | | 5 0 0 |
| Baillie Gray, Prince's street | | 10 0 0 |
| G. H. Girdle, St. John's-street | | 5 0 0 |
| James Grant, 16, South-bridge | | 2 2 0 |
| Robert Glass, Victoria-terrace | | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Glen, 7, Spencer-place | | 0 5 0 |
| J. B. Grade, W. B. | | 2 0 0 |
| William Gray, 43, Buccleuch-street | | 0 2 6 |
| Dr. Gardner, 12, Hill-street | | 0 10 0 |
| Thomas Gardner, Larch-grove, Balerno | | 0 10 0 |
| T. J. Galloway, 197, High-street | | 1 1 0 |

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|---|-----|----|---|
| Mrs. Glen, 7, Spencer-place | 40 | 3 | 0 |
| J. and W. Howison, 2, Drummond-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Howison and Son, Drummond-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Hutchison, S.C.C., Duncan-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| George Hope, Fenton Barns | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Rev. George Harris, Hope-park | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Geo. Harrison, 36, North-bridge | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| H. J. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Henderson, 6, George-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| W. Hughes, Nottingham-place | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Horaburg, 15, Buccleuch-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| George Inglis, South-bridge | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Inches, Niddry-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| E. Irvine, Scotsman Office | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Ionobodie | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Jamieson, Grassmarket | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Peter Jamieson, 6, Nicolson-square | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| J. M. St. Andrew-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Kerr, St. Leonard's-house | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. Kennedy, 5, Broughton-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Kyd, 5, Armliston-place | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| James Leilham, Inverleith-place | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Laidlaw and Sons, Simon-square | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Leckie, 2, Picardy-place | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Sir George MacLennan, Bt., 11, Athol-crescent | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Murray, Henderson | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Milne, 7, South Frederick-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Millar, 4, Hope Park | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Charles Morton, Ramsay-gardens | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Millar, S.C.C., George-square | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| E. F. Maitland, Alva-street | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Maxwell, 5, Archibald-place | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| L. Millar, 27, Frederick-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Millar, 1, Bread-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Millar, Hay-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| "Money makes the Mare to Go"—the last | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Kick at the Rogues in Grain | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| C. Muirhead, 16, Young-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A. and E. Murray, N.W. Circus-place | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Alexander Marshall, Dean-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. H. MacFarlane, 46, Howe-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Duncan M'Laren, High-street | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| George M'Callum, India-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| J. M'Laren and Son, Roxburgh-place | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| George K. M'Callum | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. M'Farlane, 16, Sandwich-place | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| J. F. M'Farlane, North-bridge | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| James M'Intosh, 9, Graham-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| John M'Pherson, 22, India-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| E. M'Gill, 103, Rose-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss G. M'Laren, 13, Frederick-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Miss Agnes M'Laren, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Master John M'Laren, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. M'Gregor, 1, Macdowall-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John M'Intyre, 23, Archibald-place | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| — M'Kinlay, 3, Hanover-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. R. Nelson, Nicolson-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| No Sliding Scale or Fixed Duty | 0 | 4 | 6 |
| W. Oliphant and Son, 9, South-bridge | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Charles Oliphant, Inverleith-place | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Paterson, 28, Grassmarket, and more if | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| needed | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| George Paterson, 13, Montgomery-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| P. Paul, S.C.C., Princes-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Pairman, 5, Richmond-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Richardson and Brothers, Bow | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Robertson, of Eldin | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| William Renton, 22, Buccleuch-place | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| John Russell, Annandale-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Renton, 14, Princes-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| R. B. S., Rankellor-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Reid, builder, 11, Calton-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Francis Richardson, 28, Grassmarket | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| John Ritchie, D.D., 19, Salisbury-road | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. H. Ritchie, do., do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Robertson, 30, Hanover-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. Rutherford, 94, Cross-causeway | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. Robertson | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Reid, 4, Henderson-row | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hugh Rose, 1, Blenheim-place | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Stone and Kemp | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Sommerville, Dalmore Paper Mill, Pennicuik | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Sommerville, jun., Dalmore Paper Mill | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| George Smith, 50, Niddry-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| John Stewart, Nicolson-square | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Stewart, 176, High-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Councillor Stark | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Alexander Scott, 4, Westport | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| R. Scott, 20, Great Stuart-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| A. H. Smith, 306, Lawnmarket | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| David Smith, 5, St. David-street | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| James Taylor, Tanfield | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Geo. Thomson, Jamaica-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A. Thomson, 93, West Bow | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Archibald Thomson, High-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| William Tait, 107, Princes-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Tod, Princes-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| G. W. Willis, 42, Rankellor-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| John Wigham, jun., Salisbury-road | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| John Wigham, sen., Nicolson-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| X. Y. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Geo. Young, 1, South-bridge | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Small sums | 1 | 19 | 6 |
| James Aytoun, Heriot-row | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| A. Adam and Sons, Bonnington | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Anderson, 8, London-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. W. Anderson, 5, North Charlotte-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. C. Anderson, 5, North Charlotte-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| John Aird, 11, Howe-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Miss Marion A. Anderson, Prestonpans | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| "Away with restrictions, and let men and | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| money find their level" | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Friend, Lothian-road | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Complete Suffragist | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade, Cramond Bridge | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Anonymous | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Arthur, Canongate | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A True Friend | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| A Friend to the Cause | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade, No. 78 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| An East Lothian Farmer of fifty years' standing | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| David Arthur, Canongate | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Friend, 121, Princes-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Shilling last year | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend to the Agricultural Labourer | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Thos. Allan, 265, High-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| An Old Soldier | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A. T. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. L., Eke-side | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade, Norton-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Affleck, 14, Canning-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend to the Poor | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend, New Bridge | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Miss Anderson, 6, Windmill-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Laird's Son | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Aitken, Bonnington | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per G. Dingwall Fordyce, advocate | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| A Friend to the good Cause | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| David Aitken, Tranent | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend to the Cause | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend to the Anti-Corn-Law League | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend, 16, Cumberland-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Widow's Mite against the Sliding Scale | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Man of Common Sense | 1 | 0 | 0 |

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| A Friend to the League | 40 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Anderson, 30, Rose-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Supporter of the Cause | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend, 11, Charlotte-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Anonymous | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend who wishes to live and let live | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Already subscribed at the glorious Meeting on | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thursday | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. A. Z. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend, 26, Gardner's-crescent | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend, Lasswade | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend to the Cause | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| A Friend, X. Y. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend to the Cause | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A. P., Broughton-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend to the Cause, 196, Rose-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Conservative half-crown | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Provider of Bread for Ten | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Farmer | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A poor Printer's Pop at Protection | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Widow's Mite, Society | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend to Liberty | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| A Friend, Path-head, Ford | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Starving Man | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. C., a friend to justice | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend (a lady) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Alston, 52, Hanover-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Argonaut | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Well-wisher | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Anonymous 3, S. G.-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A. and C. Black | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Banks, North-bridge | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Branton, 82, Prince's-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| B. M. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Brown, 6, Rose-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| D. Burns, 44, Rankellor-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Barlas, 5, Duncan-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Buhner, 10, East Rose-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Alex. M. Bell, W.S., 12, India street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| James Blackhall, 22, North-bridge | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| D. Berrey, 9, Society | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Branton, Pathhead, Ford | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Beattie, painter | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Miss Isabella B. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Brown, Randolph-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Victor Blanc, 69, George-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| — Bruce, St. Cuthbert's Glebo | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| C. Blyth, 5, South-bridge | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A. Broomfield, Arncliffe-place | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Charles Bayne, 64, Rose-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Peter Bairnsfather, 9, Royal Circus | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Brown, 4, Haddington-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Francis Burke, accountant | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| J. Ballantyne, 5, Nicolson-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss Begrie, 73, St. Leonard-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Dr. Blair, 3, Stafford-street | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| Thomas Blyth, 153, Pleasance | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Banks and Co., Canon-mills | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Chambers, Manor-place | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Robert Cox, W.S., Rutland-street | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Calder, 2, Albany-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A. Cushnie, 56, Terrace | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| T. O. Campbell, 18, Greenside-place | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Cushnie, Malta-green | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Peter Crooks, W.S., 2, Abercromby-place | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| James Chisholm, 5, Shakespeare-square | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| George Cunningham, Balerno | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alexander Christie, 23, George-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Craig, 18, Nicolson-street | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| Walter Cran, 6, Market-street, Musselburgh | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Cameron, 11, Thistle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Clark, 31, Morrison-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Margaret Crawford, Hadow's-court | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Cosmopolite | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. James Clark, 7, Duncan-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Patrick Campbell, surgeon, Newington | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Caunter, 60, Great King-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Calderwood, 17, Union-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Clark, 118, Lauriston-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| R. Clinkcales, South Bridge-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Contribution of Eight Bairs for bigger scones | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Cay, 14, Barony-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| William Clark, 76, Thistle-street | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Thomas Cairns, 18, Dean-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A. Cameron, Regent-arch | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Thos. Calder, 2, Albany-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss N. Constable, 56, Lothian-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Carnstairs, Restalrigg | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robt. Carmichael, 75, Northumberland-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Robt. Clark, 1, London-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Cumming, Tranent | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| — Campbell, 29, High-street, Portobello | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Dunlop, Grove-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| A. C. Dick, 44, Great King-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Andrew Doda, High-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Duncan, W.S., 46, Queen-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| D. R. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Alex. Duncan and Son, 18, St. Andrew-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Alex. Douglas, 5, Roxburgh-place | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Dick, 59, Albany-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Andrew Dun, 30, London-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert Disher, 6, St. John's-hill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss Disher, 200, Canongate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Downs, 21, Canongate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Davidson, Pennicuik | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alex. Donaldson, Niddry-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| D. T. R., Alva-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| D. R. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Dickson, gardener, Ormiston, Tranent | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Hall and Son, North Herwick | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Duncan, 10, Broughton-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| His Servant, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Dickson, 2, Scotland-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Dick, Colinton | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| — Easer, 54, Frederick-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| George Edington, 144, Cowgate | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Elder, Lenny Mains, Cramond | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| — Edgar, 22, London-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alexander Fletcher, 26, Frederick-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| From a Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| For Free Trade | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Ferrier, Canongate | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| R. G. Fletcher | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Friendly Aid | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| From a Lady | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Ford, 245, High-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| B. Fotheringham, 13, Henderson-row | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Finlay | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| G. Dingwall Fordyce, 5, Carlton-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Fleming, Upper Sp., law, Colinton | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| From a Friend | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| From a Friend to the Cause of Free Trade | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Four Friends | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| R. Fortune, 67, Nicolson-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| From an Old Lady | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| From one who does not like Peel's sauce | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| From oppressive laws, has no more to give | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Fenwick, 333, High-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| — Fisher, Lawnmarket | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Forbes, 27, St. John-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Francis Fraser, 8, Davis-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A. Foreyth, 3, Comely Green-crescent | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Andrew Falker, South-bridge | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| From one who goes to bed free of debt | 0 | 2 | 6 |

Edinburgh—continued.

| | | | |
|---|----|----|---|
| W. Finlay, 110, Nicolson-street | 41 | 0 | 0 |
| From a Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Friend to Free Trade | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| From a keen Tory | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Friends, 6, Gilmour-place | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| From a Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| From a few young men in Messrs. Kennington and Jenner's, 47, Prince's-street | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| A. Gulland, 20, Greenside-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| G. Gulland, New-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Glen, North Bank-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| C. Gordon | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Galloway, 37, Frederick-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Andrew Graham, 70, Bristow-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| G. H., 68, Prince's-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| G. H. | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| James Greenshields, 37, Rose-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Green, 37, Hanover-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| David Gray, 88 C., 25, York-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| R. Gliven and Co., Lothian-road | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| T. Gray, 8, East Register-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Hunter, Northumberland-street | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Forrest Hay, Bonnington Mills | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| P. Howden, Meuse-lane | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Hogg, 122, Nicolson-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A. Hay, 28, Greenside-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Charles Hardie, 16, Catherine-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Hill, 60, Broughton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Hill, Colinton | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alexander Henderson, 72, Leith-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Henderson, 55, Calton | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| David Hunter, baker, Kirkcaldy | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. H. Hay, John's-place, St. Leonard's | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. Henderson, 88 C., 20, St. Patrick-square | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| — Hepburn, 26, Hanover-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Matthew Howden, 50, Minto-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| — Henderson, Rose Hall | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Houlden, 9, Nicolson-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Hamilton, 102, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| H. F. | 0 | 8 | 6 |
| H. F. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| H. 8. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Hume, 8, East Register-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Hamilton, 32, Beaumont-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Hopeton, 332, Lawnmarket | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| H. G. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| H. L. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Hay, gardener, Causewayside | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Henderson, Laaswade | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Ireland, 37, South-bridge | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| F. Ironside, 124, High-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. P., South-bridge | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Inglis, 65, Lauriston-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss Irvine, 18, Buccleuch-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Irvine, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| David Irvine, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robert Irvine, jun., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| "I'm sorry I can't give more" | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Inner, Bloomberry House, Canaan | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Imlich, 47, Anne-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Adam Johnston, 38, St. Andrew-square | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. W., Thistle-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Miss Johnston, Linkfield, Musselburgh | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. W. S., to defray expenses incurred on his account | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. W. J., Hanover-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. J. W., Hanover-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. B. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. B., Union-place | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Johnston, Springfield-mills | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Jardine, 51, Broughton-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| F. Jeandin, 56, George-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. B., 10, West Preston-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Kennington and Jenner, 47, Prince's-street | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| David Kay, 7, Rose-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Kennington, 47, Prince's-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Colonel Kinnaird, 1, Meadow-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Kay, 27, North-bridge | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Kirkhope, India-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Keir, 1, Prince's-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alex. Keir, 2, Dundas-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Kemp, 81, High-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Leck, Clearburn, Newington | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Joseph Lillie, 41, George-square | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mrs. Laing, 61, North Castle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Laird, 58, High-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Littlejohn, 33, Leith-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Laurie, Frederick-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Law, gardener, Dalry | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Lawson, 110, West-port | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Mitchell, Lauriston | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mould and Tod, 29, North-bridge | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. B. Moffatt, 7, Infirmary-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. W. Marshall, 9, Smith's-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Moffat, Rankellor-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. Malcolm, 30, Dundas-street | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Alexander Morton, 65, Northumberland-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| G. Murie, 39, Lothian-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Miller, 86, Nicolson-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Monro, 14, Salisbury-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| — Marshall, Albany-lane | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| "May Heaven prosper the noble cause of jus- tice and humanity" | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Francis Marshall, 23, Downie-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Maiben, Lauriston-terrace | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| M. A. E. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Murdoch, Bonnyrigg, Laaswade | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Hugh Martin, 19, Carnegie-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Mather, 14, Greenside-row | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| — May | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| H. Monteath, surgeon, Pennicuik | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Mercer and Son, 17, Nicolson-street | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| F. G. Mitchell, 28, Claremont-crescent | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas. Marshall, Broughton-place | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Wm. Mill, 33, West-port | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Murray, London Hotel, St. Andrew-sq. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robt. Muir, 23, Jamaica-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| M. M., with hearty wishes for success | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Murray, 1, Catherine-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| May you succeed, 13, Union-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Milner, 5, Baxter's-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wallace Macfate, 42, South-bridge | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| M. F. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Moffat, 27, Abbey-hill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Menzies, 12, Romilly-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| D. W. Mitchell, 59, Dublin-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Charles McLaren, 15, Northumberland-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| J. McIntosh, Nicholson-street | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| James McDonald, Buccleuch-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. McKenzie, 8, Duncan-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| William McCulloch, 142, High-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robt. McDonald, 275, High-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John McIntyre, 17, Archibald-place | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| D. McIntyre, 351, High-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| David McDonald, 3 East Arthur place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John McLauchlan, 60, South-bridge | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Alexander McKenzie, 148, Cowgate | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Donald McKenzie, 11, South Charlotte-st. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Macd naid and Toshack, 4, Swinton-row | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| J. McLaren, 6, Downie-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| — McPherson, 48, Hanover-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John McGregor | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George McMillan, 30, Dundas-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. McGibbon, 3, Duncan-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John McDonald, 353, High-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Robert M'Farlane, advocate | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A. M'C., 20, Fettes-row | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. M'Donald, 16, Roxburgh-place | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Madden, Trant | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. M'Alpine, Mint, Edinburgh | 1 | 0 | 0 |

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|--|----|----|---|
| James M'Pherson, 1, Port Hopetown | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| D. and J. M'Callum, 50, Nicolson-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Nelson, 17, Hanover-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| P. Newham, 6, Middleby-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| — Nisbet, 6, York-place | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| David Nicolson, 36, Canongate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Napier, 25, West Nicolson-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| N. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Oswald, 8, Lothian-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| One of the Fraternity of Dunces miscalled Political Economists | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Francis Oliphant, Middle Arthur-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. John Ogle, St. John's-place | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| O. P. Q. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| One who has a hard struggle with the world | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| William Pike, Prince's-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Paterson, 47, Albany-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| P. Q., No. 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. John Paterson, 11, Salisbury-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. Dr. W. Peddie, 57, George-square | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Peddie, jun., 56, Albany-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Proprietors of the Edinburgh Chronicle | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Picken, 18, Victoria-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| — Paton, South-bridge | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| G. Pantou | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Paterson, Preston-pens | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Paterson, 25, Minto-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| — Paisie, 11, Archibald-place | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Porteus, Gorgie Mills | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Patrick Pearson, 23, Hill-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Peterkin, 5, South College-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Pringle, 7, Wharton-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Palmer, 5, Earl Grey-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Pearson, Cockenzie | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Paterson, foundry, Pennicuik | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Russell, brushmaker, Bank-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| David Robertson, 8, Branton-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Andrew Reynolds, 20, Cumberland-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. Rose, 2, Drummond-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| T. Robson, 18, William-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. Richardson, 48, Frederick-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Andrew Robertson, 9, Leith-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Robertson, 8, Buccleuch-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Robertson, 31, Buccleuch-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Ritchie, Pathhead-ford | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| P. Ritchie, 54, Nicolson-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Ritchie, 140, High-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| A. Ross, Inverleith-row | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Robertson, 8, Keir-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Robertson | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| R. and A., 7, Sciennes-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Robb, 56, Cross-causeway | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Alexander Robertson, 50, Broughton-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Archibald Rough, 18, Leith-walk | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Ramsay Richardson, 178, Rose-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Ramsay, Park-place Inn | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Miss Russell, Comely-bank | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Ramsay, South-bridge | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Peter Rutherford, 76, Nicholson-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| R. H., 24, Pleasance | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| William Robertson, Summer-hall | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Daniel Robertson, 21, College-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Simpson, 88, Northumberland-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Sharp, 14, Prince's-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| George Simson, 54, Frederick-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Archibald Scott, 10, Teviot-row | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A. F. Somerville, Drummond-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Sinclair, jun., 79, South-bridge | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| David Scott, 12, India-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. A. Stewart, 45, Frederick-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| H., Duncan-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| — Scott, 109, George-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Dr. John Stewart, 4, Albany-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. Spittal, 16, Howe-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| S. J., Bernard-row | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Simpson, 2, Melville-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. and W. Snowden, 69, Grassmarket | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Smith, 16, South Charlotte-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| C. Spence, 21, St. David-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alexander Scott, Bristol-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Alexander Steel, Pathhead-ford | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Andrew Smith, Palace-yard | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Spero Mellora | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss Shaw, 4, Warriston-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Stewart, 28, Mt. James's-square | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| John Steele, Polton Mill, Lasswade | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Smith, West Port | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Spence, 50, Great King-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Stoddart, 40, Pleasance | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Andrew Smith, Preston-hall | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| James Smith, 15, Saunders-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Simson, 3, Hamilton-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. G. Sutherland, 18, Fettes-row | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Wm. Scott, 10, Buccleuch-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Symington, 39, Thistle-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Stoddart, West Preston-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Spittal | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Steel, Tranent | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Andrew Simpson, Tranent | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. L. Smith, 1, Antiqua-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| S. J., 11, High-terrace | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| D. Stewart, 39, Frederick-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| R. Simpson, Pathhead-ford | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James B. Tod, 5, Fyfe's-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Tait, 12, South-bridge | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| George Tod, 61, Clark-street | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Two Friends | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| William Thompson, 11, South-bridge | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Two Ladies | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| "The Hire of the Labourer kept back by fraud" | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. A. Thomson, 1, Annandale-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Three Poor Men, with 23 children | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| William Turnbull, High-street, Musselburgh | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| The Mite of an old Hagman | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Turrance, 36, Buccleuch-street | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| John Tod, Meuse-lane | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| G. Murray Thompson, 175, Cowgate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. S., jun. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Thornburn, Minto-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thirteen Friends, by Thos. Glen, 7, Spence's-pl. | 0 | 12 | 6 |
| Hugh Tait, 36, Dundas-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Turnbull, 5, William-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| "Up and waur them a', Willie" | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| E. Viner, 8, Inverleith-row | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Watt, Morton-street, Leith | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Walls, 17, London-street | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| William Wemyss, Salisbury-road | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| A. Wemyss, Hanover-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Peter Wilson, Regent-arch | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Waterston, Rose-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Waddell, 30, Melville-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas White and Co., 225, Canongate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A. Wood, 98, South-bridge | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| D. Welsh, 3, Rose-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert Waterston, Path head, Ford | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Wight, 4, East Adam-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Joseph Wilson, 13, Terpichen-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| "Willing, but weak" | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| W. H., No. 2 | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| W. T. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Wilson, 165, Pleasance | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Whyte, 1, Hunter-square | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Joshua Wood, 236, High-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Whitman, 8, St. James's-square | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Whitewright, Costorphin | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| R. D. Wilson, 17, Elder-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| — Williamson, Fountainbridge | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Samuel Weir, 13, Canal-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |

| | | | |
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| "Who wishes he could give more" | 20 | 5 | 0 |
| John Young, 11, Calton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Young, George-square | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Young, 126, High-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Young | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Y. Z. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small Sums | 15 | 18 | 94 |
| George Best, Compton, near Guildford | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Benjamin Holditch, Lynn | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Arthur Morse, Swaffham, Norfolk | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| John Blacket, Brixton-hill | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| George Price, Mile End, Portsea, Hants | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| C. W. D. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Johnson, Prescott | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Bernard, 5, Hyde-place, Royal-hill, Greenwich | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Morrison, 28, St. Mary-at-Hill | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. Goslin, 24, Golden-square | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. A'Beckett, 6, Golden-square | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Wood, 8, Little Newport-st., Leicester-square | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Snow, 3 and 4, Sherrard-street, Golden-square | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A. H. Coulson, 4, St. Peter's-terrace, Walworth | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George E. Mylne, 11, Albion-terrace, Canonbury-square, Islington | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| George Beaton, 15, Mount-row, New Kent-road | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| James Castle, High-street, Wallingford | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| "Of Free Trade Principle" | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Warner, Berkeley | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Miss Emma Trotman, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| The Workmen at Mr. Nussey's Mill, Batley, near Dewsbury | 1 | 12 | 6 |
| Thomas Turner, Pathe Farm, Othry, Somerset | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| E. J. Eccles, Plaitow, Essex | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| D. Murray, Hayes-place, Lisson-grove | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Beauchamp, 11, Hertford-street, May Fair, (as a second subscription) | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Hewitt Key, 48, Camden-street, Camden-town | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| A Teetotaler | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Cheltenham, per | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| — E. Kendall | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| — Pilkington | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| — S. Wightwick | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| — T. Henney | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Stanton, 78, Cannon-street, for a number 10 of the LEAGUE paper | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Anthony Austin, jun., Stamford Villas, Fulham | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| William Stubbs, Leftwich, near Northwich | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| George Smith, Northwich | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| L. Lemmon, Hove, near Battle, per Dr. Bateman | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| F. Stewart, 167, Sloane-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. C. Wolf, Peckham | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| C. J. F. Ollers, 16, Prospect-place, St. George's-road, Southwark | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Charles Beevor, 49, Berner's-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Wells, 11, Phoenix-street, Soho | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Abraham Douglas, corn dealer | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| John Cleghorn | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. Joseph Brown | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Mitchell, merchant | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Gray, baker | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Dawson and Co., brush manufacturers | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Andrew Somerville, baker | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Anderson, baker | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Thompson, baker | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Chisholm, tobacconist | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. and J. Tod, merchants | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Porteous, tailor | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Mitchell, merchant | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| William Dalgleish, cork manufacturer | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| James Somerville, shoemaker | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Free Trader | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Gordon, ironmonger | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Somerville, shoemaker | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Farmer | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Glendinning, carrier, Path-head | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Macfarlane | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Robertson, at Mr. Mitchell's | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Collier, merchant | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| P. Lyle, bookseller | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Bryson, watchmaker | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. Menteith, shoemaker | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| R. Thomson, candlemaker | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Thomson, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Blair | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Free Trader | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Lyle, banker | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| R. Purves, tailor | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| — Browning, tea dealer | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| I. O. U. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| G. Ferrier, at J. Gray and Son's | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Thompson, ropemaker | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Porteous, letter carrier | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Jardine, publican | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| U. X. L. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| R. Stevenson, at J. Gray and Son's | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Gray and Son, merchants | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| James Porteous, tailor | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss Wilson | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| D. and W. Watson, merchants | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Miller | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend, at Mr. Mitchell's | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| R. Gordon, tobacconist | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Morton, farmer, Shott's Iron Works, near Edinburgh | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Gray | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Samuel Mitchell, merchant | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Anti-Monopolist | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Free Trader | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Aitchison, at Mr. Mitchell's | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| D. Goodier, tobacconist | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Free Trader | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Cockburn, draper | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| J. H. Y. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Andrew Campbell, draper | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Free Trader | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Gray, baker, Gilmerton, Edinburgh | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| A Farmer | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Muir, Path-head Ford | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| William Stewart, at Mr. Mitchell's | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| D. Hogg, farmer, Begbie, Haddington | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas. Tweedie, farmer, Deuchrie, Preston Kirk | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Farmer | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Farmer | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Aitken, Dalkeith Mills | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| An Inquirer | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Wilson, mason | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Rev. C. Waddie | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Free Trader | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Rev. Mr. Gowans | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Findlay, grocer | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Miller, baker | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| Mrs. Berry | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Taylor | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Wilson, draper | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend to the Cause | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| P. Johnstone and Sons, drapers | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Dawson, currier | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Robert Taylor, smith | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Porteous, tobacconist | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| T. Howden and Co., drapers | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Lowrie, china merchant | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| George Aitken, jun. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| D. Farquharson, innkeeper | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Lee, at Mr. Mitchell's | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Lothian, meal dealer | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small Sums | 2 | 1 | 8 |

| | | | |
|---|---|----|---|
| Thomas S. Hubert, 119, High Holborn | 0 | 5 | 6 |
| R. Matthews, 45, Basinghall-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Dixon, 734, Queen-street, City | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Todd, Limerick, Ireland | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Bailly, Calne, 2nd subscription | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Mullineux, Wilton-street, Northwich | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. B. Rowe | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| L. Rowe | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| S. Wood | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| — Cunningham | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| — Goatley | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Rev. W. C. Yonge | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| — Barnes | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| — Dowden | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| F. Hammond | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| — Simpson | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| — Ratcliffe | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| W. Hammond, jun., his Mother's First Gift | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| — Waters | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Jacob Redshaw | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| — Blundell | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Joseph Goldney | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Martin Plim | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Smith | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Bourne | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| — Blackman | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| — Marson | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| W. Whitman | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Michael Sims | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Joseph Hinge | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Hinge | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Dexter | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Jonah Wood | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| W. Spindler | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert Skegg, sen., Weybridge | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| W. Shoveller, 2, Bridge House-place, Newington Causeway | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| W. Welland, 25, King-street, Holborn | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Tanner, 5, Queen-street, Grosvenor-square | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Hunt, 21, Star-street, Edgware-road | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Henry Francis, 5, Brown-street, Grosvenor-square | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Henry Smith, Cotherstone, near Barnard Castle, Durham | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Edward Jackman, 263, Wapping | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Abraham Kimm, 274, Wapping | 1 | 1 | 0 |

Colchester, per J. Harward

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| R. M. Savill | £1 0 0 |
| Christopher Stopes, East-street | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Carter Madell | 0 10 0 |
| A Female Friend | 0 10 0 |
| B. J. | 0 5 0 |
| Matthew Harvey, Maldon-lane | 0 5 0 |
| P. E. F. | 0 5 0 |
| A Free Trader | 0 5 0 |
| Free Trader | 0 5 0 |
| John How, Beverly Lodge | 0 5 0 |
| Anti-Bread Tax | 0 2 6 |
| S. C. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Isbern, East-street | 0 2 6 |
| William Quilter, East-bridge | 0 2 6 |

Forfar, per Peter Reid

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| A Friend | 2 2 0 |
| John Lawson and Son, manufacturers | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend from the first | 1 0 0 |
| John Ramsey, reedmaker | 1 0 0 |
| John Steele and Son, manufacturers | 1 0 0 |
| James Craik, jun., manufacturer | 3 0 0 |
| Wm. and John Don and Company | 2 0 0 |
| Wm. Sturrock, manufacturer | 2 0 0 |
| Peter Reid, merchant | 1 0 0 |
| George Webster, merchant | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Gall, leather merchant | 1 0 0 |
| George Webster, wright | 0 2 6 |
| William Melvin, draper | 0 2 6 |
| James Thomson, draper | 0 2 6 |
| John Low, ironmonger | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Bell, manufacturer | 0 2 6 |
| John Creig, manufacturer | 0 2 6 |
| James Gordon, merchant | 0 2 6 |
| James Barclay, writer | 0 5 0 |
| Charles Rodger, writer | 0 5 0 |
| William Potter, brewer | 1 0 0 |
| Patrick Whyte, tanner | 4 0 0 |
| Wm. Littlejohn, hosier | 0 5 0 |
| James Anderson, merchant | 0 5 0 |
| James Robb, teacher | 0 5 0 |
| John Petrie, manufacturer | 0 5 0 |
| John Lawson, jun., manufacturer | 0 2 6 |
| Archibald Thornton, reedmaker | 0 7 6 |
| Wm. Barry, merchant | 0 2 6 |
| George Smith, bookseller | 0 5 0 |
| David Craik, warper | 0 2 6 |
| John Fyfe, jun., manufacturer | 0 2 6 |
| David Robb, shoemaker | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Whyte, banker | 1 1 0 |
| Small Sums | 0 5 9 |

Staleybridge.

| | |
|--|---------|
| Edward Cheetham, Ackers-lane | 1 1 0 |
| James Bamforth, Ashton | 1 1 0 |
| Edwin Ousey, Raabottom-street | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Cheetham, Ackers-lane | 1 1 0 |
| David Humphreys, Raabottom-street | 1 1 0 |
| James Hill, Hyde's-street | 5 0 0 |
| A Friend to good Trade, Harmony, & Concord | 1 0 0 |
| — Bates, Melbourne-street | 1 0 0 |
| — Milburn, Castle-street | 0 10 0 |
| Jeremiah Cheetham, Ackers-lane | 1 1 0 |
| — Harrop, do. | 0 10 0 |
| — Worrall, Grosvenor-street | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Birch, Mount Pleasant | 2 2 0 |
| Moses Hadfield, Caroline-street | 0 5 0 |
| Ralph Harwood, do. | 0 5 0 |
| George Yates, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Small Sums | 4 18 0 |
| Jonathan Andrew, Bridge street | 0 10 0 |
| John Linney, High-street | 0 5 0 |
| John Greaves, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Dean and Tinker, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Cheetham, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Ralph Ogden, Oxford-road, Dukinfield | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Rowland, Lodge-lane, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Platt, Oxford-road, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Ashton, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Nield, High-street, Staleybridge | 0 2 6 |
| William Folkes, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Mills, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. C. Buckley, do. | 0 10 0 |
| William Edwards, Hollins | 0 2 6 |
| Benjamin Wainwright, Grosvenor-street | 1 0 0 |
| George Lee, High-street | 0 2 6 |
| William Knowles, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Abraham Robinson, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Hyde, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Adshead, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Tongue, Sett-street | 0 2 6 |
| John Hurat, High-street | 0 5 0 |
| John Howard, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Miles Smith, Bridge-street | 0 2 6 |
| Matthew Whalley, do. | 0 5 0 |
| T. S. Taylor, Grosvenor-street | 1 0 0 |
| James Woolley, High-street | 0 5 0 |
| John Kenworthy, do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Bower, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Samuel Oldham, do. | 0 3 0 |
| Daniel Thackeray, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Thackeray, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Miss Ann Sampson, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Ogden, The Kenyons, Dukinfield | 0 5 0 |
| Small Sums | 0 6 0 |
| Robert Platt | 150 0 0 |

Mr. Platt's Workmen.

| | |
|------------------|--------|
| John Brooks | 1 10 0 |
| William Conway | 1 0 0 |
| Abel Brooks | 0 10 0 |
| G. Platt Conway | 0 5 0 |
| John Firth | 0 6 0 |
| William Norton | 0 6 0 |
| Thomas Ireland | 0 7 0 |
| Daniel Lyne | 0 5 0 |
| John Nield | 0 5 0 |
| George Nield | 0 7 0 |
| James Bardsley | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Mercer | 0 5 0 |
| Benjamin Hurat | 0 5 0 |
| James Mercer | 0 5 0 |
| Rodger Cain | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Williams | 0 5 0 |
| George Chadwick | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Chadwick | 0 5 0 |
| William Buckley | 0 5 0 |
| James Kinder | 0 5 0 |
| Roderick Round | 0 6 0 |
| John Manly | 0 4 6 |
| Henry Russell | 0 3 6 |
| John Kinder | 0 3 6 |
| Samuel Kinder | 0 3 6 |
| Michael Walling | 0 4 0 |
| James Knott | 0 3 6 |
| John Knott | 0 3 6 |
| Jonathan Maraden | 0 3 6 |
| James Thompson | 0 3 6 |
| Thomas O'Neil | 0 3 6 |
| Ralph Barber | 0 3 6 |
| Patrick M'Ginnis | 0 3 6 |
| Benjamin Bewell | 0 4 0 |
| James Lloyd | 0 3 0 |
| Allen Shaw | 0 3 6 |
| Patrick O'Toole | 0 2 6 |
| Joel Gee | 0 2 6 |
| Alfred Birch | 0 3 6 |
| John Jones | 0 3 6 |
| John Craig | 0 3 6 |
| Joseph Canway | 0 3 6 |
| Abraham Harrop | 0 3 6 |
| Thomas Keating | 0 3 6 |
| Small Sums | 0 3 6 |

Leigh, near Manchester.

Holmfirth, near Huddersfield, Sixth Remittance.

Halifax, Fifth Remittance.

Pudsey, near Leeds

Warwickton, per Jno. McManis.

| | |
|---|---------|
| Isherwood and Hayes | £70 0 0 |
| W. C. Jones | 10 10 0 |
| Robert Nield | 5 0 0 |
| T. B. W. Sanderson | 5 0 0 |
| Charles Anderson, surgeon | 2 2 0 |
| — Jackson | 2 2 0 |
| Thomas H. Bamford | 1 0 0 |
| George Borthwick | 1 0 0 |
| Peter Cocker | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. Dr. Harrison | 1 1 0 |
| Joseph Austin | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas T. Hayes | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Greenough | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Cleworth | 1 0 0 |
| William Thorp | 1 0 0 |
| Hands employed in Messrs. Jones, Brothers, and Co.'s Mill | 5 0 0 |
| Hands employed by Messrs. Isherwood and Hayes | 2 2 6 |
| James Kippax, innkeeper | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Trotter, surgeon | 4 10 11 |
| Benjamin Bealey, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, per J. Beardsell and J. Mellor | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. John Cockin | 3 0 0 |
| Mrs. John Earnshaw, Dob | 1 0 0 |
| William Haigh, grocer | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, per Isaac Beardsell, Holme | 0 10 0 |
| John Wyllie, schoolmaster | 0 10 0 |
| Joseph Hawkesworth, Newtown | 0 5 0 |
| Gamaliel Batty, butcher | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. Wm. Child, Prickledon | 0 2 6 |
| Matthew Bower, Hinchliff-mill | 1 0 0 |
| James Gardener and Jonas Booth, Holme | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Woodhead, Ridings, Thongsbridge, near Huddersfield | 3 0 0 |
| John Mellor, jun., Wooddale | 1 1 0 |
| George Gartside, dyer | 3 0 0 |
| Christopher Moorhouse, White Hart Inn | 1 0 0 |
| Small Sums | 0 1 0 |
| Thomas Taylor and Son, Hays Mill, Ovensden, near | 50 0 0 |
| J. and J. Houldsworth | 10 0 0 |
| William Thompson, solicitor | 2 0 0 |
| John Ingham, Waterhouse-street | 1 1 0 |
| S. Smith, Bedford-street | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Rayner, Little John Mill, Brighouse, near | 1 0 0 |
| Alexander Dunbar | 1 1 0 |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 |
| Joshua Blakey, in addition to £5 before | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 |
| William Conway | 0 10 0 |
| William Walsh | 0 10 0 |
| Samuel Johnson | 0 5 0 |
| James Bintliffe | 0 2 8 |
| "One who intends to give again" | 0 0 4 |
| John Varley, Stanningley, near Leeds | 50 0 0 |
| William Musgrave | 8 8 0 |
| Samuel Musgrave } Town-end | 1 1 0 |
| Simeon Musgrave | 1 1 0 |
| Richard Elward, Roker-lane | 5 0 0 |
| Charles Moss, Marsh | 5 0 0 |
| William Walton, Little-moor | 1 1 0 |
| John A. Hinings, Lowtown | 1 1 0 |
| John Walton, Fartown | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Lawson, Lowtown | 1 1 0 |
| Joseph Walker, Lane-end | 1 1 0 |
| William Halliday, Crimble | 1 0 0 |
| John Halliday, Lowtown | 1 1 0 |
| Christopher Verity, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Waterhouse, Greenside | 1 1 0 |
| Richard Womersley, Marsh | 1 1 0 |
| Benjn. Sharp, Liddithill | 1 1 0 |
| Samuel Sharp, do. | 1 1 0 |
| William Sharp, do. | 1 1 0 |
| James Walker, Lowtown | 1 0 0 |
| William Roberts Hinings, do. | 1 1 0 |
| William Harrison, Delf-hill | 1 1 0 |
| John Walker, do. | 1 1 0 |
| William Proctor, Crimble | 1 1 0 |
| John Tunnicliffe, sen., do. | 1 1 0 |
| Joshua Fearnley, Kent | 1 1 0 |
| Joshua Harrison, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Jonathan Thripletor, Crimble | 1 1 0 |
| John Holdsworth and Sons, Roker-lane | 1 1 0 |
| William Wade, Chapel-town | 1 1 0 |
| Charles Lockwood, Bank-house | 1 0 0 |
| John Cooper, Greenside | 1 1 0 |
| John Boyd, jun., Fartown | 1 0 0 |
| James Beaumont, Chapel-town-top | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Cawthra, Green-top | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Carr, jun., Little-moor | 1 0 0 |
| Benjamin Gant, Lowtown | 1 0 0 |
| Hugh Hinings, Manor House-street | 1 1 0 |
| John Fearnley, jun., Crimble | 1 0 0 |
| John Huggan, Crimble | 1 0 0 |
| John Baker, Church-lane | 1 0 0 |
| George Waring, Chapel-town | 1 1 0 |
| Joseph Kinsley, Robin-lane | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Blackburn, Waterloo | 1 1 0 |
| Joseph Wilson, Fartown | 1 0 0 |
| James Blackburn, Greenside | 1 0 0 |
| John Vickers, jun., Stanningley, near | 2 0 0 |
| Samuel Varley, Stanningley, near | 1 0 0 |
| J. Hartley, at Mr. Varley's, Stanningley, near | 1 0 0 |
| John Mitchell, do., do. | 1 2 0 |
| Joseph Harrison, do., do. | 1 2 6 |
| Woolen Weavers, do., do. | 1 1 6 |
| Woolen Spinners, do., do. | 1 2 0 |
| Long Wool Sorters, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Overlooker and Workmen, Crawshaw-mill | 1 12 6 |
| Overlooker and Workmen, Clift-mill | 1 14 0 |
| Samuel Webster, clerk, Waterloo-mill | 1 1 0 |
| Overlooker and Workmen, do. | 1 1 0 |
| John Webster, clerk, Gibraltar-mill | 1 0 0 |
| Overlooker and Workmen, Gibraltar-mill | 1 0 0 |
| Overlooker and Workmen, Allenbridge-mill | 1 8 6 |
| Overlooker and Workmen, Albion-mill | 1 13 6 |
| Overlooker and Workmen, Union-mill | 1 4 0 |
| Overlooker and Stubbers, Priestley-mill | 1 2 0 |
| Engineer and Fullers, do. | 1 1 6 |
| William Greenwood, Roker-lane | 1 0 0 |
| William Musgrave, Crimble | 0 10 0 |
| To unship Bobby if he don't mend his manners | 0 10 0 |
| Benjamin Asquith, Fartown | 0 10 0 |
| Christopher Halliday, sen., Lowtown | 0 10 0 |
| George Kitchen, Lane-end | 0 10 0 |
| George Webster, Lowtown | 0 10 0 |
| John Carr, Little-moor | 0 10 0 |
| Anonymous | 0 10 0 |
| X. Y. Z. | 0 10 0 |
| George Bretherick, jun., Lowtown | 0 5 0 |
| Matthew Exley, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Emanuel Brown, Liddithill | 0 5 0 |
| Henry Fearnley, Lowtown | 0 2 6 |
| James Halliday, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Jesse Oddy, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Man who has nine Children and cannot fill their bellies | 0 2 6 |
| Joshua Webster, Lowtown | 0 2 6 |
| J. B. Grice, Bewsey-street | 1 1 0 |
| John Wolstencroft, Horse-market | 0 2 6 |
| William Pierpoint, do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Edleston, Warwick-street | 2 0 0 |
| John M'Dowell, Church-street | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Fiddes, Horse-market | 1 0 0 |
| John Gaddes, Golden-square | 1 0 0 |
| G. W. Hardy, Bewsey-street | 1 1 0 |

Ashton-under-Lyne.

Huddersfield.

| | |
|--|---------|
| John Ledward | £70 0 0 |
| A Friend, per George Horabottom | 0 5 0 |
| John Siddall, at Messrs. Reyners | 1 0 0 |
| Collected by a Lady | 0 11 6 |
| John W. Goodall | 2 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| A Challenge for a Sweetheart | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Hunter, Hodgson-street | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to the League | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to the League | 0 2 6 |
| Miss Smith, Dukinfield | 0 2 6 |
| Edward Whitehead, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Ottwell Worrall | 1 0 0 |
| A Lady, Henry-square | 1 1 0 |
| Aaron Andrew | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Hurst, 8, Katharine-street | 1 0 0 |
| Stephen Andrew | 1 1 0 |
| A Friend | 0 4 0 |
| John Johnson, reedmaker | 1 1 0 |
| Joseph Kershaw, Hurst | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Dyson, Duke-street | 0 5 0 |
| John Brooks, sen. | 1 1 0 |
| A Lady | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Winstanley, Ryecroft | 1 0 0 |
| W. Lilley | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| Geo. Andrew, Mossley, near Oldham | 1 1 0 |
| A Lady | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 |
| A Handloom Weaver | 0 2 6 |
| My Sweetheart | 0 10 0 |
| Thomas Bentley, Welbeck-street | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| J. Schofield, jun., Audenshaw, nr. Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| A Chartist, Droyloden | 0 2 6 |
| B. Goodfellow, engineer, Hyde, near Manchester | 10 0 0 |
| William Outhwaite | 1 1 0 |
| Rev. Jonathan Sutcliffe | 1 1 0 |
| Mrs. Sutcliffe | 1 1 0 |
| Robert Bardsley | 0 5 0 |
| Matthew Lodge, sawyer | 0 2 6 |
| Misses Kershaw | 1 0 0 |
| A Closer | 0 12 0 |
| John Hallworth | 0 5 0 |
| Orlando Oldham's Workmen, Geecroze, near Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| Orlando Oldham's Workmen, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Orlando Oldham, do., do. | 5 0 0 |
| John Hyam, Dukinfield-hall | 1 0 0 |
| Jas. Brooks, jun., Geecroze, near Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| A Lady | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Ryder, dresser | 0 2 6 |
| Henry Newton | 1 3 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| John Cheetham, Stalybridge | 1 1 0 |
| "Big Fiddle," Hyde | 0 2 6 |
| John Garlick | 0 3 6 |
| John Linley | 0 2 6 |
| William Andrews | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| A Lady | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. K. Moorhouse | 1 1 0 |
| Two young Ladies | 0 4 0 |
| Robert Newton, Katharine-street | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Newton, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Clegg, Hurat | 0 2 6 |
| Frederick Tinker, Hyde, near Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| John Ogden, Birch-lane, Dukinfield | 0 5 0 |
| William Buckley, attorney | 2 0 0 |
| An Old Woman | 0 5 0 |
| Geo. Shaw | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| John Crompton, Stalybridge | 0 2 6 |
| Jas. Cartwright, Dukinfield Hall | 5 0 0 |
| E. S. | 0 5 0 |
| John France, Ryecroft | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Jamieson | 1 0 0 |
| Amicus | 5 0 0 |
| Samuel Cowley | 5 3 0 |
| Wright Cartwright, Hooley-hill, nr. Manchest. | 1 0 0 |
| Job Cartwright, do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Collier, Dukinfield | 1 0 0 |
| Josh. Tinker, Ryecroft | 0 5 0 |
| Isaiah Crowther, at Messrs. Reyners | 1 0 0 |
| Robt. Wood, surgeon | 2 0 0 |
| Small sums | 0 11 9 |
| William Leadbeater and Co. | 10 0 0 |
| Matthew T. Jessop, Lascelles Hall, near | 0 10 0 |
| Abraham Bykes, Lepton | 0 11 0 |
| John Jessop, do. | 0 10 0 |
| — Clay, at Mr. Clayton's, Strangeways, Manchester | 5 0 0 |
| Edward Crooks, at Richard Dewhurst's, Aspley | 1 10 0 |
| James Hunter, do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| George Cockin and Son, Temperance Hotel, Cross Church-street | 1 0 0 |
| John Smith, Marsh, near | 3 0 0 |
| John Mellor, Paddock, near | 2 0 0 |
| Dani. Taylor, Lockwood, near | 3 0 0 |
| Clark Whitley | 1 0 0 |
| John Heywood, Cherry Tree, near | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Hall, Longwood, near | 2 0 0 |
| Thomas Shaw, Goll-side, Lockwood, near | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Ainley, Golcar, near | 5 0 0 |
| Joseph Quarumby, Clayhouse, Golcar, near | 1 0 0 |
| John Robinson, Honley, near | 20 0 0 |
| Ily. Scott | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Dyson, manufacturer, Golcar, near | 2 0 0 |
| James Fawcett, tinner, King-street | 1 1 0 |
| James Hawkesworth, Hoyland-swain, near Barnsley | 1 0 0 |
| Geo. Mallinson and Sons | 100 0 0 |
| Benjamin Thornton, New-street | 5 0 0 |
| Thomas Wrigley, jun., at Rosbuck's, King-st. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Haigh, solicitor | 1 1 0 |
| Geo. Carver, stationer | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Bottomley, South Crosland, near | 1 1 0 |
| William Briggs, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Holdroyd, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Stead, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Matthew Hirst, Queen-street | 2 0 0 |
| Benj. Lockwood, Cowlersley, Milnsbridge, nr. | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Pearson, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Green, do. | 1 0 0 |
| R. Winterbottom, 35, Commercial-street | 1 0 0 |
| Edmund Leach, Longwood, near | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Garside, Hole House, Linthwaite, near | 1 0 0 |
| James Ramsden, Ramsden Mill, near | 1 0 0 |
| James Baxter, Coach and Horses Inn, Linthwaite, near | 1 0 0 |
| John Sykes, Heywoods, do. | 1 0 0 |
| George Armitage, High House, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Bottomley, Longlands, Blithwaite, nr. | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. John Farrer, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Whiteley, Milnsbridge, near | 1 0 0 |
| Mary Gill, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Farrand, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Charles Unsworth, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Walker, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Morley, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Entwistle, grocer, Church-street | 2 0 0 |
| James Hindle, joiner | 1 0 0 |
| John Harrison, engraver | 1 0 0 |
| Alexander Christie | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Tasker, blacksmith | 1 0 0 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|----|----|---|----------------------|---|-----|----|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|----|----|---|
| Derby. | William Christie, Panmure-street | 22 | 2 | 0 | Renny, Sons, and Co. | 45 | 0 | 0 | George Hamilton, manufacturer | 25 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | James Hamilton, manufacturer | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Francis Webster | 2 | 0 | | 0 | James Lord, do., Alder's Mill | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Wigan, Fourth Remittance. | Thomas Douglas, 8, King-street | 2 | 0 | 0 | Arbroath. | W. F. L. Carnegie of Boysack | 5 | 0 | 0 | George Hamilton, manufacturer | 25 | 0 | 0 | |
| | William Moyes, ironmonger | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Garalde and Mayall, cotton spinners, Union Mill, Greenacres, near Manchester | 40 | 0 | 0 | | Rev. William Frewin, Underbank | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Scarborough. | James Russell, Gas Works | 2 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Samuel Riley, draper, Market-place | 5 | 0 | 0 | | George Hamilton, manufacturer | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| | William Haller, Weigate | 2 | 0 | 0 | | James Butterworth, draper, Greenacres Moor, near Manchester | 20 | 0 | 0 | James Lee, innkeeper | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Infracombe, per Captain Kennerly. | David Low, Slater, Reform-street | 2 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Messrs. Whitaker, cotton spinners, Royton, nr John Holden and Brothers, cotton manufacturers, Holdenfold, do. | 10 | 0 | 0 | George Hamilton, manufacturer | | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Kirkland, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 | | Geo. Holden and Son, cotton manufacturers, Royton-lane, near | 20 | 0 | 0 | | James Mayoch | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bradford, Fifth Remittance. | William Scott, architect, 18, High-street | 1 | 1 | 0 | Falkirk. | John Chadwick, cotton spinner, Rhodes Mill, Greenacres, near Manchester | 10 | 0 | 0 | | John Moss | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | David McLeish, manufacturer | 1 | 1 | 0 | | Christians and Sons, cotton spinners, Clough Mill, Crompton, near do. | 10 | 0 | 0 | | Hugh Horrocks | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Andrew Wilson, Barrack-street | 1 | 1 | 0 | Falkirk. | Joseph Baxter, do., Hollinwood, near do. | 5 | 0 | 0 | | Joseph Welch | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Aberdeen, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 | | Dyson and Brothers, do., Greenacres Moor, near do. | 10 | 0 | 0 | | John Wood | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | J. T. Fairweather, Murraysgate | 1 | 1 | 0 | Falkirk. | William Hall, grocer, Manchester-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | William Ainsworth | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Scott, Murraysgate | 1 | 1 | 0 | | Thomas Holden, cotton spinner, Shiloh, Royton, near | 4 | 0 | 0 | | James Hargreaves | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Andrew Low, Park-place | 1 | 1 | 0 | Falkirk. | John Knott, tin plate worker, King-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Kay and Fletcher, dyers, Radcliffe | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | Anderson and Cathcart | 1 | 0 | 0 | | David Walton, cotton dealer, Greenacres Moor, near Manchester | 10 | 0 | 0 | | Mrs. Hornaby, innkeeper, Radcliffe-bridge | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Workers at Baxter (William Wright) | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Thos. Mulladew, cotton manufacturer, Moor-side Mill, near do. | 5 | 0 | 0 | | James Button, grocer, Radcliffe | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Brothers, and Co.'s power loom factory | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Joseph Hyams, bookkeeper, Priory-street | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Kills Greenhaigh, innkeeper, Radcliffe-bridge | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | J. Gilbert, 2 Vanit | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | John Hanson, currier, do., do., near do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Rayner, druggist, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | George M. Steele, Reform-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Rubin Cooper, grocer, Market-place | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Robert Hooth, manufacturer, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | William Scott, 80, Murraysgate | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Jas. Lees, cotton spinner, Greenacres Moor, New Earth Mill, near Manchester | 4 | 0 | 0 | | John Davenport, tailor, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Boyd, Sugarhouse-rynd | 1 | 0 | 0 | | James Schofield, do., Bankside Mill | 2 | 0 | 0 | | James Buckley, manufacturer, Stand-lane | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | James Todd, manufacturer, Seagate | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | James Stott, grocer, Edge-lane, near | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Thomas Farrar, do. | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Baxter, Bell-street, Chapel-shade | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Abraham Evans, Manchester-street | 2 | 0 | 0 | | James Taylor, do. | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Free-Trade | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Thos. Chadwick, cotton spinner, Royton, near Manchester | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Wm. Henry Taylor, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | Robert Toth, Dock-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Buckley, waste dealer, Greenacres, near Manchester | 1 | 5 | 0 | | Richard Ellerback, cotton spinner, do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | J. Couvenaut, 20, Castle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Joseph Wainwright, cotton spinner, King-st. | 5 | 0 | 0 | | Walker Allen, manufacturer, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Wm. Martin, Trades-lane, Calendering-court | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Frith, bookkeeper, High-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Peter Scholes, grocer, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | John Methven, St. Clement's-lane | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Samuel Grindrod, collector of taxes, Greenacres Moor, near Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 | | James Snape, auctioneer, Stand-lane | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | G. Brown, at Baxter, Brothers, & Co's office | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Edward Wright, bookbinder, Yorkshire-street | 2 | 0 | 0 | | William Hardman, butcher, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | C. Nicholson, brushmaker, Murraysgate | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Joseph Mellor, shoemaker, High-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Robert Hamer, warper, do. | 0 | 4 | 6 |
| | Malcolm McLean, Scouring-burn | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Mansfield, waste dealer, Austerlands, near Lees | 1 | 0 | 0 | | J. Hall, saddler, Beases-o'-th'-Barn | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | R. G. Holden, Seagate | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Samuel and James Meyall, cotton spinners, Greenacres Moor, near Manchester | 5 | 0 | 0 | | John Sykes, Beech-grove | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| | Rev. J. R. McGavin | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Thomas Kerahaw, agent, &c., High-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Wm. Smith and Sons, Cookridge-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Isaac Taylor, cotton spinner, Greenacres Moor, near Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 | | James Swift, Low Fold-mill, Leylands | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Peter Watson, Cradle-mills | 0 | 10 | 6 | | John Buckley, spinner, do., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Armistead, Springfield-mount | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | William Walker, Reform-street | 0 | 10 | 6 | Falkirk. | Isaac Wild, cotton spinner, do., do. | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Joseph Isherwood, sen., Wortley, near | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Anderson, writer, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | | Edmund Clegg, pawnbroker, Greenacres, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Wm. Walker, Black Lion, Mill-hill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Robert Whyte, High-street | 0 | 10 | 0 | Falkirk. | Mrs. Joseph Wainwright, King-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Abraham Naylor, 57, Basinghall-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Smith, Laker, Seagate | 0 | 10 | 0 | | Mrs. Joseph Mellor, High-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | H. W. Walker, Briggate | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | William Beharril, manufacturer, Prince's-st. | 0 | 10 | 0 | Falkirk. | Peter Roscoe, wheelwright, Greenacres Moor, near Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 | | H. H. Stansfield, Headingley | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| | Jas. Lennox, at Edward Baxter's, calenderer | 0 | 7 | 6 | | Alexander Taylor, grocer, do., do. (2nd sub.) | 4 | 0 | 0 | | Mrs. H. H. Stansfield, do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Anonymous | 0 | 7 | 1 | Falkirk. | James Taylor, Vale-mill, Crompton, near do. | 1 | 1 | 0 | | W. B. Holdsworth and Co., Hunslet | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| | Nemo | 0 | 5 | 0 | | James Riley, grocer, Market-place | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Isaac Thompson, Knotrop | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | W. A. Fleming, Chamberlain's-office, High-st. | 0 | 5 | 0 | Falkirk. | Samuel Mason, Albion Inn | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Ben. Mellor, Accommodation-road, Hunslet | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Francis Walker, Reform-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | | Richard Pilton, Spinner, Bale-mill, Crompton, near Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 | | James Ogle, Lady-lane | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Arthur Hegg, High-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | Falkirk. | George Travis, grocer, Manchester-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Peter Kettlewell, Briggate | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | Jas. Cunningham, Wallace-mills | 0 | 5 | 0 | | William Richardson, Lees-road, Greenacres, near Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 | | W. and T. Kettlewell, do. | 6 | 6 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | John Toth, 95, Perth-road | 0 | 5 | 0 | Falkirk. | Richard Marsh, Greenacres Moor, near do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Friends to the League, Fountain Inn, Armley-road, Wortley | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | James McLagan, Ward-mill | 0 | 5 | 0 | | William Heginbottom, cotton manufacturer, Medlock-mill, Greenacres, near do. | 5 | 0 | 0 | | John Naylor, Low-road, Hunslet | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | John Coupar, baker, Prince's-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | Falkirk. | A. Milne, waste dealer, Greenacres Moor, nr. do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Provost Adam | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | George M'Donald, 18, Union-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | | Thos. Seville, do., Sandy-lane, Royton, nr. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Wm. Dobbie, High-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Miss Taylor, Albert-court | 0 | 5 | 0 | Falkirk. | Thos. Travis, cotton spinner, Highlands, Royton | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Sutherland, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Dr. Lyall, 37, Tay-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | | Joseph Travis, do., do., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Robert Young, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | James Denholm, Royal Hotel | 0 | 5 | 0 | Falkirk. | William Travis, do., Holdenfold, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | James Russell, draper, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | William Ogilvie, 33, Cowgate | 0 | 5 | 0 | | John Heap, do., Top of Fold, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 | | William Ure, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | J. M. Beattie, 31, Reform-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | Falkirk. | I. Seville & Sons, do., Union Mill, Royton, nr. | 10 | 0 | 0 | | John Smith, Brickfield | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Andrew Guthrie, 4, Murraysgate | 0 | 5 | 0 | | Francis Pitt, painter, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Wm. Wyse, baker | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Captain Karaholm, per J. W. Milln | 0 | 5 | 0 | Falkirk. | William Taylor, surgeon, Crofthead, do. | 3 | 3 | 0 | | Joseph Gartshore | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | J. Stewart, 39, High-street | 0 | 3 | 0 | | — Kerahaw, do., do., do. | 1 | 1 | 0 | | John Young, Grahamston | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Wm. Laird, 88, Nethergate | 0 | 2 | 6 | Falkirk. | John Kay, shopkeeper, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Andrew Neilson, farmer in Both Kennar, near | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | D. McGregor, 4, Perth-road | 0 | 2 | 6 | | James Ashworth, cotton spinner, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | H. W. Cochran | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | D. Dewar | 0 | 2 | 6 | Falkirk. | George Ershaw, do., Dogford Mill, do. | 5 | 0 | 0 | | Robert Currier, High-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Smith, 108, Murraysgate | 0 | 2 | 6 | | James Bentley, news agent, Royton, near | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Smith, writer | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | John Clarke, British Hotel | 0 | 2 | 6 | Falkirk. | William Barker, Springhill Iron Works, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Wm. Gillespie, sen., draper | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Blair, Eastern-bank | 0 | 2 | 6 | | John Travis and Brothers, cotton manufacturers, Laley Brook, near | 15 | 0 | 0 | | Dr. Esop | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | John Duffus, 21, Greenmarket | 0 | 2 | 6 | Falkirk. | John Fletcher, cake baker, Grove-place, Greenacres, near Manchester | 0 | 2 | 6 | | Rev. William Steel | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Watson, 21, High-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | | William Taylor, auctioneer, Royton, near | 0 | 10 | 0 | | Charles Jeffrey, bookeller | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 | Falkirk. | John Clegg, pawnbroker, Manchester-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | A. B. Saunders, Meadow-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | | John Collinge, Old Soldier Inn, Greenacres, near Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Thomas Wilson, Grangemouth | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | D. W. McDonald, 17, Overgate | 0 | 2 | 6 | Falkirk. | Dickinson and Sharples, glaziers, Greenacres Moor, near do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Peter Wilkie, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Adam Duffus, 75, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | | Thomas Collett, Three Horse Shoes, do., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Peter Feely, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Geo. Davidson, Gas Works | 0 | 2 | 6 | Falkirk. | William Buckley, innkeeper, Spencer's Arms, Greenacres, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Alexander Thomson, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Wm. Mitchell, 29, Dainfield-walk | 0 | 2 | 6 | | John Jackson, druggist, Greenacres Moor, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Andrew Cowie, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Robert McLachlan, Hawk-hill | 0 | 2 | 6 | Falkirk. | E. Dunksley, surgeon, do., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Alexander Lawrie, Brightons | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Jas. Smith, Ellangown | 0 | 2 | 6 | | Joseph Gilliam | 100 | 0 | 0 | | R. Taylor, Redding | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Small sums | 0 | 14 | 0 | Falkirk. | Brierley, Brothers, Union-street | 15 | 0 | 0 | | Wm. Wilson, Banknoch, Denny, Stirlingshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Wm. Ainsworth, sen., Birkett Bank | 3 | 0 | 0 | | Mrs. Brierley, Grosvenor-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Wilson, Bantaskine by | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Alexander Wood, gardener, Wigan-lane | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Lees and Mills, cotton manufacturers, Waterhead Mill, Greenacres Moor, near Manch. | 40 | 0 | 0 | | James Hosie | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Thos. Leech, School-lane | 1 | 0 | 0 | | James Greaves, do., do., do. | 30 | 0 | 0 | | Thomas Johnston, Redding | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | A Friend (second donation) | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Eli Lee, roller maker, do., do. | 10 | 0 | 0 | | Dr. Hamilton | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | An Operative's Mite | 0 | 5 | 0 | | Maraden and Collinge, spinners, Harsedge Mill | 20 | 0 | 0 | | R. Benny, Bonnybridge, Denny, Stirlingshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Free-Trade | 0 | 5 | 0 | Falkirk. | Thomas West, meter maker, Union-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | | Jas. Somerville, Glensyards, Denny Loanhead, Stirlingshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | A Friend | 0 | 4 | 0 | | Benjamin Wilson, Yorkshire-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | | Alex. Cairns, Bonnybridge, Denny, Stirlingshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Lancashire. | A Free-Trade | 0 | 5 | 0 | Falkirk. | Wm. Greenwood, corn dealer, Greenacres Moor, near Manchester | 0 | 5 | 0 | Small sums | 0 | 7 | 0 | |
| | A Working-man | 0 | 1 | 0 | | George Knight, beer-seller, do., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | |
| Bury, Lancashire. | J. Hickney | 5 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | George Platt, do., do., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | |
| | William Rowntree | 2 | 0 | 0 | | John Greenwood, corn dealer, do., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Joseph Tindall | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | Henry Hogg-on, agent, &c., Shaw-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |
| | Henry Etherington | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Hiral, printer, Church-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |
| Bury, Lancashire. | Henry Hopkins | 1 | 0 | 0 | Falkirk. | James Hargreaves, drugst, High-street | 2 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |

delivered an address pregnant with facts, which produced a powerful effect on the meeting.

Mr. R. R. R. Moore followed, and, after an eloquent speech, proceeded with characteristic tact to take up the subscription. Amongst the sums enumerated were—The Jarrow Chemical Company, 25*l.*; Christian Althusen, 20*l.*; and a second donation of 5*l.*; George Crawshaw, Esq., 11*l.*; and afterwards 5*l.* more; J. Lee and Co., 20*l.*; J. Scarth, Esq., 10*l.*; R. B. Sanderson, Esq., 10*l.*; R. Ormston, Esq., 10*l.*; a Leaguer, 10*l.*; Loah, Wilson, and Bell, 10*l.*; Charles Rayne and Co., 10*l.*; H. E. A., 10*l.*; J. Shield, jun., Esq., 5*l.*; Captain Weatherley, 5*l.*; J. Watson, 5*l.*; J. Borthwick, 5*l.*; James Dale, 5*l.*; Jos. Laycock and Co., 5*l.*; Stephen Lowrey, 5*l.*; Alderman Potcock, 5*l.*; William Armstrong, 5*l.*; J. Berkely, 5*l.*; Sir John Fife, 10*l.*; and the Sheriff of Newcastle, 3*l.* 3*s.* Numerous subscriptions of smaller amount, varying from 2*l.* 2*s.* down to 4*d.* were handed in. The total sum at last announced was 461*l.* 16*s.*

Mr. S. DONKIN, of Bywell, addressed the meeting as a farmer, and proposed the following resolution:—

"That the grateful thanks of the meeting be given to the members of the deputation, not only for their attendance here, but for their long, protracted, and self-denying services in the cause of commercial freedom."

Colonel THOMPSON returned thanks in the name of the deputation, and noticed the gratification he had derived from his recent visit to Scotland, the inhabitants of which country he eulogized in these pithy terms:—"They are an intelligent and a fine race, these Scotch, believe me."

Mr. DONKIN then proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman; and, in doing so, took a brief review of the deputation's reception at several of the principal towns in Scotland, where, he said, the zeal of the municipal authorities in favour of Free Trade presented a strong contrast to the coolness of official men in England, however warm friends or partisans they might have been in a private capacity.

The vote was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN having responded, the meeting broke up.

Besides the mayor and deputation, the following were among the highly respectable company assembled on this interesting occasion:—John Cookson, Esq.; William Cookson, Esq. (sheriff); Christian Althusen, Esq.; George Straker, Esq.; Rev. J. Pringle, Rev. Jos. M'Alister, Jonathan Priestman, Esq.; Stephen Lowrey, Esq.; Charles Rayne, Esq.; John Henderson and Nicholas Oliver, Esqrs., of Durham; T. M. Greenhow, Esq.; Captain Weatherley, W. L. Harle, Esq.; G. Crawshaw, Esq.; Mr. S. Donkin, of Bywell, &c. &c.—*Abridged from the Tyne Mercury.*

COALBROOKDALE, Jan. 24.—A splendid Free-Trade tea-festival was held at this place last evening, at which Messrs. A. Prentice and W. J. Massie, of Manchester, attended as a deputation from the Anti-Corn-Law League. The lecture-room, in which the meeting took place, was tastefully and beautifully ornamented with evergreens, artificial flowers, &c.; and, when filled with company, presented an animated and striking appearance. The different tables were bountifully supplied, free of cost, by the several ladies who kindly presided; and no demonstration in this neighbourhood has ever been attended by a more respectable audience, or graced with a larger number of the fair sex, than on the present occasion. During tea several appropriate airs were played by a very efficient band. On the removal of the tea equipage, on the motion of R. Darby, Esq., which was carried unanimously, Abraham Darby, Esq., was called to the chair, and opened the business in a very appropriate speech. The several resolutions, condemnatory of monopoly and approving of Free Trade, were proposed and seconded by Messrs. Weare, Millington, Isaacs, Heaford, Evans, and W. H. Darby, supported in a masterly manner by Messrs. Prentice, Massie, and Pinnegan, and carried without a single dissentient. Although the inhabitants of this district subscribed upwards of £350 at a meeting held about three weeks ago, yet an addition of upwards of £67 was made to the sum then raised, which will most probably be further increased. The greatest enthusiasm pervaded the meeting, and the determination which was evinced will, it is to be hoped, have a very beneficial effect in this neighbourhood. At the conclusion thanks were voted and carried by acclamation to the ladies for their kind assistance and support, and to Messrs. Prentice and Massie for their able exposure of monopoly.

* * We refer to our Supplement for reports of the several meetings held in Scotland, Manchester, and Liverpool. The great length of our Subscription List, and of the meeting at Covent-Garden Theatre, of which we give a full and special report, renders necessary the postponement of several Reviews and other articles which we had prepared for publication.

LETTER FROM LORD KINNAIRD TO THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

Rossie Priory, Jan. 16, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I must congratulate you on the letter you have received from Lord Westminster, whose declaration, in conjunction with that of Lord Spencer, in favour of the total abolition, will have the best effect, as I expect their example will be followed by other large landed proprietors, knowing, as I do, that there are many who agree with us, but are prevented coming forward, either from not liking to be thought to take a part in the agitation on the subject, or restrained by the trammels of the party, which is pledged to a fixed duty; the latter reason will not long prevent them, as the fixed-duty men are divided as to amount, and others, as Mr. Gibson Craig states, "if the infatuation of the agricultural interest shall prevent their perceiving the necessity of settling it within a short period, will abandon the maintenance of any duty at all." That what is called the agricultural interest will as a body agree, even if it were practicable, to a compromise, I do not believe; therefore, I look forward to the support of this section of the fixed-duty men very speedily. I find that many of the supporters of the present Government would prefer the total abolition to any further alteration in the Corn Laws, and I have no doubt that the best practical farmers will soon come round to the same opinion.

We had a most gratifying meeting at Perth, on Friday last, to hear the deputation from the League, presided over by Mr. Fox Maule—a convert from a fixed duty to a total repeal, the members present amounting to upwards of 2000, and amongst them a large proportion of farmers from the neighbourhood, who, though, not of course agreeing entirely with the speakers, yet listened most attentively to the arguments used, and the answers given to objections urged; and knowing, as I do, the intelligence of the farmers in this district, I augur the very best results, being satisfied that the statements and arguments used made a deep impression on their minds, as I never witnessed any meeting where the attention of every one seemed so intense during the four hours that the meeting lasted. The reception the deputation have met with in the north has been most enthusiastic.

As I said before, I expect that many will follow the example of Lord Westminster, and join the League, which, from its straightforward course and business-like manner of conducting its affairs, stands deservedly high in public estimation, uninjured by the venomous shafts of abuse and falsehood which have been levelled at it. Indeed the eyes of all Europe are upon it—the question everywhere being asked—how is the League getting on? as the people of every county are interested in our success. If I am spared in health and strength till after Easter, the members of the upper house shall not want an opportunity of speaking out, and relieving themselves from the obloquy felt so keenly by the *Haddingtonshire farmers*, attached to those for whose exclusive benefit these laws are said to be maintained.

Yours, faithfully,

KINNAIRD.

G. Wilson, Esq.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Press of matter again obliges us to omit our replies to correspondents.

TO ADVERTISERS.

We are obliged to postpone the insertion of several columns of Advertisements which we had in type, in order to make room for matter that would not admit of postponement.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3*s.* 3*d.* by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadaby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

GREAT LEAGUE MEETING.—THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN.—THE NEXT WEEKLY MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE, will be held in the THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN, on THURSDAY EVENING NEXT, the 1st of FEBRUARY.

GEORGE WILSON, Esq., will take the Chair precisely at Seven o'clock.

Cards of admission to the stage and boxes may be had on application after Monday next, at the Central Offices of the League, No. 67, Fleet-street.

The Cards of Registered Members of the League will, as heretofore, admit to the Pit and Galleries of the Theatre.

YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION.—The Committee of the Metropolitan Young Men's Anti-Monopoly Association are requested to attend at the Committee-room, on MONDAY Evening next, the 9th inst., to take into consideration the best means of carrying out those objects for which the Association was originally formed. The Chair will be taken at half-past seven precisely.—Committee-room, Hart's Hotel, 159, Aldersgate-street.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, January 27, 1844.

"The vessel of the state drifts onward without rudder or compass;" the marines appear to have taken her out of the hands of the sailors, and to have chosen a fresh-water pilot, whose only principle of navigation is to keep close by the land. The poor pilot, seeing rocks ahead, and breakers under his lee, casts a longing eye seaward, and seems to wish for a chance of running free into the Trade-winds, instead of dodging about under the flaws and gusts alongshore. If danger comes suddenly, from his absurd steering, he dreads being pitched overboard by the sailors, whose League is formidable—if he quits the narrow seas, he fears an insurrection of the lubberly marines, who are beginning to prate about mutiny. At the very moment that the ship is about to make a new tack, none of the crew can conjecture to what point of the compass the pilot will turn her head; the marines hope that he will hug the land, but have secret misgivings because he has lately taken soundings, though the sailors say that this was only "bobbing for flats"; some of the young tars say that he has been treading on their corns, which they take to be a hint that he only waits for the turn of the tide; but the old blue jackets shake their heads, look anxiously at the sky, and talk of a pilot who "gathered the storm," which his flatterers said he "weathered," under whose steering the Old England had a narrow escape from the unfathomable pit. Doubt and distrust are spread from stem to stern, and the pilot, though once deemed a good hand at "spinning a yarn," has only once opened his oracular jaws, and was then delivered of a bull, so that those who used to cry up his wit as sterling are now forced to confess that it was mere Brummagem.

But this is a faint type of the condition of England at the present moment: there is uncertainty everywhere, and confidence nowhere; the tenant hesitates to conclude an agreement with his landlord; the retailer pauses in perplexity before sending an order to the wholesale dealer; the exporting merchant is perplexed by hostile tariffs; and the importer, instead of consulting commercial lists, finds that his best guide is a weather-almanac. In

this state of doubt men interpret the uncertain sign of the times according to their own preconceived opinions, just as Brunswickers and Emancipators did in 1828. The Duke of Buccleuch, having duly paid his respects to "the father of lies," gives £100 to the protection of monopoly, but it is remembered that Sir Charles Wetherell was similarly permitted to parade ascendancy principles after the concessions of 1829 had been determined upon by the Cabinet; and the descendant of the moss-troopers, like the representative of the obstinates, is said to be allowed to exhibit his vagaries merely as a diversion. In truth they are well calculated to afford diversion from Caithness to Cornwall. The son-in-law of the Premier gives his adhesion to the monopolists, but it is whispered that the object of the scion of the haughty house of Jersey was to snub his matrimonial connections and disavow his race from the "parsley-bed." When the Premier's grandsire laid the foundation of an enormous fortune and stupid nickname for his family by printing calico with the parsley leaf, he little dreamed that a jest devised to amuse children would become a fixed truth in genealogy and the standing jest in the immaculate house of Jersey.

Some of the monopolists point to the landlord associations for the protection of rent, into which efforts are made to dupe or coerce the tenantry, and say "Here are pledges to the maintenance of the sliding scale;" but the wiser of the party aver that the sudden fit of speaking and writing which has seized on the lords of mortgaged acres is the worst symptom of their cause. "All would be well," they say, "if the blockheads could only be persuaded to hold their tongues; these are not the days when the cackling of geese will save the capitol." On the other hand, the Free-traders adopt the hortatory strains of the emancipating bard, and earnestly pray:—

"Write on, write on, ye barons dear,
Ye dukes write hard and fast!
The good we've sought for many a year
Your quills will bring at last.
Sure, never since the precious use
Of pen and ink began,
Did letters writ by fools produce
Such precious good to man!"

"Write, write, ye peers, nor stoop to style,
Nor beat for sense about;—
Squires, think not reason worth your while,
But still your nonsense spout.
Oh, ne'er since asses spoke before
Such miracles were done;
Make but a few such speeches more,
And Free Trade's cause is won!"

Verily, Moore's verses may serve as a prologue to the great drama of legislation now about to begin, whether it will turn out a farce, or a tragedy, or an extravaganza, compounded of both. The manager has collected so heterogeneous a company, has so studiously kept away his "stars" from rehearsals, and has made so many blunders with his suits, that we dare not attempt to speculate on the pieces he intends to produce, until after the rising of the curtain. We shall carefully watch the production, for we have strong evidence to prove that the House has been packed: indeed Sir Robert Peel's management has always been distinguished by a liberal distribution of "orders."

REPRESENTATION OF DUDLEY.—It is confidently stated that a new writ for this borough will be moved for immediately on the opening of the ensuing session, and the Anti-Corn-Law League are actively preparing for a vigorous attempt to secure the seat for a Free-Trader. Mr. Acland has arrived in the borough, and commenced the campaign by a course of four lectures on the Corn Laws. Several agents of the League are also actively at work distributing Anti-Corn-Law tracts amongst the electors and non-electors. Two candidates are spoken of as likely to contest the borough on the Free-Trade interest, and whichever of these gentlemen may be eventually chosen to stand, we can promise the monopolists that they will have a candidate of no ordinary character and influence to contend against. We shall soon be able to speak in plainer terms.—*Worcester Chronicle.*

AGRICULTURE.

GAME AND THE GAME LAWS!

What a chapter of folly, misery, and crime does the above title suggest! On Saturday last a human being was sacrificed on the altar of aristocratic "sport;" for such in truth was the execution of Roberts, in Lancashire, for the murder of Lord Stanley's gamekeeper. And another wretched victim now awaits his trial for a similar crime in Surrey. How long will the civilized, the humane, the religious people of this country bear these things? We have elsewhere inserted a few paragraphs, taken—almost at random—from the provincial papers, illustrative of the effects of game and the game laws on the rural districts. No humane or reflecting men can read them without a shudder; can politicians read them without anxiety and fear?

These laws are an anomaly in a civilized community; they are entirely unsuited to our present social condition; they are not merely derived from

feudal times, they are feudal laws in actual operation; they are a disgrace to the British nation.

Perhaps few readers are aware of the actual condition of the law as regards game, and we will therefore briefly state it. In 1831 the acts of Parliament then in force concerning game, being TWENTY-EIGHT in number, were consolidated into one act—1 and 2 William IV., c. 32—which forms the present code of forest laws, under which the rural districts now writhe and groan. The first act of the twenty-eight repealed and consolidated in 1831, carries us back into the dark ages; it was 13th of Richard I., c. 13—who does not remember Gurrth, the swineherd, with his maimed dog in "Ivanhoe," and the curses, not loud but deep, which Scott makes him bestow upon the Norman barons and their forest laws?—and was intitled "An Act relating to such persons as shall not have or keep any greyhound, hound, or other dog to hunt, and shall not use fyrets [ferrets], hare nets, hare-pipes, cords, or other engines to take and destroy hares, conies, or other gentlemen's game;" and it is a remarkable fact that, as the country advanced in wealth and population, the titles of the statutes passed to protect the game became more and more indicative of savage outrage and violent crime.

As we cast our eye down the list we find, on approaching our own times, and particularly in the reigns of the Second and Third GEORGE, the new game statutes bearing some such ominous titles as "for the punishment of persons being found armed by night with intent to destroy game;" and the records of our criminal courts will show what a fertile source of violence and crime such laws have proved. The chief practical alteration made by the new game law of 1831 was to permit game to be sold under certain stringent regulations; whereas previously, though constantly sold everywhere, all persons concerned in such traffic were liable to enormous fines, and to imprisonment. In all other respects the most odious provisions of the old laws were perpetuated. Under all existing leases the landlord was to have the sole right to take and kill the game on his tenant's farm, unless the game had been expressly granted, which in practice was never done, and in all future lettings he was to be entitled to reserve the game; in such cases the occupier of land was subjected to a penalty of 40s. for every head of game killed by him upon his own farm. Moreover, the landlord is not only entitled to take the game himself, but he may authorize any other persons to do so; he may empower a gamekeeper, or he may let the game to a stranger. Then lords of manors may appoint gamekeepers, and may authorize them to seize "all such dogs, nets, and other engines and instruments for killing or taking game as should be used within the manor by any person not authorized to kill game." The game on all commons and wastes was also expressly declared to belong to the lords of manors. Penalties from 40s. to £20, and punishments from a month's imprisonment to fourteen years' transportation, are to be inflicted by justices of the peace to enforce their feudal code. Such is an outline of the existing game laws, under which any man who possesses five hundred acres of land may occasion the demoralization of a wide district. And there are few rural parishes in which game preserves do not exist. Pheasants, hares, and rabbits abound everywhere amidst the poor, and often pauperized agricultural labourers; and when we remember that these creatures find a ready sale at high prices, that none of the middle or poorer classes regard poaching as criminal, and that large numbers of the farming labourers are, invariably, for six months in the year on the verge of destitution, it is not surprising that "poaching" forms two-thirds of the crime which the rural magistrates are engaged in repressing. Nor do the brutal affrays, the bloodshed and murders, of which we constantly read as the direct products of the game law, disclose one half of the deeper crimes originating in poaching. The breach of one law, though that law is a cruel and oppressive one, begets the habit of disregarding all law, and thus social order is seriously compromised for the sake of protecting the sports of the gentry. But passing, for the present, from this part of the subject with this observation, that the more the game laws are considered, the deeper and more ramified will be found the evils which they inflict upon the happiness and prosperity of the community, let us see how they affect agriculture.

"How can we compete with the farmers of Poland?" says a Suffolk farmer, in an agony of fear, lest the Corn Laws should be repealed; "what chance have the overburdened farmers of this country in competition with the lightly-taxed wheat growers of continental Europe?" say landlords and land-agents, with real or well affected alarm; but, waving for the present all other answer to these exaggerated fears, we say advisedly that there is more corn yearly destroyed, or prevented from coming into existence by game, than would be imported from abroad in any two years of the most free trade in grain! All farmers agree in stating that it is impossible to estimate fully the injury they receive

from game; no compensation can make good the loss thereby occasioned to the occupier of land. Mr. Thallon, in his excellent letter to Mr. Cobden, at Cupar (which will be found in another column), says, "No arbuter whatever can estimate the real damage our crops sustain, as pheasants and partridges, &c., first pick up the seed and cause a thin braird, then the rabbits and game eat it down so soon as it comes above ground, so that what comes to maturity at last, is deficient in quality and full of greens, being rather like a second crop in many instances than a first;" and he gives an instance of money value of the loss, when he adds, "on about 700 Scotch acres held by me and four other farmers, for crop in 1841, we had upwards of £700 sterling of damages awarded to us, and we were not indemnified even with that sum." And the reader will recollect innumerable passages to the same effect, which we have cited from the letters and speeches of tenant-farmers.

But landlords expect to obtain a full rent for their land, and to keep a large stock of game upon it besides; and this can only be done by enhancing artificially the price of the half crops of corn which under the existing tenures and burdens—landlord-caused burdens—of land can only be grown. This is one of the primary motives of the landlords in struggling to maintain the Corn Laws, and it is to preserve the GAME NUISANCE that tenant-farmers are now called on to band themselves together, and to embark in a course of political agitation. And the farmers are beginning to be aware of the fact. We are much deceived if the landlords, in calling upon the tenant-farmers to act and think for themselves, have not evoked a spirit which will not be laid until protection from evils nearer home than Polish or American competition shall have been obtained.

PROTECTION FOR AGRICULTURE.

"THE HAND IS THE HAND OF ESAU; BUT THE VOICE IS THE VOICE OF JACOB."

He must be, indeed, as blind as the patriarch of old who does not see that, though a few tenant-farmers are put forward as the movers in favour of "protection," the sentiments which are uttered at all the meetings of the new-born "Protection Societies" belong exclusively to the landlords. We do not say that there are not some renting farmers who participate in the attempt at a counter-movement; for such is the dependent condition of a great proportion of the tenantry of England that whatever the landlords will to be done must be obeyed by a certain number of their tenants; but to represent such gatherings as those at Chelmsford and Colchester as the spontaneous efforts of the industrious agriculturists is the silliest of all illusions. We shall show presently, by an examination of a few of the speeches at Colchester, and at Framlingham, in East Suffolk, that none of the arguments are addressed to the difficulties of the question as regards the tenant-farmers: all their grievances are kept out of sight, whilst the most absurd exaggerations are put forward to frighten them into Pro-Corn-Law petitions to Parliament. And this is the real object of the squire's move. They imagine such petitions will either compel Sir Robert Peel to abstain from further alteration of the Corn Laws if he had intended to propose such a change, or to afford him an excuse for not doing so should inaction be his policy. We believe that all this stir, so far as the object of the landowners is concerned, is a work of supererogation, for nobody ever seriously supposed that Sir Robert Peel would, next session, propose or assent to an alteration of the Corn Laws.

But it will be useful that the true character of the movement should be understood. Of that in Essex we have before spoken: its active agents are the creatures of the landowners, and the very anxiety of the squire to make the effort appear to be that of the farmers alone serves to prove the contrary. If the interest of the owners and the occupiers of land be in truth, as the former allege, identical, why should they not boldly and openly come out as the natural leaders of the rural classes? The reason is, that the landlords well know that they are entirely distrusted by the farmers. It is thought they may be induced to act by themselves, and it is hoped that they may act under the delusions propagated by the owners of the soil. But in other counties the landlords are more obviously the mainsprings of the counter-move than even in Essex. In Sussex the agents and toadies of the Duke of Richmond are the speakers and actors, and the duke himself is to be brought out as a great gun on an early occasion. The honorary secretary of the society is Mr. Burrell, the son of Sir Charles Burrell, a Monopolist M.P., and a rampant protectionist landowner. In Kent Sir Edward Dering and a few other landlords are the fuglemen. In Hertfordshire the agents of Lords Verulam and Salisbury have been sending round an anonymous circular, and putting forth a nameless paragraph, to try to get up a "protection" meeting in that county. In Lincolnshire Mr. Chaplin and his brother landlords take the lead; in Warwickshire a landlord and a parson are the speakers; and in East Suffolk (to which meeting we adverted lately) the speakers, the speeches, the resolutions, and the petition are the weakest efforts of the weakest brains to be found amongst the most unreasoning class of landlord monopolists.

Now, it is said the farmers are a non-reading class, though we do not think the imputation is altogether just, and it is certain that they will now read most of the Pro and Anti-Corn-Law speeches. Now, we would only ask the hard-headed tenant-farmers of England to say whether the arguments, or what serve the Pro-Corn-Law speakers instead of arguments, satisfy their minds? They denounce the League, and abuse Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright, but do they grapple with the arguments of the Free-Traders? Do they show how the Corn Laws have benefited the farmers? Where are the profits which protection during the last 30 years has placed in the tenants' pockets? How much have prices been above the rates at which rents have been calculated, or how much below those rates? Let the farmers copy out every statement made as a fact by the Pro-Corn-Law speakers, and, as opportunity offers, let them examine the accuracy of the alleged facts. We know that this will be done, with more or less of method and precision, by hundreds and hundreds of farmers, and we know that, as certainly as it is done, the result will be directly the opposite of that which the squire seeks to produce. With regard to the abuse of the League and its speakers, in which the protectionists deal so largely, we say, once for all, we pass it over as utterly unworthy of notice; it only reminds us, and it will remind not a few of their own hearers, of the well-known story of the attorney, who, having no defence to offer on behalf of his client, gave the following pithy instructions to his counsel:—"No case; abuse the plaintiff's attorney." So the political landlords would seem to have instructed their land-agents and their lawyers, who seek to gull the farmers:—"Don't say much about monopoly, but 'pitch into' Cobden and the League." Our object will be, in all our notices of the Pro-Corn-Law speeches to throw aside all such mere flowers of rhetoric, and to elucidate the small portion of reasoning or quasi-reasoning by which these rhodomontades are accompanied. Thus, Mr. Baker, at Colchester, said:—

"Landed property became valuable in proportion as capital and skill were applied to its cultivation, and was more valuable in a highly civilized country than in one less civilized. In England they had at their command unbounded wealth; but they were circumscribed in their operations within a limited circle. The application of capital had given a higher value to land in England than in any other country; it became, therefore, necessary to keep up the agricultural interest with a high hand. Those countries which were advanced in civilization, and where cultivation was carried to its greatest extent, conferred more benefits on the poorer classes than uncivilized."

Here we have a passage which shows the danger of playing with edged tools. Arguments are awkward things in the hands of those who don't know how to use them, or whose case is past the aid of argument. Most true is it, Mr. Baker, that land is more valuable as capital and skill are applied to it, and that it is the application of capital and skill—the wealth and population which render such application possible, being founded on our commercial and manufacturing industry—which has given a higher value to land in England than in any other country; but if so, what becomes of the bugbear of foreign competition? True, it is, that the poorer classes are better off in civilized and well-cultivated countries than in rude and uncivilized lands; and why is Great Britain better cultivated and more civilized than Hungary or Poland, but because she has been for centuries the seat of commercial and manufacturing industry? But is the land of this country as well cultivated as it might be? Is there as much capital and skill applied to the cultivation of the soil as might be so applied with profit? Mr. Baker knows well enough that three farms out of five, in his own county of Essex, are not half cultivated, and he knows, moreover,—indeed, he has said as much in his letters in the *Mark-lane Express*,—that, in the majority of instances, such slovenly cultivation is attributable to the tenures on which tenants hold their land: in some places game-preserving prevents the application of skill and capital; in others, obsolete covenants and penalties on breaking up old pasture land; and so forth; while on nine farms out of ten throughout England the want of leases—a want mainly caused by the Corn Laws—renders improved cultivation precarious or impossible. Nothing is required but the removal of all artificial restrictions on the corn trade, and the abandonment of all feudal and obsolete customs by the landowners, to cause a prodigious application of fresh capital and new skill to the cultivation of land in this country. For the effects thereof we can't do better than refer to the above extract from Mr. Baker's speech. Does not this show the discretion of the lawyer with a bad case, in sticking to abuse? Mr. Baker is safe so long as he vituperates the League, but the moment he stops to argue he states himself out of court. Again, he said:—

"Under the present state of things he contended that the labourer was able to supply himself and his family with good wheat bread. But what would be the case if they were to bring in foreign corn into this country? The foreign-grown corn would supersede our home-grown corn; consequently the labour that produced the home-grown corn would be superseded too."

Here we have a bundle of falsehoods and fallacies capable of the most complete refutation. In the first place, the labourer is not now fully or constantly employed, because the ups and downs of farmers effectually prevent any tenant from saying one year what he will be able to do the next. Foreign corn would not and could not supersede our own corn. About two or three millions of quarters of wheat in the year only could be brought to this country with the slightest chance of profit, and the only effect of that importation would be to keep the price of wheat

steady. The farmer would know what he had to trust to; he would adjust his rent with his landlord, and he would require his other outgoings to be accommodated to the ordinary rate at which his produce would sell; his object would be to grow a large acreable produce; and to do that he must cultivate carefully, he must insist upon a lease, he would require to be a free man, and not a mere vassal. Nor are these things merely speculative and conjectural; in the abundant years 1833, 1834, and 1835, this change was actually in progress. Mr. C. C. Parker, a gentleman of Essex, largely engaged in farming and in the management of landed estates in that county, said, before the Agricultural Committee of 1836, that "since rents had been lowered, not only the new but the old farmers, having capital, had decidedly improved the condition of their farms," and he expressly stated "that he had never seen more improvement in draining, chalking, and liming than within the last three years." Now these "last three years" were those of the lowest prices which had been known in England for nearly a century. Mr. Parker also said that there had been a great change of tenantry in Essex, but that the tenants who had left had been either imprudent men, or persons induced by the "very high prices of corn" to take farms without anything like sufficient capital for the management of them, hoping that, if they could survive one or two harvests, the produce of their farms would give them capital." Such evidence is worth more than all the rant of twenty Mr. Bakers. Again, this bustling land-agent said:—

"The advantage which the foreign corn-grower had over the British agriculturist was this—they could take up fresh land to any extent. In England the whole of the land was occupied, and they had to keep up the fertility of the soil by expensive artificial manures; whereas, in America and other places, as soon as one piece of land was exhausted, they ploughed up fresh land. It was manifest, then, that the inhabitants of these countries had an immense advantage over the people of England."

Now, a man may successfully "put up" rents without being much of a geographer, but when he stands forth as the champion of the squires and the Corn Laws, he ought to apply to the means of information which are within every body's reach.

Had he done so, he would have learned that in America all the "fresh land" which can be taken up is eight hundred or a thousand miles from the seacoast, so that the value of wheat grown in the far west, when it arrives at the seaboard port, is nearly double its value at the place of growth; that all this land is in a state of nature, great part of it being covered with primeval forests, without a shed or a fence, or an enclosure upon it; that those who bring it into cultivation have little capital beyond a waggon and team of oxen, a few tools, and the labour of themselves and their families, and that a rough abundance is all they hope or expect for the first generation. In all the states nearer the Atlantic, the unthrifty practice of taking up fresh land, and abandoning the old, which Mr. Baker erroneously imagines to be so advantageous, has been so long continued, that the inhabitants of the Atlantic states are in a great measure dependent upon the far west for food. That America will, in times of scarcity here, supply us with some corn, so as to prevent the exorbitant rise in price which we now experience in deficient years, is certain; but none will benefit more by the steadiness so induced than the tenant-farmer, for he will base his calculations on facts, not on fancies as at present. Then, as to the continent of Europe, had Mr. Baker taken a peep into Mr. Jacob's reports, and other documents of authority, instead of indulging in wild assertions, he would have seen whether the people of the corn-growing countries of the Continent could really "take up fresh land to any extent." We will, however, supply our agricultural readers with the information it did not suit the purpose of Mr. Baker and his employers to afford.

Mr. Jacob tells us that in Poland, which is undoubtedly the most fertile of the continental corn-growing countries, all the land has been exhausted from excessive cropping, that the owners of it have not the capital which would be necessary to restore it by keeping stock, and the climate effectually prevents that system of green crops without which the attempt to keep stock would be nugatory. Most of the land is cultivated by mere serfs, or peasants little better than serfs, and there, as here, the landlords are so deeply mortgaged that they cannot raise the capital necessary for improved agriculture. Again, Mr. Jacob says that in Prussia it is calculated that the average increase of the four kinds of grain—wheat, rye, barley, and oats—taken together, is not more than four times the seed sown; and the rotation pursued in Poland, Prussia, and most other of the corn-growing countries of Europe, is two successive corn crops, then a fallow only, and corn crops again—"a system," as Mr. Jacob truly observes, "which would exhaust the best soil with which we are acquainted." And it is a statistical fact that for a number of years since 1805 there has been a regularly diminishing export of wheat from Poland. Then the continental roads offer most serious obstacles to exportation of corn, so much so that at the distance of only twenty-four miles from Rostock the cost of the carriage of rye to that port amounts to thirteen per cent. on its value! So far from there being any truth in the ridiculous statements made by the squires and their agents, as to the quantity of corn being procurable from the Continent, that, on the contrary, Mr. Jacob, writing in 1827, says, "at the present harvest of 1827, it is doubtful if ten days' consumption of wheat could be drawn from the whole Continent, even at an advance of one hundred per cent. on the prices of the period." And the inquiries of Mr. Meek, who was sent by Sir Robert Peel to the same districts in 1842, show that

no perceptible change has since occurred. Now let the farmers deal with this question like practical men, and they will find all such reckless and general assertions as form the staple of the speeches of Mr. Baker and his fellow-agents reduced to their true value—nothing.

THE MONOPOLISTS IN EAST LOTHIAN.

The lairds of East Lothian, having collected together as many farmers as habit, prejudice, or influence could induce to come out in aid of high rents and low profits, held their meeting on the 19th inst., at Haddington, to petition Parliament not to alter the Corn Laws. As evidence of the interest felt in the objects of the meeting by the landlords, we give the following list of landocracy then and there assembled:—

The Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Elcho, the Hon. Francis Charteris, M.P., the Hon. James Sinclair, Sir Thomas B. Hepburn, Bart., M.P., Sir George Grant Suttie, Bart., Sir David Kinloch, Bart., Sir Robert Houston, K.C.B., James M. Balfour, Esq., M.P., Jas. Hay, Esq., Patrick Dudgeon, Esq., Wm. Aitchison, Esq., Robt. Ansell, Esq., Jas. Hunter, Esq., Jas. W. Hunter, jun., Esq., Wm. Burn Callander, Esq., Jas. Aitchison, Esq., Robert Brown, Esq., James Hamilton, Esq., Robert Hay, Esq., William Horne, Esq. (sheriff of the county), Robert Riddell, Esq. (sheriff-substitute), Thomas Lea, Esq. (provost of Haddington), John Haldane, Esq., George Park, Esq., William Park, Esq., &c.

Sir Thos. Hepburn was the first speaker. He denied that the Corn Law was "solely a landlord's question"; and alleged that Free Trade would injure tenants and labourers, which he attempted to make out thus:—

"I shall assume that the farmers could obtain the land they now hold at a rent reduced perhaps one-half. The tenant would take the land, paying for it one-half of what he now does. But can that be sufficient for a similar alteration or reduction in the tenant's profits? Or is it to be supposed that the value of farm produce would be higher in proportion to the rent than it is now? This no sensible man can believe."

Again:—

"The high rents alone, therefore, is not the question for the tenant to consider; but whether he will have high rents with high profits—or whether he will have low rents and a proportionately low rate of profits."

Now, these gratuitous assumptions prove nothing, except the utter ignorance of the speaker of the economical law which governs rents and profits. So far from the truth is it that high profits are connected with high rents, that directly the reverse takes place. High rents are the result of a great competition for land, which induces farmer to bid against farmer, until the very lowest rate of profit, at which any man will consent to carry on the business of farming, is all that the tenant calculates on getting after payment of the expenses of cultivation and rent. In making this calculation the farmer estimates the price of grain at the rates which the Corn Laws promise, and he is compelled to do so, for, whatever doubts observation of the past may have infused into his mind as to the actual obtainment of such prices, there are many farmers who believe in the efficacy of the Corn Laws, and will bid according to act-of-Parliament prices. Then, having ascertained or estimated the quantity of produce and the expenses of cultivation, with the very lowest profit he will accept, he offers to the landlord all the surplus as rent.

Now, to adopt, for the sake of illustration, Sir Thomas Hepburn's assumption that a very large fall in prices will take place under a Free Trade, and that the returns of farming are thereby diminished, from whence must the first deduction be made? Why, from the surplus, the RENT. Let him remember that "the desire to take land"—in other words, the competition, on which he seems to rely—as all landlords do rely—to keep up rents will only induce farmers to bid against each other according to the diminished scale of prices, and therefore the surplus offered for the land will be less than hitherto given. The farmer won't consent to take less than the lowest rate of profit usually expected amongst farmers; and inasmuch as Free Trade would give a great impulse to other employments, and tend to raise the general rate of profits in all businesses, the rate of profit expected by the farmer would be raised also, and so the surplus or rent might be somewhat further diminished. It would be of no use for the landlord to say he would get other tenants, for all other tenants would make their calculations on the same basis. And, the cause being a general one, landlords would not find it to their interest to enforce against existing tenants the letter of an engagement, which, by the supposition, altered circumstances had rendered inequitable.

We have dealt with the laird's arguments upon his own premises—not meaning thereby to admit their accuracy—but for the purpose of proving that, on his own showing, the Corn Law is almost exclusively a landlord's question. If prices were to be kept ever so high, the farmer would get no more than his ordinary profits, for the competition amongst farmers would prevent that; but the higher the price of grain the larger will be the surplus or rent given to the landlord.

Now, we trust that Sir Thomas will try to understand the principles of rent before he next ventures in public to say that, "as a question of degree, it is more that of a labourer and a tenant's question than a landlord's." The rate of wages, again, depends, not upon the price of food, but upon the demand for labour; and experience has proved that when the price of agricultural produce is moderate the farmer seeks to increase the quantity of his crops, and in so doing employs more labour. It is from the sudden ups and downs which the Corn Law occasions that the agricultural labourer suffers, for he is never so well off as when prices have been low for several years together, as, for instance, from 1832 to 1837. Afterwards Sir Thomas said:—

"I do not deny the power of the continental growers to do this (furnish a supply at a cheaper rate) to a certain extent, if they can find the capital; but I am sure we do not require it. From parliamentary returns it appears that the whole amount of foreign wheat entered for home consumption for the last fourteen years, from July, 1829, to April, 1843, was only 13½ millions of quarters, and about 4½ millions of cwts. of flour, and it was only in seasons of scarcity that any large portion of that quantity was imported."

But it is in seasons of scarcity that importation is required, and then it is not, by reason of the Corn Laws, obtainable until prices have reached famine point. Then we probably procure as much as if the trade had been free, but it is got by means and under circumstances which disturb all the ordinary commercial relations of Europe.

In refutation of the absurd untruth, that English wages

must be reduced to Continental rates, we cannot do better than refer to Mr. Cobden's conclusive statements at Perth on that subject, which appear in another column. British labourers are paid more than those on the Continent because their labour is more valuable. But perhaps the farmers would like to hear what a monopolist, Mr. Canning, at Northampton, said—*inadvertently*, perhaps—on this subject:—"What did the French say? Why, that an Englishman was able to accomplish more work in a given time than a Frenchman." Here we have all the nonsense about continental wages being the result of Free Trade knocked on the head by one of the monopolists! Usually the only difficulty in dealing with monopolist statements and reasonings arises from the circumstance that it is necessary to show that their premises, their "facts," are false, and that, even supposing them to be true, the conclusions they deduce from them are unwarranted. Sir Thomas then produced the following "accurate calculations" by Mr. Sligo, of Sealdiffe:—

"To show the loss that this county would sustain by the depression caused by Free-Trade prices, he states that the total rental of the county of Haddington amounts to £244,886 2s. 7d. Assuming that the value is divided according to Mr. Smith's system, which allows one-third to the landlord in the shape of rent, one-third for expenses, and one-third to the tenant for profit, he estimates that, if the crop of 1841 had sold at Free-Trade prices, that is, 20s. per quarter, the loss to the rental would have been £69,766, and, even if had been sold at 30s. per quarter, the loss would have been £68,481. But, if we add to this the loss on the tenants' profits, the evil would be doubled."

We have disposed of these "calculations" by anticipation in our remarks on Sir Thomas Hepburn's own statement. But we may add, there is no chance of wheat falling to 20s. or even 30s. per quarter; and will repeat that, if it did permanently fall to such rates, the loss would fall upon the owner, not the occupier, of the soil. The arbitrary division of the produce into three parts, and allotting one of such divisions for rent, is ridiculous. Until the tenant has been paid the expenses of cultivation, with the lowest profit he is willing to accept, there can be no rent, which is only the surplus after expenses and profits have been paid. This the farmers will easily understand when the mystification of "protecting" duties shall have been removed. And the lairds now understand this well enough; and hence the present outcry.

Our eye having wandered over some column or two of print without meeting with the semblance of an argument, until we come to the following by Sir George Suttie, which, by courtesy, we shall so designate. He said:—

"Owing to the burdens which land had to bear, and the amount of taxation in this country, the price of everything was considerably enhanced. If they were to be brought into competition with countries where taxation was comparatively unknown, unquestionably there would be a reduction in the value of everything, for they would be forced into competition with corn brought from countries where it was raised at a much lower cost. He happened to know that in some of those countries the labourers never tasted wheaten bread. That, he believed, was an admitted fact. He had travelled some years ago in the north of Germany, and when going to Hamburg (whence they would get corn) he was recommended—and he found it an advisable precaution—to take some wheaten bread with him in his carriage; and he found none for three days. Now, he would ask any reasonable man if the labourers of Germany would continue to grow wheat in order that the labourers of England might continue to eat it? (Hear.) He could not understand why the labourers of Germany would not eat their own wheat except that they could not afford to eat it."

Now, this is really very childish. All European nations are taxed to the utmost of their ability, and we only pay more taxes than our neighbours because we happen to be somewhat richer. Taxation may be so adjusted as to press unequally on different classes: as for example, our landowners are largely exempt from bearing a fair share of taxation, but the burden of taxation forms no reason for attempting to create an artificial scarcity besides. How would the landlords like to be charged an extra 30 per cent. on the commodities they buy because they have mortgages on their estates? Yet that is the argument for enhancing prices, to enable this country to pay the interest of the debt. The twaddle about the wheaten loaf and the labourers of Germany we have given as an apt illustration of landlord ratiocination. Mr. Charteris, the M.P., was innocent of uttering anything which, by the greatest stretch of courtesy, we could call an argument. He probably reserves his power for the House of Commons.

To Mr. Balfour, M.P., the same remark applies, except that he reiterated the taxation argument, viz., that, being in debt, we must pay extra taxation besides, and he gave vent, as a peroration, to the following valiant resolve:—

"We will not allow of any change that would diminish our protection—we will not even allow of a change in the present system; for we may be assured that every change in the existing law is a step nearer to our total destruction and ruin."

It is difficult to sustain an edifice, the foundation of which is rotten, and Mr. Balfour's mixture of consciousness and bravery is not a little comical. How tame these brave members will be when they come to the heels of their leader, Sir Robert Peel!

Mr. W. Aitchison cites the domestic authority of his Swiss governess to prove that Switzerland is not so prosperous as is believed, and the passage is too rich to withhold from the reader:—

"He (Mr. Cobden) told us another story about Switzerland, that it is the most thriving and happy country in the world by means of Free Trade. I believe that it is a thriving country; but there is a Swiss lady residing in my family, who occasionally visits that country, and she tells me that it is indeed thriving; but she ascribes it to a very different cause from what Mr. Cobden does. It is true they have adopted Free Trade; but it is upon the principle of giving everything and of taking nothing." (Hear, hear.)

And well might the audience shout "Hear, hear!" for the Swiss trade, which "gives everything and takes nothing," might well astonish the canny Scots.

But listen again to Mr. Aitchison's domestic instructress:—

"They have great watch manufactories and cotton manufactories; but the only thing they import into the country is a little salt. As for the steadiness of their prices in corn, the lady I refer to had a letter lately from her mother, who tells her that the crops there had turned very ill out, and that what sold for 20s. immediately after harvest, has now been raised to 30s. There is a rise of 50 per cent."

No doubt this is conclusive—to such minds as that of the speaker, but will such inanities satisfy the business-like farmers of East Lothian? If such a rise in corn has really occurred in Switzerland, it only proves that, notwithstanding some disadvantages of climate, they can there grow corn so much below their neighbours, for as the trade is free, it must be plain that the enhanced Swiss

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[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

THE RENT LEAGUE.

Abundant evidence has been afforded this week to prove that the associations formed under the pretence of protecting agriculture are really designed to perpetuate the present vassalage of the farmers, and continue the present degradation of the farm-labourers. Vehicles were provided at Steyning in which the farmers were carted to the meeting with just as little exercise of their own free will as when they are brought to the hustings. At Oxford the chief accusation against the League was, that its lectures and publications tended to excite distrust between landlord and tenant, by inducing the latter to reflect on the circumstances of his situation, particularly on the insecurity of his tenure, and the consequent uncertainty of a return for his invested capital. At all these meetings a band of whisperers is provided, to inform the farmers that the landlords will not agree to reduction under any circumstances, and, therefore, that they must cling to protection as the only means by which they can pay the amount of rent which is certain to be demanded. Protection to rent is so palpably the object of the various associations which are got up by the landlords in their several districts, that there is now hardly an attempt to disguise the object, at least the pretences employed are so flimsy that they could scarcely impose upon an idiot.

But there is another sense in which these collective associations may be justly termed a Rent-League: they have neither community of opinion, cohesion, nor unity of action. When the farmers are brought together, they naturally ask, "Why are we collected here? What is to be done?" And they feel themselves mocked and insulted when they are told—"You are met to do nothing, and to ask the Minister to do nothing." Men are invited to quit their occupations and assemble in Steyning, or Barton, or Oxford, to discuss the grievances of their position, and then resolve that their position should remain unaltered, and that their grievances should remain unredressed. They are told that, because they are distressed, they ought to make up their minds to remain as they are, and to ask the Government to keep them so. This, assuredly, is a vast improvement on the old joke of Jack doing nothing and Tom helping him. But this farce is far too absurd for the farmers to be willing actors in it, and at more than one meeting demands have been made for an indefinite something, arguing the foregoing conclusion, that things cannot remain as they are. "The councils of the Anti-Leaguers," says the Times, "are impeded by irresolution and clouded by doubt;" and thereupon it exhorts the farmers to abandon "the ragged remnant of a foolish law, and to take their stand upon the great legitimate ground of taxation for revenue." Loud as is the voice of the Thunderer, it has been responded to by very feeble echoes. There is no party in the country disposed to advocate a fixed duty; if there are any scattered individuals favourable to such a compromise, they have the good sense to keep their unfavourable opinion to themselves.

But even the friends of sliding scales are hopelessly rent asunder; the landlords and the trading politicians advocate the present system; the great body of the farmers, and not a few of the mortgaged

landlords, see nothing before them but ruin from adherence to a system "which has unsettled everything and settled nothing." They re-echo the complaint of the Morning Post:—

"The agriculturists of England were prosperous when Sir Robert Peel succeeded to office. In two years he has established a system under which half of the agricultural capital of England has disappeared."

This is our argument, but put before the public in a very clumsy form. We say, what every one knows, that the effect of the Corn Laws has been to prevent the growth of agricultural capital, and that this effect is produced by their unjust interference with the profits of industry; for capital is nothing more than accumulated results of industry. Captain Pechell has placed the matter in the right point of view in his address to the farmers of Sussex:—

"It does certainly appear to me that 'protection to the tenant' is in other words 'protection to the rent of the landlord.' Though the interest of the tenant goes in a great degree along with that of the landlord, still it is not for you to fight the battle of the landlord for high prices to keep up high rents. You have seen that these high prices which have been promised to you by the several acts of Parliament have not made your fortunes. You cannot find a farmer in this country who has retired from business with a fortune and a provision for his family. Show me any other trade, a grocer or a miller, in which this is so. In every other business except farming, men have laid something by for their family. Here we have been since the close of the war, in 1815, with the landlords always calling out for protection, and still there has been agricultural distress. Not one of you have bettered your condition by it."

Is there any other trade or profession in the country where men have toiled so hard and so long as English farmers without having bettered their condition? This is a question sure to be discussed at any meeting which is really "agricultural," but which is equally sure to be "burked" at a meeting got up, like that of Steyning, for the purpose of propagating a delusion. Captain Pechell justly says:—

"When I see the means that are taken—when I hear of the plans that are adopted to get up a large meeting at Steyning on Monday next—when I see it stated that the tenants are to be conveyed thither as they were conveyed to the poll in old election times, to be cooped up and to be bundled by dozens into carriages and conveyed to the hustings, it does in my mind create a strong suspicion that there is not a solid foundation for the business they are about to transact. No gentlemen know their own interests better than the farmers. When they want to go to Steyning market they know their way there. They do not want the landlords to find them a conveyance upon these days when it suits their interest to be there. It, therefore, appears to me that there is a great apathy among the farmers generally, and that there is a strong reluctance in them to attend this meeting. Never would it have occurred to the landlords of West Sussex to take the steps they have taken to get a strong meeting of this kind if they had not found that the farmers cared little upon the subject. They see that the farmers would be glad to be let alone, that they do not want to get into hostile collision with parties when no earthly advantage is to be derived from it; and when this meeting takes place there will be a great imposition practised."

The imposition has been practised, but the parties imposed upon are neither the farmers nor the public, but the self-deceived landlords, who suppose that they have sufficient influence to persuade men that the remedy for their distress is to do nothing.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,
It affords me great satisfaction again to meet you in Parliament, and to have the opportunity of profiting by your assistance and advice.

"I entertain a confident hope that the general peace so necessary for the happiness and prosperity of all nations will continue uninterrupted.

"My friendly relations with the King of the French, and the good understanding happily established between my Government and that of his Majesty, with the continued assurances of the peaceful and amicable dispositions of all Princes and States, confirm me in this expectation.

"I have directed that the Treaty, which I have concluded with the Emperor of China, shall be laid before you, and I rejoice to think that it will, in its results, prove highly advantageous to the trade of this country.

"Throughout the whole course of my negotiations with the Government of China, I have uniformly disclaimed the wish for any exclusive advantages.

"It has been my desire that equal favour should be shown to the industry and commercial enterprise of all nations.

"The hostilities which took place during the past year in Scinde have led to the annexation of a considerable portion of that country to the British possessions in the East.

"In all the military operations, and especially in the battles of Meane and Hyderabad, the constancy and valour of the troops, Native and European, and the skill and gallantry of their distinguished Commander, have been most conspicuous.

"I have directed that additional information explanatory of the transactions in Scinde, shall be forthwith communicated to you.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
The estimates for the ensuing year will be immediately laid before you. They have been prepared with a strict regard to economy, and at the same time with a due consideration of those exigencies of the public service which are connected with the maintenance of our Maritime strength, and the multiplied demands on the Naval and Military establishments from the various parts of a widely extended Empire.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,
I congratulate you on the improved condition of several important branches of the trade and manufactures of the country.

"I trust that the increased demand for labour has relieved in a corresponding degree many classes of my faithful subjects from sufferings and privations, which at former periods I have had occasion to deplore.

"For several successive years the annual produce of the revenue fell short of the public expenditure.

"I confidently trust that in the present year the public income will be amply sufficient to defray the charges upon it.

"I feel assured that, in considering all matters connected with the financial concerns of the country, you will bear in mind the evil consequences of accumulating debt during the time of peace, and that you will firmly resolve to uphold that public credit, the maintenance of which concerns equally the permanent interests and the honour and reputation of a great country.

"In the course of the present year the opportunity will occur of giving notice to the Bank of England on the subject of the Revision of its Charter.

"It may be advisable that during this Session of Parliament, and previously to the arrival of the period assigned for the giving of such notice, the state of the law with regard to the privileges of the Bank of England, and to other banking establishments, should be brought under your consideration.

"At the close of the last Session of Parliament I declared to you my firm determination to maintain inviolate the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

"I expressed at the same time my earnest desire to co-operate with Parliament in the adoption of all such measures as might tend to improve the social condition of Ireland, and to develop the natural resources of that part of the United Kingdom.

"I am resolved to act in strict conformity with this declaration. I forbear from observations on events in Ireland, in respect to which proceedings are pending before the proper legal tribunal.

"My attention has been directed to the state of the law and practice with regard to the Occupation of Land in Ireland.

"I have deemed it advisable to institute extensive local inquiries into a subject of so much importance, and have appointed a Commission with ample authority to conduct the requisite investigation.

"I recommend to your early consideration the enactments at present in force in Ireland concerning the Registration of Voters for Members of Parliament.

"You will probably find that a revision of the Law of Registration, taken in conjunction with other causes at present in operation, would produce a material diminution of the number of county voters, and that it may be advisable, on that account, to consider the state of the law, with a view to an extension of the county franchise in Ireland.

"I commit to your deliberate consideration the various important questions of Public Policy which will necessarily come under your review, with full confidence in your loyalty and wisdom, and with an earnest prayer to Almighty God to direct and favour your efforts to promote the welfare of all classes of my people."

Such is the Speech of her Majesty's Ministers on the opening of the session. Pity it is that constitutional forms do not allow of its being pronounced by one of themselves. This matter is, however, very well understood. The conventionalism which for a moment renders a VICTORIA the mouth-piece of a Peel, deceives nobody, restrains nobody, and forbids the slightest shadow of whatever blame or contempt may overcloud the Minister to obscure the Sovereign. Therefore, we say now, as we shall say when the royal assent is given to a bill for repealing the Corn Laws,—God save the Queen.

But Sir Robert Peel, and his Cabinet, are all the more deeply responsible, both for the contents and omissions of the speech, in consequence of its having to be spoken by her Majesty. Now, there is one omission which must at once strike every reader. On the topic which is uppermost in the public mind; on which all classes, from the peer to the peasant, are intent; which brings from their homes to the hustings those least accustomed to give up their time to agitation—the peaceful tradesman of the metropolis and the lordly proprietor of half a county; and on which foreign nations are waiting and watching to see what will be proposed to Parliament, or effected by its interference: on that topic, Sir Robert Peel has made her Majesty as silent as the grave. You would not know, from the speech, that any controversy existed upon the Corn Laws; still less could it occasion the faintest suspicion that almost every county in the kingdom was in movement, and every town in a state of excitement. Whatever construction be put upon this silence,—whether it be the muteness of superciliousness or of equivocation,—it fails of the respect due to the wants and wishes of

the people, and of that respect which Sir Robert Peel owes to her Majesty, though we may no means infer that he owes it to himself.

Even the *Morning Post* opines that "many persons may have anticipated some allusion to the state of the agricultural districts; some mention of the Corn Laws," and in this instance we perfectly agree with our cotemporary. Nor is the disgraceful silence atoned for by the allusion to the improved state of trade and manufactures. This indirect reference is most undignified. It may accord with the obliquity of the Minister, but has no harmony with the sincerity of the royal character. For what does the allusion mean? It is the Peelite argument for the present aliding scale—an argument repudiated alike by both parties in the discussion. The agriculturists say that they are not relieved, but worsened by the present bill; and the Free Traders affirm that the existing mitigation of their distresses is simply the result of a few months of comparative cheapness in the cost of food. There is no Peel party where the popular voice is heard; and so Sir Robert Peel takes advantage of his position to get behind the back of his Sovereign, and push her into the arena, to insinuate, rather than assert, his own sophism. This is most pitiful.

If her Majesty's Ministers really rejoice at the temporary alleviation which has accompanied the cheapening of food, and if they do indeed see good in the opening of new markets for the produce of the industry of the people, why do they resolve still to resist that one great measure which would ensure continued cheapness, would mitigate the distress that still remains, and would open to our industry the markets of the world? Why, in defiance of such implied admissions, do they cling to dearth and exclusion? Why do they disregard the gathering cloud of agricultural distress? And why do they leave the country to the awful contingency of those calamities and horrors which one short harvest would in all probability realize? Why do they play so desperate a game now, when by their own statement there is breathing time for averting mischief so incalculable? Why? Ay, why?

The response comes, not from the Treasury Bench, but from Steyning. One of the Ministers masters and makers has spoken, and the creature hears his voice. The Duke of Richmond says "he will only ask them to speak out, and no doubt they will speak out." Hence, first, their "expressive silence;" and then their lowly submission. Ministers, like tenants, are under the screw. Conditionally, the oracle has pronounced their doom. They stand mute before its threats, and then take their parts. All the world knows the tendency of their opinions; O, if they had but the spirit of men in them, "another sight had seen that morn," and Monopoly would have heard the outspeaking of its own destiny, speedily hailed by the acclamations of a nation.

The people are plainly thrown upon their own resources. What Government and legislators will not, or cannot, do for us, we must do for ourselves, by that growing power of opinion which every day augments in strength. Most timely is it, that the cry of "No compromise" has been raised. And the opening of the session must confirm the conviction of all, that not by petitions to Parliament, any more than by memorials to the Treasury, is our battle to be won, but by fairly working out the scheme of Electoral Agitation, and thus holding our course right onwards to the total, immediate, and unconditional Repeal of the Food Monopoly, and of all other Monopolies.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

The House of Lords assembled on Thursday, at two o'clock, when her Majesty opened the session with the speech, as given in our first page.

The address, which, as usual, was merely an echo of the speech, was moved by the Earl of Eldon and seconded by Lord Hill. The debate, in which the Marquis of Normanby, Lord Brougham, the Marquis of Clanricarde, and Earl Fitzwilliam took part, turned chiefly on the state of Ireland, and presented nothing remarkable. Lord Campbell said a few words on the failure of the late bankruptcy measure, which Lord Brougham defended. The remainder of the business was merely formal.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

After some formal business, and some notices of little interest, Lord Clarendon moved the address, which was seconded by Mr. Cardwell. Mr. Hume declared his intention of moving an amendment: he particularly complained of the silence respecting the Corn Laws in the royal speech. In the present crowded state of our columns we cannot attempt to give even an outline of the debate, the following passage, however, from the very effective speech of Mr. Villiers, produced too great an effect on the House, and is too important to the country, to be passed over in silence:—

"He (Mr. Villiers) asked, then, whether this was not trifling with the people? (Cheers.) He asked whether, in the condition of the whole community, the restrictive system was to go on? They all knew that the population went on increasing; there was an extent of distress and destitution which ought to shock every man of common humanity. (Cheers.) Although it was said that the distress was diminished, he had never before read such descriptions of destitution as every day met their view. It was perfectly horrid to find women destroying their own offspring, because they could not endure to see them starve, to find the

people hurrying to gaol because they were better off there than in their own homes. (Cheers.) He was a work, published under the sanction of the right honourable gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, to show that the adoption of a different system would extend the comforts, and provide for the necessities of the people; yet they had been told that evening that there was no chance of having the present system altered; that, whatever might be the consequences to the people, there had gone forth a decree from the landed interest that if there was the slightest change in the system, the least alteration, or if the protection was to be in any way diminished, the ministers would not be allowed to retain their places. (Loud cheers.) It might be said that this had been the practical working of the constitution, and such intimations might have been privately given to the Minister, but he had never before known anything so indecent or haughty, and so dictatorial, as he had recently heard uttered at public meetings (ministerial cheers, and counter cheers from the Opposition),—that a Minister should be openly threatened with expulsion if he did not do what was most injurious to the community at large, unless he maintained such a system as would put most rent into the pockets of the great dictators themselves. (Loud cheers.) Noble dukes gave the sign, and the squireens followed. (Cheers.) There was not a term of abuse which was not lavished on the right hon. baronet. He (Mr. Villiers) had no objection to the right hon. gentleman. If any one were to administer such a system, no one could doubt either his competency or his capacity; his only regret was that the right hon. baronet had not, if he might use the term, the spirit to turn round upon these people and show them their utter helplessness without him (loud cheers); their utter inability to administer without him the Government upon their own system. (Cheers.) Now, with all their rank and property and pride, they would fall were it not for the person who had talents and experience and capacity. (Loud cheers.) If the right honourable gentleman had the courage to adopt the system which he himself believed to be sound, he would rally the people to his support, he would take that higher station which he represented as alone making office valuable to him. (Cheers.) Those who had the power to declare his not doing this, had not the capacity to form a Government. (Cheers.) Who were the victims of all this pride on the one side, and of avarice on the other; of this trial to maintain a consistency for a month or a year on the one side, and of a struggle to retain that to which they had no right, on the other? It was the people. (Cheers.) Could they wonder, then, that the honourable member for Rochdale should seek to stop the supplies when those crying grievances existed, without a hope of redress? Was his honourable friend, the member for Stockport, to be blamed when, with this before him, he was labouring from morning to night, not going to the extreme means of the honourable member for Rochdale, but trying to influence the constitution of the House of Commons, so as to make them do justice to the people? (Cheers.) Had they any right to blame him, or could they wonder at the organization of which he was the head? They knew that evils existed, for which it was now hopeless to expect redress; these were the justifications for his exertions, and if it were tried, with those evils existing, to prevent the expression of complaints, in his opinion a greater error could not be committed. (Loud cheers.)

MEETINGS.

GREAT MEETING OF THE LEAGUE AT COVENT GARDEN THEATRE.

On Thursday evening last, the second weekly aggregate meeting of the League was held at Covent Garden Theatre, at which the audience was as numerous, and manifested as great enthusiasm in the cause of Free Trade, as at any previous gathering within the walls of that building. It being the first metropolitan meeting at which Messrs. Bright, Colonel Thompson, and R. R. R. Moore have appeared since their return from their recent provincial tour, those gentlemen, upon presenting themselves upon the platform, were received with the warmest plaudits. The name of Lord Morpeth, in connexion with the Wakefield meeting, elicited loud cheers, which, however, were succeeded by a marked feeling of disappointment when it was discovered that his lordship had not realized the expectations which had been previously formed of him in reference to the course which it was anticipated, from his character for humanity and philanthropy, he would have taken upon the vital question of the Corn Laws. G. Wilson, Esq. (chairman of the League) presided. The following, among other gentlemen, were upon the stage:—

George Wilson, Esq., chairman; Dr. Bowring, M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; James Brotherton, Esq.; W. J. Fox, Esq.; R. R. R. Moore, Esq.; Colonel T. P. Thompson, Henry Harrison, Esq.; Richard A. Harrison, Esq.; S. Lees, Esq., Manchester; Dr. Cooke Taylor; W. A. Wilkinson, Esq.; James Russell, Esq.; J. G. Hall, Esq.; James Grieve, J. Parker, Joseph Ivey, Richard Napier, L. A. Chowne, John Richards, J. Clark, W. Levy, P. A. Taylor, John Travers, R. Ricardo, K. Garrett, R. Sanders, Rev. Mr. Philip, Dr. Hitchman, K. B. Garey, Esq.; Robert Smith, Esq.; Messrs. Rosson; Alexander McPhail, Esq.; G. W. Cant, Esq.; Thomas Mason; the Messrs. Pattison, Jun.; J. B. Smith, Esq., Manchester; D. Richardson, Esq.; Sir Wm. Baynes, Bart.; W. G. Thomson, Esq., Sunbury; W. Thornborrow, Esq.; Alfred Warner, Esq.; Thos. Chas. Smith, Esq.; J. H. Palmer, Esq.; F. Roe, Esq.; G. C. Dyke, Esq.; T. Barbour, Esq.; W. A. Thomson, Esq.; J. M'Leod, Esq.; John Robertson, Esq.; George Smith, Esq.; Ald. Glascock, Esq.; David Carr, Esq.; John Thompson, Esq.; Thos. Bateman, Esq.; J. T. Norris, Esq.; J. P. Nixon, Esq.; Richard Ware Cole, Esq.; Dr. Partridge, — Egan, Esq.; H. L. Morgan, Esq.; Thos. Towle, Esq., Oxford.

The CHAIRMAN called upon Mr. Sawl to read the minutes of the previous meeting, which having been done, Mr. J. B. SMITH, of Manchester, moved, and Mr. JAS. BROTHERTON, seconded their confirmation, which was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN came forward amid loud cheers, and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, we meet again to report the progress of this movement during the past week, as well as to reiterate our unequivocal objection to the present, or the imposition of any other Corn Law. The meeting this evening shows in its numbers that the interest upon this question is not diminished; and we find that to be the case wherever deputations from the League have been in the various cities and boroughs in the country. There is one universal feeling—I may say one feeling—of hostility

to the Corn Law; a general feeling of opposition to its longer continuance; a determination to stand by the League in its measures, to aid it in its funds, in order that the abolition of this foul monopoly may be total, unconditional, and immediate. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, the deputation from the League have been visiting within the last week several boroughs in the north of England; we are now taking the boroughs in the due course of succession; the deputation will proceed steadily visiting each borough in the country, collecting the League fund, and we shall not deviate from our plans on any consideration; we shall not be tempted to depart from them by the seductive allurements which are held out in other quarters. (Hear.) We shall steadily follow this line of policy, in the full persuasion that it is in these meetings alone, and in the subscriptions collected at them, that we shall find the true criterion of the feeling of the people. It is in the amount which we collect—not from individuals, but from numbers—the subscriptions alone, that we gather the public opinion, that we collect our strength, and that we are assured of support in any measures that we may take hereafter. (Loud cheers.) Since we last met here, we have had meetings at Hull, Wakefield, York, Sunderland, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Sheffield, Blackburn, and Stockport. At Hull £400 was subscribed in the room; at York, £200; at Wakefield, £224; at Sunderland, £350; at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, £500; at Sheffield, £750; at Blackburn, £933; at Stockport, where last year £411 only was raised, this year £1333 was collected. (Loud cheering.) I need not state to this meeting that Stockport is the borough which has the distinguished honour of being represented by Mr. Cobden (renewed cheers), and that there this question has long ceased to be regarded as a party matter. At the last meeting on Monday, the chairman, the mayor of Stockport, who is a Conservative, gave his £100 to the League fund. (Cheers.) The subscriptions were contributed from a greater number of persons, in proportion to the amount, than have been given in any other borough in the kingdom. (Hear.) The work-people in some of the large manufacturing, holding every variety of political opinion, subscribed as much as they could towards the object which the League has in view, and as an expression of their admiration of the indomitable spirit of perseverance of Mr. Cobden, their representative. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, we have been told—it has been reiterated from day to day—that the League will shortly have to hide its diminished head (laughter), in consequence of the appearance of other greater and brighter luminaries in the political horizon. (Renewed laughter.) We have been informed that within the last few days a meeting has been held at Steyning, which was graced by the presence of two dukes, five earls, one viscount, seven members of Parliament, and an innumerable host of reverend gentlemen, and "other" tenant-farmers. (Laughter.) Now, gentlemen, I dare say that, from the hostility which they have manifested towards the League, they think we regard their meetings with similar feeling to what they do ours. I pass over altogether the indecent exhibition of peers standing forth at such assemblies, as though they were coroneted hucksters—the sole dealers in the food and provisions of the people. I will not dwell upon the spectacle of these noblemen, assembled to maintain a law which will allow them still to remain the proprietors, the sole proprietors, of stalls and storehouses where provisions are sold, except at famine prices (hear); but I say no Leaguer could look but with pleasure upon the exhibitions which have taken place at such meetings. I am quite sure that much money as we have spent in printing and in hiring rooms in order that our views might be made known, we never in our lives spent any which was so beneficial to us as that which has been expended by them, and the speeches which have been made by their leading men at these meetings, and especially at that of Steyning. (Hear.) I very much question now, if the League were disposed again to spend £50,000 in printing as we have already done, whether we could expend it so well as by republishing, for the information of the public generally, the whole of the speeches which have been made at this and other agricultural meetings. (Laughter.) Gentlemen, I do not think that these new associations will, in fact, put down the League. (Laughter.) I do not really imagine that we have much to apprehend from their opposition. (Hear.) At not one of these meetings has the tenant-farmer had the question answered which Mr. Cobden has put to them in twenty-eight counties, namely, "What benefit have you derived from the Corn Laws?" (Hear.) I know it has been a complaint at these meetings, made by tenant-farmers after they have terminated—it has been a complaint repeatedly made, that that question has not been answered. The farmers are fully alive to this subject; they now know that their interest is identical with that of the great bulk of the population; they know that no money has ever reached their pockets, obtained by protection, which has not afterwards been required by the landlord in the shape of rent; and they regard the hushing up of the important question proposed by the member for Stockport, with very great suspicion indeed. But, gentlemen, although there are many landlords who are only actuated by fear, by pecuniary motives, in their support of the Corn Law, I believe there is yet a still larger class who do not understand the question, and who think that their political influence, and their political influence alone, is essentially connected with it; and that, if they could see clearly that they were not likely to lose this political influence, in future they would become ardent Corn-Law repealers. It is to that class especially, and not to the Dukes of Richmond and Buckingham, and the men of their stamp, that the League would make its appeal. (Cheers.) We ask them to elicit the generous feelings of their nature, and to triumph over party spirit in this question; we entreat them to see how the League and its leading members have laid aside their feelings, and made this a question, not of class or party movement—but one against all classes or parties who may support the Corn Law. (Loud cheers.) We beg them to look back on the dreadful havoc which these monopolies have made in the manufacturing districts during the last five years, and to be swayed by the principles of justice and humanity, instead of the lust and thirst for power. (Loud cheering.) They cannot, they true, now restore the emigrant back to his home; they cannot reunite again the scattered members of the family who have been dispersed throughout the world in consequence of these monopolies; they cannot bring back from the workhouse those who have been compelled to

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linger out their days; they cannot resuscitate from their graves the broken-hearted, or those whom a jury of their countrymen have affirmed to have died for want of the common necessities of life; but they can prevent the recurrence of such disasters as those I have mentioned. And it is in order that they may do so that we call on them now to refuse allegiance to any class who will not give up their thirst for power, and to unite with us in order that these monopolies may be for ever abolished. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, we shall have the pleasure to-night of listening to addresses from that veteran in the cause of Free Trade, Colonel Thompson (cheers); from one of the originators of the League, Dr. Bowring (renewed cheers); and from our distinguished friend the member for Durham, Mr. Bright. (The chairman resumed his seat amid loud applause.)

Dr. BOWRING, on coming forward, was received with loud plaudits. He said:—Gentlemen, I must crave your indulgence if my address should be brief, because I have just left my duties in the House of Commons, and to the discharge of those duties I must return. (Hear, hear.) A scene like this, indeed, is, as it were, an interlude of light, which contrasts most gratefully with the darkness I have left (loud cheers), and to which darkness I am again about to go. (Cheers and laughter.) But I was curious before I came among you to ascertain whether the recommendations of those argumentative and heroic gentlemen who call upon the Government, at the meetings of tenant-farmers which you have heard described, to put down the League by the strong arm of the law (laughter),—whether they had won the attention and the friendly auspices of her Majesty's Ministers, and whether I should have to announce on this occasion that the present was the Clontarf of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and we, the preservers of the public peace and public order, should have to intreat you quietly to disperse. (Laughter and cheers.) I was desirous of ascertaining whether her Majesty's Ministers, being engaged with one set of repealers in Ireland, were disposed to come into controversy with another set of repealers in England. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I was anxious further to know whether we were likely to see in this country the striking exhibition of an Attorney-General armed with the sober, serene, and quiet dignity of justice, who, being foiled and thwarted by his adversary, menaces that he will blow out his brains (laughter), and in a court of justice too (hear, hear); and that, my friends, not with a metaphorical pistol, but with one of those deadly instruments by which the murder of human beings is too often accomplished. (Cries of "Shame, shame.") We have seen in that country such a scene passed over, and justices from the bench have decreed, that it is right, fit, wise, prudent, and proper, that it should be forgotten and delivered over to oblivion. But it will not be forgotten (hear, hear): it will long be remembered. (Hear, hear.) I trust that what has taken place in Ireland on this matter of state prosecution will serve as some caution to those obstreperous and intemperate gentlemen, who invite the Government to call in the constable, in order that the Anti-Corn-Law League may be put down. (Loud cheering.) Why, what is the Anti-Corn-Law League? It is a representative of the progress which mind is everywhere making towards its own emancipation. (Hear, hear.) It is the consolidation of a great truth connected with the wellbeing and civilization of mankind. Its progress is opposed by the same class of men who resist all progress towards improvement. (Loud cheers.)

"Had their nod presided at creation's birth,
Its mandate would have said to God,
Wake not from chaos heaven or earth."

They will not allow us to wake from chaos the slumbering interests of this great community. (Shame.) I have been listening during the last hour in the House of Commons to a description of England's prosperity—to a description of the happy condition of the working classes (bisses)—of the dispersion of the clouds which have too long hung over the commercial and manufacturing industry of our native land. The sun this day is shining; now, therefore, "Why do you complain?" (Ironical cheers.) True it is that in some districts and departments the amount of human suffering is diminished. I received a return yesterday from the town which I have the honour to represent (Bolton), and it showed that there were only 3000 persons receiving relief whose average earnings were 6½d. per week. (Cries of "Shame.") I am answered, I know, by the fact that last year there were 13,000; and I gratefully acknowledge that there are 10,000 human beings less miserable than in the year that has just passed by. But does this result satisfy me? No! What we say to our opponents is this—"Much still may be removed by the overthrow of the Corn Laws." (Loud and continued cheering.) There is much happiness which may be augmented by their overthrow; and what is the duty and destiny of man, when he well conceives and understands his duty and his destiny? What is it, I ask, but to diminish misery, and to increase the felicity of his fellow creatures? (Cheers.) That is the object which the Anti-Corn-Law League has proposed to itself—the greatest good to the greatest number. (Hear, hear.) They have had that constantly, and will, I believe and hope, keep it constantly in view. (Cheers.) We need not fall into a passion because our adversaries do—we have had our moments of exasperation. I don't deny that, a few months ago, in face of a state of things in this country which no rightful, no virtuous, no religious man could contemplate with unwept eye and unlacerated heart (cheers); I don't deny, I say, that in the presence of that misery many of us were indignant, and used strong words and reprobative indignation, directed against those whom we believed, and still believe, were the cause of all that suffering. (Hear.) But still we had our arguments, too, and we told those who were demanding protection, that if they would come and reason with us—if they would examine facts and figures—we believed that we could demonstrate to them that they erred in their own calculations. They talked of the particular burdens which press on the land: our reply was, there was no land so little burdened as the land of Great Britain and Ireland. (Hear, hear.) When the feudal system was established—when the conquerors of this country delivered its surface to their followers—only four-fifths of the land were surrendered, and one-fifth was preserved for the expenses of the state; and 4s. in the pound was the land-tax in this country down to the end of the 17th century. (Hear, hear, hear.) When the landowners got the upper hand they regulated the land-tax and compounded for it; so that in-

stead of paying £16,000,000, as they ought to be paying, under the conditions of their contract, they are at this moment not paying more than one million and a quarter (shame); yet, at this moment, this land-tax of feudalism still presses on the land of other countries. (Hear.) It is the almost universal law of Germany. In France, the average of the land-tax is equal to 4s. in the pound on the rental, and yet we profess not to be able to compete with those whose condition is so much less advantageous than our own. (Shame.) We—the people of England—we import the raw materials of our manufactures from the remotest regions of the world; we manufacture cotton by hundreds of millions of pounds; and silk manufacture (the raw material of which is wholly provided by foreign countries) amounts to from 12,000,000 lbs. to 14,000,000 lbs. We import the finest wool and the finest flax from different regions; and we apply our knowledge, our industry, and capital, to meet the whole world in competition. What, then, have we to fear from competition? (Hear, hear.) We, with all our advantages, are we to be behindhand in agriculture? (Cries of "No, no.") We told them, too, that in competing with the foreigner the farmer of this country really paid no rent at all, for the cost of bringing the wheat here is equal to the rent paid by the farmer in this country. Wheat cannot be imported for less than from 6s. to 7s. per quarter; and if an acre of land produces three or four quarters, as it ought, it is clear that the amount of protection which the mere cost of transport gives the farmer in England is equal to the rent which he pays. (Hear, hear.) It is my confident belief, that if these trammels were removed which he is still desirous should press on him—if he were launched into a fair field with no favour—if the protection which laws and landlords profess to give him were wholly removed, I believe our agriculture would make as much progress as our manufactures, and that, instead of being a country now dependent as we are—millions being fed by the produce of foreign fields—it is my conscientious belief that agriculture when emancipated from these fetters would produce more at home than we could consume, besides giving us the means of exportation to foreign countries. (Hear, hear.) That was the state of England some years ago. (Cheers.) Now, I must keep my promise, and not detain you longer. I am to return to listen to a debate (I can scarcely call it a debate, for the arguments, you are well aware, are all on one side); but I am going to listen to an incredible quantity of eloquent nonsense, which will be received in the honourable House as a fit representation of the wisdom of our ancestors, and of the results of the constitution, which is "the envy and admiration of the world." (Laughter and cheers.) I am going to hear myself and you, gentlemen, abused, and shall endeavour to listen to that abuse with serene and Christian complacency. (Loud cheers.) Supported from without, we will endeavour to do our duty within. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) We care little for what may be said of us, either there or elsewhere—we are delighted to see our enemies coming forward with their reasoning and their money—we know that a penny on the side of truth is mightier than one hundred pounds on that of falsehood. (Cheers.) We can see with delight, and it has been recognised this very evening, that between the pressure of the total repealers on the one side, and the agricultural protectionists on the other, a fixed duty is for ever crushed. (Loud cheers.) That in itself is a great result! There is no hope to pass over that difficulty on a golden bridge. Repeal—total, immediate, irrevocable repeal—is written high and broad upon your standard, and that standard, my friends, you will bear on manfully to a glorious and world-blessing victory. The hon. member was loudly cheered on retiring from the stage.

The CHAIRMAN next introduced Colonel Thompson to the meeting.

Colonel THOMPSON, on advancing to the table, was greeted with deafening applause from all parts of the house. The cheering having subsided, he spoke as follows:—Ladies and Gentlemen, after a most successful round of provincial engagements, we have again the honour to present ourselves before you. (Laughter.) Though we profess neither to be Ariels nor Sylphides, we have "done our business yarely," the railways have shown themselves "tricky spirits," though we were not. (Renewed laughter.) It seems as if bright reformations were always to be heralded by improvements in the arts. Before the great religious reform, the skill of man had invented the art of printing to carry on its wings the results of those improvements in the progress of the human mind. So now, when your reform—a reform of men's souls through their bodies—is the subject of agitation, it has pleased heaven to send railways upon earth that we, your humble instruments, might fly through portions of space at a rate otherwise impossible to human powers. We have passed through the northern portion of our island, which has ever been celebrated for energy and genius—we have seen its intelligent population pour out to meet us, and everywhere gratulating hands have been extended towards us. (Cheers.) Had it been our wish, we might have made one triumphant progress through the country; and when we returned to our own land, bringing with us the good wishes of all whom we had left, we found there too, in our northern borders, no less of encouragement, no less of excitement and of hope. (Loud cheers.) Indeed, we have found nothing but encouragement wherever we have gone; and now we present ourselves here before you to bring to you, as to the metropolis of this grand national exertion, the fruits of our endeavours and our toil. (Loud cheers.) We have witnessed better than popular applause—we have had popular assistance. (Hear.) We have seen, I may say, the union of all parties. The agriculturists? have we not had the best of them on our side? Look at the titled names in Scotland that came forward to our assistance—and then to those bright names which, since we quitted, have joined you with their aid. See what a noble new year's gift we heard of, from your Marquis of Westminster? (Loud cheers.) And who is he? Some radical perchance—some demagogue?—The owner, he, you know, of Grosvenor-square—the Gros Veneur (to speak in French)—the grand huntsman who came over with the Norman Conqueror. He is with us—he has joined us—to declare henceforth that there is neither Norman nor Saxon in the land, but that we are one united people to put down one great oppression which hangs like a burden on us all. (Cheers.) We fear not our aristocracy—the honest part, at least; we march willingly under their banners—knowing that no strength is equal to that of a people who march under their natural leaders. (Hear.)

Their fathers led our fathers, and they shall lead us, if they will only lead the right way. (Loud and continued cheering.) We have found but one point on which men seem yet to have some hankering inclination to oppose us. I speak not of our open enemies, but of those whom we reckon among our friends. (Hear.) There have been symptoms of a lingering desire for a fixed duty. Now, had you seen a man who had long been almost choked with an oppression round his neck—the result of a tightened cord—what hope would you have of getting him to consent to a certain degree of fixed strangulation? (Loud laughter, and cheers.) And why, forsooth, is this to be urged upon us? Some say it is to make up for a fixed taxation pressing on the landed interest. Now, if they could or would prove this taxation, would you not enter into a subscription to pay it off? You would put a poll-tax on the heads of your daughters to pay their marriage settlements! (Laughter.) You would do this, if need could be demonstrated, sooner than have recourse to the bungling method which is proposed to you through the method of protection. (Hear, hear.) Then some tell you that there is a revenue to be raised. The Chinese annals, as you know, go far beyond all European records. Periods are recorded there when arts and sciences were at a low ebb, and, more especially, the art of cookery—men ate their provisions raw. Once upon a time, near the imperial residence, a house took fire, and in it, amongst other things roasted, was a pig! (Laughter.) Whereon, when this had been tasted and the report of the savoury diet had been conveyed to court, the Brother of the Sun and Moon enacted that thenceforth each day a roasted pig should appear on the royal table, and a house be burned to roast it with. (Loud laughter.) Now, thus it is with our same roasted pig—the five-shilling duty. It is proposed that your house and mine should be destroyed, as a means of effecting the operation. (Hear, hear.) What chance is there, my friends, that we shall live to see a *roast-pig ministry*? (Continued cheering.) Before that come to pass, knowledge will have found its way even to themselves. They will have ceased to be so far unwise as to endeavour to impress on the country of which you are a part, the necessity of so lame, so bungling an invention. (Cheers.) We have seen something of the strength of our enemies, too, or heard of it, rather, from the public prints. We have seen them meeting together with vast turmoil and professing to subscribe—they have, by their own choice metaphor, tried to alarm us by telling us that the British lion had shaken his mane. (Laughter.) Would it not have been as Germans to the matter, if they had said *The British ass has wagged his tail*? (Laughter, and cheers.) Do you know, citizens of London, what these efforts remind me of? Some five-and-twenty years ago—it may be within the memory of many here—an insurrection was attempted in your metropolis. One portion of the rioters went to take the lower, and they carried their ammunition in a *stocking*. (Loud laughter.) Such is the preparation our enemies have made to defeat you and yours. (Loud cheers.) Such is the preparation your enemies have compassed to put you down. (Hear, hear.) I trust the Corn Laws are going—almost gone. (Laughter.) A Colonel of mine had once a horse that was near its end. "Poor creature," he said to his Irish dragoon—"he's lingering."—"Yes, Sir," replied Patrick, "he's lingering fast." (Laughter.) I hope the meeting will think with me that the Corn Laws are lingering fast! (Laughter.) It will not be long, believe me, before we present ourselves to you on a still happier errand than ever has yet befallen us: to hail and rejoice with you in the ending of those restrictions which have compromised every man's industry—trodden on every man's hearth—depressed every man's reasonable hopes—confounded his expectations—spread misery amongst our families and friends—made our country a little country, when it ought to have been a great one—a miserable one, when it ought to have been a happy one—lengthened nothing but the bankrupt list, and reduced our means of profit to the lowest ebb. (Cheers.) [At this stage of the proceedings, Mr. Bright, the hon. member for Durham, entered the theatre, having just arrived from Wakefield by railway. His appearance on the stage was a signal for a tumult of applause, which lasted some minutes—the audience rising *en masse*, and waving their hats and handkerchiefs.] Colonel Thompson continued.—"A friend in Manchester told me a few days ago, of what I think must have been the minimum of capitalists and employers. He said he knew an individual, who employed one man *when he was busy*! (Laughter.) How many here have seen their own capital and employment "lingering fast," as the honest Irishman said, towards such a state of things as to employ one man when they were busy! (Hear, hear.) But there will be an end of this! Noise will not carry the day against us—the noise is hollow—the people are not with our opponents. Their own friends, the agriculturists, are not with them; the farmers, in their hearts, are on our side; and the agricultural people, how do they show allegiance to their lords and masters? They burn their haystacks. If the case were so with the manufacturing employers—if their subalterns and servants were showing their attachment to their masters by the destruction of their property—what arguments would thence be derived? We should find wide-mouthed members of the House of Commons declaiming on the horrors of our manufacturing system, while they would have us believe that all is fair on their own side; that none complain—but all goes on in love and happiness in those paradises which exist in our agricultural counties. (Ironical cries of "Hear, hear.") I have in my pocket at this moment a journal of the south of England (a North Devon journal), in which is related an account of an agricultural labourer who was brought before the quarter-sessions for stealing 3lbs. of bacon to keep his Christmas with. When it was inquired how this man came to be so hungry for 3lbs. of bacon at Christmas, it appeared that he had a wife and three children, all of whom were living on his wages of 6s. per week; and that, when due reductions were made for rent and for every other necessary payment, there remained for food for these miserable souls exactly seven farthings each per day. (Loud cries of "Shame, shame.") Now, I would that all here, merely by way of wholesome medicine—exactly on the principle on which the owners of our caravans of wild beasts are said to give no food on Sundays, simply with a view to the animals' health—I would that each of you should try one day what it is to live on seven farthings (laughter); and I think, if we had it in our power to cause those who neglect these laws to live on seven farthings for one fortnight.

night, they would be brought down to such a state of wholesome humiliation, that they would no longer stand between you and your deliverance. (The hon. gentleman sat down amid loud cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN then said:—I have much pleasure in next introducing Mr. Bright to your notice. (Loud cheers.)

JOHN BRIGHT, Esq., next came forward amidst tremendous cheering, he said:—I rejoice to be permitted again to meet so many of the Free Traders of this metropolis as have been able to squeeze themselves within the dimensions of this building. I am glad to see that here, as elsewhere, there is no diminution of interest in the great question we have this night to discuss. We come not here now, as some say, at the close of our campaign; for the warfare in which we are engaged, the campaign, must be one, and one incessant campaign, until the Corn Laws shall be utterly abolished. (Cheers.) Some armies, whose force is physical force, are generally taken into winter-quarters at this season of the year; but instead of seeking winter-quarters, some of us have been found in nearly all quarters of the country, and the report we have to bring to this meeting, as the central great gathering of the League, is one most satisfactory to ourselves, and which must be as cheering to you: for we find everywhere an increase of zeal based upon an increase of knowledge upon this question. From one end of the country to the other we find just one complaint, that in every town there is no building large enough to contain the meetings which would be held, were all to come who are inclined to come to them. We have, since I was last here, seen stronger proof than heretofore of the great hold which the Anti-Corn-Law League and its great principle have obtained upon certain distinguished and influential individuals. Our chairman has told you on former occasions, and if he had not you would have learned from the public papers, that the wealthiest, and one of the most powerful of the landed aristocracy of this country, has boldly connected himself with the very fearful association to which we belong, and has liberally subscribed to its funds; but I would ask you to look to the parties who are subscribers to the League, amongst other influential classes as well. We are said to be "a property-destroying League," and yet the richest man in the nobility of this country does not fear to unite with our efforts; and the richest man in the commonalty of this country amongst your own moneyed men, the bankers, has not feared to unite himself with us; and the richest family, probably, which is to be found connected with the manufacturers of this country is also united firmly and enthusiastically with the League. And here, perhaps, in reviewing these circumstances I ought not to pass by one circumstance which has caused the deep and general regret of thousands, whose anxiety is for the wellbeing of the League, and for the prosperity of all classes of their countrymen. I allude to the severe loss which all good objects have sustained by the decease of that well-known, most excellent, most liberal man, Joseph Strutt of Derby—a man whose munificence is, perhaps, unparalleled amongst his countrymen; whose thousands and tens of thousands of pounds have been freely contributed to the town and neighbourhood wherein he resided, and I trust, for centuries to come, the effects of his munificent liberality in that town may be seen in the increasing civilization and advancement of its population. But, perhaps, we may take consolation—as one man ceases from his labours, that ten men are raised up to join this great work; for wherever we go we find new adherents to this cause, and old adherents with increased zeal. Twelve months ago we returned from a visit to Scotland, and at one of the meetings in Manchester I took occasion to describe some circumstances connected with that visit: it was a visit full of hope and full of satisfaction to the deputation. We have been into Scotland again; the satisfaction we had last year is greatly increased this. (Hear.) We have held meetings in not less than fifteen or sixteen of the principal towns and cities in Scotland. At Edinburgh and Glasgow the meetings were very large, and would have been much larger had there been any building sufficient to contain them; meetings of the most enthusiastic and stirring character, meetings which will affect, for a long time to come, the political character of the representation of some portions of the Scottish people. The change since last year is most marked and manifest. Increasing knowledge there has done what it has done in England, it has given increased zeal; and, a circumstance which some men regret, but which I see no reason to lament, has added greatly to the power of the Free-Trade portion of the Scottish people: I allude to the schism which has taken place in their religious institutions. (Hear.) I believe we have not sufficiently understood the effect of the schism upon the policy of that people. Almost every man connected with the Free Church of Scotland is in his heart now a warm supporter of the League. (Hear, hear.) It was our good fortune to meet many of them in private, to meet some of their ministers on the platforms at our meetings; and everywhere we found that the men who were in favour of the Free Church, who preferred Christianity pure, unadulterated, unmeddled with by the dirty intrigues of political partisans (loud cheers), every where we found those men in favour of perfect freedom of trade, and of the great movement which the Anti-Corn-Law League is carrying on. (Renewed cheers.) But the Scotch are a great people. There is much for us to learn in reviewing their character and their country. Their intelligence and virtue I believe sincerely are higher and greater than ours. (Hear, hear, hear.) Their municipal institutions are not so much extended as ours; their franchise in the municipalities is the same as at their parliamentary elections—the £10 franchise; and yet I believe there is not more than one borough in Scotland in which the whole of the municipal power is not in the hands of thorough-going Free Traders (loud cheers); whilst in this country, with a franchise much more extensive, based on household suffrage, we have in many towns the whole of the municipal authority in the hands of the bitterest enemies of Free Trade. And then look at the conduct of their Provosts, or chief magistrates: they are elected to the office they hold on account of services rendered to the people; gratitude to them for those services gives them those honours; but unlike too many of the chief magistrates of the towns and boroughs in England—who think that the moment they are thus elevated it is their duty, as far as possible, to make it appear that they are unworthy of the office to which they have been appointed—the provosts of the towns and boroughs of Scotland maintain, in their elevated position, with increased zeal, if possible, the great principles for which they had aforetime contended; and wherever we went, in nearly

all these boroughs, unless some accident or indisposition prevented it, the provost was there to take his legitimate position as head and president of the meeting. He was there acting as a chief magistrate elected by the people ought always to act, ready to unite with his fellow-countrymen in every legal and moral act for the preservation of the public rights against the usurpation of that class who inflict the public wrongs. (Cheers.) All Scotland may be said to be with the League (cheers)—enthusiastically with the League. The season of the year wherein we have visited that country is not that in which external nature shows to the greatest advantage,—but Nature's landmarks were there still. The everlasting hills were there, the valleys and the plains, the lakes and the streams, and the waterfalls, and the associations which are connected with them, connected with the memorable past, and which point I trust to the hope of a still more glorious future. But there is in Scotland good which no season can affect: there was none of the foliage of summer, none of the golden hues of the autumn; but summer can never dissolve the union which exists between the hearts of the people of Scotland and any good and noble object; and winter's frost can never chill the sympathies, and can never cool the ardour of the people who have ever been foremost in the race of liberty, and are now anxious to lead you on to high and noble achievements. (Cheers.) Were Scotland of itself a kingdom, and its people its own governors, it would be the best governed country on the face of the earth; but connected with this country—with a people, like ourselves, who either do not know our duties, or do not perform them (hear)—connected with a people over whom an ignorant squirearchy rules without limit—Scotland is subject to many evils which the Scottish people, if left to themselves, would long ago have been rid of. (Cheers.) And yet we are coming up to them now. Meetings have since been held in Newcastle, Sunderland, Shields, Sheffield, agricultural York, and also in Hull. The meetings at this latter place—for there were two of them, were of the most enthusiastic and influential character. The representatives for that city have need to be looking about them. Hull does not vote for the abolition of the Corn Laws by its members; one of whom votes against the sliding scale, and the other votes for it. We have no wish to interfere with the representation anywhere, excepting so far as that representation counteracts the efforts of the League; but I would say to the members for Hull, and many other representatives who are this night gathering for the first sitting of the present session, that, from what we learn of the opinion of the public now, there are many men who now possess senatorial honours, who, if they should again be tested on the hustings, will find it their duty, or rather find themselves compelled, to return to private life, or else to become converted to honest and wiser principles. (Loud cheers.) Blackburn is another town at which an influential meeting was also held, the result of which, as far as the subscriptions are concerned, you have already heard; but there are other important consequences which will follow upon it. Two members are sent to Parliament from that town, one of whom votes with the Government in favour of the present sliding scale, while the other acts somewhat better, and generally, I believe, walks out of the House upon such divisions. (Laughter.) Both these gentlemen are now upon their last trial. From facts which have come to our knowledge we are aware that they, along with many others, have had an intelligible notice to amend their conduct with respect to the great questions affecting the true interests of their constituents, or else to quit. (Laughter.) The Stockport meeting was, perhaps, the most remarkable of all. Two years ago, or one year ago, that town was involved, in something like that ruin to which the *Standard* newspaper with philosophical coolness would consign the manufacturing districts. ("Hear," and hisses.) At that time it was a source of consolation to the monopolists that, when trade improved, the League would find their efforts to agitate the country fruitless; that as soon as the people had more money in their pockets they would be less liberal in parting with it than they had heretofore been; but this is a source of comfort which has been long since dried up (laughter); and Stockport is an instance of the fallacy of their supposition. Last year the subscriptions in that town amounted to £450; this year, in better circumstances, with increased knowledge and zeal, and with the breaking up of the monopolist party—Stockport has subscribed about £1350, or three times the amount of last year. (Loud cheers.) The gentleman who there took the chair—the mayor of the borough—calls himself a staunch Conservative; and he never gave a better proof of his real Conservatism than by coming out and aiding the operations of the League. (Loud cheers.) Last night I was present at a very important meeting in the West Riding of Yorkshire, held at Wakefield; many of the most active Free Traders from every district of that large and influential riding were present. The chair was filled by one of the wealthiest and most extensive manufacturers in the kingdom, James Garth Marshall, of Leeds. (Hear.) Besides the deputation from the League, a nobleman was present, whose opinions upon this question have been looked forward to with some anxiety. His lordship was called upon to speak at an early part of the meeting. Now, bear in mind that the people of the West Riding are infatuated in their admiration of their old representative, Lord Morpeth. (Hear.) I believe, as a man, he has deserved as much of their admiration and esteem as most men, or, perhaps, as any other man could. His lordship rose to speak, and was received with extraordinary enthusiasm. For some time he spoke well—and elicited the approbation of the meeting—in terms of eulogy of the services of the League, speaking in complimentary language of the deputation who were then present,—felt evidently a little difficulty as to his position,—wished the League goodspeed in their efforts,—trusted that they would maintain their advancing banner;—but, for himself, there seemed to be in his mind a clinging to the idea that a pledge, or a thorough declaration of opinion in accordance with the League, might on some future occasion cause him difficulty and embarrassment, in case there should come into office a Ministry who might hope to make a settlement of this question upon some other terms than those upon which the League acts. Now, this latter part is my impression of what was passing in his mind, from the language which he used. I am convinced that his opinions and his conscience are with us on the subject of Free Trade. (Hear.) When away from that little difficulty he spoke with freedom, and power, and fervour, and he declared, moreover, that rather than this present system should endure for one

little year he would prefer the total and immediate abolition of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) I do not mention this for the sake of praising or blaming Lord Morpeth, but for the sake of telling you the effect produced on that meeting, when the hesitation came, and the "but" (which generally comes when there is a little difficulty). There was a dead silence in the hall, and when the difficulty was explained, the countenances, which had just before glowed with all the enthusiasm and ardour imaginable, became filled with evident disappointment, and it was not possible, during the whole of the remainder of the speech, that there should be, and there was not anything like—perhaps not one-tenth part—the excitement and enthusiasm and ardour manifested by cheering that there was before this little difficulty had presented itself. Now, there is a lesson for statesmen of the present day. There is not a man now in Parliament who has a stronger hold upon the affections and the personal and individual attachment of the constituency than Lord Morpeth has upon the constituency of the West Riding of Yorkshire; and yet those men, and to their honour be it spoken, felt, that if there should continue this difficulty—if it were impossible that it should be surmounted—that then they would have to make a sacrifice most painful to themselves, and to withdraw their confidence in some degree from a man whom they had all trusted as a brother and a friend. I wish the whole of the late Ministry had been there. (Hear.) It was a lesson worth the learning—it was an example worth seeing—it was a speech given in silence, which no man in the position of the speaker could ever forget. It marks how great is the feeling throughout the country; for the people of the West Riding of Yorkshire have had much to struggle with—have had many difficulties in gaining the position upon this question which they now occupy; and that they have acted so nobly as they have, that they have subscribed upwards of £13,000 to the funds of the Anti-Corn-Law League within the last three months, and that they so conducted themselves at that meeting last night, is a proof, I hold, that the inhabitants of that district look upon this great question as one of vital importance to them, as the life-and-death question to the momentous commercial and manufacturing interests of that county. There is another pleasing feature in the present times, and that is the singular movement and flame which has burst out all of a sudden amongst the landowners, the clergy, and the farmers. (Hear.) It is an outburst of passion on the part of the landowners and the clergy. Now I am not, I hope, trespassing beyond the objects of this meeting, and the legitimate province of a speaker here, to include the clergy in this expression of opinion (hear); for if there be one man who has used more violent, unseemly, ungentlemanly, and unchristian language than another against the members of the Anti-Corn-Law League, it has been some man who writes "Reverend" before his name. ("Hear," and hisses.) I lament that any man who is in a position wherein he should be employed in teaching the people—who professes to expound to them, Sabbath after Sabbath, the beautiful and benign requirements of the Christian code—who stands up before a congregation to ask them to disregard filthy lucre, and many of the wants and wishes of this lower world, and to set their eyes upon things above, upon riches that are durable and eternal,—for such a man as this to appear upon platforms at meetings of landowners and farmers in the counties, and there to denounce this great national organization—composed now of millions of his countrymen—as seeking to overthrow every valuable institution of the country, whilst he there is pleading for a law which is valueless to him and to his confederates, unless it inflicts want, and suffering, and famine, on hundreds and thousands of the poorest of the people. (Loud cheers.) It is pleasant to see them engaged in collecting subscriptions; but a difficulty arises in one's mind as to what these subscriptions are to do. In the first place, I know not that they can with propriety or profit lay out £50,000 or £100,000 in the endeavour to secure a parliamentary majority. They boast already that they can out-vote the opposition of all shades of Free-Traders by a majority of 100; and it is notorious that in another House of the Legislature scarcely a voice is heard in favour of justice to the people. (Loud cheers.) What, then, are they to do with this money? Are they to try some means of bribing their present majority to stick fast to their present professions? (Cries of "Yes, yes.") Or do they intend to weed them out a little, taking away those that are not trustworthy for their purpose, and putting in men who will stand up for the principle of "No surrender?" Are they about to publish an organ of their party, as we publish the LEAGUE paper, which is now circulating from 15,000 to 17,000 copies a week? (Loud cheers.) One would think that most amusing and consistent paper, the *Morning Post* (hisses and groans), would be advocate and organ enough for the *Protection to British Idleness Society*. (Laughter.) Will they publish tracts? They say they will; I should very much like to see them; one or two I have seen; but really I should "hide my diminished head" if they issued from any party with whom I was supposed to be connected. (Hear.) Will they hire and pay clever men to go through the country, having a heart full of the importance of their mission, to come before audiences of their countrymen, and to plead for laws which shut out the bounty of Providence, and bring suffering and misery to millions? I hope they may. It would be a matter of great amusement and great service to our cause if we could find the walls of our towns placarded with the information that some lecturer of the *Starvation-and-short-commons Society* would deliver "a lecture on the benefit of one meal a day, under certain circumstances, that meal to be confined to the article potatoes." We shall see nothing of this. I know not how the money is to be spent. Perhaps they will reply, that is no business of mine. (Laughter.) I remember that they formerly asked many questions as to the mode in which we intended to dispose of our funds. But I believe those inquiries have not been repeated this year, inasmuch as past experience has shown them clearly the manner in which we expend the funds we raise. (Cheers.) It will be worth while observing the progress of this singular movement, in order that we may discover whether there is any extent of folly to which the credulity of the farmers will not carry them. (Hear.) Is it possible after the experience of the law of 1815, which promised them 80s. a quarter for their wheat, whilst in 1822 it slipped down as low as 38s. and 40s.; after that of 1823, which promised to give them 64s. a quarter, but in 1835 sunk down to 35s.; after that of 1842, which intended to secure them 56s., but within twelve months

of the passing of that law sunk as low as 46s. 1—with all these facts before them,—and the additional circumstance that the men they sent up in 1841 pledged, over and over again, to suffer no diminution of their protection, actually voted for a new Corn Bill and Tariff, and boldly justified those measures,—I say, is it possible that the farmers of England, after such experience, will still put their trust in the men whose measures have so often deceived them, and by whom they have been so shamefully betrayed? (Hear, hear.) But I suspect, after all, that farmers do not come willingly to these meetings. It has come to our knowledge, that landowners of the monopolist party have sent special circulars to all their tenants, begging of them—although, if the truth were known, it would be found that the language in reality was not that of entreaty, or, if it was couched in such terms, it implied something else—asking them to come to these Protection Anti-League meetings. When we remember that, for two years past, many farmers have returned from the audit of their landlords, after having paid 10, 15, or 25 per cent. less than the amount of rent they had formerly covenanted to pay, we need not be surprised that they are unable to resist the pressing entreaties of these landlords to come to such meetings and vote for the perpetuation of monopoly. (Cheers.) The landlords and the farmers remind me much of the story of the giant and the dwarf, the giant taking all the honour and the dwarf all the blows. (Laughter.) The farmers often sink—the landlords are always found buoyant and swimming. (Hear.) The landlords are now endeavouring to persuade the country that this movement is a farmers' movement; whilst at every meeting you find lords, members of Parliament, and large landed proprietors taking the chair, moving and seconding the resolutions, and exhorting the farmers to zeal in "the great and good work" to which they are leading them. (Hear.) The landlords in their kindness to their tenants, in their paternal care over them, and great desire to save them from the agitations of the Anti-Corn-Law League, remind me greatly of the American anecdote, in which a shark is described with its cavernous mouth wide open, bidding a poor negro boy who has fallen overboard to "come in out of the wet." (Loud laughter.) It may be that the agitation of the League is prejudicial to the present interest of the farmers: I do not deny it. The fears, turmoil, and uncertainty, which are thereby created, must be injurious to the interests of that party against whom it is particularly directed. But we are not responsible for this. (Hear, hear, hear.) We have no more love for agitation than any squire who lives quietly at home. We came not out to this agitation from any affection for it: had we known what we were to encounter up to this point, I doubt if we should have ventured upon the work. But the Corn Laws were in existence—they were blighting, withering, and sapping the very foundations of the prosperity of this country; they were inflicting wrongs of a deep and terrible nature upon us and upon those amongst whom we lived. We found ourselves in the position of gradually being surrounded with greater and greater difficulties, our embarrassment increasing on every hand, the country sunk in ignorance or in apathy on this question. And beginning by little and little, we went on to greater and greater things, until now the Council of the League is intrusted by the people of this country—and that trust has been ratified and confirmed by hundreds of meetings—with the great mission of utterly abolishing the Corn Laws, and fully establishing in the Legislature of this country the great and glorious principle of perfect freedom of trade. (Tremendous cheers.) But these landlords are very rampant just now. Last session their voices were rarely heard: they went home to their game-killing, and occasionally they met their tenants, and they found nothing like cordial greeting—and some man, more blunt than others, expressed the opinion with which his tortured heart was overcharged. They found they had lost to some extent the confidence of their constituencies; they were goaded on insensibly by the organ of the high protection party. They, perhaps, would not have stirred for all this, if it had not been for the symptoms which were daily showing themselves, that the League was gathering strength as it proceeded, and that the Ministry, with all one House in favour of it, or nearly so, and a vast majority to back it in the other, were supposed to be about to capitulate. It was then that those landlords, fearful of the consequences, anxious to nail their great captain to his, or rather to their principle,—it was for this that they came forward, and it is for this now, and probably to some extent in the hope to influence the Queen's speech delivered to-day, that we have seen such an outburst of passionate excitement amongst landowners, clergy, land-valuers, and lawyers throughout the agricultural counties. (Cheers.) But the Queen's speech has been spoken; and, so far as I have heard, there is no mention of corn. (Hisses, and cries of "Shame.") Great pity that so important a question should have been neglected. (Hear.) Much to be deplored that these poor landowners, suffering all the torture of this dreadful suspense, should not have been relieved. But so it is; and the Minister has not spoken out (laughter); and, from all I can hear, some landowners have gone down to the House in high dudgeon at this, and hope yet to make him speak out. (Renewed laughter.) Now I hope they will succeed: we have no fondness for such suspense. But there is a curious circumstance to be noted in these rival agitations, namely, that the landowners' agitation is directed to prevent the Government of their choice from acting upon that Government's avowed principles; our agitation, on the other hand, is directed upon and against that Government, to make them act honestly upon the principle which they have over and over again acknowledged to be sound. One member of Parliament, it is stated, has written back, in answer to the customary official note requesting him to be in his place this evening, that there must be something more decided in the Minister's measures; that this policy will not suit him, (laughter); he is of a character too solemn and too awful to be trifled with any longer. (Renewed laughter.) Well, I hope all this valour which has been shown in the field will not ooze out when these valiant men meet together in the senate. Nothing can please the League more than that these meetings should take place in the country; for even error in discussion is better, and a more healthy sign, than stagnation and apathy on the part of the farmers. A discussion of the most absurd nature—of fallacies that any child out of doors might refute—will be a pleasant change to the one-sided "debates," if such an expression may be used, which for two seasons past have taken place

in the House of Commons. (Hear.) But Sir Robert Peel is a man of a more wily nature than Sir John Trollope, whose letter I have spoken of. Sir Robert Peel knows that there are times in most countries when statesmen must cast about very warily before they commit themselves to any certain policy. (Hear.) Seeing that the one object of Sir Robert Peel's policy is to continue Sir Robert Peel as Prime Minister of this country, it is evidently important to him that he should make no false step at this particular time. (Laughter.) Last year he told us that he would make no alteration for that session; we know not what he may say this time; but I do not think he is bold enough, or so unwise to declare, so far as he and his Ministry are concerned, that they have nailed their colours to the mast, and that they will stand upon a principle which he has many a time pronounced unsound and fallacious. (Hear.) If he should—and if my wishes could compel him, he should do so—then what will be our course and that of the people? We shall go on as we are now doing—steadily advancing to our object, and the final accomplishment of our labours. Multitudes of the men who call themselves "Conservative" in politics—who, somehow or other, from some hallucination, have looked upon Sir Robert Peel as the saviour of their country—will find that, as far as commercial matters go, he is not its saviour, but its destroyer. (Loud cheers.) They will be inclined to come over to us. And that still numerous and influential party who stand between the monopolists and the League—those connected with the late Government, and those who hope to be connected with the next (laughter)—I expect that, in case such a declaration should be made, they would find it perfectly easy to abandon their professions in favour of a fixed duty, seeing that it could be no longer carried out, and no arrangement of parties could be made to secure it, and that we should in future receive their cordial and hearty co-operation. (Hear.) It is said that to-night, or on some early occasion, several new writs will be moved for in the House of Commons, in consequence of resignations of members which are about to take place. We are pledged to contest these seats—(loud cheers)—in boroughs, and it may be in some cases in counties. (Renewed cheers.) But to carry out this great scheme more labour is required than most of you have any conception of. Greater labour has been bestowed in the collection of the fund now in hand, and in the agitation which has been carried on for the last four months, than any man can fairly judge of who has not partaken of it. (Hear.) There has scarcely been a night upon which meetings have not been held, and frequently two upon the same evening. Every part of the northern districts has been scoured and thoroughly visited: no man in that part of the country, who has not been desirous of remaining in ignorance, can say he has not had an opportunity of instructing himself upon this great question. Having done all this, and worked thus hard, returned to the metropolis, and being now in the act of addressing you, the Free-Trade representatives of the great mass of the Free Traders of this metropolis, I think that we have a right to call upon you for a more evident expression of your sympathy and support than we have heretofore received. (Loud cheers.) I wish it were possible to let every one in this building see such a meeting as many of those which we have attended. You would there see manufacturers, shopkeepers, and artisans of every description, vying with each other in the support they give to the League. As many small tickets, or cards with subscriptions upon them, as would fill a hat have been collected at several of these meetings, which have not been one-fourth so numerous as this. Five, ten, and twenty shillings have frequently been given by men whose only property has been their labour (cheers); who never see a shilling or a sovereign which is not the produce, hardly earned, of their weekly toil: but, being deeply conscious that upon the solution of this question depends their steady employment and obtaining remunerative wages, they have nobly stepped forward to help in this great contest. There was a contest, I think it was in ancient Carthage, when the women of that city freely gave up all their ornaments and their trinkets to raise a fund to defend that city from its enemies. (Hear.) I think in modern times a similar noble example was presented by the city of Warsaw. Neither of those cities were successful in their defence of their rights and liberties from the aggression of their powerful foes. Is there not spirit, virtue, liberality, and zeal enough in this great metropolis to do something like that which has been done in fifty towns in this country, any one of which might be added to this metropolis, and it would appear no larger for it? (Loud cheers.) Oh, I have delighted in some of those meetings that we have attended! It does the heart good to see a devotion to a great and just principle like that we plead for. No tampering with it—no hoping for compromise—no casting about to escape from the just burthen which they must bear in prosecuting this labour! (Cheers.) Open a subscription among 1000 or 2000 people, and not a man will leave the room till all the subscriptions have been added up, and the whole of the sums read out to the assemblage. It is consolatory to find in this cause that, when you speak of giving money, people are, if possible, still more anxious to stay; and the subscriptions which have been raised in Lancashire and Yorkshire, especially in Stockport and other towns in the north of England—I say those subscriptions test the sincerity of the men who give them, and are, as it were, a loud voice speaking to the statesmen of this country, that however much it may suit the interests of party to leave this question unsettled, or however much it may suit their arrangements to settle it upon some basis which shall only be another unsettlement, yet to the people it is of the utmost importance that the principle they plead for should be fairly and fully adopted, and that the wrongs that they denounce, the tyranny against which they now contend, should for ever be destroyed in this country, and that their industry should be free, and they should be at liberty to exchange with all the world. (Loud cheers.) We have the same cause now that we have ever had. We have the same principle we started with; we have made no change. Last night's meeting at Wakefield is proof that no change will ever be made. We go on with these principles and with the same policy: we ask but the cordial co-operation of our countrymen, and we are certain that there awaits us a great and a glorious triumph; and we know further, that although this country suffers for every hour that this law remains un repealed, yet that with that suffering there is no little gain; there is a healthier feeling with respect to public matters in this country now than there has been probably within the

memory of any one in this vast meeting. I am sure that the middle classes are becoming conscious of their power and their rights. (Hear.) They see that the oppressor is on the one side of them, and the oppressed on the other: (Loud cheers.) They feel that upon them rests a heavy responsibility; that they are blameable if these wrongs continue, if this suffering is to be longer endured. They are taught that with them rests the legislative power in this empire, and that if they will only be true to themselves and to the great, just, and holy principle for which they contend, there is no power in the aristocracy of England—none in the mortgaged and embarrassed portion of them especially—none in that class who seem to wish to rise upon the ruins of their country—that there is no power with them to oppose the free and full expression of the public will. (Cheers.) Do not imagine, because there are some members of counties who can neither be converted nor changed, that we shall, therefore, never succeed. Do you suppose that any members of close counties, or small, and almost close boroughs, are to be put in competition with an equal number of members representing the counties or the large towns and cities of Yorkshire and Lancashire? Do you imagine that Glasgow can speak out continually, and Edinburgh declare to its representatives that their position is perilous (hear, hear); that Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham, and, more than all, that this vast metropolis (cheers) can speak out, and that any man holding the position of Prime Minister in this country should disregard your voice, and listen only to the clamour of an interested set of monopolists, who are utterly careless of the interests and the wants and wishes of their country? (Tremendous cheers.) It may be that we are entering on another session of Parliament which will be, to some extent, fruitless as the last. There will be stormy debates, doubtless, and many great interests of the empire will come under discussion. I long to see what those valiant men will do who have given us every name that is vulgar, rude, and calumnious at the meetings they have lately held. Why, they said, we were an illegal association, and now they are trying their best to follow in our steps! Sir John Trollope declares that he cannot be considered a supporter of the Ministry, unless they will put down so noxious an association as this (laughter); and yet these very associations are passing resolutions that they will correspond with similar associations in various parts of the country; that they will, in fact, become "corresponding societies," and agitate the country; that they will get up clamour, make uncertainty still more uncertain, and cause the present doubts of the farmers to become still deeper bewilderment, in order that they may maintain a law which we have determined to overthrow. (Loud and protracted cheering.) Well, let them do their best. I do not pretend to be a prophet, but yet there is little risk in predicting, that the very men who at these county farmers' protection meetings have been using such violent language against us, as well as some language not very civil towards Sir Robert Peel and the Ministry,—I think, I say, that there will be no risk in predicting, that now in Parliament they will be as quiet as before; that when Sir Thomas Fremantle is sent round to the back benches, with his bland and insinuating manner, requesting most particularly from Sir Robert himself that there shall be as little said as possible by that side of the House (laughter),—my opinion is, that we shall find these men just about as tame as before, and equally ready to deceive the farmers as they were upon previous occasions. And then, when this agitation has gone on in the counties, and this treason to the farmers has been manifested in the Senate; and when this inolement season shall have passed, and the sun shall shine gaily upon the agricultural counties of this country, so that we may visit the farmers again;—then our waggons will be drawn forth, and our hustings erected, our placards posted, and the farmers called together as before. We will address them as we have previously done:—"Are you yet convinced that the men whom you have trusted have deceived you—that this Corn Law, which was to be the sheet-anchor of your safety, has been merely a slippery quicksand in which you have well-nigh been engulfed? Are you, then, ready now to cast away all those miserable delusions on which you have rested? Can you trust us, who five years ago spoke the very tones, uttered the very words we now utter; who have never deceived you, who have wished to be your friends, who have wished politically to make you free, and render you socially and individually prosperous? (Loud cheers.) Will you come forward and join the people of the north of England, the intelligent population of Scotland, and the myriads of honest men of the metropolis of this country? Will you take the Anti-Corn-Law League by the hand, who will be your firm friends, and save you from the delusions and treachery of your landlords (hear); making you that which you wish to be, and which, but for the Corn Laws you would be—the independent and prosperous yeomen and cultivators of the soil of your country." (Immense cheering.) Well, now, some plan must be taken this spring to obtain that co-operation from this metropolis which the people of the north feel that they have a right to demand at their hands of its inhabitants. (Loud cries of "Hear.") London is almost a large aggregation of cities: it is difficult to compass it; plans and schemes that would succeed in other places are not applicable to this. But there are hundreds here, and thousands outside these walls, who have the means to give and a conviction to induce them to contribute—possessing a zeal which will urge them to assist liberally. (Hear.) You need not wait until you are called upon in a formal manner. Spontaneous free gifts are better than those which have to be asked for. There is no reason why thousands in this metropolis should not call at our offices in Fleet-street, and there leave anything which they may feel at liberty to give, for the prosecution of this great cause. (Cheers.) If there be a population in this empire more than another called on to help this cause, it is the inhabitants of this city. I cannot conceal from myself, nor can you conceal from yourselves, the terrible condition of those by whom you are surrounded. Every paper which issues from the press tells a dreadful tale of woe; hundreds—ay, scores of hundreds—are suffering the utmost destitution, myriads are in hopeless penury. (Hear, hear.) Where is help to come from? Who offers these wretched beings a remedy? Has Government proposed a cure? (Cries of "No, no.") Do the monopolists say they have anything that can raise the wages of the sempstresses that have been spoken of, and give honour, independence, and virtue to thousands who are tempted to crime? (Renewed cries of "No,

no.") No. Offer me a remedy, if it be at all feasible, I will join in applying it; but so long as no other party has a remedy to offer—so long as we come before you year after year with the real cure for many of the nation's ills—I do think that we have a right to claim and call upon the vast population of this city—upon its wealth, its intelligence, its benevolence, and its sympathies—for co-operation and support in ridding your city from the terrible disgrace which now rests upon it, that a large portion of your population is starving in the midst of more of wealth, splendour, gorgeousness, and power of aristocracy than ever congregated in any other city on the face of this earth! (Loud cheers.) I feel that I have spoken to-night under disadvantages which must be evident to most of you—under a state of exhaustion which ought to have excused me from being here at all; after continued labour for months past, and after a very long journey from Wakefield to-day (hear, hear): but, under any circumstances almost, I would come forward to add to what I have before said to the assembled thousands of my countrymen in condemnation of this most hideous law, and of this guilty principle, which a majority of the legislators of this country seem resolved to uphold. I have said before, and I say it now, I trust not in faith. I have no reliance in their patriotism, I have no faith in their love of justice. I have no hope that the heart's core—the stony heart of Monopoly—will ever relent. But I have faith in my countrymen. (Cheers.) I have faith in the people of this land. (Enthusiastic cheering.) I have faith in you: I know that the men whose countenances I shall view within an hour hence are but the ephemeral supporters of an ephemeral but an enormous abuse; and trusting as I do to the intelligence and virtue of this people, —and I should be ashamed to own myself one of you if I had not this trust.—I can congratulate you with the utmost sincerity of heart that the days of this system are numbered—that even now the labours of the League are diffusing gladness and joy by anticipation among thousands of families whose hearths and hearts have been long desolate. (Loud cheers.) I am certain, also, that the world is looking on upon this struggle: intelligence and virtue everywhere will respond to the appeal that we now make to you, and the time is not far distant when Britain shall add to all the other things of which she may boast, this greatest of all boasts—that she was the first of the great commercial nations of the earth who struck down a principle which has existed for centuries, and for centuries has been false, and that she had, as she has done on many other matters and on several occasions, led the world in a wiser path, and to a new career of greater, brighter, and more enduring triumphs than man has ever yet achieved. (The hon. gentleman concluded the above eloquent speech amid reiterated applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I am quite sure, after the eloquent speech which we have heard from Mr. Bright, you will agree with me that it will be most politic, and in every respect the best proceeding, to close the meeting. [The Chairman was here interrupted by loud calls for Mr. Moore and Mr. Fox.] I am quite sure that every gentleman who attends here will recognise the rule which has hitherto been strictly adhered to, to confine the speaking to those gentlemen appointed by the Council previous to assembling in this theatre; and although no man present would listen with greater delight than I should either to Mr. Fox or Mr. Moore, yet, being myself always the servant of the Council, I feel compelled to adhere to the usual practice, and to ask your indulgence until next Thursday evening.

The meeting then separated.

WAKEFIELD.

WAKEFIELD, Wednesday Evening.

The promised "demonstration of the friends of Free Trade, and the abolition of the Corn Laws, in the West Riding of Yorkshire," was made this evening. The theatre selected for this truly magnificent display was the noble hall of the Corn Exchange, which was most judiciously and tastefully fitted up for the occasion. Along the side of the hall, beneath the windows (which, as well as the gallery, were ornamented with flowers and evergreens), and facing the great entrance doors, extended the guests' table at the centre of which was placed the chair, having twenty seats on either hand. Seats were provided for 625 in all; and, large as was the number, every ticket was disposed of several days ago, and many persons applied in vain as early even as Monday.

The following localities were represented by their delegates:—Doncaster, Halifax, Parsley, Gomersall, Clackheaton, Heckmondwike, Doncaster, Dewsbury, Yeadon, Horsforth, Guiseley, Rawden, Pudsey, Batley, Barnsley, Wakefield, Huddersfield, Lindley, Lockwood, South Crosland, Hunsley, Kirkburton, Golear, Dalton, Kirkstall, Murfield, Skelmanthorpe, Clayton West, Holmthorpe, Molegreen, Birkby, Bradford, Otley, Morton, Clayton, and Leeds.

James Garth Marshall, Esq., presided as chairman, the vice-chairmen being H. H. Blansfield, George Craven, F. Schwann, and F. Carbutt, Esqrs. The whole of the excellent arrangements were under the immediate superintendence of—Kendall, Esq., assisted by G. M. Bingley, Esq., the secretary of the Wakefield Anti-Corn-Law Association.

On the right of the chairman sat Lord Morpeth, D. Gaskell, Esq., Colonel Thompson, George Wilson, — Grimsdale, William Hand, George Oxley, T. Baseley, E. Baines, T. Plint, R. Milligan, R. Forbes, J. Schofield, — Gully, Joseph Kaye, R. Ackroyd, William Morris, and Willoughby Wood, Esqrs., and the Rev. J. G. Morris.

On the left were Richard Cobden, Esq., the Mayor of Leeds; John Bright, — Wilkinson, R. B. R. Moore, D. Lupton, T. Mallon, George Crosland, H. Ashworth, G. Wise, J. P. Clay, James Thompson, — Welsh, D. Peckover, — Dawson, H. Clayton, Taylor Crooke, W. Harvey, and — Chadwick, Esqrs.

The Hon. C. P. Villiers, who had accepted an invitation, was unable, from sudden indisposition, to attend.

The cloth having been removed,

The CHAIRMAN rose and gave in succession the usual routine toasts:—"The Queen," "Prince Albert," "The Queen Dowager," "The Prince of Wales and the rest of the royal family."

The CHAIRMAN expressed his regret that they would not have the pleasure that day of seeing amongst them one of the greatest champions of their cause, Mr. Villiers, who was unavoidably detained.

Mr. PLINT then read letters of excuse from the Earl Fitzwilliam, the Earl of Radnor, Lord Kinnaird, Earl Dacre, Sir George Strickland, Edward Vassour, Esq., F. H. Fox, Esq., of Barnham, Sir Charles Tennant, George John Farquharson, Esq., of Edinburgh, Esq., M.P.; W. B. Wrightson, Esq., M.P.; Edward Baines, Esq.; — Wrightson, Jun., Esq.; Mark Phillips, Esq., M.P.; Thomas Blakbeck, Esq., of Settle; and Thomas Tansley, Esq., M.P.; all of whom signified their inability to attend it. He then read a report, which embodied a statement of the amounts collected in the different districts of the county in the present and the preceding year. The totals of each district were as follow:—

| | 1843. | 1844. |
|----------------------|-------|---------|
| Leeds district .. | £1743 | £3876 |
| Barnsley do. .. | 100 | 254 |
| Sheffield do. .. | 75 | 1800 |
| Doncaster do. .. | 75 | 100 |
| Bradford do. .. | 1000 | 2768 |
| Huddersfield do. .. | 1000 | 2180 |
| Halifax do. .. | 1000 | 1885 |
| Heddon Bridge do. .. | 240 | 400 |
| Brighouse do. .. | 64 | 90 |
| Wakefield do. .. | 120 | 357 |
| Holmfirth do. .. | — | 212 |
| Total .. | £6139 | £18,157 |

The CHAIRMAN then rose, and, after some general remarks, said:—We are met here to-day to discuss the advantage of an entire freedom of industry and of trade, especially in the article of corn—apart from all party distinctions in politics, or any other differences of opinion. We recognise that great social principle, as the one sole object of our meeting. We have among us men of all shades of political opinion, who freely meet to co-operate in this one great object; and we shall separate in all other respects as independently as when we met. When we look around us and see what England was—what our industry has made her—do we not burn with shame, when we reflect that the people who have created this great nation go to their work in chains and fetters, wrought by pernicious monopolies and injurious restrictive laws? (Cheers.) Can we look at one another, and think of these things, and not form a vow, inaudible perhaps, but deeply seated in our breasts, that we will devote the whole energies of our lives in combating this thralldom, until we have utterly destroyed it, and until our industry is as free as are our persons and our thoughts? (Cheers.) I will not, however, dwell upon these topics, which more properly belong to other gentlemen to discuss; but I will merely allude to one most certain proof at once of the goodness of our cause, and that our advocates have well and truly fought our battle. That proof is in the number of converts to our principles from all classes of society in all parts of the kingdom, who spontaneously are thronging into our camp. The League has not obtained these acquisitions by any unworthy or unwise abandonments or compromise of their one great principle. To that we must adhere. It is the sole ground of our strength and union. It cannot, however, be other than a great encouragement to us to find that men who are now our firmest supporters, come from the ranks of the noblest and wealthiest of the landed proprietors. (Cheers.)—from the largest and most skillful agriculturists, as well as from the tolling millions, both in town and country. (Cheers.) But whilst we are welcoming new converts, there is another welcome to be spoken of to-day. Lord Morpeth—[Here the whole assemblage rose as one man, and commenced cheering, characterized by the most intense enthusiasm, which did not subside for several minutes. At times it appeared to die away, and silence to be about to be restored, but again and again it was renewed with redoubled energy.] Lord Morpeth is no new convert to the principles of Free Trade. He is no new visitor of these large meetings of the West Riding. It is because we know him so well—because we know him as a statesman and a man—because we know the qualities equally of his understanding and his heart (cheers)—it is for these reasons that the return of Lord Morpeth amongst us is welcomed with a degree of respect and of joyful cordiality that could not but have attended the fullest acquisition of the support of his distinguished name. I now, gentlemen, propose to you the health of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Morpeth.

The toast having been drunk with the most unbounded enthusiasm,

Lord MORPETH rose, and was received with a reiteration of the cheering with the mention of his name had been at first greeted. His lordship having acknowledged the kindness with which he had been received, and observed that he was bound to look to himself, that his coming amongst them should not appear to rest on any false pretences, said:—The chief object of this gathering, as I understand and interpret, is, upon the part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, to do honour and to give encouragement to the Anti-Corn-Law League, and to its deputation now present, and to promote, as far as in them lies, the abolition, the total and immediate abolition of the Corn Laws. (Immense cheering.) That you inform me is the object and meaning of your present gathering. (Yes, certainly.) Well, then, I know it will be inquired both by friend and by foe (hear), "am I prepared to go so far?" (Hear, hear.) My last dealing, as you may probably remember, with the subject of the Corn Laws, was in the year 1841, as a member of the then existing Government, and as being a party to the proposition for an 8s. duty. (Hear, hear.) In that proposition we failed, and we fell (laughter and cheers), because the upholders of the present Corn Laws, our opponents then, as they are your opponents now, thought that we proposed to concede too much, and that our proffer was over liberal to the consumers. Now, so far from being admonished by failure, so far from being covered by defeat, I think the day for the same terms is gone by (here the meeting rose en masse and cheered vociferously), and that what was considered by the constituents of the empire to be too much then, would be too little now. Moreover, the very fact of my coming here under the bond of no coercion (having remained aloof from public life for the last two years), without concert or consultation with any one, speaking entirely and exclusively for myself—all this, gentlemen, is a proof that I do not wish to withhold my acknowledgments for the zeal and energy which have been displayed by the Anti-Corn-Law League; not, of course, pretending to endorse everything they may have said or may have done, or to withhold my sympathy for the struggle which you my late constituents of the West Riding are so gallantly and, as we have just had a proof, so munificently carrying on to promote the cause in which you conceive—and justly conceive (immense applause)—your vital interests are deeply involved. But, gentlemen, though I feel that I might safely wrap myself up in vague generalities, and steer clear of using any expression which should run counter to the feelings even of him who feels the strongest and goes the farthest among you; yet in your own presence, gentlemen, and in the presence of your distinguished guests—although I am aware that I may be somewhat checking those plaudits which have even now rung around me, and may be damping the warmth which seems to glow in your welcome of me—I do not scruple to avow that, at any time hereafter—either if I should think that the necessary or best understood interests of the public revenue absolutely required it, or if I should see no other way of effecting a better settlement of the whole question than that which now prevails; or if I thought I was making a great advance in a right direction—in these or in such like cases, I do not debar myself from the power of acquiescing in a fixed duty of low amount. (Loud cries of "No, no," that won't do," and expressions of dissent.) I was prepared for the expression of some dissent to the liberty which I nevertheless must reserve to myself. I knew that in so doing I should not, as Mr. Bright thought of the West Riding formerly, come quite up to the mark, or as my friends the Americans say, with more expressiveness than refinement, I should not quite "toe the mark." But when I have said this, which I have thought it right as an honest man to do (cheers), not foreseeing what combination of circumstances might arise, I at once frankly add, that I am by no means bigoted to this measure of a fixed duty. (Cheers.) Indeed, when it is thus limited to a small amount, I am not inclined to attach to it the same importance, on one side or the other, which is sometimes done upon both. At all events, I demur to any intolerance with respect to this proposition, and sure I am, at least of this, that I would infinitely prefer a repeal, a total and immediate repeal, to a year's continuance of the law as it now subsists. (Immense applause.) And even if in the present year, a total and immediate repeal could be carried,—as I suspect it would be, gentlemen, if the ultimate decision rested with you (cheers),—I certainly should not be inconsolable, or long in making up my mind to the result. (Cheers.)

His lordship then proceeded to remark, (that he had shared in the satisfaction of the audience in the accounts of the progressive advances of Free Trade and free industry; and, having dwelt upon some general topics, trusted he would be excused for adding more to the way of preface to the toast—"Prosperity to the West Riding, and may its agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial classes become convinced that their true and permanent interests are indissolubly united, and have their surest basis in freedom of trade and industry." (Cheers.) His lordship having briefly painted, in glowing terms, the happy results of unfettered commerce, said:—I do not wish, gentlemen, upon such an occasion, to employ any serious or solemn terms, when at least our meeting, in its aspect, is entirely festive, though none can doubt the sober seriousness of your determination. ("Yes, yes, we are determined.") But what I want our opponents—the opponents of free industry—to lay to heart is, whether, in the course they are pursuing, they are not fighting against nature itself, and against the laws which guide and bind the universe? (Cheers.) For what, gentlemen—what is the obvious meaning, what is the inevitable inference of those arrangements which mingle on the surface of our globe—so much of want here, and so much of abundance there—here, such utter destitution—there, such prodigal profusion? Writers of fiction and fancy have been pleased, sometimes, to attribute voices to the winds, and to people with sounds the echoes of the hills; but the real words which Nature sends forth through all her wide departments are "work" and "exchange." (Great cheering.) His lordship then illustrated this position by a reference to America, whose inexhaustible granaries could stay the advances of our own pauperism, and supply the hungry of England with bread. The English traveller in foreign climes found many grounds for exulting in the superior advantages of his own country; but his exultation was checked when he contrasted the fearful pressure, the destitution, and sometimes famine, which visited so many homes and families. He then expressed his warm sympathy with the League, and counselled them not to undervalue their opponents. He concluded as follows:—Yes, gentlemen, I know not what new forms of tactics the enemy may assume. Farmers may secede from useful agricultural societies. (Hear, hear.) The Anti-League may be rallying up to scatter the light chaff of your arguments with the heavy flail of their logic. (Loud laughter.) You may be accused of setting fire to risks, or resorting to another element—they may threaten you with submergence in rivers (laughter); but you will look upon all these ebullitions of hostility as evidences and omens that you are gaining ground—that you are making way—that you are making yourselves felt. And it is that I may be sure of indicating the principle which I believe embraces all our efforts, and of rivetting our allegiance to the cause which I believe the exigencies of our country, and the circumstances of the world make emphatically the cause of the day, that I propose to you to drink—"Prosperity to the West Riding, and may its agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial classes become convinced that their true and permanent interests are indissolubly united, and their surest basis in freedom of trade and industry."

The toast was received with great enthusiasm.

The Mayor of Leeds, Mr. HAWES STANFORD, then proposed "The healths of Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., and John Bright, Esq., M.P., the undaunted and untiring champions of Free Trade, with the warmest thanks for their invaluable exertions." (Cheers.)

The toast having been drunk,

Mr. COBDEN presented himself to the company, but was for some time prevented from addressing them by the reiterated sounds of applause with which he was received. Silence having been obtained, the honourable gentleman disclaimed for himself and Mr. Bright taking to themselves, exclusively, the meed of praise which had been bestowed upon them, which was due in as large a share to others whose names were not often heard beyond the council-room of the League, but who were serving the great cause with as much devotion and efficiency as any member of the Council whose duties were of a more public nature. Mr. Cobden then addressed himself to the general question, and, after many pointed observations, said:—We have been met elsewhere with the objection, that corn is a fair subject for taxation. Well, gentlemen, though we are Free Traders, we do not profess to legislate on the fiscal affairs of this country, and if it were proposed to levy a tax upon corn fairly and equitably, and without carrying with it by insidious means a great monopoly, I do not know that we, as Free Traders, should be called upon to interfere with that form of taxation. But to impose a tax upon bread is a course which I never read of in the history of any country, however barbarous. What, however, is this proposal? It is that we should tax the corn brought from abroad, and not corn raised at home; and the notorious object of that is, to give the growers of corn at home protection. Now, we object to that because it is a monopoly. We object to it upon principle, and still more do we object when the tax must be at the expense of the great majority of the community who cannot be compensated for it. For it is not in the power of Parliament to give protection either to the manufacturer or to the labourer. To them, therefore, a monopoly in bread must be an uncompensated injustice. If there be any gentlemen who really and honestly desire to raise a tax upon corn, they must propose, in order to prove the honesty of their purpose, that the tax should be levied in the shape of an excise at the mill. I speak as an individual, and I denounce such a tax; but, speaking as a Free Trader, if they propose a Corn Law, and wish not to inflict a monopoly upon their country, the plan is to lay a tax upon all corn ground at the mill, and allow foreign corn to come into this country free; then everybody eating corn would pay a tax, and nobody growing corn would derive advantage from such a tax. I, however, think that, when the question comes in that shape, there will be no one in this country particularly clamorous for a bread-tax—(cheers)—no more than there are to be found persons clamouring for the re-imposition of a tax upon salt, or any other article from which they derive no profit. If you want a revenue from corn, you may get by a tax at the mill ten times as much as you can get by a duty on foreign corn, while the people will eat bread at the same price. Mr. Cobden then noticed the charge made against the League of being too precipitate, which he ably refuted. He urged on the meeting never to depart from the abstract justice of the principle. The progress they had made was a sufficient argument for adherence to the principle. They had had to educate the nation, having nothing to sustain them but simple truth and justice. They had persevered without swerving to meet the exigency of any party. Mr. Cobden continued:—We are not politicians or statesmen, and have never aimed at being such. We were driven from our businesses quite unexpectedly to ourselves; for I declare solemnly, if I had thought five years ago that I should have been gradually and imperceptibly brought to the station I now occupy, and from which I had foreseen, doubtably to return (loud cheers)—I say, if I had foreseen, five years ago, that the struggle in this cause would have involved sacrifices of health, of time, of domestic comfort—say, other sacrifices, too, which men of business can comprehend—I believe, much as I felt upon the question, I should not have dared, in justice to myself, or to others to whom nature has given a claim upon me, to have taken a part. (Loud cheers.) Given a claim upon me, to have taken a part. (Loud cheers.) But our question has been advancing until it has become a great national and a great political question; and now, when we find our cause lifted to the first rank in the senate, we want men there—men having established character as statesmen—men to whom privileges appertain, and to whom the people are inclined to look as leaders, statesmen, and politicians. We want these men in the House now, to take charge of this great cause. (Cheers.) And if there was one sentiment more pervaded my mind than another, as I came to this place, it was the strong hope which I entertained, knowing that it was coming here to meet the distinguished statesmen to whom his countrymen are inclined to look as much as—I had almost said more—than any other living statesman (cheers) for the future conduct of the nation's interest in the House of Commons,—I say, the sentiment which pervaded my mind most

strongly was, that, coming to the West Riding of Yorkshire, I should find the man who would be the means of conducting us through the desert to the land of promise,—and long continued cheering.)—I say it most emphatically—in the name of my colleagues and myself—that most happily should we surrender our cause into the keeping of such a man, if he advocated our principles in the House of Commons. Most gladly would we have tolled in the ranks out of doors, where we can be of efficient service, and where we would have cheerfully aided such a statesman in identifying his name with the greatest commercial reform—nay, the mightiest revolution that this world ever witnessed. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I do not despair. (Loud cheering for several minutes.) We will work on another year. (Cheers.) I think the noble lord said a year, on another year. We will work on gladly for him for another year (cheers); and then, when he has reflected upon our principles—when he has considered the justice of our case—when he has brought his mind, by the unaided course of his own calm reflections and his high moral guidance, to believe that we are right and just in our object,—when he shall have done this, I live in hopes that he, at the end of a little year, will yet come forward and achieve the triumph of this great question in the House of Commons. (Cheers.) But, whilst we express that hope again, I must remind you that we are here as Anti-Corn-Law Leaguers. We are here pledged to our principles, and I must tell you, in the West Riding, that it lies with you now to show to the people of England that we are honest in the avowal of our principles. You may be called upon to make sacrifices, greater sacrifices, of personal feeling, rightly directed and well merited—greater personal attachment than any antiquity of this country ever was called upon to make. I neither hold out bribes nor threats to the noble lord. I know he is competent, by his own unaided intellect and right-minded integrity of character, to decide for himself. But we stand pledged not to Whigs or to Tories, but to the whole people of this country that we are not politicians. (Cheers.) Mr. Cobden having mentioned the names of various eminent individuals holding Conservative opinions who were with the League, said:—In conclusion, I say to the noble lord one word more. The noble lord has said to us "God speed you; you are in the right path, and I hope that you will go forward under your advancing banner." I say to him, he is in the right path, and God speed him whilst he makes progress in it.

The honourable gentleman sat down amidst the hearty plaudits of the meeting.

Mr. BRIGHT, on rising, was greeted with the same earnestness and warmth of feeling which had marked the reception of his distinguished colleague. The committee of management had requested him, said he, to propose to the meeting this sentiment—"The Abolition of the Sugar and all other Monopolies," and although it was not his custom to propose what were commonly called toasts, he had very great pleasure in proposing this sentiment, and was glad of being permitted to offer some observations upon it. The hon. gentleman then proceeded to discuss several bearings of the Free-Trade question; and commented at some length on the various meetings of the agricultural "protection" societies. Having next referred to his recent successful tour in Scotland, the honourable member said:—I have listened to the speech delivered by your late representative with feelings of mingled pain and pleasure; with feelings of pleasure at many beautiful sentiments, which were expressed and clothed in as beautiful language; but with pain, that hitherto he has not seen it right to take up to the full extent the principle which we ourselves are now advocating; but I cannot conceal from myself, that from his speech there is in his mind so small a remnant of love of what is old in this matter, that it seems most extraordinary if it should remain there long at all. (Hear, hear.) I listened to his description of some portion of his journey on the American continent; to the glowing language in which he spoke of those vast prairies, which seemed as if some countless ages since the vast ocean had flowed over them, and that by some omnipotent fiat it had been at once suspended and changed into the solid earth; and I heard his description of those large rivers which rise no one knows how, or knows really where they are in future centuries to lead as highways from the ocean to the people who inhabit their banks. I was pleased to hear all this, and when he spoke of the surplus produce of those vast countries, and of the want there is in this country, I confess that I did feel disappointed (loud cheers) that any bar should be proposed or permitted to be put, which should in any degree narrow the market and the circle out of which we might obtain a supply for the hungry people of this country. A small fixed duty might not be insurmountable by the corn growers of the nearest country; but to America, distant three thousand miles, and to those vast prairies distant five thousand miles, a fixed duty of very small amount would operate generally as an insurmountable barrier to a constant trade in corn between this country and that. I will not enter more into this part of the question. The League has put its hand to the plough, and it will not turn back. (Loud cheers.) The honourable gentleman concluded by proposing "The total and immediate abolition of the sugar and all other monopolies."

Mr. RAND, of Bradford, proposed "The health of Geo. Wilson, Esq., the chairman of the Anti-Corn-Law League." As a Conservative, it was a source of satisfaction to his mind, that, at a period when strong political feelings were dividing the country into contending parties, some common ground could be discovered on which they could lay aside their party politics, and unite in the prosecution of one great question—a question so great, indeed, that it might well call upon them not to lay aside those politics merely for a season, but almost, if not altogether, to forget their existence. With respect to the charge brought against the League, that their object in endeavouring to procure cheap corn was to bring down wages, it was one which had often been refuted, and which he himself most distinctly denied. The firm to which he belonged employed 1500 persons, and he could affirm that, generally speaking, their wages had been the highest when corn had been at the cheapest, and they had been the lowest when there had been a scarcity. (Cheers.) Much of the influence of every movement depended upon the character of those who took a leading part in it, and especially of those who presided over it. He had not the pleasure of knowing personally Mr. Wilson, the chairman of the League, but he had marked that gentleman's public course, and had read his addresses, and it was his firm impression that much of the progress of the League itself was to be attributed to the care, judgment, persevering energy, and unimpeachable character of Mr. Wilson, its chairman. (Great cheering.) He had, therefore, very great pleasure in moving the toast, "George Wilson, Esq., and may the labours of the Anti-Corn-Law League be speedily crowned with success." (Cheers.)

The toast was drunk with several rounds of applause. In the absence of Mr. Wilson, whose duties at the Council of the League, in London, prevented his attendance, Mr. H. W. ASHWORTH acknowledged the toast.

Mr. BAZZLEY proposed the health of the chairman of the meeting, which was drunk with great applause.

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks.

The health of Colonel Thompson was then proposed by Mr. SCHWANN.

Colonel Thompson acknowledged the compliment in one of his happiest moods, and concluded by proposing the health of Mr. Plint, who returned thanks.

The meeting was protracted considerably beyond twelve o'clock, and the greater part of the company remained to the latest moment, special trains having been retained at the several railway stations to convey parties to their respective homes.—Abridged from the *Morning Chronicle*.

STOCKPORT.

One of the largest, most respectable, and most enthusiastic meetings ever held in Stockport, took place last Tuesday, in aid of the great League fund of £100,000. The meeting was held in Betty's Royal Circus, Middle Millgate, a spacious pavilion capable of seating 2500 persons; and the whole available space in the boxes, pit, and galleries, was crowded to ex-

cess. At ten minutes before seven o'clock, the chair was taken by Cephas Howard, Esq., mayor of the borough; and on the platform were seated the following gentlemen:—Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., Mr. Alderman Armitage, and Mr. A. R. E. Moore (a deputation from the League); Henry Marsland, Esq., M.P.; Messrs. Alderman Orrell, Alderman Mellins, Samuel Carrington, John Dyson Fernley; Rev. Charles Baker, Rev. S. Healey; the Town-Clerk; Messrs. Thomas Bakker, James S. Healey; Benjamin Ashton, John Lees, Henry Pearson, W. S. Dotts, Hamer, Sefton, Wilde, McCulloch, Carrington, Potter, &c. &c.

In opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN said, they were met for the purpose of receiving the deputation from the Anti-Corn-Law League, advocates of the repeal of the Corn Laws, and Free Trade in every department of commerce. (Loud applause.)

HENRY MARSLAND, Esq., M.P., then came forward to move the first resolution, and was received with cheers. He adverted to the origin of the Anti-Corn-Law League, the opposition they had met with, and the triumph they had achieved over their opponents. They had gone among the agricultural districts for the purpose of enlightening the minds of those for whose benefit the Corn Laws were said to be enacted. Great had been the labours of his hon. colleague (loud cheers) and his coadjutors, in the cause; and the farmers had now become convinced that they were not benefited by those laws; and had much rather that we should be the consumers of their produce than the victims of their policy. The Anti-Corn-Law League had done very much to liberate us from the political tyrannical in which we were tied, and men of all shades of politics were now found uniting in this great movement in favour of free and unshackled commerce. He rejoiced that this was no party-movement; and, as a proof that it was no party-movement, he was glad to be able to point to the gentleman who now occupied the chair. (Hear, hear.) After adverting to the deep distress which had lately been felt in Stockport—distress which might soon return unless the policy by which it had been caused was altered—he concluded by moving the following resolution:—

"That this meeting, being firmly of opinion that this country suffers severely from the baneful effects of monopoly, especially the Corn Law, and that all laws which interfere with the freedom of industry and with the bounties of Providence are impolitic and unjust, resolves to tender its best assistance, on all necessary occasions, to the National Anti-Corn-Law League, in its persevering endeavours for the complete abolition of all commercial monopolies."

The Rev. CHAS. BAKER, Baptist minister, briefly seconded the resolution, which passed without a single dissentient voice.

The CHAIRMAN then announced that there were some gentlemen who wished to present addresses to their worthy representative, Mr. Cobden. (Applause.)

GEORGE WOOD, an operative, came forward, and said he was deputed by the Mutual Aid Society, at the large mill under Mr. Edward Hollins, to present an address to Richard Cobden, Esq., on that occasion. The address was signed by 343 adults in Mr. Hollins' employ; and they had signed it from a deep-rooted conviction of the iniquity and injustice of the corn and provision laws, and also from the confidence they had in the Anti-Corn-Law League to carry out their object. In order to convince the meeting of that, they had subscribed, out of their hard earnings, £45 to the League. ("Hear, hear," and loud applause.) They knew that they had no more control over the value of their labour than the farmer had over the value of his potatoes. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) They knew that a whole loaf and a full measure of justice were better than half a loaf and the cant of humanity. (Hear.)

Mr. HAMER then presented an address to Mr. Cobden, from the burgesses and others of St. Thomas's Ward, containing similar sentiments to the preceding.

Mr. McCULLOCH presented an address from the inhabitants of Edgely Ward.

Mr. WILD presented an address from the operative tailors.

Mr. WILLIAM CARRINGTON presented an address from the operative hatters.

Addresses were also presented from the workmen employed by Mr. Alderman Orrell and Mr. Thomas Stewart.

Mr. COBDEN, M.P., then rose, and was received with enthusiastic plaudits from every part of the building, accompanied by waving of handkerchiefs and clapping of hands. When the applause had subsided, the honourable member proceeded to address the meeting. After returning thanks for the addresses which had been presented to him, he said, that latterly he had been paying a great deal more attention to other people's constituencies than his own—(laughter)—and, on the present occasion, he appeared before them rather in the character of a deputy from the Anti-Corn-Law League, than as representative for Stockport. He then adverted to the progress which the cause of Free Trade was making throughout the country, and to the opposition which had been shown to the League on the part of its opponents, in the shape of absurd charges of incendiarism and assassination, observing that he thanked the opponents of the League for the way in which they had been met. After having touched upon a variety of topics, Mr. Cobden concluded by expressing the gratification he felt at meeting his constituents on that occasion. If the League went on as it had done for two years longer, he had no doubt that his labours would be at an end; and he hoped they should at the end of that time have to meet again to congratulate themselves upon the great and glorious triumph of Free Trade. (Great applause.)

A Working-man, named WELSH, here got up, and said he wished to ask Mr. Cobden why he did not come out, and discuss the question of the Corn Laws with Mr. Feargus O'Connor, after having challenged him? (Disapprobation.)

Mr. COBDEN said he should be at open-air meetings, both in Lancashire and Yorkshire, during next summer; and if Mr. O'Connor would only condescend to be there, like other people, he should have no objection to face Mr. O'Connor. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. R. MOORE then rose, and, after some remarks on the addresses which had been presented to Mr. Cobden, proceeded to state the course which the League had adopted in enlightening the public mind on the question of Free Trade. In the course of last year, 7,000,000 of tracts had been distributed amongst the electors throughout the country, and there were numerous and convincing proofs of the good they had done. The attention of the whole press of the country had been called to the question; and the agitation carried on last year had had the effect of causing 36 more votes to be given in the House of Commons for Mr. Villiers's motion than ever there were before. After instancing other proofs of the successful results of the labours of the League, Mr. Moore proceeded to read a long list of subscriptions in Stockport, in aid of the £100,000 fund. (We are obliged, from the pressure on our space, to omit the items in detail: they shall appear in the regular list next week.)

Mr. MOORE then announced that the amount subscribed in the room was £284, in addition to £320 subscribed by Messrs. Orrell and Hollins in Manchester previously. (Applause.) Last year £411 was subscribed in Stockport altogether; this year the subscription would be trebled. He thought they would not leave the room till they had made the amount £1000. (Applause.) Several other subscriptions were then announced, after which Mr. Moore stated that the total subscriptions amounted to £1013 9s. 4d., independent of the £320 subscribed in Manchester, making the total contribution of Stockport ONE THOUSAND THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THREE POUNDS NINE SHILLINGS AND FOURPENCE. (Great applause.) On the motion of Mr. J. D. FRANKLYN, the thanks of the meeting were then given to the deputation from the League, for their attendance.

Mr. COBDEN acknowledged the vote; and proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman, which passed unanimously, and the meeting then separated, at twelve o'clock.—Abridged from the *Manchester Guardian*.

BLACKBURN.

A meeting, in aid of the great League fund of £100,000, was held here on Monday evening last. Mr. William Eccles in the chair; addresses were delivered by Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. Bright, M.P., and Colonel Thompson, as a deputation from the Council of the League, and subscriptions were entered into in the room, amounting at the close of the meeting to £713, in addition to £320 subscribed by Messrs. Eccles, Thompson, and Co., and £20 by Messrs. Wardley and Sons at the Manchester meeting. The greatest interest and enthusiasm was manifested amongst all classes, and both sexes, in the object of the meeting. We have received a detailed report, but our limits will only admit the insertion of the subscriptions, which are as follows:—Eccles and Shorrocks, 200l.; Thomas Eccles and Children, 5l. 6s.; T. Wardley and Sons, 2l. (besides 20l. subscribed by them at Manchester); R. S. Ashton, 2l.; John Burnett, 1l.; Thomas Abbot, 1s.; Thomas Harrison, 1s.; John Birtwistle, 1s.; Henry Smalley, 2l.; Darwen-street, 1l.; Thomas Briddle, 1l.; Wm. Lister, 5s.; E. Haddock, Over Darwen, 1l.; John Smith, 1l.; Henry Briggs, 1l.; E. Knox, 4s.; John Birtwistle, 1s.; James Fildes, 1s.; Roger, Sparrow, and Co., 50l.; George Briggs, 10l.; John Humphrey, 10s.; John Webster, 2s. 6d.; Thomas Carr, 10s.; Oliver Koylance, 1l.; Thomas Seville, 1l.; William Eccles, 10l.; Mrs. Pilkington, 5l.; Miss Pilkington, 10l.; Miss E. S. Ashton, 5l.; Mrs. Pickett, 1l.; Sarah Ward, 1s.; Hargreaves and Gill, 3 guineas; T. Garstang, 10s. 6d.; Robert Mellor, 1l.; Mrs. Shorrocks, 1s.; George Yates, 4s.; Thomas Wilcock, 10l.; George Jackson, 5l.; Mrs. Fowler, 5l.; Two Juvenile Friends, 7s.; T. Vevers, St. Alban's, 10l.; W. Bulcock, 6l.; James Atkins, 2 guineas; R. Porter, 2 guineas; W. Yates, 1l.; John M'Nao, 1l.; A. M'Kie, 1l.; Richard Maudeley, 5s.; The result of giving up tobacco smoking, Edward Bates, 1l.; G. Hartley, 1l.; A. Plimble, 1l.; Wilding and Fisher, 5l.; G. Dewhurst, 2l.; John Thwaites, 5 guineas; Rev. Francis Skinner, 1 guinea; John Rutherford, 5 guineas; Thomas Coulthard, 1l.; Gerard Dixon, 5s.; Nathan Bowker, 5s.; an Assistant in one of the Tory buildings, Church-street, 2s. 6d.; Thomas Lightbound, 2s. 6d.; Joseph Haddock, 2s. 6d.; Sarah Whitehead, 2s. 6d.; James Aspin, 2s.; Mrs. Eccles and Children, 10l.; E. Ainsworth, 6d.; James Blacklock, 1 guinea; Richard Shackleton, 1 guinea; a Farmers' Friend, 2s. 6d.; Richardson and Thwaites, 2 guineas; John Arkwright, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Pilkington and Children, Park-place, 5l.; Wm. Irving, 10s.; Thomas Jefferson, Starkie-street, 2s. 6d.; Thomas Ainsworth, 5s.; Thomas Burton, Jun., 1l.; James Shorrocks, 2l.; John Stolt, 10s.; A. Jardine, 1l.; John Ainsworth, 2l.; Wm. Hoole, 5l.; Mrs. W. Hoole, 2l.; Edward Jukes, 1 guinea; Thomas Shorrocks, 1l.; Thomas Witherington, 1l.; Robert Brown, 5l.; Richard Walsh, 1l.; W. Lowrie, 2s. 6d.; John Walmsley, 1 guinea; John Lucas, 10s.; Joseph Bates, 2s. 6d.; Edward Briggs, 30l.; Peter Little, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Lister, 10s.; H. Lister, 5s.; J. Foster, 1l.; J. Pilling, 5s.; W. Johnson, 2 guineas; W. Bamber, 2 guineas; No. 3, Thomas-street, 1 guinea; H. Brooks, 10s.; Rd. Aspin, 2s. 6d.; One of Turner's Plumbers, 2s. 6d. (laughter); J. Boyle, (Salford), 2l.; J. Carr, 1l.; T. Marsden, 5s.; W. Briggs, 3 guineas; R. Webster, 1 guinea; an Enemy to all Monopolies, 5 guineas; Robert Rae, 10s.; Mrs. Bolton, 10s.; John Higginson, 4s.; Ralph Pearson, 5s.; John Furlong, 1l.; James Knox, 2 guineas; W. Shorrocks, 2s. 6d.; W. Briggs, 1 guinea; John Eastwood, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Watson, 1s.; James Hatfield, 1s.; James Dickenson, 5s.; James Lawson, 1l.; J. Bradley, 1l.; A Friend, 5l.; H. Hodgson, 5s.; a Handloom Weaver, 2d.; W. Ridings, 6d.; a Lady, 2s. 6d.; a young Tradesman, 1l.; A Friend, 1s.; T. Brooksby, 2s. 6d.; John Heyhurst, 2s.; a Lady, 10s.; Richard Hargreaves, 2s. 6d.; W. Birtwistle, 5s.; John Pickup, 1l.; W. Slater, 2s. 6d.; John Walsh, 3s.; W. Beckett, 2s.; W. Crichley, 2s. 6d.; James Abbott, 5s.

Mr. BRIGHT here announced the total subscription to be 713l. 14s. 8d., exclusive of 200l. subscribed at Manchester by Blackburn gentlemen. (Great cheering.)

After a vote of thanks to the deputation, the meeting separated.

YORK.

On Thursday evening, the 26th ultimo, a public meeting was held in the Festival Concert Room, in this city, to receive a deputation from the Council of the League, consisting of Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., John Bright, Esq., M.P., and Col. Thompson—the immediate object of the meeting being to aid in the collection of the great fund of £100,000.

The meeting was very numerously attended. On the platform we observed Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; Col. Thompson; Edward Smith, Esq., Sheffield; Wm. Allen, Esq., Malton; John Hopkins, Esq., Malton; W. O. Copperthwaite, Esq., Malton; John Swale, Esq., York; Chas. Robinson, Esq., York; Caleb Fletcher, Esq., York; T. J. Thompson, Esq., Malton; Henry Richardson, Esq., York; W. Richardson, Esq., York; Robert Henry Noddings, Esq., York; &c. There were also present the Rev. C. Wellbeloved; the Rev. W. Hincks; Leonard Simpson, Esq.; Joseph Rowntree, Esq.

At half-past six o'clock, on the motion of Mr. THOS. SWALE, seconded by Mr. FLETCHER, the chair was taken by Edward Smith, Esq. of Sheffield.

The CHAIRMAN, on presenting himself to the meeting, was received with cheers. He said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I confess it would have been more agreeable to me this evening to have appeared simply in the character of a visitor and spectator of the interesting proceedings which I doubt not we are about to witness. Had some of your own citizens been disposed to take this post, which they are so well qualified to fill, I think it would not only have been more appropriate, but also more agreeable to most of those connected with this movement. (Applause.) It is, however, a natural feeling, that those who hear the doctrines propounded in their city for the first time, which are now coming before them—I speak not of political doctrines (hear)—it is natural that they should be unwilling to connect themselves with such a movement, until they are well informed of their nature. But it is one of the most gratifying events of the time, that men of intelligence, whatever may be their political opinions, are now disposed to meet the question in the spirit of fair, calm, deliberate inquiry. (Hear.) I attended a meeting last night—a large and excellent meeting—at which were present many men of Conservative politics; and we have had many examples of such individuals not merely countenancing these proceedings with their presence, but also contributing liberally for the diffusion of that information which we now come to offer to you. They consider this question as one which ought to be rescued from party politics. (Great applause.) We come not here as agents of any party. We think the question of a sufficient supply of food to the community—of prosperity, not merely to the manufacturers, but to the agriculturists—is a question which ought to come home to the hearts and feelings of every one, without being bandied about from Whig to Tory, or Conservative to Radical, merely as a rallying point for party strife. (Applause.) Why should the question of commercial freedom be any more a question of political party strife, than any of those great scientific subjects with which we are acquainted, or those regulations which are requisite for the good government of the country, apart from any politics? We know of no reason whatever; and we entreat them, if any such be now present, to lay aside all prejudices for a while, and to come to this inquiry for the purpose of fairly listening to the facts and reasonings to be brought before them. If you can controvert those facts, and if we are wrong, the sooner we are set right the better. If we are under a grievous mistake, why, it is time that that mistake should be rectified—it is time the delusion should be cast aside—it is time that those men going about the country, turning the world upside down, should be put down at once, by the truth being exposed. (Applause.) He then took a general review of Free-Trade principles, and concluded amidst loud applause.

Colonel THOMPSON, who was received with great cheers, delivered an excellent speech, and was followed by

Mr. COBDEN, who was received with enthusiastic and prolonged applause. His able speech was almost exclusively devoted to proving the good which agriculture itself must do

(Continued on page 807.)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, January 31, 1844.
N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | | | |
|--|-----|----|----|
| Geo. Barge, 44, Grosvenor-st., C-on-M., Manchester | 21 | 1 | 0 |
| Robt. Thornley, Wrexham | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Robinson, Low-street, Keighley | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Newall, Market-street, Manchester | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Gibbon, Newton Alconby, Gt. Ancoats-st., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Geo. Kendall, 18, Market-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Taylor, Jasmine Cottage, Hollinwood, near do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Osborn, Dunstable, Beds. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| L. Morrison, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| An Advocate for the Poor, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| An Old Trader, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| G. Osborn, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| J. B. Clarke, High-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| T. Partridge, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| H. Cheshire, Convent, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| G. Collings, Garden Meeting, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Wm. Madlocks, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Joseph Millings, Covent Garden, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| John Nicholl, Church-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Wm. Hattie, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| David Burgess, Leighton-street, Woburn | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| John Harkness, Gwyn-street, Bedford | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Jas. M'Kay, Leighton-street, Woburn | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Wm. Jardine, Dunstable | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Wm. Gutteridge, High-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Gutteridge, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| G. Clarke, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| R., do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| T. B., do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Rev. B. Backwell, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| John Darley, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Small sums, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| M. A. Hall, Cable-street, Torrington | 0 | 11 | 6 |
| Wm. Dailyn, Potacra-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| John Denbow, Calve-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| John B. Kingdon, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| George Cosens, New-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| T. R. Tapley, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Edwin Handford, druggist, High-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Toms, glove manufacturer, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Veysey, High-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Rev. James Buckpitt, New-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 | 15 | 9 |
| R. Stanley, Deansgate, Manchester | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| A Friend, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| E. Clark, 77, Oxford-road, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Geo. Macbeth, 21, Oxford-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| John Potter, 1, George-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Grimshaw, 33, Ducle-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Joseph Brown, 71, St. Stephen's-st., Salford, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| T. H. Goddard, 16, Edward-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas. M'Dougal, 71, Westgate-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Sheldermine, Moor-st., Rusholme, Manchester | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Wm. Phillips, Kingthorpe-grove, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas. Lomas, Britannia, New-on-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Nicholas Tweddle, 111, Duke-street, Hulme, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Guy Carruthers, 27, Daisy-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Robert Carruthers, 3, Thomas-street, New Brighton, Hulme, Manchester | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| W. Read, 47, Stretford New-road, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Bourne, 67, Fountain-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Francis, 308, Oldham-road, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. J., do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Michael Conner, 57, Port-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| John Lamb, 81, Plymouth-grove, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Pickles, 99, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| N. W. Gilbody, 34, Faulkner-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Robert Weatherill, Openshaw, near A Conservative, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Miss Blyth, Peables, N.B., do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| William Blyth, Adelaide, South Australia | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Morgan, 197, Oxford-road, Manchester | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Edward Few, 116, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Wm. Kelly, 40, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| John Spence, 1, Clarendon-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Abraham Dearden, 4, York-street, Artwick, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Edw. Lancaster, Ogden-st., Gt. Jackson-st., do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| John Whybrough, York-street, C-on-M., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Naylor, Bristol-st., Radnor-st., Hulme, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. Ogden, Stretford-st., Wilmot-st., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| B. Warburton, Globe Inn, Medlock-st., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per James Naylor, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per James Naylor, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Geo. Boxson, Clarendon-street, Hulme, Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| The Workmen of Rikanah Armistage and Son, Charles-town Mill, Pendleton, Manchester | 10 | 2 | 6 |
| And. Beveridge, 10, Reform-st., Dunfermline, N.B. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| George Moffatt, 38, Fenchurch-street, London | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. L. Colquhoun, Clathick, near Crieff, Perthshire | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Samuel Oates, High-street, Knaresborough | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| David Jardine, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Addyman and Co., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Thomas, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| John Roads, Low Bond-end, do. | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| John Munton, Windsor-lane, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| John Cesa, Castle-gate, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Daniel Dodson, Bridge, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Joseph Pratt, Windmill-lane, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Wm. Forster, Finkle-street, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| John Inman, Hay-park, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Josh. Dixon, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 | 11 | 0 |
| John Black, Bowdon Hall, Chapel-en-le-Frith | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Barnes, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Riley, Bridge Hulme-green, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Kirk, jun., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Brinsley, Horwich, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joe. Carrington, Boroughfield, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Riddough, 14, Ducle-street, Manchester | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Wm. Collier, Weston, near Runcorn | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Do., do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Do., do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Do., do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Do., do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Do., His whole heart is in it | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| A Friend to the cause | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| James Hanks, St. Helen's | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Heys, Hazel Grove, Cheshire | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Timothy Wharmby, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Henry Heys, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| John Smith, jun., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Bottoms, Stockport Moor, near do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Burrows, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Wood, jun., do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Charles Webb, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Harvey Lowndes, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Samuel V. dir, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| John Bradley, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| James Bradley, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |

| | | | |
|--|-----|----|---|
| Joseph Bradley, Hazel Grove, Cheshire | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| William Hallworth, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Watkinson, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. B. Whitehead, Holly Mount, Rawtenstall | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| Marianne Whitehead, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| P. O. Whitehead, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Elizabeth Whitehead, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| T. Hoyle Whitehead, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. O. Whitehead, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend in the West, per T. Bazley, jun. | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Bazley, jun., Manchester | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Sutcliffe, farmer, Old Royd, near Todmorden | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Hargreaves, readmaker, Bacup, near Rochdale | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Randall Hibbert and Sons, Godley, Lancashire | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| Moses Chetham, Heywood | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Greenwood, tinner, Todmorden | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. and J. Bancroft, Ashton-under-Lyne | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Thos. Hitchin, Newton Picken Works, near Butler-street, Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| E. T. Birch, St. Loyd-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Fred. Steiner, Hindburn House | 99 | 0 | 0 |
| Josh. Duckworth, Foxhill-bank, Lancashire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Chadwick and Ashworth, 5, Brown-street, Manchester | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Isaac Knott, Hyde-street, Staleybridge | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Simpson, Foxhill-bank, Accrington | 105 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Berry, Church, near do. | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| Fred. C. Harrison, Aberysthach, n. Pontypool, S.W. | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| James Walkinshaw, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thos. Underwood, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Thomas Davies, grocer, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Jas. Lock, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Henry Hughes, stationer, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Chas. Davies, ironmonger, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Robt. Carter, builder, do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| John Hair, miller, Pontnewnedd, nr. do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Rudge, Pontnewnedd, do. | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Hugh Crawford, Windyedge, Belth, Ayrshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Hurdrop, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Watson, Grahamston, Falkirk | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Rich. Halcro, Nile-street, Sunderland | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. French, Tatham-street, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Toms, Olive-street, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| C. Richardson, West Lodge, do. | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Richd. Haddock, Bridge-street, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. P. Kidson, Bishopwearmouth, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. T. Moore, High-street, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Free-Trade, per E. Robson | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. C. Carr, Queen-street, Sunderland | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Jas. Hills, High-street, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Shipowner, London (2nd subscription) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Palmer and D. H., Vine-place, Sunderland | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Cash, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Hills, High-street, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. C. Mounsey, do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Wm. Haddock, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Anon, do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| John Pickard, Whitburn-street, Monkwearmouth | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Coxon, King-street, Sunderland (2nd subscrip.) | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Ogle and Douglas, Deptford, near do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| R. Perkins, Union Tavern, Long-millgate, Manchest. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Ratcliffe, at Gardner and Bazley's Mill, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Benj. Parlow, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Patrick Graham, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thos. Pilling, do. | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| J. T., per Wm. M'Call | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Henry Johnson, Nor'h Meols, Lancashire | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Horrocks, Southport | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Farmer's Son and the Workmen of Holroyd and Co. | 2 | 13 | 6 |
| R. H. Armstrong, 26, Union-street, Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. and S. Alcock, Rook-street, do. | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| John Roberts, Henllan, near Denbigh | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| John Beasell, 6, Crescent, Peckham Rye | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| George Alder, London | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Sefton, Longport, Staffordshire Potteries | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Plesed, 122, Ratcliffe highway | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Chapple, 10, Great Dover-street, Southwark | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Sharer, Hartlepool | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Young, 92, Fore-street, Finsbury | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| J. B. Richards, 12, Holland-street, Soho | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| T. A. Shaw, London | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Wakefield, 1, Vernon-st., Bagnigge Wells-road | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Theodore Lifford, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Dr. William Brown, Melrose, Roxburghshire | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Fletcher, John-street, Sunderland | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. and R. Titford, Leadenhall-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| John Stokes, Belle Vue Cottage, Shacklewell | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| S. H. Appleton, Paisley | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Clunie, 71, Watling-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Adam Gray, Melrose, Roxburghshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Halliday | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Matthew Henderson, Chalton, near Belford | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George B. Hogg, Leven Mills, by Leven, Fifeshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Hudson, New Bridge-street, Vauxhall | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Frank Blackett, 31, West Smithfield | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Leonard and Son, Store-st., Bedford-square | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Freeman, Buntingford, Herts | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. H. Millard, draper, Windsor | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Ruston, Tulse-bill, Brixton | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Joseph Walters, Alfreton, Derbyshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Isaac Hodgson | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Keswick, { F. Greenup, Portinscale | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small Sums | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| "A Farmer of 320 acres" | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Anthony Spurr, 19, Chadwell-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Parkins, 11, Hanway-street, Oxford-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Robert Easto, Upper Tulse-hill, Brixton (2nd sub.) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Watts, cooper, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Beale, cooper, Smith's-buildings, City-road | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. E. Baker, 51, Burton-crescent | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Mitchellhill, 20, Argyle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. T. Pratt, 14, Castigny-place, City-road | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Few Friends of Free Trade, using the parlour of the Duke of Clarence, Walworth | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| L. F. Frampton, Catterell | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. J. Baxter, 19, Bereford-street, Walworth | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Richard W. Cooper, Mill Wharf, Two Waters, Herts. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Charlton, (2nd subscription) | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A. J. Rogers, Grosvenor House, Knightsbridge-green | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Archer | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| David Hepburn | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| R. and J. Greig | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| David Clunie, sen. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Brown, academy | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Andrew Fenwick | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Steele | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Honey, Ruthvenfield | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| John Murie, Windyedge | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Stewart Duncan | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. Deaseret | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Counts, High-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small Sums | 0 | 4 | 6 |
| J. R. Morrison, 2, Crown-court, Philpot-lane, London | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Wilson, Bridge-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Wilson, Earlston | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Wilson, jun., Bridge-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. Henry Renion | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Heckford | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Lockie, farmer | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Johnston, Chronicle office | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Dods, grocer | 1 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--------------------|----|----|---|---|---|
| St. Neot's, Huntingdonshire. | Subscription from Friends at St. Neot's | | 23 | 2 | 0 | | |
| | F. Towgood, Riversfield | | 2 | 2 | 0 | | |
| | Mrs. Towgood, do. | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | R. Towgood, do. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | A. Towgood, do. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | William Maine, farmer, Toseland, near | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | P. Pratt | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | W. Clark | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | W. Parish, farmer, Great Staughton | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | Small Sums | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| A Working Man | Workmen of St. Neot's Paper Mills, per F. Chapman | | 0 | 10 | 0 | | |
| | William Warry, 18, John-street | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | F. Leecham, 2, Duck-lane | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | W. S. Kennedy, Burslem | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | G. W. Cant, 69, High Holborn, } per J. P. Burnard | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | T. Mason and Son, 70, do., } | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | W. T. P. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Mrs. Charles Clark, 19, Giltspur-street | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | Wm. Pegg, 90, Upper Ground-street, Christ Church, Surrey | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Samuel Fyson | J. Rutter, Mitcham | | 6 | 5 | 0 | |
| John Rutter, do. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Thomas Russell, do. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| J. S. | | 0 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| Joseph Bealby, 60, Holland-street, Blackfriars-road | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| J. J. G. Wilkinson, 13, Store-street, Bedford-square | | 0 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| William Newbery, 6, King-street, Holborn | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| Rev. J. O. Squier, Deptford | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| Mrs. Powell, 49, Lisle-street, Leicester-square | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Mr. Watson, 7, Ironmonger-lane | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| W. Plumpton, 68 and 69, Whitechapel-road, per Mr. Tracy | Tracy | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | William Andrew, High West-street | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Henry Brady, High-street | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | J. Kimpster | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | William Angus, Union Cottage | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | G. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | A Friend to Free Trade | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | John Davidson, Steam Flour Mill | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | F. P. Ionn, High-street | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Sydney Pilling, Bottle-bank | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Gateshead. | William Hymers, High-street | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | Thomas Atkinson, Bridge-street | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Jacob Grey, do. | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | S. Forster, Melbourne-street | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Jas. Potts, Brandling Railway | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | T. Ferguson, Gateshead Fell | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | W. K. | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | John Burn, High-street | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | S. T. | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | J. F. Brett, High-street | | 0 | 10 | 0 | | |
| D. Hobkirk, Ravensworth-terrace | George Bell, High-street | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | W. Mudie, a working man, Bensham | | 0 | 10 | 0 | | |
| | T. Wariman, Pipewellgate | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Jas. Ennis, do. | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Thos. Hind, Heworth, near | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | A. R. Bowes, Mulgrave-terrace | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | J. Russell, Bottle-bank | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | Jas. Wilson, Hill-gate | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | G. Crawshaw (3rd subscription) | | 5 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Small Sums | | 0 | 3 | 0 | | |
| "A Farmer that wants no protection nor sliding scale" | | | | | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per T. Woods | Jas. Bell, Pool-street, Walsall, Staffordshire | | 0 | 3 | 0 | | |
| | Mr. Wallace, 66, Warren-street, Fitzroy-square | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Mr. Seamer, 33, Nelson-terrace, Stoke Newington-rd. | | 2 | 2 | 0 | | |
| | John Clark, brewer, Keawick | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Wm. M'Laren, 87, Lower East Smithfield | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | N. Griffin, Brixton-hill | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | James Nicholas, 4, Smart's-buildings, Holborn | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | Henry Thompson, 16, Northwick-ter., St. John's-wood | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | Mrs. Henry Thompson, do. | | 0 | 10 | 6 | | |
| | H. H. Thompson, do. | | 0 | 10 | 6 | | |
| Miss Charlotte Elizabeth Thompson, do. | J. S. Thompson, do. | | 0 | 10 | 6 | | |
| | T. V. | | 0 | 0 | 6 | | |
| | Helen Priestman Bright, One Ash, Rochdale, "to help Papa and Richard Cobden and Robert Moore to get bread for poor little children" | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | William Hudson, Manor-street, Little Bolton | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | John Whyte, Bridgman-street | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | John Dean, Silverwell House | | 25 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Wm. Barlow, Oxford-street | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Davies Rawsthorne, do. | | 2 | 2 | 0 | | |
| | John Brown Holden, do. | | 5 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Mary Emmett, do. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| John Cottrill, Market-street | John Cottrill collected | | 2 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | James Knowles, New Market-place | | 0 | 12 | 6 | | |
| | John Knowles, do. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Dan. Haddock, do. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Wm. Ackroyd, do. | | 10 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | George Dutton, do. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Charles Wiggins, do. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Richard Dunderdale, Deansgate | | 2 | 2 | 0 | | |
| | John Manchester, do. | | 2 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Geoffrey Taylor, do. | | 2 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Wm. Green, do. | Sam. Ackroyd, do. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Henry Wilkinson, do. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Wm. Taylor, do. | | 2 | 2 | 0 | | |
| | John Harwood, do. | | 2 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Isaac Wright, do. | | 2 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Henry Bathé, do. | | 2 | 10 | 0 | | |
| | James Metcalf, Crown-street | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Joseph Crossland, Mawdsley-street | | 10 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | James and John Dayley, Shambles | | 10 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | John Mallett, St. George's-street, Little Bolton | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| Charles Skelton, Cheapside | Thomas Nuttall, do. | | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | John Platt, Newport-street | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | John Platt's Two Children | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | A Female Free Trader at J. Platt's | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | Samuel Hamer, Newport-street | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Isaac Matkin, Newport-street | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | James Slimcock, do. | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | Hugh Makinson, Knowsley-street | | 2 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | James Moore, at Mr. Thomasson's, New-mill, Little Bolton | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Thomas Davenport, do. | | 1 | 4 | 6 | | |
| Henry Hargreaves, do. | John Haslam, Bradshawgate | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Thomas Scowcroft, do. | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Robt. Birchby, do. | | 0 | 10 | 0 | | |
| | Henry Travers, do. | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Abraham Fletcher, do. | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | P. Tattersall, do. | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | Jas. Haworth (2nd sub.), do. | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Charles Pitfield, Great Moor-street | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Robert Andrews Hibbert, Wood-street | | 3 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Peter Smith, Haulgh Hall | | 2 | 0 | 0 | | |
| A Friend | John Woods, Bridgman-place | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | John Cross, Top o' th' Height | | 5 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | John P. Temperley, Bradford place | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Henry Grindrod, Crook-street | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Wright Sutcliffe, do. | | 0 | 10 | 0 | | |
| | Richard Hargreaves, do. | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Matthew Mather, Derby-street | | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Richard Porter, Churchgate | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | George Hill, Sweet-green | | 0 | 10 | 0 | | |
| | | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |

Derby.

Gomersall, near Leeds, Second Subscription.

Lancaster, Third Remittance.

| | |
|---|----------------|
| William, George, and Joseph Strutt | £500 0 0 |
| Boden and Morley | 100 0 0 |
| An Opponent to the Sliding Scale | 100 0 0 |
| Thomas Webb, Tutbury | 25 0 0 |
| William Taylor | 25 0 0 |
| John Towle, Burrowash, near | 25 0 0 |
| Thomas Madeley and Co. | 25 0 0 |
| Frost and Stevenson | 20 0 0 |
| John Moss, St. Peter's-street | 20 0 0 |
| R. Burton, Smallwood Manor, near Uttoxeter | 20 0 0 |
| J. and C. S. Peet | 20 0 0 |
| William Unsworth, Siddal's-lane | 20 0 0 |
| "Live and let live" | 10 0 0 |
| A Friend, by Thomas Madeley | 10 0 0 |
| Thomas Richardson, Ashbourn-road | 10 0 0 |
| T. G. B. Ponsonby, Esq., M.P., Cavendish-square, London | 10 0 0 |
| Two Friends to Free Trade | 10 0 0 |
| James Hollingworth, London-road | 5 0 0 |
| Hall and Goodwin, Market-place | 5 0 0 |
| Robert Peck, Vernon-street | 5 0 0 |
| John Duncilliffe, St. Mary's-gate | 5 0 0 |
| An Enemy to Monopoly | 5 0 0 |
| Thomas Wright, Friar-gate | 5 0 0 |
| Thomas Tunaley, jun., Derwent-street | 5 0 0 |
| Joseph Handford, Osmaston-road | 5 0 0 |
| Two Friends to Free Trade | 5 0 0 |
| Mr. Hunt, City-road | 5 0 0 |
| William Cramond, George-street | 5 0 0 |
| A Father of a Family (double his former subs.) | 2 2 0 |
| John Bloor, Tutbury | 2 2 0 |
| Robert Chadwick, Queens-street | 2 0 0 |
| Tunley and Co., Siddal's-lane | 2 0 0 |
| George Stevenson, Iron-gate | 2 0 0 |
| Mrs. George Stevenson, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Limb of the Law | 2 0 0 |
| Johnson and Walton, Bridge-street | 2 0 0 |
| W. Pike, Cornmarket | 2 0 0 |
| T. Cooke, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Mrs. T. Cooke and Children | 1 1 0 |
| A Friend | 1 1 0 |
| Wolston Roberts, Sadlergate | 1 1 0 |
| A True Friend | 1 1 0 |
| Geo. Wild, Cornmarket | 1 0 0 |
| Dani. Holme, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Morley, Wardwick | 1 1 0 |
| Mrs. Wm. Morley | 0 10 6 |
| Joseph Chadfield, Friar-gate | 1 1 0 |
| A Free-Trader | 1 1 0 |
| C | 1 0 0 |
| Christian | 1 0 0 |
| A Christian | 1 0 0 |
| F. Borrey, Sacheverell-street | 1 0 0 |
| W. Spaton, Cornmarket | 1 0 0 |
| Opifex | 1 0 0 |
| Rusticus | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Harvey, 10, Parker-street | 1 1 0 |
| Geo. Pemberton, tinman, Peter's-street | 1 0 0 |
| Hy. Bates, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Corn Factor | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. N. Jones, North-parade | 1 0 0 |
| James Storer, Peter's-street | 1 0 0 |
| Cadman and Hollingworth, Sadlergate | 1 0 0 |
| Four Workmen | 1 0 0 |
| Double X. | 1 1 0 |
| Adam Simpson, Bridge-street | 1 0 0 |
| Geo. Sowter, Kedleston-road | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Frost, City-road | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 1 1 0 |
| A Farmer | 1 0 0 |
| W. Longdon, Old Tiger Inn | 1 0 0 |
| The Friends at Little Eaton | 7 0 0 |
| Some Ladies | 0 11 6 |
| Fred. Slack | 0 10 0 |
| H. B. | 0 5 0 |
| With all my heart | 0 10 0 |
| X. Y. Z. | 0 10 6 |
| Mr. Wescott | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| A Lady | 0 5 0 |
| A Youth | 0 2 6 |
| Two Workmen | 0 3 0 |
| One who has been out of work nine months | 0 2 6 |
| A Methodist | 0 5 0 |
| T. Hawkridge, jun. | 0 5 0 |
| W. Warren | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Gee | 0 5 0 |
| Frost & Stevenson's Workpeople | Females 0 18 0 |
| Samuel Allsop | Males 2 9 3 |
| A few Workmen | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Madeley and Co.'s Workpeople | Females 1 2 0 |
| J. and C. S. Peet's Workpeople | Males 3 16 6 |
| Boden & Morley's Workpeople | Females 1 9 2 |
| Samuel Fox, jun., North-parade | Males 3 14 6 |
| Josiah Reader, 9, Gisborne-street | Females 1 2 6 |
| S. Kyre, Queen-street | Males 7 10 0 |
| S. Cartlich, Sadler-gate | 10 0 0 |
| A Convert to the Great Fact | 1 0 0 |
| A Radical | 2 0 0 |
| A Mite towards completing the £100,000 | 0 10 0 |
| The Workmen of J. and E. Swaine and Co. | 2 2 0 |
| Jas. Ramsden | 0 10 0 |
| Sam. Armstrong | 0 10 0 |
| John Berry and Son | 0 10 0 |
| Benj. Fearnsley | 0 10 0 |
| Geo. Berry | 0 10 0 |
| Jos. Taylor | 0 7 6 |
| John Steel | 0 5 0 |
| John Wright | 0 5 0 |
| James Booth | 0 5 0 |
| Jos. Ross | 0 5 0 |
| Thos. Elatrib | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Greenwood | 0 5 0 |
| James Scott | 0 10 0 |
| Wm. Smith | 0 5 0 |
| Samuel Mortimer | 0 5 0 |
| Sam. Kerahaw | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Heaton | 0 2 6 |
| Abraham Battye, Birkenshaw | 0 2 6 |
| Henry Howarth, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Priestley, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Hirst, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Smithers's Mill Men, per Joseph Smith, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Britannia Mill Men, per J. Wilson, do. | 1 5 0 |
| C. B. Hemingway, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Josiah Hogg, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Jos. Schofield, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Gott, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Clegg, do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. Burrell, do. | 0 2 6 |
| H. Frankland, do. | 0 2 6 |
| William Marsland, do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Mann, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thos. Middlebrook, do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Eastwood, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Pearson and Spurr, do. | 0 1 0 |
| Sam. Porritt, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Jackson and Marr, Wray, near | 5 0 0 |
| Workmen at Carr Silk Mill, near | 2 0 0 |
| Mr. Middleton | 0 5 0 |
| Richard Hall, King-street | 0 10 0 |
| Benj. Mills | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Irwin, currier | 0 5 0 |
| Small sums | 0 2 0 |

Edinburgh Third Remittance.

| | |
|---|---------|
| A few Friends, per G. Gibson, Cross-causway | £50 4 0 |
| A. C., a Friend to Free Trade | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend, Howe-street | 0 5 0 |
| A. B. | 1 1 0 |
| A Friend, Buccleuch-place | 0 5 0 |
| A Traveller | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend in Tranent | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend in Archibald-place | 1 0 0 |
| John Aitken, 144, High-street | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| A Free Churchman Whig of 1666 School | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend to Freedom and Free Trade | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend to the Poor Man's Fireside | 0 2 6 |
| A Free "Join" | 0 5 0 |
| A Lady, Portobello | 1 0 0 |
| A Jobbing Gardener, Causewayside | 0 2 6 |
| J. Alexander, B.S.C. | 0 5 0 |
| David Aitken, jun., Tranent | 1 0 0 |
| An Enemy to Monopoly and the Sliding Scale | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to Free Trade, Juniper-green | 0 2 6 |
| An Offering for the Anti-Corn-Law League, "a Great Fact" | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend who has often read Colonel Thompson's "Corn-Law Catechism" | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to the League | 1 1 0 |
| A. B. F., 42, Broughton-street | 1 1 0 |
| A Lover of Oat Cakes | 0 2 6 |
| An Anti-Thimble-rig-law Man | 2 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| John Burke, 10, St. Andrew-square | 0 5 0 |
| Mr. Burns, 44, Rankellor-street | 1 0 0 |
| Archibald Braid, 6, Arthur-street | 1 0 0 |
| Alexander Bork, Lauriston-lane | 1 1 0 |
| Andrew Blackie | 0 2 6 |
| John Bishop | 0 2 6 |
| B. S. | 0 2 6 |
| D. Brown, Reddinglaw, Ratho | 1 0 0 |
| James Burgess and Son, 3, Hunter-square | 1 1 0 |
| C. C. | 0 2 6 |
| J. S. Crichton, 1, Keir-street | 1 0 0 |
| John Cox, Gorgie Mills | 1 0 0 |
| J. Cowan, Fleshmarket | 1 0 0 |
| David Connell, 48, Hanover-street | 1 0 0 |
| Miss Robina Cox, 25, Rutland-street | 1 1 0 |
| George Crichton, Bruntsfield-place | 1 1 0 |
| Cornraik | 0 3 0 |
| William Douglas, Portobello | 0 10 0 |
| Jn. Dryborough, 84, North Back of Canongate | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Dryborough, brewer | 0 10 0 |
| George Deas, advocate | 1 1 0 |
| Robert Dun, Lancasterian School | 1 0 0 |
| George Drummond, 6, Scotland-street | 0 10 0 |
| William Dick, Dean-street | 0 5 0 |
| D. M. and S. | 0 10 0 |
| Charles Dowie, 10, High-street | 0 10 0 |
| Every blow against Monopoly, Newhaven | 0 2 6 |
| From a Friend | 0 2 6 |
| From a Friend to the League | 0 10 0 |
| From Young Repealers | 0 5 0 |
| F. R. S. | 0 2 6 |
| From three Workmen | 0 3 0 |
| Miss Fairgrieve, 30, India-street | 0 2 6 |
| From a True Friend | 0 2 6 |
| From a Friend to Free Trade, Elm-row | 0 2 6 |
| F. M., Henderson-row | 0 2 6 |
| From Little Dick | 0 5 0 |
| C. H. Farquharson, 28, Leith-street | 0 2 6 |
| F. G. | 2 0 0 |
| From a Friend to the Cause | 0 3 0 |
| James Fairbairn, at Haldane and Rae's, from self and fellow-workmen | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Forbes, 16, St. James's-square | 0 5 0 |
| George Gibson, Cross-causway | 0 5 0 |
| James Gunn, 3, Calton-street | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. and John Glen, Victoria-street | 1 1 0 |
| John Henderson, 38, George-street | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Hardie, 65, Thistle-street | 0 2 6 |
| G. Hepburn, 1, Queensferry-street | 1 0 0 |
| Half-a-Crown to a farthing that the Corn Laws are repealed | 0 2 6 |
| In confidence of a return with interest by-and-by | 0 5 0 |
| Alex. Jamieson, 71, Adam-square | 0 5 0 |
| W. M. Jamieson, High-street | 0 10 0 |
| James Johnston, 6, Fyfe-place | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas James, 493, Lawnmarket | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Jeffries, M.D., Dalkeith | 1 0 0 |
| J. McE. | 0 2 6 |
| Miss Sarah Jones, Carrick-on-Suir, Ireland | 0 2 6 |
| John Jopp, 30, Albany-street | 1 1 0 |
| J. R., 51, Hanover-street | 1 0 0 |
| James Johnston, 154, Canongate | 0 3 6 |
| Rev. George Johnston, 6, Minto-street | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Johnston, 235, Canongate | 0 5 0 |
| J. Keegan, solicitor, 5, North St. David-street | 1 1 0 |
| James Kirkwood, 10, Duncan-street, Drummond-place | 0 5 0 |
| Alex. Kay, 144, Prince's street | 1 1 0 |
| S. Lawson, Comely-bank | 0 2 6 |
| John Lauder and Co., 343, High-street | 5 0 0 |
| Let Complete Suffrage be obtained, and Free Trade will surely follow,—yes, no Monopolist will exist | 1 1 0 |
| Andrew Miller, Fisher-row | 0 2 6 |
| John Melville, 15, Canal-street | 0 2 6 |
| James Mitchell, 43, Lauriston | 0 10 0 |
| Henry Marshall, 25, Alva-street | 1 0 0 |
| J. Mitchell, 7, Calton-hill | 0 2 6 |
| George Melkie, 70, Grassmarket | 1 0 0 |
| Robert McLean, Heriot's Hospital | 0 5 0 |
| William Marshall, W.S., 18, Albany-street | 1 0 0 |
| J. McColl, 5, North Bank-street | 0 2 6 |
| James McIntosh, 5, North College-street | 0 5 0 |
| Nicolson-street, 132 | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Noble, 338, High-street | 0 2 6 |
| "O, that bread should be so dear, and flesh and blood so cheap!" | 0 2 6 |
| O'Donnell and Co. | 0 10 0 |
| William Porteous, Grassmarket | 5 0 0 |
| R. C. A., a Free Trader | 0 2 6 |
| R. G., 9, Charlotte-place | 0 5 0 |
| A Ramsay | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Robson, 18, William-street | 0 2 6 |
| Rally round the banners of Complete Suffrage, and all monopolies will be speedily abolished | 0 2 6 |
| R. W. | 1 0 0 |
| Alexander Sinclair, 1, Park-street | 1 1 0 |
| A. G. Smith, 24, Gardener's-crescent | 1 1 0 |
| H. Small, Water of Leith | 0 2 6 |
| D. Simpson, 7, Duncan-st., Drummond-place | 0 5 0 |
| J. S. Sommerville, 212, Canongate | 0 7 6 |
| George Steven, Pathhead, Ford | 0 5 0 |
| John Sturrock, 6, Queen's-place | 1 0 0 |
| Alexander Smith, 1, Claremont-place | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Smith, 1, Claremont-place | 1 0 0 |
| D. and J. Stott, 28, Niddry-street | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. Scott, Haddington-place | 0 5 0 |
| R. Simpson, 10, Nicolson-street | 0 2 6 |
| William Scott, 10, South College-street | 1 0 0 |
| "Buaviter in moito, sed fortiter in re" | 0 2 6 |
| Strike misgovernment at the root, and victory is sure; yes, the best Reform is the most complete | 0 2 6 |
| James Scott, 51, North Richmond-street | 0 5 0 |
| Slow but Sure | 1 0 0 |
| James Sward, jun., 23, Hanover-street | 0 10 0 |
| James Sward, sen., do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Scott, Kobb's-court | 0 5 0 |

Edinburgh—continued.

Idle, near Bradford, Yorkshire.

Liverpool, Eighth Remittance.

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| David Smith, 1, Archibald-place | £40 10 6 |
| D. J. Thomson, Blacket-place | 2 2 0 |
| Three Groans for T. B. Macaulay, and Hisses for Gibson Craig | 0 5 0 |
| T. D., 50, Hanover-street | 0 2 6 |
| R. B. Totting | 1 1 0 |
| Thirty Queen's Heads for Free Trade | 0 2 6 |
| Turn out worse than Tory—Despot Macaulay | 0 2 6 |
| Two Friends to the Cause, at Aytoun, Berwickshire | 0 10 0 |
| James Walker, 54, High-street | 1 0 0 |
| J. B. Wallace, 145, do. | 0 2 6 |
| W. C. | 0 2 6 |
| John Wemyss, 125, Fountain-bridge | 0 5 0 |
| W. C. | 0 5 0 |
| Wish I could give more | 0 2 6 |
| W. G. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Wilson, 18, Young-street | 1 0 0 |
| David White, 111, Nicolson-street | 0 5 0 |
| John Watson, Lawnmarket | 1 0 0 |
| John Watherston, 23, Rutland-square, £1 1, of which 10s. 6d. was inserted in the former list as "J. W." | 0 10 6 |
| Archibald Young, Annandale-street | 2 2 0 |
| Y. Z., a Friend | 0 5 0 |
| W. P. W., St. Bernard's-crescent | 0 10 0 |
| Small Sums | 3 11 4 |
| Alexander Adam and Sons, Bonington | 2 0 0 |
| James Aytoun, Heriot-row | 5 0 0 |
| Thomas Astley, Bonington | 5 0 0 |
| A Friend, 105, George-street | 0 5 0 |
| David Aitchison, 23, Kirkgate, Leith | 1 0 0 |
| James Anderson, South-bridge | 1 1 0 |
| A Friend, 25, Leith-street | 1 1 0 |
| A Repeater before the League was in existence | 0 5 0 |
| A. R. | 1 0 0 |
| A. Breck, 15, Frederick-street | 1 1 0 |
| John Blair, North Back of Canongate | 1 0 0 |
| William Bertram, 14, East Sciennes-street | 1 1 0 |
| B. Hall Blyth, 25, Minto-street | 1 0 0 |
| Hugh Brown, St. John's-hill | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Bailey | 0 2 6 |
| John Donaldson, 16, India-street | 0 2 6 |
| A. Gibb, Nottingham-place | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Gregory, 61, Frederick-street | 0 5 0 |
| W. and C. Gilmour, South Back, Canongate | 1 1 0 |
| Andrew Isles, 101, Pleasance | 1 0 0 |
| John Jamieson, 18, Rutland-square | 25 0 0 |
| Thomas Lindsay, 171, High-street | 0 10 0 |
| John Leing, 7, Young street | 0 2 6 |
| William Lawson, 31, West Nicolson-street | 0 2 6 |
| George Musket, Dalkeith | 5 0 0 |
| A. Morton, 14, South-bridge | 0 5 0 |
| Peter McLaren, Greenside-place | 0 5 0 |
| A Mackechule, 23, Alva-street | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Nicholson, Shrub-place | 0 10 0 |
| J. Pryde, 59, South-bridge | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Russell, Hunter's-square | 2 0 0 |
| W. Skeen, 5, Salisbury street | 0 7 6 |
| Stewart and Todd, Nicolson-street | 1 1 0 |
| George Stewart, 98, Nicolson-street | 1 0 0 |
| Andrew Scott, 41, York-place | 1 0 0 |
| T. S. | 0 8 0 |
| W. Watherston, 22, Rutland-square | 0 5 0 |
| George Wilson, 38, Rankellor-street | 1 0 0 |
| William Williamson, Murray-street | 0 5 0 |
| W. Kay, Canaan | 0 2 6 |
| W. G. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Watson, 7, Hill place | 0 3 6 |
| D. E. D. Alison, South-bridge | 0 2 6 |
| A Well-wisher to the Cause | 0 5 0 |
| Uncle Toby | 0 2 6 |
| Small Sums | 0 16 6 |
| Thomas Rider, cloth manufacturer | 1 0 0 |
| Francis Audley, worsted spinner | 2 2 0 |
| William Russell, Odd Fellows' Hall | 1 10 0 |
| John Wade | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| Joshua Banister | 0 2 6 |
| Benjamin Bland | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| John Oddy | 0 2 6 |
| John Lee, cloth manufacturer, Simpson-green | 0 10 0 |
| William Booth, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Jonas Fletcher, Windhill | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Dalby | 0 10 0 |
| William Rider | 0 2 6 |
| John Hartley | 0 2 6 |
| Joshua Lobley | 0 5 0 |
| John Lobley | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums | 0 18 6 |
| Samuel Dawson, farmer, Wrose | 1 0 0 |
| Workpeople | William Craven 0 5 0 |
| at Buck | A Friend 0 2 6 |
| Henry Rendall | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums | 0 10 6 |
| Enos Dibb, grocer | 1 1 0 |
| A decided Free Trader, per Joseph Stringer | 1 1 0 |
| Peter Marsh, 6, Scotland-place | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Evans, 6, Seddon-street | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Aldersey, 16, Hanover-street | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| James Hayes, 44, Gloucester-street | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, per Mr. Lowe, 4, Argyle-place | 0 2 6 |
| Why akest thou me, a Conservative? | 0 2 6 |
| David Walsh, Manesty-lane | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Douglas, care of Mrs. Critchley, Litherland, near Liverpool | 0 2 6 |
| Fletcher Room, 16, Wapping | 1 1 0 |
| William Parry, 35, Highfield-street | 0 5 0 |
| David Glover, 38, Vauxhall-road | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend, Toxteth-park | 0 2 6 |
| John Warrington, 1A, Lumber-street | 0 2 6 |
| William Williams, 17, Moorfields | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Rushton, 66, Edmund-street | 0 5 0 |
| Sam. Rogers, 28, Prussia-street | 0 5 0 |
| W. K. H. | 0 2 6 |
| Henry Cram, 35, South John-street | 5 0 0 |
| Wm. Galbraith, 20, St. James's-street | 0 2 6 |
| Henry Binns, 3, Mount Vernon-street | 25 0 0 |
| Chas. Holland, 22, Exchange-alley North | 50 0 0 |
| Jevons, Sons, and Co., 15, New Quay | 50 0 0 |
| Fred. Chapple, 11, Brunswick-street | 5 5 0 |
| Viana, Jones, and Co., 11, do. | 10 10 0 |
| Geo. Parsons, Royal Bank-buildings, Dale-st. | 10 0 0 |
| Wm. Lindsay, 2, New Quay | 2 2 0 |
| Jas. Rickaby, 26, South John-street | 5 0 0 |
| Wellwood Maxwell, 30, King-street | 25 0 0 |
| Geo. Maxwell, 30, do. | 10 0 0 |
| Joseph Heap, 35, North John-street | 20 0 0 |
| Joseph King, 15, Exchange-buildings | 25 0 0 |
| Two Tars | 0 5 0 |
| Andrew Buchanan, 49, Shaw's-alley | 0 2 6 |
| P. H., per W. H. Darby | 1 0 0 |
| William Linford, 112, Pitt-street | 0 2 6 |
| W. J. Blackburn, 120, Park-road | 1 0 0 |
| John Russell, 28, Exchange-street East | 2 2 0 |
| A Friend | 1 1 0 |
| A Friend | 2 0 0 |
| G. C. | 5 0 0 |
| Henry Booth, 8, Bedford street South | 10 0 0 |
| Duncan McVicar, 7, Exchange-buildings | 15 0 0 |
| Z. (Ireland), "The rights of Property, and no more—the rights of Labour, and no less" | 2 0 0 |
| Thomas Cuff, 49, Byrom-street | 2 0 0 |
| William Gillespie, 24, Byrom-street | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums | 0 2 0 |

High, near Stockport, Manchester.

Low, near Stockport, Manchester.

High, near Stockport, Manchester.

Low, near Stockport, Manchester.

James Hyde

Joseph Hargreaves

John Leach

Henry Lofthouse

John Bethell

Robert Tetlow

Josiah Clark

Nathan Donkerley, Geo-cross, Father

Samuel Donkerley, do.

Sampson Arden, Newton-street

Thomas Hague, Hyde-lane

Jonas Rowbotham, do.

John Ma shall, do.

Frederick Kiley, do.

Jonah Smith, Geo-cross

Thos. Hopwood, do.

James Booth, Back-lane

Elizabeth Kirk

A Friend, Pain's-lane, near

Jane Rodenburst, Ketley, near Wellington

Five Friends, Pain's-lane, near

Mrs. Beard, Ketley, near Wellington

John Millington, do., do.

Thomas Glibert, Bank

John Horton, Prior's Lee

S. Horton, do.

W. Simms, Friessland House, near

J. Tranter, Wapenshall, Wellington

Luke Tipton, Prior's Lee, near

Charles Jones, Snodhill (additional sub.)

Thomas Slater, do.

Edward Jones, Donington Wood, near

Mrs. E. Jones, do.

William Taylor, Pain's-lane

Miss Wernm, Donington Wood

Miss Nichols, do.

William Davies, Pain's-lane, near

Thomas Davies, Nabb, near Wellington

Mrs. W. Hill, Oaken Gates, do.

Mrs. Robinson, do.

Mrs. Ellis, do.

Mrs. Pickin, do.

W. Pugh, Ketley, near Wellington

Thomas Davies, jun., Nabb, Bear do.

Messrs. Wern, Brothers, Snodhill, near

Charles Wright, do.

G. Davies, Nabb, near Wellington

Mrs. Taylor, Pain's-lane

Mr. Stormont, do.

Mr. Binns, Donington Wood

W. H. Franks, Snodhill, near

Mrs. West, Hadley, Wellington

Small sums

Profits on Tea-party

John Dixon, Knells

Peter Dixon, Holme Eden

J. D. Carr

W. Marshall, M.P.

Joseph Forster, Caldewgate

Edward M'Gibbon, manufacturer

Ellwood Brockbank, George's-street

Mr. Nicholson, King's Arms-lane

Mr. Wallace, grocer

J. P. Harrison, druggist

Edward Howman, surgeon

John Huthart, hosier, (2nd sub.)

Hugh Earl, at Messrs. Dixon's

Henry Tweddle, painter

P. S. Dixon, Holme Eden

James Carothers, watchmaker

Rdwad Harrison, Joiner

Mr. Atkin, shoemaker, Castle-street

George Robinson, draper

John Carrick, Castle-street

William Blenkinsopp, Dalston, near

Messrs. M'Knight, dyers, Caldewgate

J. T. Ralston, solicitor

Thomas Sheffield, dentist

Mr. Steel, Journal Office

Mr. Irving, grocer

Joseph Ferguson, Flaher-street

George Dixon, Abbey-street

Joseph Dixon, Broadwath

Robert Ferguson, Flaher-street

Mrs. Carrick, 29, Castle-street

H. Scott, stationer

Misses S. and J. Latimer

Miss Sheffield, Abbey-street

John Slater, Castle-street

Samuel Back, 46, English-street

Thomas Barnes, Shaddon-gate

C. W. Henderson, Messrs. Dixon's

J. W. Brown, 3, English-street

W. Fleming, cabinetmaker

John Slack, Lowthian's Lane

Joseph Lonsdale, Caldewgate

Thomas Ivson, Rigg-moor House, Kirklington, near

James M'Cutcheon, farmer, Caldewgate

John Mason, 13, Henry-street

William Armstrong, Annetwell-street

D. Stevenson, Moffat, N.B.

Samuel Blacklock, manufacturer

Joseph Smithson, English-street

John Sheffield, Abbey-street

James Muncaster, Messrs. Dixon's

Thomas Johnston, do.

Andrew Routledge, English-street

John Welsh, Barwise-court

A Friend, per Mr. Steel

C. Taylor, 76, Market-place

John Duncan, Messrs. Dixon's

George Armstrong, Caldewbridge

Joseph Hannah, teacher

W. Fisher, Rigg-street

W. Salkeld, Warwick-bridge

John Anderson, do.

Thomas Nelson, builder

Thomas M'Alpin, Cummerdale

H. M'Alpin, do.

Richard Muncaster, Barton's-court

Thomas Radd, West-wall

Mrs. C. Cockburn and Son, Tower-street

J. M. Noble, Castle-street

Richard Morris, Messrs. Dixon's

W. Fletcher, 5, Swift's-row

Friends, per Mr. Rushton, plasterer

W. Miller, teacher

J. Cowen, Grapes lane

Friends, per H. Scott

A Friend, Glasgow, per Mr. Carr

George Rowell, English-street

Mr. Sheffield, artist, Wighton

Mr. Gillbanks, Market place

K. Harris, Mr. J. D. Carr's

David Forster, 4, King-street

John Hodgson, Old Brewery

William Sturdy, Lowther-street

A Friend to Free Trade, per Dr. Elliot

Isaac Cartmell, Fisher-street

John Moor, 21, Russell-street

John C. Armstrong, Caldewbridge

John Taylor, Shaddon-gate

George Ivson, do.

W. Postlethwaite, Trinity-building

Anthony Mullender, ditto

W. Ward, Shaddon-gate

W. Kippie, Caldewgate

Small sums

John White

Z. Rayner

J. Womersley

Thomas Whitehead

Jedith White

Francis Barracough, Ecclehill

Amuel Petty, do.

John Hammond, do.

Small sums

John Brooks, Katharine-street

Wm. Denby, Dukinfield, near

Wm. Sidebottom, Hyde, near Manchester

Benjamin Goldthorp

John Brooks, jun.

Wm. Thompson, Micklehurst, Sadfleworth

Uriah Chadwick, at R. Lees and Sons, D-
kingsfield, near

James Bateman

Michael Bateman

Geo. and J. Hyde, Staley, near Staleybridge

James Howard, do.

Wm. Caley

John Lowe

Stanley Chadwick

John Riley

William Cockcroft, Mayroyd, near

Geo. Ashworth, Calais Mill, near

John Hodgson, Blind-lane, near

Wm. and Geo. Hincliffe, Scarbottom, near
Mytholmroyd

D. Wilcock, Brearley, near Luddenden Fort

S. Briggs, Mytholmroyd

Miss Mary Oliver, Bridgeroyd, nr. Todmorden

Misses Fanny, Amanda, Grace, Hannah, and
Susanah Hincliffe, Stoodley-bridge, near
Todmorden, 5s. each

Misses Hannah, Ada, Fanny, and Georgiana,
and Master Will. Henry Hincliffe, Scar-
bottom, near Mytholmroyd, 5s. each

Geo. Greenwood, Scarbottom, near do.

Geo. Mayson, do., do.

John Longbottom, do., do.

Richard Birt, Free Trader, do., do.

John Greenwood, do., do.

William Greenwood, do., do.

Miss Riley

William Holme and Brothers

Lady and Daughter

Two Leaguers

Miss H. Holme

Mr. Constantine

James Greaves

J. W. Greaves

Edwin Greaves

James Ashworth, Calais Mill

H. Sugden

W. Sutcliffe, slater, Ing, Heptonstall

Geo. Sutcliffe, Stones, Heygate, do.

Mrs. Sunderland

Richard Thomas

Thomas Crossley

Daniel Crossley

Mrs. Sugden

Miss Martha Sugden

Miss S. Jane Sugden

Miss Elizabeth Sugden

Alfred Sugden

James Farrar, Hepstonstall

John Hellwell

A Well-wisher to the League

A Friend

W. Stanfield, Calais Mill

A Repeater

A Teetotaller

A Free Trader

A Free Trader

A Repeater

Thomas Sunderland, Underbank

Mrs. Gaukröger

Dr. Howard

John Crossley and Sons

Misses S. and M. A. Crossley

Misses A. and G. Crossley

Mrs. Moorhouse and Miss S. A. Crossley

Small sums

John Allanson, surgeon, Union-street

Thomas Openshaw, Red Lion Inn, Fleet-street

John Howard, Parson's-lane

Robert Holt, slater, New-road

Charles Wood, Fleet-street

Adam Parkinson, Hollin's-vale, near

John Cornall, Bolton-street

George Walker, do.

T. Openshaw, at Messrs. Walker & Brothers'

William Robinson, do. do.

Joseph Burgoyne, do. do.

Robert Bleasdale, do. do.

Benjamin Crapper, do. do.

Arthur Bentley, John-street

William Ashton, Ramsbottom, near

Edward Ashton, do.

Thomas Ashton, do.

George Ashton, do.

Henry Ashton, do.

Arthur Ashton, do.

John Daniel Ashton do.

Miss Ellen Hardcastle, Limesfield, near

Miss Alice Haworth, do.

James Henderson, Agur-street

William Maclean, Bank-street

Stone and Kemp (in addition to £150 at Edin-
burgh and £50 in London)

John Rushton

Rilward K. Brown

Jeffery Smith

Joseph Wolstencroft

Daniel Harton

Samuel Wolstencroft, Blackley-mill

Theophilus Toase

Clement Kemp

A Friend, per John and Thomas Mellalieu

Samuel Mellalieu

Henry Mellalieu

John Hughes

John Lancashire, Long-street

John Thornley

James Kastwood

Edward Mansergh

John Stringer, Joiner

Thomas Ashton, Tonge-lane

William Kent

Robert Mellalieu, Church-street

John Booth, Manchester-road

A Friend

James Harrison, Jan.

Edmund Butterworth, weaver, Church-street

Thomas Booth

Joseph Staveacre, Tonge-lane

A Pill for Dr. Peel

James Kent, Tonge-lane

A Silk Weaver

John Stringer, block-printer

William Ridings, Long-street

A Warper

Adam Holden

Thomas Lees, Manchester-road

An Octogenarian Radical

Small sums

W. Kennedy, banker

P. Murdoch, Wellington-square

John Kinross, merchant

George Taylor

James Murdoch, merchant

John Sloane, Sandgate-street

David Meikle, merchant, Tarbolton, near

James Cumming, merchant

G. K. Young, Wellington-square

William Watson, Alloway-place

James Morton, coach builder

Adam M'Hutcheon

Thomas Cuthbert, merchant, Ochiltree, near

A Friend to the League

Robert Robertson, Wellington-square

James Morton, do.

Robert Mackay

P. Ferguson

Alexander Easson, manufacturer

Walter Jamieson, merchant

Alexander White, jun., do.

John Glass, Albert-street

W. C. Baxter, cabinet maker

Daniel Ross, Magdalen-yard

William Mathewson, clothier, Union-street

William Murdoch, grocer, Nethergate

Robert Mitchell, Pole Park mill, near

James Luke, sen., Clement's-lane, near

William Leighton, Castle-street

George M'Donald, 18, Union-street, in addi-
tion to 5s. before—£1

George Scott, ironmonger, in addition to 5s.
before—£1

Duncan Shaw, teacher, Piesance

Alexander Stewart, Royal Hotel

Robert Easson, grocer, Union-street

James C. Ross, clothier, do.

John M'Kay, do.

James Dick, Meadowside, near

Robert Leighton, Castle-street

A few Weavers at Glamis, near

John Strachan, teacher, Monifirth

James Fenwick, carver, Nethergate

Thomas Dick, Ascher, do.

Small sums

James Royston, Son, and Co.

John Foster and Son, Queen's Head, near

James Farrar

Benjamin Mellor, Stainland, near

Benjamin Mellor, jun., do.

Samuel Mellor, do.

A. E. Royston, West Parade

A Friend

John Oates, ironfounder

William Milner, printer

J. C. Hoatson

John Craven

Wm. M'Clellan (2nd subscription)

John Carter, King-cross-lane

Mrs. Clay, Greetland, near

Mr. Kilner, do.

Two Working Men

John Burley, Greetland, near

John Bairdow

Jervis White

Aaron Moore

Daniel Briggs

Abraham Booth

William Briggs

Charles Turner

John Tempest

Samuel Stocks

Joseph Bairdow

Ward Holroyd

James Balmfirth's 2nd subscription

Small sums

Lord and Whitworth

George Sutcliffe

Hugh Pickering

Thomas Eagin

James Eastham

Richard Holdsworth

Thomas Pilling, St. James's-street

Nathan Smallpage

Charles Sutcliffe

Richard Brown, St. James's-street

Thomas Broxup, saddler

Miss Sutcliffe, St. James's-street

Luke Collinge, furniture broker

William Robinson, St. James's-street

Mrs. Hargreaves, South Parade

A Lady

John Birley, Burnley-lane

John Nowell, butcher

John Walker

Robert Broxup, grocer

James Nuttall, Hill Top

John Pollard, grocer

John Sutcliffe, St. James's-street

Mrs. Senior

John Radcliffe, painter

William Thompson, hatter

John Holden, Royal Oak Inn

John H. Scott, St. James's-street

John Lancaster, Cheapside

William Coultate, jun.

Luke Hargreaves

A Friend

Robert Smith, jun.

Madonna Downham

John Clegg

Robert Clegg, shoemaker

William Hargreaves

John Stevenson

Samuel Bracewell

John Kenyon

Small sums

Thomas Todd

John Greaves

Dr. Fearnley

Charles Whitehead, Thornhill Lees

Henry Whitehead, do.

James Senior, Batley Carr

Titus Fozard, do.

Thos. Gomersall and Son

John Senior, Earlsheaton

Benjamin Potter, do.

Matthew Ridgway

Jonathan Fearnley

John France

W. and T. Eastwood

C. R. Scholes

D. Ramsden, Batley Carr

John Hills

John Horsfield

Charles Stapleton

John Willan

Henry York

Robert Fletcher

John Oates

David Thornton

Steward and Riley

T. Gomersall, jun.

D. Fox

Balance of Tea-party

Small sums

High, near Stockport, Manchester.

Low, near Stockport, Manchester.

High, near Stockport, Manchester.

Low, near Stockport, Manchester.

John White

Z. Rayner

J. Womersley

Thomas Whitehead

Jedith White

Francis Barracough, Ecclehill

Amuel Petty, do.

John Hammond, do.

Small sums

John Brooks, Katharine-street

Wm. Denby, Dukinfield, near

Wm. Sidebottom, Hyde, near Manchester

Benjamin Goldthorp

John Brooks, jun.

Wm. Thompson, Micklehurst, Sadfleworth

Uriah Chadwick, at R. Lees and Sons, D-
kingsfield, near

James Bateman

Michael Bateman

Geo. and J. Hyde, Staley, near Staleybridge

James Howard, do.

Wm. Caley

John Lowe

Stanley Chadwick

John Riley

William Cockcroft, Mayroyd, near

Geo. Ashworth, Calais Mill, near

John Hodgson, Blind-lane, near

Wm. and Geo. Hincliffe, Scarbottom, near
Mytholmroyd

D. Wilcock, Brearley, near Luddenden Fort

S. Briggs, Mytholmroyd

Miss Mary Oliver, Bridgeroyd, nr. Todmorden

Misses Fanny, Amanda, Grace, Hannah, and
Susanah Hincliffe, Stoodley-bridge, near
Todmorden, 5s. each

Misses Hannah, Ada, Fanny, and Georgiana,
and Master Will. Henry Hincliffe, Scar-
bottom, near Mytholmroyd, 5s. each

Geo. Greenwood, Scarbottom, near do.

Geo. Mayson, do., do.

John Longbottom, do., do.

Richard Birt, Free Trader, do., do.

John Greenwood, do., do.

William Greenwood, do., do.

Miss Riley

William Holme and Brothers

Lady and Daughter

Two Leaguers

Miss H. Holme

Mr. Constantine

James Greaves

J. W. Greaves

Edwin Greaves

James Ashworth, Calais Mill

H. Sugden

W. Sutcliffe, slater, Ing, Heptonstall

Geo. Sutcliffe, Stones, Heygate, do.

Mrs. Sunderland

Richard Thomas

Thomas Crossley

Daniel Crossley

Mrs. Sugden

Miss Martha Sugden

Miss S. Jane Sugden

Miss Elizabeth Sugden

Alfred Sugden

James Farrar, Hepstonstall

John Hellwell

A Well-wisher to the League

A Friend

W. Stanfield, Calais Mill

A Repeater

A Teetotaller

A Free Trader

A Free Trader

A Repeater

Thomas Sunderland, Underbank

Mrs. Gaukröger

Dr. Howard

John Crossley and Sons

Misses S. and M. A. Crossley

Misses A. and G. Crossley

Mrs. Moorhouse and Miss S. A. Crossley

Small sums

John Allanson, surgeon, Union-street

Thomas Openshaw, Red Lion Inn, Fleet-street

John Howard, Parson's-lane

Robert Holt, slater, New-road

Charles Wood, Fleet-street

Adam Parkinson, Hollin's-vale, near

John Cornall, Bolton-street

George Walker, do.

T. Openshaw, at Messrs. Walker & Brothers'

William Robinson, do. do.

Joseph Burgoyne, do. do.

Robert Bleasdale, do. do.

Benjamin Crapper, do. do.

Arthur Bentley, John-street

William Ashton, Ramsbottom, near

Edward Ashton, do.

Thomas Ashton, do.

George Ashton, do.

Henry Ashton, do.

Arthur Ashton, do.

John Daniel Ashton do.

Miss Ellen Hardcastle, Limesfield, near

Miss Alice Haworth, do.

James Henderson, Agur-street

William Maclean, Bank-street

Stone and Kemp (in addition to £150 at Edin-
burgh and £50 in London)

John Rushton

Rilward K. Brown

Jeffery Smith

Joseph Wolstencroft

Daniel Harton

Samuel Wolstencroft, Blackley-mill

Theophilus Toase

Clement Kemp

A Friend, per John and Thomas Mellalieu

Samuel Mellalieu

Henry Mellalieu

John Hughes

John Lancashire, Long-street

John Thornley

James Kastwood

Edward Mansergh

John Stringer, Joiner

Thomas Ashton, Tonge-lane

William Kent

Robert Mellalieu, Church-street

John Booth, Manchester-road

A Friend

James Harrison, Jan.

Edmund Butterworth, weaver, Church-street

Thomas Booth

Joseph Staveacre, Tonge-lane

A Pill for Dr. Peel

James Kent, Tonge-lane

A Silk Weaver

John Stringer, block-printer

William Ridings, Long-street

A Warper

Adam Holden

Thomas Lees, Manchester-road

An Octogenarian Radical

Small sums

W. Kennedy, banker

P. Murdoch, Wellington-square

John Kinross, merchant

George Taylor

James Murdoch, merchant

John Sloane, Sandgate-street

David Meikle, merchant, Tarbolton, near

James Cumming, merchant

G. K. Young, Wellington-square

William Watson, Alloway-place

James Morton, coach builder

Adam M'Hutcheon

Thomas Cuthbert, merchant, Ochiltree, near

A Friend to the League

Robert Robertson, Wellington-square

James Morton, do.

Robert Mackay

P. Ferguson

Alexander Easson, manufacturer

Walter Jamieson, merchant

Alexander White, jun., do.

John Glass, Albert-street

W. C. Baxter, cabinet maker

Daniel Ross, Magdalen-yard

William Mathewson, clothier, Union-street

William Murdoch, grocer, Nethergate

Robert Mitchell, Pole Park mill, near

James Luke, sen., Clement's-lane, near

William Leighton, Castle-street

George M'Donald, 18, Union-street, in addi-
tion to 5s. before—£1

George Scott, ironmonger, in addition to 5s.
before—£1

Duncan Shaw, teacher, Piesance

Alexander Stewart, Royal Hotel

Robert Easson, grocer, Union-street

James C. Ross, clothier, do.

John M'Kay, do.

James Dick, Meadowside, near

Robert Leighton, Castle-street

A few Weavers at Glamis, near

John Strachan, teacher, Monifirth

James Fenwick, carver, Nethergate

Thomas Dick, Ascher, do.

Small sums

James Royston, Son, and Co.

John Foster and Son, Queen's Head, near

James Farrar

Benjamin Mellor, Stainland, near

Benjamin Mellor, jun., do.

Samuel Mellor, do.

A. E. Royston, West Parade

A Friend

John Oates, ironfounder

William Milner, printer

J. C. Hoatson

John Craven

Wm. M'Clellan (2nd subscription)

John Carter, King-cross-lane

Mrs. Clay, Greetland, near

Mr. Kilner, do.

Two Working Men

John Burley, Greetland, near

John Bairdow

Jervis White

Aaron Moore

Daniel Briggs

Abraham Booth

William Briggs

Charles Turner

John Tempest

Samuel Stocks

Joseph Bairdow

Ward Holroyd

James Balmfirth's 2nd subscription

Small sums

Lord and Whitworth

George Sutcliffe

Hugh Pickering

Thomas Eagin

James Eastham

Richard Holdsworth

Thomas Pilling, St. James's-street

Nathan Smallpage

Charles Sutcliffe

Richard Brown, St. James's-street

Thomas Broxup, saddler

Miss Sutcliffe, St. James's-street

Luke Collinge, furniture broker

William Robinson, St. James's-street

Mrs. Hargreaves, South Parade

A Lady

John Birley, Burnley-lane

John Nowell, butcher

John Walker

Robert Broxup, grocer

James Nuttall, Hill Top

John Pollard, grocer

John Sutcliffe, St. James's-street

Mrs. Senior

John Radcliffe, painter

William Thompson, hatter

John Holden, Royal Oak Inn

John H. Scott, St. James's-street

John Lancaster, Cheapside

William Coultate, jun.

Luke Hargreaves

A Friend

Robert Smith, jun.

Madonna Downham

John Clegg

Robert Clegg, shoemaker

William Hargreaves

John Stevenson

Samuel Bracewell

John Kenyon

Small sums

Thomas Todd

John Greaves

Dr. Fearnley

Charles Whitehead, Thornhill Lees

Henry Whitehead, do.

James Senior, Batley Carr

Titus Fozard, do.

Thos. Gomersall and Son

John Senior, Earlsheaton

Benjamin Potter, do.

Matthew Ridgway

Jonathan Fearnley

John France

W. and T. Eastwood

C. R. Scholes

D. Ramsden, Batley Carr

John Hills

John Horsfield

Charles Stapleton

John Willan

Henry York

Robert Fletcher

John Oates

David Thornton

Steward and Riley

T. Gomersall, jun.

D. Fox

Balance of Tea-party

Small sums

High, near Stockport, Manchester.

Low, near Stockport, Manchester.

High, near Stockport, Manchester.

Low, near Stockport, Manchester.

John White

Z. Rayner

J. Womersley

Thomas Whitehead

Jedith White

Francis Barracough, Ecclehill

Amuel Petty, do.

John Hammond, do.

Small sums

John Brooks, Katharine-street

Wm. Denby, Dukinfield, near

Wm. Sidebottom, Hyde, near Manchester

Benjamin Goldthorp

John Brooks, jun.

Wm. Thompson, Micklehurst, Sadfleworth

Uriah Chadwick, at R. Lees and Sons, D-
kingsfield, near

James Bateman

Michael Bateman

Geo. and J. Hyde, Staley, near Staleybridge

James Howard, do.

Wm. Caley

John Lowe

Stanley Chadwick

John Riley

William Cockcroft, Mayroyd, near

Geo. Ashworth, Calais Mill, near

John Hodgson, Blind-lane, near

Wm. and Geo. Hincliffe, Scarbottom, near
Mytholmroyd

D. Wilcock, Brearley, near Luddenden Fort

S. Briggs, Mytholmroyd

Miss Mary Oliver, Bridgeroyd, nr. Todmorden

Misses Fanny, Amanda, Grace, Hannah, and
Susanah Hincliffe, Stoodley-bridge, near
Todmorden, 5s. each

Misses Hannah, Ada, Fanny, and Georgiana,
and Master Will. Henry Hincliffe, Scar-
bottom, near Mytholmroyd, 5s. each

Geo. Greenwood, Scarbottom, near do.

Geo. Mayson, do., do.

John Longbottom, do., do.

Richard Birt, Free Trader, do., do.

John Greenwood, do., do.

William Greenwood, do., do.

Miss Riley

William Holme and Brothers

Lady and Daughter

Two Leaguers

Miss H. Holme

Mr. Constantine

James Greaves

J. W. Greaves

Edwin Greaves

James Ashworth, Calais Mill

H. Sugden

W. Sutcliffe, slater, Ing, Heptonstall

Geo. Sutcliffe, Stones, Heygate, do.

Mrs. Sunderland

Richard Thomas

Thomas Crossley

Daniel Crossley

Mrs. Sugden

Miss Martha Sugden

Miss S. Jane Sugden

Miss Elizabeth Sugden

Alfred Sugden

James Farrar, Hepstonstall

John Hellwell

A Well-wisher to the League

A Friend

W. Stanfield, Calais Mill

A Repeater

A Teetotaller

A Free Trader

A Free Trader

A Repeater

Thomas Sunderland, Underbank

Mrs. Gaukröger

Dr. Howard

John Crossley and Sons

Misses S. and M. A. Crossley

Misses A. and G. Crossley

Mrs. Moorhouse and Miss S. A. Crossley

Small sums

John Allanson, surgeon, Union-street

Thomas Openshaw, Red Lion Inn, Fleet-street

John Howard, Parson's-lane

Robert Holt, slater, New-road

Charles Wood, Fleet-street

Adam Parkinson, Hollin's-vale, near

John Cornall, Bolton-street

George Walker, do.

T. Openshaw, at Messrs. Walker & Brothers'

William Robinson, do. do.

Joseph Burgoyne, do. do.

Robert Bleasdale, do. do.

Benjamin Crapper, do. do.

Arthur Bentley, John-street

William Ashton, Ramsbottom, near

Edward Ashton, do.

Thomas Ashton, do.

George Ashton, do.

Henry Ashton, do.

Arthur Ashton, do.

John Daniel Ashton do.

Miss Ellen Hardcastle, Limesfield, near

Miss Alice Haworth, do.

James Henderson, Agur-street

William Maclean, Bank-street

Stone and Kemp (in addition to £150 at Edin-
burgh and £50 in London)

John Rushton

Rilward K. Brown

Jeffery Smith

Joseph Wolstencroft

Daniel Harton

Samuel Wolstencroft, Blackley-mill

Theophilus Toase

Clement Kemp

A Friend, per John and Thomas Mellalieu

Samuel Mellalieu

Henry Mellalieu

John Hughes

John Lancashire, Long-street

John Thornley

James Kastwood

Edward Mansergh

John Stringer, Joiner

Thomas Ashton, Tonge-lane

William Kent

Robert Mellalieu, Church-street

John Booth, Manchester-road

A Friend

James Harrison, Jan.

Edmund Butterworth, weaver, Church-street

Thomas Booth

Joseph Staveacre, Tonge-lane

A Pill for Dr. Peel

James Kent, Tonge-lane

A Silk Weaver

John Stringer, block-printer

William Ridings, Long-street

A Warper

Adam Holden

Thomas Lees, Manchester-road

An Octogenarian Radical

Small sums

W. Kennedy, banker

P. Murdoch, Wellington-square

John Kinross, merchant

George Taylor

James Murdoch, merchant

John Sloane, Sandgate-street

David Meikle, merchant, Tarbolton, near

James Cumming, merchant

G. K. Young, Wellington-square

William Watson, Alloway-place

James Morton, coach builder

Adam M'Hutcheon

Thomas Cuthbert, merchant, Ochiltree, near

A Friend to the League

Robert Robertson, Wellington-square

James Morton, do.

Robert Mackay

P. Ferguson

Alexander Easson, manufacturer

Walter Jamieson, merchant

Alexander White, jun., do.

John Glass, Albert-street

W. C. Baxter, cabinet maker

Daniel Ross, Magdalen-yard

William Mathewson, clothier, Union-street

William Murdoch, grocer, Nethergate

Robert Mitchell, Pole Park mill, near

James Luke, sen., Clement's-lane, near

William Leighton, Castle-street

George M'Donald, 18, Union-street, in addi-
tion to 5s. before—£1

George Scott, ironmonger, in addition to 5s.
before—£1

Duncan Shaw, teacher, Piesance

Alexander Stewart, Royal Hotel

Robert Easson, grocer, Union-street

James C. Ross, clothier, do.

John M'Kay, do.

James Dick, Meadowside, near

Robert Leighton, Castle-street

A few Weavers at Glamis, near

John Strachan, teacher, Monifirth

James Fenwick, carver, Nethergate

Thomas Dick, Ascher, do.

Small sums

James Royston, Son, and Co.

John Foster and Son, Queen's Head, near

James Farrar

Benjamin Mellor, Stainland, near

Benjamin Mellor, jun., do.

Samuel Mellor, do.

A. E. Royston, West Parade

A Friend

John Oates, ironfounder

William Milner, printer

J. C. Hoatson

John Craven

Wm. M'Clellan (2nd subscription)

John Carter, King-cross-lane

Mrs. Clay, Greetland, near

Mr. Kilner, do.

Two Working Men

John Burley, Greetland, near

John Bairdow

Jervis White

Aaron Moore

Daniel Briggs

Abraham Booth

William Briggs

Charles Turner

John Tempest

Samuel Stocks

Joseph Bairdow

Ward Holroyd

James Balmfirth's 2nd subscription

Small sums

Lord and Whitworth

George Sutcliffe

Hugh Pickering

Thomas Eagin

James Eastham

Richard Holdsworth

Thomas Pilling, St. James's-street

Nathan Smallpage

Charles Sutcliffe

Richard Brown, St. James's-street

Thomas Broxup, saddler

Miss Sutcliffe, St. James's-street

Luke Collinge, furniture broker

William Robinson, St. James's-street

Mrs. Hargreaves, South Parade

A Lady

John Birley, Burnley-lane

John Nowell, butcher

John Walker

Robert Broxup, grocer

James Nuttall, Hill Top

John Pollard, grocer

John Sutcliffe, St. James's-street

Mrs. Senior

John Radcliffe, painter

William Thompson, hatter

John Holden, Royal Oak Inn

John H. Scott, St. James's-street

John Lancaster, Cheapside

William Coultate, jun.

Luke Hargreaves

A Friend

Robert Smith, jun.

Madonna Downham

John Clegg

Robert Clegg, shoemaker

William Hargreaves

John Stevenson

Samuel Bracewell

John Kenyon

Small sums

Thomas Todd

John Greaves

Dr.

tion of the enemy, intended to bring division into the camp. But the people of England had got too far to be satisfied with a fixed duty, and would never allow that to be the settlement of the question. So long as there was a fixed duty, how could they be secure that any particular minister might not double or triple the duty? They would never relax in their exertions until they had obtained a total repeal: they would double and redouble their subscriptions until they had it, they would send out their tracts into every town and hamlet in the kingdom, they would double the number of their lecturers, and they would do much more, but they would obtain a repeal of the Corn Laws. (Hear.) Feeling greatly interested himself, he should now take up no more of their time, but would call upon Mr. Cobden to address the meeting.

Mr. COBDEN, M.P., addressed the meeting in a long and able speech.

Mr. BRIGHT, after an excellent address, announced the chairman's name, £200 (loud cheers),—being double his last year's subscription.

The CHAIRMAN said, he hoped there was no man who would not be ashamed if he did not give twice as much as last year. (Cheers.)

Mr. BRIGHT said, his friend Mr. Moore had generally taken the management of this part of the business, for which he had an admirable tact, attributable, perhaps, to the fact that he was a native of the Emerald Isle.

The names were handed in upon cards, and read out by Mr. Bright. The following is nearly a complete list:—

Of Fifty Pounds.—Messrs. Turton and Sons, Spring Works (making, with four £5 subscriptions from the family, £70); Naylor, Vickers, and Co.

Of Twenty-five Pounds.—Messrs. Wm. Jessop and Sons; "Anti-Ferand." (Mr. Ward announced the latter subscription, placed in his hands by Mr. Palfreyman, from a gentleman who chose to be anonymous, and took the designation of "Anti-Ferand.")

Of Twenty Pounds.—W. Hargreaves (last year, 10l.—and 40l. next year, if needful); Wm. Fisher (10l. last year); Thomas Birks (5l. last year); Henry Wilkinson (10l. last year); S. Butcher.

Of Ten Guineas.—Mr. F. Hoole.

Of Ten Pounds.—Stevenson, Blake, and Co.; Crowley and Pearson; Twigg and Brooks, Kilnhurst. R. Leader, jun., and family (5l. last year); Knowles and Brown, Rotherham; "A Mother."

Of Five Pounds.—Mrs. T. B. Turton; Mrs. Jos. Turton; Mrs. W. Turton; Mrs. Matthews; Fenton and Shore; Peter Frith; Jos. Hobson, Burrey-street; Jos. Mappin, Norfolk-street; M. Hunter; D. Doncaster, Doncaster-street; W. Jackson, Bank-street; Edw. Bramley, M. and R. Brady; E. and J. Greaves, Park; P. Unwin, Burgess-street; Jos. Ashworth, Bridge-street; M. Spencer and Son; Jas. Brown, Division-street; Gately and Wortley; the Secretaries of the Free-Trade Association; A. Friend; J. W. Smith; Mr. Alderman Hoole.

Of Two Guineas.—W. T. and J. Mabbott, Division-street.

Of Two Pounds.—W. Thompson; John Nowill, Meadow-street; John Martin, Millsands; W. Corran, St. James's-row; Merrill and Jarvis; George Johnson, Porter-street; Jno. Leyland (last year, 1l.); W. Jarvis, Snighill; Andrew M'Turk; Charles Fisher, Orchard-place; Charles Fox, Cheney-square; R. Osborn.

Of Thirty Shillings.—John Gladwin; Jos. Jervis, Sportsman's Inn, Bridgehouses.

Of One Guinea.—John White, Workhouse-croft; Thomas Watson, Fargate; John Charlton, Charles-street.

Of One Pound.—John Nicholson, St. Thomas-street; John Littlewood, Park; John Dickinson, West-street; Alfred Hobson, Edward-street; Abm. Hill, Infirmary-lane (last year 5s.); John Hughes, Russell-street; Robt. Taylor, Division-street; T. S. Naylor, Brook-hill; Bolton and Co.; W. Binney, Mulberry-street; Alfred Osborn, Smithfield; John Osborn, Sussex-street (last year 2s. 6d.); George Latham (last year 2s. 6d.); J. Burgin, West-street; H. Jackson, Charlotte-street; T. Sheldon, Trafalgar-street; W. H. Jackson, Charlotte-street; J. Waters, Carver-street; Saml. Haguer, Eldon-street; a Friend; Joseph Dickinson, Westgate; Russell and Jackson; a Friend; Robert Holbein, Barker-pool; a Friend; W. Burdill, Snighill; W. Peach, Smithfield; Thos. Goodwin, West-street-terrace; John Arnold, Wellington-place; W. Bagshaw, Pitmoor; W. Lister, Westgate; W. Troth, Moorfields; Moses Kadon; Wm. Greaves, Park; a Friend; Wm. Leadbeater, Allen-street; John Pitt, Walgrave; J. S. Sellers, Sussex-street; J. Outram, Black Swan; Charles Unwin, Westgate; Geo. Holmes, Westgate; J. Turner, Harvest-lane; Robert Roper, Park; A. Tofield; J. H. Greaves, High-street; Thomas Jubb, Rotherham; Clerks at Green-lane Works; W. Nowill, jun.; George Kadon, Fargate; Isaac Read, Lambert-street; C. R. Holman, Bridge-street; W. D. Goodall, South-street; Samuel Hancock, Peacroft; James Taylor, Burgess-street; W. Atkinson, Angel-street; W. Holdsworth, Snighill; Jos. Smith, Sheffield-moor; Thos. Watson; Jno. White.

Of Ten Shillings.—Edw. Butterell; Jos. Morton, Infirmary-lane; a Working Man, Loxley; a Friend; Jas. Higgin, Attercliffe; J. H. Hancock; T. Twigg, Kilnhurst; G. Trickett, Loxley; B. Hall.

Of Five Shillings.—Thos. Hobson, Hallam (and twice as much next year, if required); a Friend; Sam. Smith, King-street; Chas. Hutchinson, Westgate; a Working Man; R. Thompson, Gravel-stones; a Friend to Working Men; J. Curr. Of Three Shillings.—"Complete Suffrage, wife and seven children, nine fourpenny pieces."

Of 2s. 6d.—Thos. Deakin, Infirmary-lane; a Friend; Jas. Johnson, Holey-green; a Well-wisher to the League; a Friend to the League; a Friend; a Friend.

At its conclusion, the Chairman cast up the list, and announced the amount to be £726. (Loud cheers.) Mr. WARD, who was received with loud and long-extended cheers, expressed his deep sense of their kindness, and said he had every reason to feel thankful at representing such a constituency as that of Sheffield. He spoke in high terms of the temper which was manifested at the meeting that morning, when every subject connected with politics had been fully and fairly sifted. He was sorry that his respected colleague had been prevented from attending the meeting that evening, and would observe of that gentleman that he would not shrink doing his duty to the town of Sheffield. On the Corn Laws, Mr. Parker had always voted in a straightforward manner, and free from all party considerations. They would be able to judge very soon as to what were the sentiments of the Whig party on this subject, and that from their old representative, Lord Morpeth. The declaration of that nobleman at Wakefield would be most important on this subject, because it would be looked upon as indicating the opinions of his party. The honourable member followed up the observations of Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, as to the language of their opponents. They generally looked to the gentlemen of the Upper House to set them an example—something partaking of the attitude of aristocratic dignity, like my Lord Wharfedale in the picture before him (cheers); but my Lord Orkney has described their proceedings as "kicking up a bobby." He concluded with:—If the constituency of this country will do—as he believed sincerely that they would do—their duty, he defied the present Government to continue the present system one year longer. The honourable member sat down amidst loud and cheering cheers.

After votes of thanks to Messrs. Cobden and Bright, to Mr. Ward, and the Chairman, the meeting separated.—*Sheffield Iris.*

HULL.

Two very important meetings were held in this town on Friday the 26th ult., to receive a deputation from the Council of the Anti-Corn Law League, consisting of Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., John Bright, Esq., M.P., and Colonel T. P. Thompson. The first meeting was announced to take place in the Town-hall, at eleven o'clock, at which hour the hall was crowded to excess. On the arrival of the deputation, they were received with the most enthusiastic applause, and on the motion of Mr. John Foster, Sir William Lowthorp was called to the chair. He was supported on his right by Colonel Thompson, and on his left by Messrs. Cobden and Bright, and around them on the

bench were seated a great number of the most respectable merchants and tradesmen of the borough, and also several clergymen.

The CHAIRMAN said:—Ladies and gentlemen, it has been to me a cause of deep regret that this great and important town should have occupied so low a position, and been so apathetic in reference to the question which is now to be brought before us. (Applause.) I, therefore, cannot but rejoice in the occurrence of this day's meeting, it being likely to identify us more fully with the principle and proceedings of the Great Anti-Corn Law League. That great body, gentlemen, like the mighty deep, receiving strength from every tributary stream moving onward with a power which nothing can resist, will shortly—(interruption from two or three persons in the gallery at the far end, and cries of "Turn him out," &c.) And why, gentlemen? Why, because it has in it the essential element of truth. (Applause.) It is this only on which it depends for success, and it is this which makes it invincible and irresistible. (Cheers.) How otherwise could we expect to see such wonderful effects as are produced by my honourable friends, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and Col. Thompson, whom I am most happy and proud to introduce to you this day,—men who have distinguished themselves in the annals of their country by their untiring zeal in seeking to promote its welfare? (Cheers.) How is it but on the principle of truth that we can account for it, that on a simple statement of facts, in spite of all difficulties and dangers from opposition, they have succeeded in convincing multitudes everywhere of every class, rendered powerless the arguments of their opponents, and succeeded in bringing the noble cause in which they have embarked to its present triumphant position. (Loud applause.) In short, gentlemen, I feel that this great cause is destined, by the blessing of God, to bring this country from its present long-continued distress; and I believe that nothing else, humanly speaking, can do it. It is to me a matter of wonder that any government can act on any other principles than those which are, in my humble opinion, so intimately connected with everything that is rational, benevolent, and scriptural. (Hear, hear.) It is on these grounds that I have all along taken, and do take such a decided stand. (Cheers.) I see involved in the question great truths, which cannot be abandoned with impunity. God has made us, in the economy of his providence, dependent on each other, and united us by mutual laws of dependence and obligation; and I see in this cause of Free Trade a cause which seeks to cement that union, and promote an intercourse which will advance, improve, civilize, and bless the whole world. (Loud cheers.)

Letters, stating reasons and apologizing for non-attendance, were read by the Chairman from Sir John Hanmer, M.P., Sir Walter James, M.P., Mr. Wrightson, M.P., and Mr. John Grimston of Newcastle.

Mr. COBDEN, Mr. BRIGHT, and Colonel THOMPSON, were then severally introduced to the meeting amidst warm plaudits. Their speeches were marked by characteristic power and effect, and drew forth loud and repeated demonstrations of applause.

After some disturbance from a person from Newcastle, who wished to challenge "any person in the world" to discuss the Corn-Law question with him, and who was much laughed at, the subscriptions were announced.—Joseph Sykes and Sons, 100l.; R. Sykes (Westall), 50l.; T. Thompson and Son, 25l.; J. Jones, sen., 25l.; Brownlow, Pearson, and Co., 25l.; Sir William Lowthorp, 10l.; A. Friend, 3l. 3s.; A. Friend, 2l. 2s.; Editor of the *Hull Advertiser*, 2l. 2s.; Dr. Firth, 2l.; William Sisson, 2l.; William Hodgson (Beverley), 5l.; George Malcolm and Son, 5l.; P. Tigar (Beverley), 5l.; John Foster, 5l.; T. A. Wilkinson, 5l.; George Cookman, 5l.; John and Robert Liddell, 5l.; John Atkinson, 5l.; John H. Midgley (Rochdale), 5l.; Herbert Seaton, 5l.; George Lee, 1l.; D. Goodwill, 1l.; B. Brady, 1l.; John Meggitt, 1l.; John Richardson, 1l.; P. Lowther, 1l.; J. Constable, 1l.; A. Friend to the League, 1l.; B. Gunnell, 5s.; William Crookill, labourer, 1s.; John Richardson, ditto, 1s.; George Auckland, ditto, 1s.; George Fisher, 5s.; A. Friend, 2s. 6d.; four Labourers, 4s.; W. H. Bell, 1l.; Joseph Stork, 1l.; T. Meggitt, 1l.; a Whig Fixed-Duty Man, 5l.; Joseph Major, 1l.; J. G. Hood (Hessle), 1l.

The subscriptions at this meeting amounted to 305l.

EVENING MEETING.

This meeting took place in the Victoria Rooms at half-past six o'clock, when about five hundred individuals, amongst whom were many ladies, sat down to tea. The demand for tickets was very great, and had the room been twice the size, it would in all probability have been filled. Sir William Lowthorp was again called to the chair, and briefly addressed the meeting.

Mr. Janson, from the Hull Flax and Cotton Mills, presented to Mr. Cobden an excellent address from the workmen employed by the Hull Flax and Cotton Mill Company.

Mr. COBDEN briefly returned thanks. The Rev. JAMES ASPINALL, rector of Althorpe, Lincolnshire, rose amidst loud and general applause, and delivered a speech remarkable for its vigorous reasoning and glowing eloquence. We can only make room for the following striking passage:—

"You will observe that I used the phrase was, when speaking of the landed interest. I did so purposely, inasmuch as the whole of my clerical income arises either from land or the produce of the land. Indeed, I go farther; I not only consider that it is the continued prosperity of trade which is to maintain our land in its present value, but I hold that it is the increase of trade up to the point it has attained, which has given to the land all, or nearly all the value which it possesses, and has, not figuratively, but literally, transmuted the soil of this country into gold far beyond what the alchemist of the dark and middle ages, as he watched over his crucible through anxious days and sleepless nights, ever ventured to anticipate in the wildest flights and most enthusiastic dreams of his excited imagination. (Loud cheers.) And I will tell you how I have been brought to form such an opinion. The very stages of my clerical life have, of themselves, conducted me to it. My first church was in Cheshire, about fifteen miles from Manchester, in a spot whence all the fruits of the land were swept away for the supply of the manufacturing districts. I next moved to Rochdale, the very man, if I may so say, of the giant Manufacture, whose appetite had to be satisfied, where, for five years, I had time to calculate the immense importance of the trade of the country to the owners of the soil. Subsequently, my abode was in Liverpool, the port of the manufacturing districts, as they are the workshop of Liverpool, where, day by day, I had the same lesson more and more impressed upon me. Last of all, I took up my residence in Lincolnshire, on the banks of the Trent, which noble river makes our part of the country, as it were, the market garden of London itself, while, by the Keabby Canal, that portion of the produce of the land which is not sent to the metropolis, is poured into the manufacturing districts. So that, whichever way I turn, and wherever I go, experience still puts this question to me, What would be the value of your parsonage and your title deeds, and your acres themselves, without the help of that trade which is so thwarted, fettered, and obstructed by unwise legislation? (Great Cheering.) I am no member of the Anti-Corn Law League; I have no interest in trade and manufactures, save and except so far that, dining altogether from the member for Dorsetshire, who was placed, in the last session of Parliament, to sneer at the tall chimneys in Manchester and the surrounding districts, I look upon every new chimney which towers aloft towards the clouds, every new factory built, every new loom put to work, and every new spindle set in motion, as so many additional securities maintaining and enhancing the value of the land of the country, whether belonging to the church or the laity. (Cheers.)"

Mr. COBDEN, on presenting himself, was received with great applause. As soon as this had in some degree subsided, he said that he could not say he had not been accustomed to listen to Anti-Corn Law speeches, for perhaps no one had heard more upon the question of Free Trade than himself; but he must say that he had listened with unprecedented gratification to the speech of his friend Mr. Aspinall. They were a description of poachers in Free Trade. When they heard anything that was new and elegant, they felt justified in appropriating something to themselves; and he did think that his friend's speech

would furnish to him and Mr. Bright some flowers of eloquence. The honourable member then proceeded to discuss the general question, and concluded an able speech by a warm appeal to organize themselves into an extensive branch society of the League, and then to set to work, that the people might become thoroughly informed on the question; they would then never again send members to Parliament to represent monopoly. Mr. Cobden concluded amidst enthusiastic cheering, which was several times renewed.

Mr. BRIGHT followed in a powerful address.

The Rev. E. HIGGINS urged the necessity of contributing liberally to the League fund, and moved as a resolution, "That a subscription be immediately entered into towards the great League fund of £100,000."

The Ex-Mayor of Hull (Mr. Alderman Atkinson) briefly seconded the resolution, which was agreed to.

Colonel THOMPSON delivered an admirable speech, which was received with hearty applause.

After Colonel Thompson's speech, the following subscriptions were then announced:—Anonymous, 5l.; a Friend, 5l.; Mr. John Lovitt, 5l.; Mr. Holmes, 5l.; Mr. John Dalton, 5l.; Mr. Cobb, 2l. 2s.; Mr. W. H. Bell, 1l.; Mr. J. Store, 1l.; Mr. Major, 1l.; Mr. E. Thorp, White Hart, Silver-street, 1l.; a Friend, 1l.; Mr. Wilson, 1l.; Mr. G. G. Wood, 1l.; Mr. J. H. Vallance, 1l.; Mr. Hunt, 1l.; Mr. Andrew, 1l.; Mr. Langsdorf, 1l.; a Friend, 1l.; Mr. Larrard, 1l.; Mr. W. Armstrong, 1l.; a Friend, 1l.; Mr. Simpson, 1l.; Mr. Thompson, 1l. 1s.; Mr. Wray, 1l.; Mr. Morehead, 1l.; Mr. Todd, 1l. 1s.; a Friend, 1l. 1s.; Mr. S. Birch, 1l. 1s.; Mr. Waltham, 1l.; Mr. Hird, 1l.; Mr. Kilvington, 1l.; Mr. Vickers, 2l. 2s.; a Friend, 1l.

The evening's subscription amounted to £49 8s.; morning meeting, £305; total £354 8s.

Votes of thanks were then moved to the deputation, and to the Chairman, and the meeting separated.—*Abridged from the Hull Rockingham.*

SUNDERLAND.

Tuesday evening, the 23rd ultimo, a most extraordinary demonstration, in connexion with the movements of the League, occurred in Sunderland. Little more than a twelvemonth ago, when Mr. Bright and Mr. Moore visited the town, so trivial an interest was excited, that scarcely two hundred persons attended to hear them. On the present occasion, however, the Local Free-Trade Association, anticipating a considerably increased attendance, prepared the floor of the Athenaeum Hall for the reception of electors (the gallery being appointed for ladies), and opened the adjoining lecture-room and model-room for the accommodation of non-electors. Seven o'clock was the time named for the commencement of business; but long before six great numbers of persons were gathered about the building, anxious for admittance; and, in order to prevent confusion, electors were allowed to take their places. By some mistake, the door for the admission of non-electors was opened for a short time, and several hundreds rushed through the model-room into the floor of the hall, which soon became densely crowded. At half-past six, the non-electors' door was again opened, and so great was the pressure of the people upon the staircase outside the building, that a battlement of masonry was thrown into the street, and a large stone, six feet long, three wide, and nine inches thick, fell upon a sailor named Snowden, who resides in Silver-street, threw him down, and crushed one of his feet in a dreadful manner. By this time, the whole of the apartments in which it was possible either to see or hear the speakers, were crammed almost to suffocation. The gallery, which was intended for a hundred, was crowded with thrice the number; and the floor of the hall, in which seats had been placed for five hundred, was densely packed with at least a thousand men. Altogether there could not be fewer than two thousand persons within the building, and we are informed that at least twice that number went away from the physical impossibility of obtaining admittance. We thought ourselves fortunate in getting in at all; but, situated as we were, to take a note of the proceedings was utterly out of the question. Soon after seven Robert Burdon Cay, Esq., the Mayor of Sunderland, Mr. Cobden, and Colonel Thompson, with great difficulty made their way to the platform, and were received with loud cheers. The Mayor having, in brief and appropriate terms, opened the business of the meeting, called upon Colonel Thompson, who addressed the audience at considerable length, and with his usual felicity of illustration and force of argument. Mr. Cobden followed, and, if we may be allowed the hyperbole, more than exceeded himself. Mr. R. R. Moore then delivered an eloquent address, in which he rendered due honours to the electors of the city of Durham, and concluded by asking whether, considering the crowded state of the meeting, it would be expedient to commence a subscription in aid of the League fund? The "Ayes" being declared to "have it," cards were sent up to the platform bearing the amounts of subscription, together with the names and places of abode of the several contributors. In this manner upwards of £150 was raised in a very short time; and it was then announced that the Local Association would, in the course of a few days, complete the good work so auspiciously begun. Thanks having been given to the Deputation and the Mayor, and thrice three lusty cheers for Free Trade, the meeting broke up. At the close of the proceedings a subscription was commenced by Mr. Cobden and Colonel Thompson, in favour of the sailor who had been injured by the accident above related.—*Durham Chronicle.*

The following subscriptions were announced by Mr. Moore:—5l. 5s. each—J. Mounsey, T. Thompson, Joshua Wilson, James Donkin, Vint and Carr, Dr. Ogden, a Lady, A. J. Moore, Dixon, Phillips, and Co., E. Mounsey, D. Junassohn, Thomas Mounsey, and the Mayor—68l. 5s.; A. G. Rahn, 5l.; 3l. 3s.—T. Pratt and Caleb Richardson—5l. 6s.; Workmen at Sunderland Pottery, 2l. 6s. 6d.; 2l. 2s.—John Peacock, T. Patterson, John Lindsay, J. C. Mounsey, and J. Clay—10l. 10s.; 2l.—Anonymous and J. Cropton—4l.; T. Adamson, 1l. 11s.; 1l. 1s.—A Free Trader, J. M. Chalmers, George Hardcastle, Williams and Morrison, William French, John Dennistoun, W. Coxon, John Murray, John Mounsey, jun., Mrs. Meadley, Richard Halcro, William Muschamp, George Harrison, jun., Joseph Potts, a Free Trader, John Sedgewick, E. C. Robinson, George Nesbitt, J. P. Kidson, Francis Marshall, John Hills, William Crosier, William Haddock, James Hills, Henry Binns, Wm. Tane, a Friend, Richard Haddock, Thomas Read, a Free Trader, and Edward Bowmaker—32l. 10s.; 1l.—Wm. Binns, Sampson Mills, J. Scorer, a Free Trader, Robert French, Wm. Ray, Alexander Wilson, William Wade, William Robinson, J. C. Carr, Thomas Wight, Thomas Walker, a Friend to the League, a London Shipowner, W. T. Moore, James Jopling, Matthew Kearney, John Bamlett, John Cropton, jun., X.Y.Z., W. C., William Attey, and John Weighill—23l.; John Hutchinson, jun., 15s.; D. H., 11s.; 10s. 6d.—S. F., W. D., and J. H., wife of J. H.—1l. 11s. 6d.; John Palmer, 10s.; 5s.—D. B. P., and Cash—19s. Total, 137l. 7s.—This sum, it was announced amidst loud cheers, exceeded by nearly 70l. the total collections of 1843.

TYNEMOUTH.

On Wednesday evening, the 24th ultimo, Colonel Thompson and Mr. R. R. Moore attended a meeting at the Assembly Room in the George Tavern, Tynemouth. [Mr. Cobden was unable to be present, having an engagement in Sheffield for the same evening.] The room was filled. Henry Micalfe, Esq., the member for the borough, was announced to preside; but illness prevented his attendance. The chair was taken by Mr. George Shotton, "an old sailor," as he subsequently called himself; and on opening the business, he explained the reason of Mr. Micalfe's absence, and stated his own regret at the circumstance, more particularly when he considered the inefficiency of the chairman thus imposed upon the meeting. After powerful addresses from the deputation, who were greatly applauded, the following subscriptions were announced:—2l. 2s. each, Messrs. Ogilvie and Son, William Brown, jun., Henry Dale, John Dair, Robert Pow, and Thomas Young. 1l. 1s., Messrs. Robert Forth, George Shotton, William Wignall, and Joseph Burrell—1l., Messrs. Edward Simpson, G. S. Tyack, and J. B. Dale—10s., Messrs. Michael Watson and G. Hall—5s., Messrs. Henry Wigham, B. C. Frederick Corder, Joseph

Owen, and John Buckham.—2s. 6d., Thomas Lilly.—Total 22l. 4s. 6d.

Mr. WILLIAM WINGWAVE moved:—"That the two gentlemen forming the deputation receive the cordial thanks of this meeting for the information which they have laid before us."

Mr. WILLIAM BROWN, jun., seconded the motion. The CHAIRMAN said, to his mind, as an old sailor, nothing would so much benefit the shipping interest as Free Trade, not only in corn, but in everything else. It might be said they carried corn now, but the quantity was limited that was carried in English ships. For his own part, he must confess that when he entered the room he was almost "wondering in his faith," although he agreed to take the chair, as their hon. member was unable to attend. He had not quite made up his mind whether to be a fixed-duty man, or a Free Trader. But he could say now, that he was a convert. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was put and carried by acclamation. Col. THOMPSON returned thanks. Mr. MOORE moved the cordial thanks of the meeting to the Chairman. It rejoiced him to hear him say that he had been converted; and he trusted many others stood in the same position. Mr. M. then delivered a few stirring sentences suggested by contemplating the question in its peaceful aspect, as calculated to unite all nations of the earth, and as affording them the means of spreading many mighty truths, as far as the lakes, and the rivers, and the woods, and the great ocean afforded the means of carrying them. The CHAIRMAN briefly returned thanks, and the meeting separated.—Abridged from the *Gateshead Observer*.

JEDBURGH.

The great Anti-Corn-Law and Free-Trade demonstration of the inhabitants of the county of Roxburgh, to which, for ten days previously, the supporters of Monopoly looked forward with alarm, and its opponents with desire, and all classes with unwonted interest, took place at Jedburgh on Saturday week, and exceeded our warmest anticipations. The weather was highly propitious. There was a cattle fair at Jedburgh, which brought with it some bustle. From the parishes of Ednam and Sprouston, in the eastern extremity of the county—of Melrose, in the north—and of Castleton, in the west—and from all the intermediate distances, we observed persons who had come to the meeting. The towns furnished their quotas. The use of the Town-foot Secession Church had been handsomely granted for the meeting. Our estimate is that not fewer than 2000 persons were present. Unfortunately, several hundreds were unable to find admittance. On the platform were the Earl of Buchan; the Hon. J. E. Elliot; John Ord, Esq.; John Murray, Esq.; Walter Wilson, Esq.; Bailies Scott and Haddon; Messrs. Hilsen, Deans, C. Robson, J. and G. Wilson, C. Wilson, Crease, Lockie, &c. &c. The following reverend gentlemen were also present: Rev. Messrs. Nicol, Renton, Baird, and Williamson, of the Secession Church; Barr and Jarvis, of the Relief Church; Purves, of the Free Church; and Connell, of the Independents.

Mr. ORD stood forward and said, that as the duty of nominating a chairman to this important meeting had devolved upon him, he begged to propose the Right Hon. the Earl of Buchan, a nobleman whose liberal and philanthropic sentiments entitled him to the highest respect.

The Earl of BUCHAN having taken the chair, returned his thanks for the honour which had been conferred upon him by the committee of the Anti-Corn-Law Association of Jedburgh, Kelso, and Hawick, in requesting him to preside on this occasion. It was not his business to say much. This was the first time he had ever occupied the chair at any public meeting, and he hoped the meeting would overlook any imperfections which might occur. They were here not to listen to him, but to Mr. Cobden and the other gentlemen of the League. He would just say that he felt a sort of hereditary right to stand here when it was for the good of the country.

Bailie SCOTT, senior magistrate of Hawick, presented the freedom of the burgh of Hawick, in the name of the town council, to Mr. Cobden as a token of their respect.

Mr. COBDEN returned his thanks to the town council of Hawick for the honour they had done him.

The Noble CHAIRMAN requested that they would now favour Mr. Cobden with their serious attention.

Mr. COBDEN and the other members of the deputation then addressed the meeting at considerable length: they were listened to with great attention, and were warmly applauded throughout.

Mr. W. WILSON moved a resolution condemnatory of the Corn Laws, and pledging the meeting to support the League.

Mr. LOCKIE seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. DEANS moved, and Mr. GEORGE HILSON seconded, a vote of thanks to the deputation, which was carried with acclamation.

Mr. COBDEN acknowledged the compliment.

Mr. CHARLES ROBSON proposed that the cordial thanks of the meeting be given to the Rev. Mr. Nicol, and the elders and managers of his congregation, for the use of the church on the present occasion.

Bailie HADDON had much pleasure in seconding the motion, because he felt that the cause of justice, humanity, and religion ought to go hand in hand. (Applause.)

Mr. COBDEN proposed a vote of warm thanks to the Right Hon. the Earl of Buchan, for the manner in which he had discharged the office of chairman on the present occasion. (Great applause.)

The Earl of BUCHAN said he was proud of the honour of presiding over such a numerous and important meeting. In this county he was but a small proprietor, but so far as his interest went, it was at the service of his country, and he trusted it would never be devoted to any other cause than the public good. He begged to thank the meeting for the honour which had been conferred upon him.

The meeting, after giving three hearty cheers for the League, then very quietly separated.

The subscriptions are going forward. In addition to those formerly announced, the following have been reported to us:—Joseph Morrison, Esq., Kelso, 10s.; the Earl of Buchan, 5l.; Mr. Lockie, 2l.; and a large number 1l. each.—Abridged from the *Kelso Chronicle*.

MIDDLETON, NEAR MANCHESTER.—On Monday last a public meeting was held here in the large room of Messrs. Stone and Kemp's new building, which was kindly granted for the occasion, and was completely filled with an attentive audience of nearly 300 persons. Mr. Rushton, the president of the Middleton Association, occupied the chair. A resolution expressing unabated confidence in the League, and pledging the meeting to its support, was moved by Mr. Smith and seconded by Mr. Brown. The chairman introduced Mr. Prentice, one of the deputation from Manchester, as an old, long-tried friend of the cause, and most zealous advocate. Mr. Prentice then delivered an able speech in support of Free-Trade principles. The Rev. Edward Leighton briefly expressed his approval of the object of the meeting, and declared his conviction that the abrogation of these restrictive laws would tend greatly to advance the moral and physical condition of our fellow-countrymen. Mr. Falvey next addressed the meeting in a speech of great force and ability. Cards for subscriptions having been distributed through the room, the various contributions were announced by the secretary, namely:—Messrs. Stone and Kemp (in addition to 150l. at Edinburgh, and 50l. in London), 10l. (loud cheers); John Rushton, chairman, 2l. (cheers); E. K. Brown, 1l. 10s.; Jeffery Smith, 1l. 10s.; J. Wolstencroft,

1l.; Daniel Burton, 1l.; Theophilus Toase, 10s. 6d.; Clement Kemp, 5s.; a Friend, per John and Thomas Mellallieu, 2l.; Henry Mellallieu, 1l.; Samuel Mellallieu, 1l.; John Hughes, 1l.; John Lancashire, 1l.; John Thornley, 10s.; James Eastwood, 5s.; Edward Mansergh, 5s.; John Stringer, Joiner, 5s.; Thomas Ashton, Tonge-lane, 5s.; William Kent, 5s.; Robert Mellallieu, 5s.; 2s. 6d. each from John Booth, "a Friend," James Harrison, jun., Edmund Butterworth, Thomas Booth, Joseph Staveacre, James Kent, John Stringer, William Riddings, Adam Holden, Thomas Lees; and various small sums, making up 29l., which, with 10l. already paid at Manchester by Messrs. J. and T. Mellallieu of this place, gives 39l. as the present subscription, which is expected to be further increased to nearly double last year's amount. Mr. Hughes moved—

"The cordial thanks of this meeting to the deputation for their able addresses this evening, and for their zealous assistance to our cause."

This was seconded by J. T. Kemp, Esq., of London, in an appropriate address, in which he observed, in confirmation, that Corn-Law "protection" was no benefit to the agriculturist—that his father had been a tenant-farmer forty years, and had left off farming with less capital than he commenced. Agriculturists would not suffer by the repeal of the Corn Laws, but would share in the general prosperity of the country. The deputation having expressed their acknowledgments, three cheers for the chairman and the League were proposed by Mr. Prentice, and responded to most heartily. Mr. Wolstencroft, on behalf of the meeting, expressed its obligations to Messrs. Stone and Kemp for their liberality in allowing the use of the room, after which the company separated.

KIRKBRISTON ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.—On Thursday evening, the 19th inst., this association held their annual demonstration at the George Inn, and afterwards adjourned to the Sunday School-room, to hear Mr. T. Plint, of Leeds, and F. Schwann, Esq., of Huddersfield; Mr. John Parkin, head-constable, in the chair. The Rev. John Hughes moved the first resolution, in condemnation of all protection, in a most powerful and effective speech, his maiden speech on Free Trade. Mr. William Midgley, a fancy weaver, seconded this resolution. F. Schwann, Esq., supported it in an effective speech. The second resolution was moved by Mr. Stephen Leather, a fancy weaver, seconded by Mr. William Kaye, of the firm of Gaukroger and Kaye, and was supported by Mr. T. Plint, in a speech which occupied two hours in the delivery, and which was listened to with marked attention. The evening closed by announcing the following subscriptions in aid of the League Fund of £100,000. Messrs. Joah Sugden and Son, £5; James Lockwood, £3; Wm. Stockdale, £3; William Carter, £1; Wm. Kaye, 10s.; Charles Sutcliffe, 10s.; David Lockwood, 5s.; John Lockwood, 5s.; Sam. Beaumont, 5s.; Robert Pitton, 5s. It is with the greatest pleasure we add that a great number of half-crowns were subscribed; the whole amounting in one half-hour to upwards of £17, which will be further increased. The ladies come in for a large share of praise.

PAYNE'S-LANE, SALOP, Jan. 25.—Yesterday evening Messrs. Prentice and Masie, as delegates of the League from Manchester, attended a Free-Trade festival held in the long room attached to the Hotel. Punctually to the appointed time a very numerous and respectable company had assembled. The chair was taken by Abraham Darby, Esq., of Coalbrookdale, who is very extensively interested in the neighbouring ironworks. Messrs. T. Davies, C. Jones, E. Jones, Millington, Wear, and Dr. Davis, were the movers and seconders of the resolutions, which, briefly but clearly expressing the injustice and injury of monopoly and the advantages of unrestricted trade, were carried unanimously. The spirit-stirring addresses delivered by the deputation were listened to with eager attention, and the cheering with which they were interrupted marked the enthusiasm of the assemblage. At the close of the meeting subscription cards, which had been distributed through the room, were handed up, and found to amount to upwards of £34, being considerably more than the sum collected at the corresponding time last year. The whole business of the meeting passed off with the greatest satisfaction to all present; and it is to be hoped that this and the meeting held last evening at Coalbrookdale will be the commencement of a thorough agitation of the county of Salop, than which no place needs more enlightening.

HORBURY, NEAR WAKEFIELD.—On Thursday evening, the 25th instant, a meeting was held in the Primitive Methodist Chapel of this place, in aid of the League Fund, at which Mr. Race presided. The audience was addressed at considerable length by Mr. Thomas Plint, of Leeds, after which resolutions condemning the Corn Laws, approving of the League, and originating a subscription to its funds, were unanimously passed. Messrs. Rayner, George Foster, H. Briggs (Overton), and Robinson, took part in the proceedings. The sum of £18 13s. 6d. was subscribed at the close of the meeting.

SALENDINE NOOK, NEAR HUDDERSFIELD.—ANTI-CORN-LAW TEA PARTY.—A very numerous party partook of tea in the school-room of the Baptist Chapel of this place on Monday, the 29th instant. After the removal of the tables, the chair was taken by Mr. David Haigh, of Quarmby, who opened the proceedings in an appropriate speech. The first resolution, viz:—

"That this meeting consider the Corn Laws as an invasion on the rights of industry, a serious obstacle to the progress of knowledge, and a fruitful source of animosity, heartburning, and war between the nations of the earth,"

was moved by Mr. J. Sykes, and seconded by the Rev. Mr. Lomas, who, in an impressive speech, denounced the wickedness of limiting the food which sustains and comforts life. The second resolution, which was as follows:—

"That this meeting cordially approve of the object of the Anti-Corn-Law League, the total and immediate repeal of the

Corn Laws, and resolve to aid its efforts to procure that great measure, by subscribing to the fund of £100,000."

was moved by Mr. Wright Mellor, and seconded by Mr. Henry Edwards, both of whom addressed the meeting in language at once convincing in argument, and determined in its force of condemnation of all restrictions on national exchange. The chairman then called upon Mr. T. Plint, of Leeds, who, in his usual manner, detailed the origin of the Corn Laws, their action in creating foreign tariffs, and the efficiency of Free Trade, as the only counter-form to foreign tariffs. He then answered several current objections to Free Trade, and concluded by exposing the injustice of a fixed duty. Although several of the principal manufacturers of the place and neighbourhood had contributed at the Huddersfield meeting, a fourth sum of £30. 11s. was raised at the meeting, a sum—considering the population and circumstances of Salendine Nook—more munificent even than the £20,000 of Manchester.

YEADON.—The meeting in this populous village was held on Thursday, the 18th ultimo, in the old Methodist Chapel. The place was filled at the hour appointed for commencing. Deputations from Leeds and Bradford attended, including Messrs. H. H. Stansfield, Thos. Plint, Sheen, J. Sprunt, E. Kenion, and Wm. Byles; besides whom, there were on the platform, William Ackroyd, Esq., of Otley; Edward Barrett, Esq., of Otley; R. Milligan, Esq., of Acacia; and many of the most influential inhabitants of Yeadon, Rawden, and Guiseley, engaged in trade. On the motion of Mr. William Dennison, Robert Milligan, Esq., of Acacia, took the chair. The Chairman having opened the proceedings, resolutions were moved and seconded in able speeches by Messrs. Dawson, Marshall, Stansfield of Leeds, Kenion of Bradford, Sheen, Dennison, Ryeacroft, Wm. Ackroyd, Esq., of Otley, and by Messrs. Plint of Leeds and Byles. Cards were handed up, and read out, and at nearly 11 o'clock, the proceedings terminated, about £40 having been subscribed. Thanks were very cordially voted to the visitors and to the Chairman previous to the breaking up of the meeting.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.—Yeadon.—William Kenion, 5l.; John Parkinson, 2l. 2s.; John Denison, 1l. 1s.; Joseph Hustler, 1l. 1s.; William Denison, 1l. 1s.; Joseph Denison, 1l. 1s.; Matthew Walkor, 1l. 1s.; Joseph Dawson, 1l. 1s.; Joseph White, 1l. 1s.; Wm. Hustler, 1l.; Jotham Harrison, 1l.; Wm. Wormald, 1l.; Michael Gill, 1l.; Richard Baldwin, 1l. 1s.; Abraham Denison and Brothers, 1l.; John Denison, 1l.; James Clapham, 1l.; Benjamin Dawson, 1l.; John Harrison, 1l.; Henry Bentley, 1l.; Joseph Riley, 1l.; Thomas Parkinson and Brothers, 1l.; Joseph Brown, 1l.; Joseph Long, 1l.; John Baitson, 1l.; Wm. Parkinson, 1l. 1s.; Wm. North, 1l. 1s.; John Cooper, 10s.; John Rawnsley, 10s.; Joseph Atkinson, 10s.; Joseph Fletcher, 5s.; John Goodhall, 5s.; John Ibbetson, 5s.; J. Waterhouse, 5s.; Samuel Long, 5s.; Tickets, 4l. 11s.; Small sums, 2l. 14s. 2d.—Total, 42l. 17s. 9d.

Guiseley.—Robert Parkinson, 1l. 1s.; Mrs. Robert Parkinson, 1l. 1s.; Wm. Riley, 1l.; Samuel Robinson, 1l. 1s.; William Smith, sen., 1l.; George Padgett, 1l.; James Brown, 1l.; Samuel Sladen, 1l.—Total, 8l. 3s.

Rawden.—John Walker, 5l.; smaller subscriptions, 7l.—Total, 12l.

Horsforth.—John Wade, 1l.

January 23d, 1844.—Total subscriptions, 63l. 0s. 7d.—Bradford Observer.

SWANSEA.—A public meeting, convened for the purpose of appointing a committee, and of adopting measures for the promotion of the fund of One Hundred Thousand Pounds, proposed to be raised in subscriptions for the furtherance of the objects of the National Anti-Corn-Law League, was held at our Town-hall on Monday evening week. On the motion of Mr. Jenkins, M.A., seconded by Mr. Jacob Lewis, the Rev. Daniel Davies, Baptist Minister, occupied the chair. The Chairman having addressed the meeting, resolutions in accordance with its object were severally proposed and seconded by the Rev. E. Jacob, Mr. Jacob Lewis, Mr. Jenkins, M.A., Rev. William Jones, Mr. Rutter, Mr. E. Paxton Hood, Mr. Valentine Clutton, and Mr. Rogers of Coleridge House. A vote of thanks to Starling Benson, Esq., Mayor, for the use of the hall, was carried by acclamation; as was also a vote of thanks to the respected chairman, for his very able, intelligent, and impartial presidency.—*The Cambrian*.

AGRICULTURE.

AGITATION AMONGST AGRICULTURISTS.

The meetings of lords, squires, land-agents, and farmers, to pass resolutions against the League, still continue; for what the recipients of rent do in one district they can do in another; but as the agitation proceeds its character is more palpably developed. It has now become plainly and avowedly a landlords' movement to coerce their own Minister. And this is felt by the ministerial journals, for they, though formally applauding the Pro-Corn-Law agitation, practically give it the "cold shoulder." But we leave the monopolists and their ministry to settle their differences as best they can—our business is to watch the effect of the new "dodge" upon the public. Having an intimate knowledge of the sentiments and tone of mind which prevail in the rural districts, we at once hailed the Pro-Corn-Law agitation with unmixed delight. We knew that, whatever were the objects of its promoters, it would expose before the farmers all the fallacies which landlords—when they condescend to speak at all—urge in support of their monopoly, and we are entirely satisfied that we shall not have long to wait the result of such exposure. The Pro-Corn-Law speakers have already

done no slight service to the cause of Free Trade by putting forth the most silly and exaggerated statements, and proving to the most prejudiced the rotten foundation on which their plea for monopoly is based. Then we were aware that this agitation could not go on without disclosing the moving causes which actuate the landowners, and the indifference of the great body of the farmers; but, above all, we saw that in calling on the tenant-farmers to take the van—we had almost said to lead the forlorn hope—of the monopolist battle, the landed aristocrats were creating a power which they will find it difficult to control. Finally, we knew that when the upholders of the Corn Laws left their position of passive resistance to Free Trade, so many diversities of object and opinion, such various degrees of knowledge, or rather want of knowledge, and such a mass of prejudice, passion, bigotry, and ignorance, would appear amongst them, that the notion of their undertaking any combined political movement was out of the question. Already the accuracy of all these anticipations has been realized. During the past week a great "go" has been held in Sussex, and numerous little "goes" in a many other counties; and in each and all of these meetings their true character of a rent-and-landlord-begotten origin is placed beyond question, as is also the immediate purpose they are intended to serve. Thus, at Steyning, in Sussex, the *Morning Post* tells us that "the leaders of rank were numerous; two dukes, five earls, one viscount, and seven members of the House of Commons, were present;" and, as the enthusiastic editor adds, "This was something like a county meeting!" And no doubt it was, but it was like anything except a real tenant-farmers' meeting. Doubtless, many farmers were there, for where could "two dukes, seven earls, one viscount, and seven [landlord] members of the House of Commons" meet without compelling the attendance of a shoal of farmers, if it was the aristocratic will and pleasure that the farmers should come? Do the monopolists imagine the way in which these things are managed is not understood? We have been behind the scenes of the landlords' drama, and we know the pressure by which many of the tenant-farmers are made to act at aristocratic bidding. And at a similar meeting held in Oxford, the same authority (the *Post*), after enumerating a long list of lords and members of Parliament, squires, and parsons, who were present, says "the greater part, if not all, of these gentlemen are magistrates of the county." To be sure they are; this is just what we said from the first these Anti-League meetings would end in. But, to put the object of the movement beyond a doubt, we have the distinct enunciation of it by the Duke of Richmond, who said:—

"It is of great importance that we should not expend our fire in a desultory manner, but that we should have unity in our objects for the purpose of carrying them out more effectually. (Hear, hear, hear.) It appears to me also that these demonstrations which have taken place amongst the farmers of the country will induce the confidential advisers of our Sovereign to speak plainly out. (Immense cheering.) I think we are entitled to this—(hear, hear)—not in language of menace or threat—(no)—or even, perhaps, of any sort of reproach—but I think we are entitled to tell them that we think the uncertainty of their opinions is an evil of no ordinary magnitude. (Great cheering.) We want to know what we are going about. (Renewed cheers.) We want to know whether it is their intention to maintain that protection which is still left to us. (Cheers.) We only asked them to speak out, and I have no doubt they will speak out when they know the opinions of the great body of respectable farmers of the country."

Now, we beg our agricultural readers to mark well this passage. The object of the landed aristocracy was to have a rent-raising paragraph in the Queen's Speech. They see that the trading industry of the country has survived a period of prolonged and unparalleled distress; that the coffers of the Bank of England are gorged with gold, and that everything indicates that we are approaching one of those fitful gleams of "prosperity" which vicious commercial legislation has fostered; and hence they want to extract from the Minister a declaration in favour of monopoly which will uphold rents. Whether the ruse will succeed, or whether the Prime Minister will be too wily for them, will be known ere this meets the reader's eye. We should not be surprised if he pays them in their own coin, and that, instead of the rent-protecting declaration they seek, he may put them off with a pompous dialogistic sentence about the League. And the same objects are discerned throughout the arrangements; take, for instance, the traps for tenant-farmers, which are betokened by the following, which was one of the Steyning resolutions:—

"That no tenant-farmer is expected to subscribe more than £1 or less than 5s. per annum, and that landowners and proprietors be solicited to afford us liberal aid."

And we believe the managers have taken a very accurate measure of the zeal of the tenant-farmers in the cause of protection, when they fixed their subscriptions at 5s. This sufficiently proves the tenants are not the spontaneous actors in these farces. Another instance of their apathy, of which indeed scarcely a meeting passes without some complaint, occurred at Barton-upon-Humber, where the follow-

ing is the monopolist account of the subscriptions; we again quote the *Post*:—

"A short discussion here ensued on the question of a subscription fund as suggested by Mr. Uppleby, which resulted in that gentleman's moving a resolution in accordance with his expressed sentiments on the subject. It was carried unanimously. This unanimity, however, was confined to the carrying of the resolution, for I did not perceive, though I believe some few names were put down for different amounts, that any money was subjected to the same process. There is, however, no doubt that, should any emergency arise immediately requiring a fund, there is no part of the country in which it would be more readily or plentifully forthcoming than in this district."

"Emergency arise," why, we thought it had arisen. Why are all the squires in arms? Whence all this noise and bustle! But perhaps the letter of Lord Worsley, which was read at that meeting, let the farmers at Barton a little into the secret of these protection subscriptions. Now, Lord Worsley, though an advocate of monopoly, is a shrewd man, and, as he had had some experience of the utility of monopolist tracts and lectures, he cautiously limited his promise of subscription to local objects, and offered the following as the result of his experience. He said, in a letter addressed to one of the managers of the meeting:—

"I cannot understand what need there can be for any further subscription than each member already pays. If I find money is wanted, and likely to be usefully and judiciously applied by the societies in this neighbourhood, I will readily assist them. In London we had an Agricultural Protection Society. I gave £20 to it, and £5 per annum. It appeared to me that the money was spent in paying a secretary a handsome salary, sending out lecturers and tracts which we published, and I do not believe that either produced any effect. When Lord Melbourne was in power this society, which was composed of Tories, with the exception of Mr. Handley, Mr. Edward Heneage, Mr. Cayley, Lord Beaumont, Mr. Gilbert Heathcote, my father, and myself, and perhaps three or four more Whigs, who, at the request of the Tory members, joined the society, that it might not wear a party appearance, met frequently. When Sir Robert Peel came into office, the attendance of the Tory members of the society became less and less frequent, and there was then, apparently, so little disposition on their parts to do anything, that most, if not all the gentlemen I have named above, withdrew from the society, which was shortly afterwards broken up, after having very uselessly spent a large sum of money."

Now, if tenant-farmers trust their money in the hands of these agitating land-agents after such an ingenuous confession of so eminent a protectionist, they must be gulls indeed. No, no; farmers will leave the subscribing part of the business to the landlords. That any considerable number of them, who are not compelled from their dependent condition to do so, will long lend themselves to delusion, even by giving their names to swell this shadowy agitation, we do not believe. But in contrast to the account of the uselessness of monopolist tracts and lectures—and where the principle of a law is unsound no degree of lecturing or pamphleteering will uphold it—let us take the account the monopolists themselves give of the success of the Free-Trade agitation.

Mr. Ellman, at Steyning, said that the money of the Marquis of Westminster "could be much better employed than encouraging the circulation of the insidious and blasphemous (!) publications of the League throughout the country." Now, this rabid fury of the monopolist is a tribute to the utility of the information diffused by the League. No one ever accused the monopolists of publishing "insidious" tracts or lectures; and, however ingenious the idea of calling the advocacy of a free interchange of man's industry and God's bounties "blasphemous" may be, it is not new; for we remember to have heard some twelve years ago a topping farmer in a south-western county say of a neighbouring gentleman—also a farmer—who advocated free trade in corn, "Oh, he must be an Atheist!" The same person, Mr. Ellman, also said, "tracts were distributed throughout the country, which were calculated to produce the effect of poisoning the minds of the labourers against their employers, and of the occupiers against the landlords." Now, the state of the rural body politic must be indeed diseased if any of the Free-Trade tracts can operate as poison; that they have proved phsyic to the monopolists in many instances we have no doubt. So the chairman, at the Oxford monopolist meeting, said, "They [the League] had been busily engaged, and, in some instances, too fatally successful, in creating variance between landlord and tenant;" and at the same meeting Colonel North said, "they had sent emissaries into every village, and into every cottage, to find the character of the peer or the squire from residents, with the purpose of picking a hole in them if possible." The result of inquiries in Dorsetshire has shown why peers and squires do not like inquiries to be made of "residents" in their own localities. Again, in Rutland, a Mr. Finch said, "they had employed able pens in behalf of their project, and their emissaries had been scattered over the whole face of the land. They had endeavoured to set tenant against landlord, and had scattered the seeds of dissension even amongst the agricultural body themselves." We have no doubt that the seed sown amongst the

agriculturists is bringing forth fruit which will be bitter to those landlords who seek to obtain high rents out of the serfdom of a dependent, spiritless, and impoverished tenantry. But the grand offence of the League is, what Lord Villiers—Sir Robert Peel's son-in-law—called, "assuming a most dangerous and unconstitutional power, in raising large sums of money for the purpose of influencing the elections of members of Parliament." And this topic is that upon which almost every landlord, especially if himself a member of Parliament, is eloquently indignant. Here the shoe pinches; and this part of the subject served to disclose the seeds of disunion which are springing up amongst the monopolists themselves. For instance, Mr. Blackstone, M.P., at Oxford, thought the resolutions of a "too milk-and-water character;" and added, "other parties, as well as the Anti-Corn-Law League, might desire to diminish agricultural protection—it might be some Government—it might be some Minister;" and amidst the cheers of the meeting he called Lord Norreys and Mr. Harcourt, two of the county members, to account for voting for the Canada Corn Bill of Sir Robert Peel! And in Rutland, Mr. Heathcote, one of the county members, suggested that the funds of a protection society should be used for election purposes, "not only to oppose actual Leaguers, but those who had voted for the Canadian Corn Bill and the Tariff." Upon this one of his colleagues said such "observations were rather injudicious;" and Mr. O'Brien, M.P. for Northamptonshire, "remarked on the observation of Mr. Heathcote, as to the application of money to be collected, and expressed his abhorrence of any unconstitutional tampering with the elections. So strong were his feelings on the necessity of preserving the representation of the country without taint, that, rather than contribute one shilling for such a purpose, he would stand aloof altogether." Here, it is obvious, are the elements of a very pretty quarrel amongst the monopolists the instant they attempt a positive and active support of their monopoly.

But, perhaps, the gem of all the brilliant speeches on behalf of monopoly was that plea for protection so naively put forward at Barton by Mr. Maw:—

"The labour employed by the manufacturers was all done, let it be remembered, under shelter; and they could receive and execute their orders with the nicest calculation of the cost of any piece of goods, and the profit upon the same; whereas such was far from being the same with the farmer, who, when his land was prepared, and his crop was in the ground, was still exposed to many contingencies, both of season and market. He could not control the elements—he could not possibly say what the produce of his land would be, either as to quantity or quality; and it was on these accounts that to the farmer an adequate protection was essentially necessary. (Cheers.) If his crop were a good one it was necessary that he should have the market to himself, that its value might not be reduced below what was reasonable by competition; whilst, if his produce were deficient, he should at least be allowed to have some return for his labour, and the expenditure of his capital, before the foreigner was let in to compete with him—because this encouraged him to grow the greatest quantity of corn he possibly could, and to endeavour to keep the market supplied with home produce."

This is, in fact, the simple and naked plea for the Corn Laws really intended by all monopolists; only those, who have somewhat more tact than Mr. Maw, think it decent to throw some little drapery around their meretricious idol. Now, reader, having seen these samples from the sack of the monopolists, said we not well that the Anti-League associations would prove most useful auxiliaries to the League?

MONOPOLIST ESTIMATE OF THE FARMERS.

The following is a circular—*verbatim et literatim*—issued in the county of Norfolk. Can the landlords really imagine such childish trash can influence the more intelligent farmers of that county? Did the composers of that jejune circular ever hear of the story of the shepherd-boy and the wolf? The farmers are already beginning to suspect this constant cry of "wolf! wolf!"

"TO THE CLERGY, LANDLORDS, AND OCCUPIERS OF LAND, IN THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK.—The introduction of Free Trade into our country must be a source of evil to all, as it will speedily reduce wheat to 18s. per comb, barley to 12s., and other products of the soil in the same proportion; this being the case, the clergy will get but little tithes, the landlords less as rent, and the resources arising from the revenue will be so reduced, that the interest on funded property cannot be paid. Royalty must curtail its expenditure, and trade, in all its branches, will be so crippled, that England, as a nation, will cease to be Happy Old England."

"Mr. J. Barcham was deputed by the gentlemen attending the Subscription Room, at North Walsham, to issue these circulars, requesting the attendance of all persons interested in countervailing the very false statements so generally advanced by the Anti-Corn-Law League, in their unceasing endeavours to injure the agricultural interest; for this purpose a public meeting will be held at the Bear Inn, North Walsham, on Thursday, the 26th instant, at four o'clock in the afternoon."

"Antingham, Jan. 13, 1861."

A FREE-TRADE CONVERT.—It is rumoured, but we know not on what authority, that the name of Mr. David Barclay, M.P. for Sunderland, will swell the list of Mr. Villiers's supporters on his next motion for the total repeal of the bread-tax. We hope this may prove true, and that Mr. Barclay will also place the corn, coffee, and sugar duties in one and the same condemned category.—*Durham Chronicle*.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received several communications on the subject of the Agricultural "Protection" Meetings, for which we feel obliged. We shall thank our friends to continue these interesting communications, as they will afford us ample material for exposing the hollow and chimerical views which the "farmers' friends" are again attempting to delude their unfortunate dupes.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 8d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

GREAT LEAGUE MEETING.

THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN.—THE USUAL WEEKLY MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE, will be held in the THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN, on THURSDAY EVENING NEXT, the 24th of FEBRUARY.

The Meeting will be addressed by the Hon. CHARLES PELHAM VILLIERS, Esq., M.P.; RICHARD CORDELL, Esq., M.P.; General Sir DAVID EVANS; and A. R. M. MOORE, Esq.

GEORGE WILSON, Esq., will take the Chair precisely at Seven o'clock.

Cards of admission to the stage and boxes may be had on application after Monday next, at the Central Office of the League, No. 57, Fleet-street.

The Cards of Registered Members of the League will, as heretofore, admit to the Pit and Galleries of the Theatre.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, February 3, 1844.

Sir Robert Peel makes up, in his own person, for the silence he preserves in the Queen's Speech. He has responded to the demand of his masters. The landlords have obtained a pledge against any change in the Corn Laws, as distinct as a Peel pledge can be; for some lurking ambiguity, or latent equivocation, is inherent in the very nature of the thing. After intimating that, should the agriculturists ever arrive at a preference of a fixed duty over a sliding scale, it would devolve on Lord John Russell rather than on himself to introduce such a proposition, Sir Robert Peel continued:—"The experience we have had of the present law has not shaken my preference for a graduated duty; and although I consider it inconsistent with my duty to make engagements for adherence to existing laws, under all circumstances, in order to conciliate support, I can say that the Government have never contemplated, and do not contemplate, any alteration in the existing law." Cheers from the agriculturists, according to the Times report, came (as did the thunder of old) to show that the offering was accepted, and the higher powers propitiated.

The Times, after noticing the silence of the Queen's Speech on the subject of the Corn Laws, says of the Minister's declaration, that it "will lull, if it does not extinguish, doubt and perplexity." Doubt may, but the agitation will not, be lulled thereby. Our breeze is not yet strong enough to move the weathercock; it must blow harder, and it shall. Sir Robert Peel contributes, by his declaration, towards that division of public men into total repealers and the supporters of the existing law, which is a step that must needs be made in the progress of the agitation. Sir Robert Peel has helped it on, and we should have been glad if Lord John Russell had assisted also. The deficiency was admirably supplied by Lord Howick. In the following passage of his speech, he puts the present state of the question in the true point of view:—

"Indeed, the controversy had been kept up so long that he almost doubted whether, even without that very significant speech which had fallen from the right hon. baronet that night, the time for a compromise had not passed, and that now that every one must take his part in this question either on the one side or the other. If the right honourable gentleman, and those who thought with him, were of opinion that it was wise to lay this stress on all the objections to a fixed duty, it would be idle, and worse than idle, to make such a proposition. Then the question resolved itself into this—were they to have the existing Corn Law, or was the importation of corn to be free? (Cheers.) That was the point to which the right hon. gentleman wished to bring the matter, and that was the question he wished to bring to issue. He (Lord Howick) adhered to the opinion from which he had never swerved, and which he had maintained at all times and at all places—in that House and on the hustings of a purely agricultural county; and when this question was brought to issue, his choice would be without hesitation, or one moment's delay, in favour of the free importation of corn." (Cheers.)

However they may dally with the subject, to this point must all public men come. Almost all the active mind of the community is there already; and when once the alternative is distinctly settled, the decision cannot long be delayed. As to what statesman shall be its official propounder, we need only say, that "if one will not another will."

MORE ARISTOCRATICAL MONOPOLY.—The (Conservative) United Service Journal says, "The overpowering aristocratic influence in converting the whole army into an article of monopoly, and will, unless checked, become a mere job for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many."

THE FUND.

| | Jan. 27 | Feb. 3 | Feb. 10 | Feb. 17 | Feb. 24 | Mar. 3 |
|-------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Bank Stock | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 |
| 3 per Cent. Ann. | 94 1/2 | 94 1/2 | 94 1/2 | 94 1/2 | 94 1/2 | 94 1/2 |
| 4 per Cent. Ann. | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 |
| 5 per Cent. Ann. | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 |
| 6 per Cent. Ann. | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 |
| 7 per Cent. Ann. | 106 1/2 | 106 1/2 | 106 1/2 | 106 1/2 | 106 1/2 | 106 1/2 |
| 8 per Cent. Ann. | 109 1/2 | 109 1/2 | 109 1/2 | 109 1/2 | 109 1/2 | 109 1/2 |
| 9 per Cent. Ann. | 112 1/2 | 112 1/2 | 112 1/2 | 112 1/2 | 112 1/2 | 112 1/2 |
| 10 per Cent. Ann. | 115 1/2 | 115 1/2 | 115 1/2 | 115 1/2 | 115 1/2 | 115 1/2 |
| 11 per Cent. Ann. | 118 1/2 | 118 1/2 | 118 1/2 | 118 1/2 | 118 1/2 | 118 1/2 |
| 12 per Cent. Ann. | 121 1/2 | 121 1/2 | 121 1/2 | 121 1/2 | 121 1/2 | 121 1/2 |
| 13 per Cent. Ann. | 124 1/2 | 124 1/2 | 124 1/2 | 124 1/2 | 124 1/2 | 124 1/2 |
| 14 per Cent. Ann. | 127 1/2 | 127 1/2 | 127 1/2 | 127 1/2 | 127 1/2 | 127 1/2 |
| 15 per Cent. Ann. | 130 1/2 | 130 1/2 | 130 1/2 | 130 1/2 | 130 1/2 | 130 1/2 |
| 16 per Cent. Ann. | 133 1/2 | 133 1/2 | 133 1/2 | 133 1/2 | 133 1/2 | 133 1/2 |
| 17 per Cent. Ann. | 136 1/2 | 136 1/2 | 136 1/2 | 136 1/2 | 136 1/2 | 136 1/2 |
| 18 per Cent. Ann. | 139 1/2 | 139 1/2 | 139 1/2 | 139 1/2 | 139 1/2 | 139 1/2 |
| 19 per Cent. Ann. | 142 1/2 | 142 1/2 | 142 1/2 | 142 1/2 | 142 1/2 | 142 1/2 |
| 20 per Cent. Ann. | 145 1/2 | 145 1/2 | 145 1/2 | 145 1/2 | 145 1/2 | 145 1/2 |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, Jan. 29.—The supply of Essex Wheat was very small this morning, but there was a good show of Kentish. The best dry samples were sold readily at last week's prices, but those in inferior condition were disposed of with difficulty. There was a rather improved demand for free Foreign Wheat, at fully last week's rates. There was a good supply of English Barley last week, in addition to which, one cargo of Scotch and two of Foreign, arrived. There is no alteration in the value of Malting Barley; but Distilling and Grinding qualities being held at former rates, met a very slow sale. The trade in Beans and Peas was heavy, and former prices were barely supported for the latter. In addition to a fair supply of English and Scotch Oats, there was a very large arrival of Irish. Factors held with much firmness at former rates; but only a limited amount of business was done, and in some instances a decline of 6d. per qr. was acceded to.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------|--------|---------|--------|--------|--------|
| English | 64 1/2 | 60 1/2 | 52 1/2 | 51 1/2 | 51 1/2 |
| Scotch | 30 | 10 1/2 | 8 1/2 | — | — |
| Irish | — | 30 1/2 | 54 1/2 | — | — |
| Foreign | 17 1/2 | 18 1/2 | 11 1/2 | — | — |

MARK-LANE, Friday, Feb. 3.—The arrivals of Wheat and Barley since Monday are moderate. There is a fair supply of English and Irish Oats. The declaration of Sir Robert Peel relative to the Corn Laws has caused considerable firmness in the trade here to-day. There is a steady trade in Wheat and Barley at fully Monday's rates; and, notwithstanding a large proportion of last week's supply of Irish Oats is still on hand, the holders are firm, and buyers are compelled to give former rates. There is no alteration in Beans and Peas. The duty on Beans advanced to 11s. 6d. yesterday.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 65 1/2 | — | 18 1/2 |
| Barley | 60 1/2 | — | 7 1/2 |
| Oats | 54 1/2 | 7 1/2 | — |

A WEEKLY REPORT OF THE NUMBER OF QUARTERS, AND THE AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN AND GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

| WEEK ENDED JANUARY 30, 1844. | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|
| | WHEAT. | | BARLEY. | | OATS. | | BEANS. | |
| | Qrs. | Aver. | Qrs. | Aver. | Qrs. | Aver. | Qrs. | Aver. |
| | sold. | price | sold. | price | sold. | price | sold. | price |
| Weekly | | s. d. | | s. d. | | s. d. | | s. d. |
| Averages.. | 110,495 | 52 8 | 116,921 | 58 8 | 58,188 | 19 0 | 9405 | 29 6 |
| Aggregate | .. | 50 9 | .. | 33 10 | .. | 18 8 | .. | 29 10 |
| Averages.. | .. | 30 0 | .. | 6 0 | .. | 8 0 | .. | 11 6 |
| Duty..... | | | | | | | | |

| | Qrs. | Price. | Qrs. | Price. |
|--------|-------|-----------|-------|---------------|
| Wheat | 8780 | 53s. 0d. | Rye | 81 38s. 11d. |
| Barley | 4672 | 34s. 4d. | Beans | 1955 28s. 7d. |
| Oats | 27037 | 19s. 11d. | Peas | 1104 31s. 8d. |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 30.

BANKRUPTS.

G. HILLER, Sub-atree, Bishopsgate-street, varnish manufacturer. (Rutherford, Lombard-street.)
J. TUBB, Basingstoke, Hants, draper. (Ashurst, Cheap-side.)
T. BALLS, Thames-street, iron merchant. (Tucker and Stevenson, Sun-chambers, Threadneedle-street.)
W. BUTCHER, Great Marlborough-street, commission agent. (Mayhew, Carey-street, Lincoln's-Inn.)
A. LEQUEURE, Chingford Mills, Essex, miller. (Adamson and Cooper, Ely-place.)
T. RODHAM, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, grocer. (Ingledew, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Williamson and Hill, Gray's-Inn.)
J. LEECH, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, ironmonger. (Harle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Chisholm, Hall, and Gibson, Lincoln's-Inn-fields.)
T. BERRIDGE, Manchester, tobaccoconist. (Johnson and Weatherall, King's Bench-walk, Temple; Kershaw, Manchester.)
H. MURCH, Norton-under-Hamdon, Somersetshire, salt cloth manufacturer. (Nichollette, Bridport; Stogdon, Exeter; Brace, Essex-street.)

DIVIDENDS.

Feb. 22. F. Ford, Aldgate, draper.—Feb. 22. F. Gantier, Goulquaire, Crutched-Friars.—Feb. 22. J. Cumming, Tottenham-court-road, furrier.—Feb. 20. N. Wynn, East-street, East Green-wich, victualler.—Feb. 2. J. B. Rickette, Leadenhall-street, merchant.—Feb. 22. W. Hill and W. K. Wackerbath, Leadenhall-street, ship agents.—Feb. 20. F. Markby, Peterborough, Northamptonshire, brewer.—Feb. 21. J. L. Woodruff, Great Minster, Buckinghamshire, innkeeper.—Feb. 21. C. M. Nicholson, Mark-lane, corn merchant.—Feb. 23. J. Lockwood and G. Lockwood, Wakefield, Yorkshire, linen-draper.—Feb. 23. J. Bottomley, Delph, Yorkshire, woollen manufacturer.—Feb. 23. J. Pepper, Westons-under-Ledge, Gloucestershire, tailor.—Feb. 20. M. Marsh, jun., St. Helen's, Lancashire, chemist.—Feb. 23. J. Leary, jun., Liverpool, tailor.—Feb. 21. G. Dawson and J. Wainwright, Liverpool, merchants.—Feb. 20. W. Havelock, South Shields, draper.—Feb. 23. M. Dixon, Hesale, Kingston-upon-Hull, corn dealer.—Feb. 23. J. Wood, Beauvais, Nottinghamshire, miller.—Feb. 23. A. Brown, Kingston-upon-Hull, book-seller.—Feb. 23. J. Temple, Myton, Kingston-upon-Hull, brewer.

CERTIFICATES.

Feb. 21. R. T. Fletcher, Brentford, money scrivener.—Feb. 22. D. Johnson, Malden, Essex, corn dealer.—Feb. 22. T. Donkin, Cambridge, victualler.—Feb. 23. L. C. Leconte, Fenchurch-buildings, Fenchurch-street, merchant.—Feb. 21. R. Sharpe, Chesham, Bucks, draper.—Feb. 23. E. G. Beaulieu, Manchester, Walworth, Hants dealer.—Feb. 23. J. Brown, jun., Tydse, Monmouthshire, ironmonger.—Feb. 22. T. Thorpe, Chertsey, Surrey, plumber.—Feb. 23. F. Barry, Ely, Essex, miller.—Feb. 21. E. T. Gode, Titchhurst, Berkshire, cattle dealer.

THE OJIBWAY INDIANS.

(Hour and Price Charge).—GATLIN'S North American Indian Pictures, Engraving, and Lithography, 25, Strand, London, W.C. Each day of this week, at 10 o'clock, on each open from One to Three, and from Seven to Ten. Indians in the room from Half-past One to Three, and from Half-past Seven to Nine.—Admission, day or evening, One shilling; Children, One shilling.

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BIOUKRENE, or FOUNTAIN OF LIFE.—This invaluable Medicine proves efficacious in removing all Scrofulous and Scorbatic Diseases. It attacks the source of all eruptions on the skin; it purifies and nourishes the blood, invigorates the digestive organs, and effects an entire cure of Scrofula and Scurvy in all the forms which these diseases assume. This Medicine is free from those mineral preparations which cannot be taken without injury to the constitution. Its action on the system is remarkably mild and gentle, and will not interfere with the patient's ordinary pursuits.

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| | |
|----------------|---------|
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 On Saturday, February 10th, will be published the First Number of a Liberal and Free-Trade Newspaper, entitled—

THE PRESTON GUARDIAN, and LANCASHIRE ADVERTISER. This Paper will be earnestly devoted to the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty, the Rights of Industry, the Prosperity of Agriculture, and the Freest Freedom of Trade and Commerce.

The Repeal of the Corn Laws and the Abolition of all similar Monopolies, the Full and Free Representation of the People, the Repeal of the New Poor Law, and Cheap and Good Government, will be constantly advocated. The GUARDIAN will especially identify itself with every important interest in this locality. The prosperity of the Town and Trade of Preston, and the local interests of Chorley, Wigan, Clitheroe, Burnley, Padiham, Ormskirk, Southport, Fleetwood, Foulton, Garstang, Blackpool, Lytham, and other neighbouring places will receive unceasing attention.

This Paper, containing twenty-two columns, will be considerably larger than any journal ever published in Preston. It will be printed on the best paper, with new type, cast expressly for the purpose, and with a powerful machine so as to admit the latest intelligence. To be published every Saturday morning, by J. Livesey and Son, at the GUARDIAN Office, No. 8, Chesapeake, Preston, where all Orders, Advertisements, and Correspondence will be received. Price 4d., or 5s. per quarter, and 4s. 6d. paid in advance. Its anticipated circulation will render it a most eligible medium for Advertisements, which are respectfully solicited.

THE WEEKLY CHRONICLE to its READERS
 and the PUBLIC, on the OPENING OF PARLIAMENT, February 1, 1844. On the day of session of Parliament, which, if it do not terminate the struggle, must at least be looked on as the herald of the advent of Free Trade—in which the pacification of Ireland must be placed in contrast with the possible alternative of civil war, and the threatened dismemberment of the Empire, in which the grand battle of civil and religious liberty will have once more to be fought, on the question of educating the people, and in which the Government must be called on, amidst its exultations on the state of the revenue, to say not only from what oppressive sources, and by what injurious expedients, the income has been derived, but in what manner it has been expended,—the Weekly Chronicle once more submits its claims upon the continued support of its old subscribers, and upon the more extended encouragement of a larger share of public patronage, from the accession of new friends.

The Weekly Chronicle is now printed on superior paper of the largest size, containing more reading matter than any other London weekly paper. Great care is bestowed on the condensation and arrangement of its general news and Parliamentary intelligence, of which it gives a much fuller and far more satisfactory summary than any of its contemporaries. And this it is enabled to do from the principles on which its contents are selected and arranged; for while the Weekly Chronicle will be found to give due attention to literature, science, the fine arts, the drama, and even to sporting intelligence, so far as this latter can be said to interest the general reader, neither sporting, nor any other feature of minor interest, are allowed to supersede the proper objects of a newspaper—those subjects of breathing, living import to the progress of society, and to the well-being of the people throughout the whole length and breadth of Home and Colonial England.

The Weekly Chronicle will, therefore, continue to scrutinize the conduct of men in office—to record political facts as they arise, whether within or without the walls of Parliament—to warn its reader of the coming event before its shadow is cast broadly across the public footpath; and in all other respects to fulfil its purposes as a newspaper, identified at once with a party, and with the people—with the party of Practical Reformers, and with a people seeking the common good of all.

The Weekly Chronicle has been the constant organ and advocate of these principles for many years; and has been thought to have done good service in critical times upon questions materially affecting the public welfare. It is the advocate of extended suffrage—of the ballot—of a shortened duration of Parliament—of Free Trade—of systematic colonization—of the education of the people on the principles of civil and religious liberty—of a readjustment of the revenue of the Church, and of other measures of a more radical character calculated to secure the union—of peace at home and abroad—of a repeal of the odious income-tax, with a reduction of the expenditure; and, not to extend the catalogue, it may be said that it treats all other public questions in a kindred spirit and tone; whilst its means of information may be judged from the fact that it was, among other instances of early intelligence, the first to announce to the world the visit of the Queen to France, and the determination of the Government to arrest O'Connell and his friends—both which facts were announced in the Weekly Chronicle for several days before they were communicated to the Government press.

Arrangements have been made for bringing down the news contained in the Weekly Chronicle to a much later date than usual, in some instances anticipating the average of last year by a week; and, to effect this, every department of the paper has been scrupulously revised and efficiently reconstructed. For the convenience of our friends, the three following editions are published; and, by attending to these directions, the substitution of any other edition for the one preferred, and for which the order should be distinctly given, may be prevented:—

1. An edition for exclusive circulation in the provinces on the Saturday, marked "Country Edition."
 2. An edition for circulation in London on the Saturday, and in the country on the Sunday, marked "Town and Country Edition."
 3. An edition for exclusive circulation in the metropolis and its environs on the Sunday, marked "Town Edition."
 The price is 6d., for which the Weekly Chronicle may be obtained of all respectable newsmen; and by post, paid in advance, at a subscription of 3s. per annum, 13s. the half-year, and 6s. 6d. the quarter.—Sold by all newsmen in town and country.

THE DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL LINEN COMPANY, in giving publicity to the Prices at which they are now selling IRISH LINENS, SHEETINGS, TABLECLOTHS, CAMBRIC HANDKERCHIEFS, LONGCLOTHS, CALICOES, &c., and other Manufactures suitable for household purposes, beg to apprise families residing either in Town or Country, that samples can be forwarded for inspection previous to payment, by merely sending a reference. Prospectuses, containing full particulars of the various manufactures and lists of prices, can be had at their Warehouse, 104, Fleet-street, corner of Farringdon street, or by post. It will be found most convenient for carriages to set down in Farringdon-street.

MACINTOSHES SUPERSEDED.—Important to all classes exposed to the vicissitudes of the weather.—The NEW BRITISH WATERPROOFING COMPANY render goods of every fabric, either in the piece or made up garments, thoroughly impervious to the most depressing rains, and yet the escape of perspiration remains unimpeded. Books of Testimonials, with list of prices, may be had gratis, at their office, 18, Skinner-street, Snow-hill (late 343, Strand).

TESTIMONIAL.
 "Metropolitan Police-office, Whitehall-place, February 23, 1839.
 "Gentlemen.—The Commissioners of Police beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant, and to acquaint you in reply that one suit has been in the use of a constable whose tent is situated on Blackheath. He reports, that frequently during the month of January he was out in six hours' successive rains, and that, on the night of the 8th instant, it rained the whole nine hours he was on duty; and that when he took off his great coat, in the presence of the sergeant at the station, it was as dry inside as when he put it on. "I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, "Your most obedient servant, "C. ROWAN."

N.B. Every garment, &c., bearing their stamp, is warranted thoroughly waterproof.

PRESENTS.—J. LIMBIRD, No. 143, Strand, has on SALE an extensive assortment of gold and silver engraved pens, cases, silver fruit knives, ivory and pearl tablets, boxes of drawing colours, writing desks, dressing cases, houses, ebony, and other interesting novelties, albums, assay books, blotting cases, stationery cases, book companions, pipes, and prayer books, &c., and every article in stationery of the best quality and lowest prices.—At Limbird's, 143, Strand, facing Colborne-street, near Somerset House.

COTTON TWIST REDIVIVUS!
THE WEEKLY CHRONICLE, of Saturday and Sunday, the 3rd and 4th inst., will contain No. II. of a New Series of the **LETTERS OF COTTON TWIST.** FREE TRADE! PLENTY TO DO! HIGH PROFITS! GOOD WAGES! and CHEAP BREAD! Also, No. 21 of the celebrated Articles on IRISH HISTORY—the only safe Guide to a Knowledge of the Irish Policy, essential to the integrity of the Empire at this important crisis.—Office, 237, Strand.

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE, residing in the Country, can be supplied with the **MORNING CHRONICLE,** clean and regular, for 14s. per quarter, "Evening Sun" or "Globe," 12s. 6d. per quarter; sent by post to any part of the Kingdom free of extra charge. Orders, pre-paid, to M. HALL, News Agent, 223, Strand. Agent for TAN LAMOU, &c.

TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT and others.—St. James's-park, Storey's-gate, Westminster. To LET Furnished, close to the Houses of Parliament, a compact HOUSE, suitable for a small Family. Particulars with Messrs. Trollope and No. 6, Parliament-street; or William Crabth Knight, builder, &c., 13, Alfred-place, Newington-causesway Southwark.

THE NEW PATENT INKSTAND by R. T. CLIFFE, is Superior in all respects to those recently patented. The ink is drawn from the surface of the reservoir, the sediment remains below. No variation of temperature affects the ink, and from its simplicity cannot be got out of order. Hyde and Co., agents, 61, Fleet-street, where may be had their Bank Sealing Wax, an article excelling all others in pureness of quality and brilliancy of colour.

HORSE POWER SUPERSEDED IN AGRICULTURAL OPERATIONS.
THE INVENTOR of a most efficient and economical SUBSTITUTE for ANIMAL and STEAM POWER, invites the attention of Capitalists to his important Discovery, particularly those interested in Agriculture. Farmers may now be placed upon an equality with Manufacturers, as regards producing cheaply, by means of Economical Motive Power, without displacing human labour. Such arrangements can be made with a respectable Capitalist as will secure him from loss under any circumstances. Prepaid letters, addressed Mr. Alexander, No. 18, Easy-row, Birmingham.

THE AMERICAN ROCKING-CHAIR, so much admired by all who have visited America, for the remarkable ease, pleasure, and comfort which it affords, is just imported, and for sale at the extensive Carpet and Upholstery Establishments of LUCK, KENT, and CUMMING, No. 4, Regent-street; Carpenters' Hall, 65, London wall; and WM. CUMMING and Co., 98, Hatton-garden. It is asserted with confidence that there is no piece of furniture in use in civilized society more universally sought after and approved of when known, by all ranks, ages, and conditions of people, than the "American Rocking Chair." The price is 41 5s., the purchaser to be at liberty to return it if not approved within a week. When their excellence becomes known, few families will be without one, as they are suitable for all, and particularly stout persons and invalids.—A liberal discount to the trade.

CABINET FURNITURE, CARPETS, and UPHOLSTERY.—THOMAS PAUL and CO. inform the nobility and gentlemen furnishing, that their CABINET STOCK comprises every kind of furniture, calculated for any description of residence, from the cottage to the mansion, and will be found 50 per cent. cheaper than at any other house in London. Independently of the great savings, every article is manufactured of the most seasoned and sound materials, so that parties furnishing (even for a foreign climate) are secure either from complaint or defective wear. References of many years' standing, together with the most ample warranty given where required. Their stock of Brussels carpets consists of a splendid variety, commencing at the extraordinarily low price of 2s. 3d. per yard, and those of new and elegant designs from 3s. per yard. THOMAS PAUL and CO., cabinetmakers, upholsterers, and carpet manufacturers, opposite the Mansion House, City.

THE NEW LIGHT.—A GREAT NOVELTY.
 The patent CAMPHINE LAMP gives a light of surpassing power, softness, and purity, without any kind of grease or dirt, smoke or smell. The lamp is simply and beautifully constructed, and can be fixed to any description of lamp, pedestal, or gas fitting. It is not easily put out of condition. The Camphine (also a patent) is 4s. per gallon, and is so pure that if split on any article of dress or furniture will not leave either mark or stain, while it consumes so slowly that, at the cost of three farthings for two hours, it gives a light equal to twelve mould candles, without any attention. It will be found far less expensive than any, and incomparably superior to all existing lights. To be seen burning at Rippon and Burton's (sole wholesale and retail agents for English Patent Camphine).—N.B. THE ONLY Patent Camphine Lamp has "Rippon and Burton, Wells-street, Oxford-street," conspicuously placed on its head. The public are cautioned against all not so marked.

A CUP OF COFFEE IN ONE MINUTE!
DUNN'S ESSENCE OF COFFEE, warranted to keep good in any climate.—This Essence of the finest Mocha Coffee, improved by a process of thirty years' experience, contains all the fragrant and exhilarating properties of the Coffee in the highest perfection. It is admirably adapted to persons travelling, Officers in the Army and Navy, and Families visiting watering-places. Manufactured by D. DUNN, Pentonville, London, Manufacturer of Chocolate Powder, Essence of Ginger, and other Spices, Herbs, &c. Sold in Bottles from 1s. to 4s. each; and may be ordered of any respectable Grocer in the United Kingdom. Directions.—Put about a teaspoonful of the Essence into a coffee-cup, add sugar and cream or milk, then fill it up with boiling water, and a cup of Coffee, of superior flavour, is instantly made.

EASE IN WALKING AND COMFORT TO THE FEET.—HALL and CO., SOLE PATENTERS of the FANNUS LUMIUM, or Leather-Cloth Boots and Shoes for Ladies and Gentlemen. These articles have borne the test and received the approbation of all who have worn them. Such as are troubled with Corns, Bunions, Gout, Chlains, or Tenderness of Feet from any other cause, will find them the softest and most comfortable ever invented. Hall and Co. particularly invite attention to their Elastic Boots, which are much approved; they supersede lacing or buttoning, are drawn on in an instant, and are a great support to the ankle. The Patent India-rubber Goggles are light, durable, elastic, and waterproof; they thoroughly protect the feet from damp or cold. Hall and Co.'s Portable Waterproof Dresses, Ladies' Cardinal Cloaks with Hoods, 18s. Gentlemen's Dresses, comprising Cape, Overalls, and Hood, 21s. The whole can be carried with convenience in the pocket.

PATRONIZED AND SANCTIONED BY HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT, THE ROYAL FAMILY, AND THE SEVERAL COURTS OF EUROPE.

ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL, for the Growth and for Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair. Price 2s. 6d.—7s. Family Bottle (equal to 4 small) 10s. 6d., and double that also, 21s. CAUTION.—SPURIOUS COMPOSITIONS are frequently offered for sale under a FICTITIOUS name or the word "GENUINE." It is therefore imperative on purchasers to see that the words "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" are on the Wrapper of each bottle, and on the back of the wrapper nearly 1500 times, containing 29,038 letters. All others are FRAUDULENT COUNTERFEITS. The principle on which "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" is prepared, is confined solely to the knowledge and practice of A. ROWLAND and SON, who are still at an immense expense in completing its preparation, and the amalgamation of its FULLY VERIFIABLE MATERIALS renders abortive any attempt to discover its component parts.

ROWLAND'S KALDOR, for Improving and Beautifying the Skin and Complexion. Price 4s. 6d. and 8s. 6d. per bottle, duty included. ROWLAND'S ODONTO, or PEARL DENTIFRICE, renders the Teeth beautifully White and preserves the Gums. Price 2s. 6d. per box, duty included.

CAUTION.—It is imperative on purchasers to see that the word "ROWLAND'S" is on the Wrapper of each article. For the protection of the Public from fraud and imposition, the Honourable Commissioners of Her Majesty's Stamps have authorized the Proprietors' Signature to be impressed on the Government Stamp, thus, A. ROWLAND and SON, 25, Abchurch-lane, which is affixed to the Kaldor and Odonto. Sold by them and by Chemists and Perfumers.

* All others are SPURIOUS IMITATIONS!!!

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 20.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1844.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

"REGISTER! REGISTER!! REGISTER!!!"

The citizens of London, and, indeed, the whole country, are sufficiently familiar with these words. Since they were first uttered in Merchant Tailors' Hall, they have never been forgotten. The orations of Sir Robert Peel, whether against or for Catholic Emancipation; whether in corroboration of, or in reply to, those of Lord Stanley or Sir James Graham; whether in praise of the principles of Free Trade, or in deprecation of its practice, may fill many volumes; but these words will ever remain his most memorable speech. They evinced that he had detected the vulnerable point of the Reform Bill, and saw his way to the reconstruction of a great political party, even by means of the very measure which was the monument of its defeat and temporary dissolution. Subsequent events proved, in this instance, his sagacity, and rewarded it with a complete triumph over the authors of the Reform Bill. He must have enjoyed his success the more on that account:

"O, it is sport to see the engineer
Hoist with his own petard."

And that which is sport for the partisan may be an enjoyment also to honest men, who seek objects independent of party, and which they are willing to see accomplished by any party whose policy is not so purblind as to involve the denial of justice to all industrial members of the community. If Sir Robert Peel have indeed—as his words would portend from the mouth of any other man—screwed his courage to the sticking-point of monopoly; if his profession of fealty and submission to the royalty of Richmond be indeed without mental reservation, he may rely upon being, ere long, "hoist with his own petard," and blown out of office by his own engineering.

"Brutus will raise a spirit as soon as Cæsar." Free Trade may prevail, as Toryism recovered, by heeding this same admonition of "Register, register, register!" The elections we have won, and those we lose, alike show its worth. Both call for future diligence; and they have both a higher importance, than what belongs to them as independent struggles, in their relation to that one great electoral fight, the aim of which looks far beyond each particular contest—to the attainment of a demonstrable majority in the entire constituency of the country. To this purpose, success and defeat are alike subordinate and subservient. Triumph is welcome, but defeat does not discourage. Towards this purpose we move onward through storm and sunshine. The League points to this demonstrable majority of the constituencies as "its being's end and aim." And for this we reiterate to all cities, boroughs, and counties, "Register, register, register!"

Our especial reason for advertising just now to this topic is to ensure the attention of our London readers to the work undertaken by the Metropolitan Anti-Corn-Law Association. The plan and objects of this body are as follows:—

"An aggregate meeting of the members of all the branches belonging to each particular borough should be immediately convened, a strict examination made into the state of the registration and of preparations for elections, and a report returned by the meeting to the committee of the result, accompanied by detail of what practical steps, if any, the branches in each borough, respectively, consider necessary to place it in a satisfactory position.

"A central Free-Trade Parliamentary registration committee-room should be taken by the branches formed, with power to add to their number, which committee should at once proceed to elect into their body such influential and active gentlemen of Free-Trade opinions as have distinguished themselves by attention to elections within the borough. They should constitute themselves into a Free-Trade Parliamentary Registration Society for the borough, elect an influential chairman, and a general committee of leading electors, engage a paid secretary, frame rules, fix terms of entry, enrol members, and hold weekly committee meetings for despatch of business. Circulars inviting co-operation and subscriptions, and enclosing list of office-bearers, committee, and rules, should be issued to every elector on the register.

"Branches should be organised in every parish or other parliamentary division of each borough, each being a complete society in itself, with rules, office-bearers, committee of management, and members; and from the metropolitan enrolment-sheets of members of the Anti-Corn-Law League the means at once are presented of forming societies in every parliamentary subdivision of the boroughs.

"The secretary of the central committee of each borough should, under its direction, analyze and digest, alphabetically, the whole register, prepare a complete set of canvassing-books, and record every information relative to deaths, removals, politics, and qualifications of claimants and voters.

"Meanwhile, as the formation of each branch society is complete, its committee should be provided with the printed register of the parish or district, and hold periodical meetings of the members, who should, from their local knowledge, make returns to the central borough committee of every information calculated to affect the state of the register; and to discover and induce to claim to be registered every qualified Free-trader. So soon as the canvassing-books of the parish or ward are complete, these should in like manner be revised and corrected by the local branch, returns made to the borough office, and these regularly posted up.

"Aggregate meetings of the office-bearers of all the branches within the borough should make a monthly report in writing to the central borough committee of the state of their business; and the committee, in return, should be prepared with a general report of the whole existing state of the association, and to submit for general consideration any matter which it may be desirable to discuss.

"The borough office should be open at all business hours, and a secretary in attendance, competent to afford every information on the subject of the registration, and every facility in the promotion of claims.

"Inspectors to collect such particulars as are not otherwise supplied, and to get claims signed, should be employed; the office-register and street canvassing-books should be punctually altered from time to time, according to the information; and the committee should charge itself with the responsibility of being prepared for an election at a moment's notice. The branches of each parish or ward will also be prepared to canvass within their respective districts all out-voters of the city of London, or of the counties of Surrey and Middlesex, according to the lists transmitted by the Free-Trade committees of that city or those counties.

"The business committee of the association are fully prepared to expect that in all these arrangements much assistance will be required from them. They are ready to devote all labour and time they can command to active co-operation with the various associations. Their secretary will vigilantly inspect the progress of business at each borough office, and attend and help to organize all the contemplated branches. The central office of the association will always be at the service of the borough associations, its officers will be ready to afford every facility in the execution of such duties as branches may not have the means to perform themselves.

"Such are the outlines of the plan recommended for your adoption.

"When its application shall have been extended to all the metropolitan boroughs, its operation will secure uniformity of action among all their representatives, and intelligent co-operation and public spirit in the whole body of their electors. Such an influential expression of public opinion would speedily become the key-note to that of the whole country, and give to the metropolis of this great empire a compact body of popular influence and political power worthy of its former history and present position.

"The task of executing such a plan is expensive, laborious, and difficult, and nothing can crown it with success but a thorough conviction in the public mind of the absence of all party objects in the members of this association, and an entire confidence in their singleness of purpose, aptitude for business, prudence in the management of right means, and assiduous energy in the pursuit of honest ends."

The zealous support of this plan will, it is hoped, be regarded as a public and indispensable duty by the citizens of London, and the inhabitants of the metropolitan boroughs. It falls to their portion, in the great division of labour required by our common cause. It is the first decided metropolitan movement for following up the splendid victory achieved in the return of Mr. Pattison. It is an appropriate response from the heart of the nation to the demonstrations of earnestness and liberality from its remotest provinces. It will teach the Premier-slave of the landlords better manners than were evinced in the vulgar insolence of his supercilious and jeering refusal to answer Mr. Pattison's question relative to the sugar duties. That reply was not not more wanting in personal courtesy than in due respect for the representation of the commercial as well as political metropolis of the empire. It will open the fair and not remote prospect of combining the representation of the city of London, that of Westminster, the metropolitan boroughs, and, we will add, the metropolitan county also, into one great protest against Monopoly, and on behalf of the practical, immediate, and consistent application of Free-Trade principles. People of the Metropolis, here is your work; a great and noble one, worthy of your position; and most essential to the progress of the League towards eventual and complete success. Be up and doing—forthwith, in all your wards and parishes—and may a blessing crown your exertions from that Providence which watches over the sorrows of poverty, the rights of industry, and the cause of justice.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

First Week, ending Saturday, Feb. 10.

The present year commences a new era in the Free-Trade agitation. Hope within Parliament is lessened, as hope out of Parliament increases. The Anti-Corn-Law League turns away—"more in sorrow than in anger"—from "honourable members" to "worthy and independent electors;" and, in the full conviction that the victory is to be achieved "out of doors," they care less for that which passes within the walls of the Legislature, as compared with their interest in that which passes without.

Nevertheless, the proceedings of the House of Commons during the session of 1844 will not be without their interest. The House is, of course, the primary field for that discussion which ultimately affects all public opinion in this country. In the present state of opinion, every word, every look, every cheer, uttered within the House of Commons in relation to FREE TRADE, has significance and force; they are the degrees of the thermometer, working the fluctuations of feeling; they tell, far more than ever set speeches and debates, how "honourable members" are affected by the "pressure from without." It is our purpose, therefore, to watch the Legislature, especially the House of Commons; and, in a spirit of honest independence and perfect impartiality, to communicate to those whom the "standing orders" recognise as "outside barbarians" the reflection of every peculiar word, attitude, admission, or argument, which may illustrate how the triumphant work of FREE TRADE *without* is operating on the hopes, the fears, the sense, and the nonsense, of those *within*.

Beginning with the beginning, we commence with the opening of Parliament on the memorable 1st of February. That day was signalised by the declaration of Sir Robert Peel, that—*against his own avowals and convictions*—he had succumbed to the iron rule of the agriculturists; and that day was also signalised by the fact, that henceforth all the "Fixed-Duty" men may be crammed into Lord Stanley's vacant "Derby Dilly," while all the rest of the reflecting and unreflecting community are divided into "total repealers," and "sliding scalars." It is, therefore, not without reason that we notice this first night of the session, even though all our readers may be long since familiar with its statements and results. That night drew the great line of demarcation between the antagonist principles of what remains of monopoly and the now universally received doctrines of Free Trade; and as Sir Robert Peel will himself be found hereafter to have been one of the most effective *indirect* contributors to the triumph of Free Trade, it would be unkind and uncandid to omit all notice of the successful way in which he demolished Lord John Russell's argument for a "fixed duty."

Mr. Cardwell, the member for Clitheroe, seconded the address, and sung the song of triumph about "reviving prosperity." He was selected, of course, because he was connected with Lancashire, and was not unfamiliar with the causes and the consequences of manufacturing and commercial fortune and misfortune. Very well, indeed, he told his story—that is, in the way in which the House of Commons considers to be "very well." For the House of Commons is more solicitous about the *manner* and the *style* in which a member speaks, than about the *cogency* of his arguments, or the *truth* of his statements. Therefore, when the DOMINANT party is in *distress*, it always feels greatly obliged to the young or untied member who makes a successful effort on their behalf, and rewards him with whatever amount of "great cheering" it can command. Great cheering did not follow Mr. Cardwell's speech; but he made a very plausible kind of speech, delivered in a very plausible kind of way, and, though it was heard in quietness (for Peel had not yet spoken, and the agriculturists were, therefore, unsoothed), there was a considerable amount of cheering at the close, and everybody said it was a very respectable speech.

The most noticeable thing in it was the fact of his clogging the liberality of the Government for admitting "all nations" to participate in our free commercial intercourse with China. "Great cheering" from the Opposition benches followed this particular announcement, but there was a blank on the Ministerial. They dreaded more "Free-Trade" indications from the Ministry of their own choosing, and did not altogether like the idea that China should be more advanced than Britain. Mr. Cardwell felt this, and recovered himself with as much dexterity as if he were an old Ministerial stager. He told his auditors that all practical men of business attributed the return of prosperity to the revival of the HOME TRADE; and at the words "home trade" a rival cheer broke forth from the Ministerial ranks, which testified how dear to their hearts and feelings was the sound of "home trade" to the monopolists. But what if anybody had asked, "What do you mean by revival of home trade?" Mr. Cardwell

talked fluently about revival of cotton manufacture, the improvement of the linen trade, the increase in the deposits of the Savings Banks, the decrease in the poor-rates, and the good prospects even for the iron trade. Is all this owing to the fact, that the agriculturists of Essex and Lincoln require more calicoes and woollens than ever they did? Or, is the home trade revived because all this little increase in our languishing manufacturing industry arises from increased demand within the limits of the British Islands? If so, to what department of the home trade are we to assign our trade with China? And if Chinese trade is not home trade, what on earth is the meaning of home trade? Let Lord John Russell answer; he told us what constitutes the true secret of revival of home trade, and of all trade; and, as that secret is the essence of free trade, it is worth while repeating the words of the noble lord:—

"I have made some inquiries with respect to the effects produced in poor families by the reduction of the price of bread this year, and I have been told that in some families it has occasioned a saving of a shilling every week in the consumption of the family; and if we multiply the numbers of families that must be in this condition, it will show an amount of some eight or ten millions saved, in the article of food; and can there be a ground for doubting that the application of the money thus saved to the acquisition of other objects which are the obvious produce of the bounty of Providence goes far to account for the improvement that has taken place." (Cheers.)

But though Lord John Russell uttered this "great truth," he had not the courage to stand upright upon it, and sling away the broken crutch of protection. Clinging with fatuous fondness to his "fixed duty," he laid himself open to the successful reply of Sir Robert Peel, who thus filled up the blank in Lord John Russell's Free-Trade principles:—

"If the noble lord intend it for revenue merely—if he think there is no claim on the part of the agricultural interest to protection in any shape whatever, then I retain my opinion that the noble lord will find it extremely difficult to resist the argument, that if this duty be laid on foreign corn for the purpose of revenue only, and not for protection, why not apply it to corn of domestic produce? (Loud cries of 'Hear, hear,' in which several of the Free-Trade members joined.) When the noble lord is defending his fixed duty on wheat, as a fixed duty imposed, not for protection, but for revenue, he will have the case of barley and of malt quoted against him (hear, hear); and would be told that with respect to other descriptions of corn, such as barley, we do raise a large revenue from our domestic produce, and that if you think it right to have a duty on wheat, not for protection, but for revenue, why not lay a tax on wheat ground at the mill, and not confine yourselves to taxes on the imports? (Loud cries of 'Hear, hear,') Why not pursue, with respect to wheat, the course you have taken with respect to barley, and subject both foreign and home produce to equal duties—provided you are sincere in enforcing your duty, not on account of protection, but really for revenue?"

This reply is complete; and it was really amusing to see these two statesmen taking each other by the beard, each smiting his antagonist "under the fifth rib," and at the same time using their daggers of sliding scale and fixed duty with fatal effect against the very "protection" which they seem to patronise. Well, let us be thankful even for mercies of a small size; if we cannot construct a Free-Trade statesman out of Peel or Russell singly, or alone, by lumping them both together we may manage to get one—somewhat after the fashion that requires nine tailors to make a man.

The great Free-Trade speech of the evening was Mr. Villiers's—far, though Mr. Hume spoke very well on the subject of Free Trade, he was too discursive and too lengthy, a circumstance which mars the effect of any speech. Nor are we now noticing other speeches, such as that of Mr. Milner Gibson, who reduced Sir Robert Peel to the hard necessity of speaking out a second time. But Mr. Villiers confined himself mainly to one subject—namely, the anomalous position of the Government; he spoke with even more than his usual spirit; and he was listened to with a gloomy silence on the Ministerial side, which showed how keenly the biting truth of his words was felt. In last Saturday's LEAGUE we gave that particular extract from his speech which told with withering effect; and though Mr. Gladstone got up, and denied that he was the author of the Free-Trade article in the *Foreign and Colonial Review*, and thereby enabled those around him to give breath to their pent-up agony in a sort of screaming cheer, the circumstance was in itself exceedingly trivial, and did not, in the slightest material degree, detract from the general effect and power of Mr. Villiers's speech.

Passing from Thursday night to Monday, we remark a significant notice given by Mr. Milner Gibson, the reading of which elicited "laughter and cheers."

Mr. Milner Gibson gave notice of a motion for the appointment of a committee to obtain information on the present state of the agriculture of the United Kingdom, with a view of obtaining returns of the quantity of land at present under cultivation, the amount of its produce, and the quantity used for agricultural purposes.

"If," says a mind of no common stamp, in a book recently published,—"if it be the one all-important problem in this country, 'how shall the whole land be made to yield the greatest increase?' what then will be said in favour of the splendid mansions of the aristocracy, in the midst of their vast parks, policies, and pleasure-grounds—of their game preserves, and fields covered with animals kept for pleasure, which absorb and withdraw from cultivation immense portions of the richest and finest land in the country, that would otherwise be devoted to the production of human food?" We hope Mr. Milner Gibson will follow up this subject with his accustomed spirit.

But Monday night did not pass without Free-Trade principles being uttered by the Government. Mr. Gladstone moved for a select committee to revise the standing orders relative to railways; and, in so doing, urged, as one reason for watching over these iron monopolies, that there was, at the present time, an *unprecedented* amount of capital seeking profitable investment. This confession is made by the President of the Board of Trade, in the face of a great commercial nation! Why does not the reviving home trade afford some vent for this pent-up capital? Yes, it does! People, in the eager hope that prosperity is coming, are rushing to invest their capital in cotton and railways, there being no less than sixty-six notices on the journals of the House of Commons for bills to permit the construction of between eight and nine hundred miles of railroad, in addition to the two thousand miles already made! This fact alarms the Government; the President of the Board of Trade is instructed to utter a cry of caution, lest this "unprecedented accumulation of capital"

* "The Aristocracy of Britain, and the Laws of Entail and Primogeniture"—a striking, remarkable, and useful book.

should rush onwards to ruin. "Beware," he says practically, and in effect, "beware; for, so long as the sliding scale exists, fictitious prosperity and real distress will follow alternately!" This is the rotation to which monopoly dooms a country whose commerce might command the world.

But Sir Robert Peel was not satisfied with the performance of his President of the Board of Trade. He rose to enunciate another great Free-Trade principle, as memorable as the one that we should "buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market." Mr. Wallace, an honest, blunt-spoken man, who, however, sometimes speaks before he thinks, objected to the railway companies, that they were actuated by self-interest, and not the convenience or advantage of the public. Up jumps Sir Robert Peel. "Self-interest!" he almost shouted—"why, what would you have them to do? Is not SELF-INTEREST THE VIVIFYING SOUL OF ALL COMMERCE?" John Bright was sitting opposite the Prime Minister, and he looked at him as if marvelling whether or no the man were aware of the significance and greatness of the truth he had spoken. For the Prime Minister, in these remarkable words, spoken with great vehemence of enunciation and action, condensed a volume of Free-Trade argument. Yes! self-interest is the "vivifying soul" of all human action. Away, then, with your restrictions, your regulations, your swaddling bands! Let the healthful breezes of competition blow around every interest, and brace up the nerve and the industry of every man, be he cotton-spinner or corn-grower. Each individual turns on the pivot of self-interest; but, out of all these individual and conflicting self-interests, Providence intends that there shall spring one harmonious system, animated by one "VIVIFYING SOUL." "We thank thee, Jew, for teaching us that word!"

On Tuesday Mr. Cobden gave notice of the following motion:—

"That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the effects of protective duties on imports upon the interests of the tenant-farmers and farm-labourers of this country."

The object of such committees is, of course, to examine witnesses; and we shall now see whether the landlord majority will dare to hear the evidence of such men as Earl Ducie, Earl Spencer, Mr. Chawner, Mr. Lattimore, and the other intelligent agriculturists who are opposed to the principle of protection. At all events, whether they grant the committee of inquiry or not, they cannot evade the discussion which will involve the whole question of monopoly in corn, sugar, and other articles, as they affect the interests of farmers and farm-labourers. We are prepared to expect some manoeuvre on the part of the monopolists, to endeavour to get rid of this debate if possible, either by counting out the House, as they succeeded in doing upon Mr. Ward's motion for inquiry into the special burdens on land, or by moving some irrelevant amendment.

Mr. Sharman Crawford also brought forward the subject of the people's grievances, and told the House that "one of the monopolies of which the people seriously complained was the monopoly of the supply of corn, which they alleged was kept up for the purpose of protecting particular interests, which raised the price of food to the working classes, and at the same time prevented the demand for their labour, while, by the imposition of a heavy tax, injury was inflicted upon the commercial and manufacturing public." This is a proposition which nobody but a Wyndham or a Sibthorp—the "clowns of the ring" in the House of Commons—could have the hardihood to deny, after the statement of Lord John Russell, on the first night of the session, that the great difficulty of the Corn Law was the fact of its being a matter in which a majority of both Houses of Parliament were personally interested.

Respecting Mr. Sharman Crawford's motion, we may only remark, that a good cause was spoiled by too much being attempted. His amendment on the motion for going into committee of supply was literally a lengthy document, enumerating grievances affecting the entire social framework of the country; and the bare idea that the House of Commons was at once to sit down and entertain them all was to suppose that a revolution had taken place. And, though Mr. Sharman Crawford is not only a good but an able man, he is not an Atlas, and cannot carry a whole world at once upon his back. Let him learn a lesson from the story of "little David." When the shepherd-boy proposed to go forth against Goliath, they put Saul's armour upon him, and crippled his energy and power. Flinging it off, he ran out in his natural garb, carrying only a scrip and a sling; and with one little stone he brought the monster to the ground.

MEETINGS.

WEEKLY AGGREGATE MEETING OF THE LEAGUE AT COVENT GARDEN THEATRE.

On Thursday evening last, the third metropolitan meeting of the League for the present year was held at Covent Garden Theatre, every part of which spacious building was again filled to overflowing a few minutes after the opening of the doors, while hundreds, eagerly desirous of obtaining admittance to these now far-famed and interesting gatherings, were unable to get beyond the avenues. The reception of Messrs. Cobden and Villiers was enthusiastic in the extreme, marking the high estimation of the members of the League for the services of those gentlemen. To the great disappointment of the meeting, Mr. Moore, who had been advertised as one of the speakers, was prevented from addressing them owing to the circumstance of the previous addresses having exhausted the allotted time. The speeches of Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden, high as the reputation of those hon. gentlemen stands, were of a more than usual degree of excellence, combining the most brilliant eloquence, with the most cogent argument, probably ever presented to any assembly.

W. Hutt, Esq., M.P.; Dr. W. Drury; S. Coleby, Esq.; G. Ridout, Esq.; George Wilson, chairman; Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P.; Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; Thomas Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; Sir Wm. Baynes, Bart.; R. R. Moore, Esq.; George Moffatt, Esq.; Richard Moffatt, Esq.; John Potter, Esq., Manchester; Richard Baxter, Esq.; F. Ricardo, Esq.; R. L. Tweedale, Esq.; F. H. Toone, Esq.; John Egan, Esq.; R. W. Cole, Esq.; J. T. Norris, Esq.; John Williams, Esq.; P. Wells, Esq.; M. B. Sampson, Esq.; S. Lees, Esq.; Manchester; J. E. Parry, Esq., North Devon; J. B. Smith, Esq., Manchester; C. W. Squarey, Esq., Salisbury; A. T. Squarey, Esq., do.; Crosby, Liverpool; Bridges Harvey, Esq.; J. Bro-

therton, Esq.; Cowden Clarke, Esq.; General Sir De Laey, Esq., K.C.B.; W. A. Wilkinson, Esq.; Samuel Lucas, Esq.; Ralph Ricardo, Esq.; William Leaf, Esq.; J. P. Burnard, Esq.; — Foster, Esq.; John Lyon, Esq.; Jos. Ivimey, Esq.; Richard Napier, Esq.; J. Coppock, Esq.; Dr. Cooke Taylor; D. Dewar, Esq.; P. A. Taylor, Esq.; — Keeling, Esq.; Thos. Hodgkin, Esq.; J. D. Cummins, Esq.; A. Patteson, Esq.; P. H. Leighton, Esq.; Arthur Adams, Esq.; John M'Leod, Esq.; Joseph Fletcher, Esq.; — Andrews, Esq.; — Hemmant, Esq.; Leeds; Alexander Morris, Esq.; George Moore, Esq.; Thos. Harbottle, Esq., Manchester; Charles Lattimore, Esq., Wheat-hampstead, Herts; J. B. Scott, Esq., Manchester; W. Easton, Esq.; — Bow, Esq., Broughton, Manchester, &c. &c.

Upon the motion of W. LEAF, Esq., seconded by S. LEES, Esq., the minutes of the previous meeting (having been read by Mr. Saul) were unanimously confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN then came forward amid loud cheering, and said:—Ladies and Gentlemen, another week has rolled away, opening up and developing events which, although perhaps possessing no particular or striking character, will, notwithstanding, have an important influence upon this question at some future day. (Hear.) Parliament has been opened, and her Majesty's speech has been read in both Houses. I do not know whether any one here present expected that it would contain an announcement that the Corn Laws were to be abolished or were not (laughter); but, if he did, certainly he is doomed to great disappointment. (Hear.) The Premier stated, in his place in the House of Commons, that it was not his intention to make any alteration in the Corn Law; and the ministerial journals said that the announcement was received with loud cheers from "a great majority of the House of Commons." (Laughter.) Now, gentlemen, that such should be the fact, and yet that fact not by any means overwhelm us with astonishment or dismay, no one who has paid the slightest attention to this question, can for one moment wonder. We never expected Sir Robert Peel, as a great statesman, was going to put forth his hand to heal the wounds that monopoly will inflict and has inflicted on the industry of this country. We never conceived, that situated as he is,—placed in power by the very party who now tell him that they will remove him from his place the moment he abuses the confidence they have reposed in him,—we never supposed that when he was pledged to maintain their interests intact, watched and guarded as he is on every hand, all his "speeches learned and conned by rote," to cast into his teeth, if any change should take place,—under these circumstances we never anticipated that Sir Robert Peel could at the present time come forward and abolish the Corn Law. Gentlemen, the right hon. baronet has consented to serve his party, a faction which a single word from him could shatter into a thousand fragments in a moment; he has agreed to become the instrument of a party which distrusts him, and which places no reliance on his word, as you may gather from the protection journals, and the speeches made at the protection meetings; and yet he consents to be the tool of this party. (Hear.) Gentlemen, it will not be long, I trust, before another party will rise up in this country, which, strong in truth, will be able to put aside the monopolizing factions which have ruled it for so many ages. (Cheers.) Monopoly is a hard task-master: it spares neither young nor old, rich nor poor; it will not suffer Sir Robert Peel to escape its venom if he consents to serve it and become its willing instrument, any more than it will spare you who are its most unwilling victims; it has no respect for talent, however great and commanding; it exacts from all, high and low, rich and poor,—all who contribute to swell its enormous gain—and it makes no restitution on account of the poor and the defenceless according to the principles of mercy. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, the monopolists—the *rent leaguers*—have, no doubt, been well satisfied with the declaration in Parliament of the Premier, and yet they have, notwithstanding, turned their attention to us, and have had their field-day in the country. We have had the *tenant-farmers' farce* acted over and over again during the present week: we have seen how suddenly that respectable body have become conversant with literature; how anxious they are to engage in correspondence with their brother tenant-farmers in all parts of the kingdom. At the same time we have remarked that they have no complaints to make at these meetings; we have heard of "special burdens on land," but there appears to be no burden which the farmers complain of,—neither rent, tithe, tenure, nor anything, we might naturally conclude, affected them; all the expressions we have heard at these meetings are denunciations against the National Anti-Corn-Law League. (Laughter.) Why, gentlemen, the thing is very well managed—extremely so; it is well dressed up for stage effect; but it will scarcely pass muster for all that. (Hear, hear.) The hand is the hand of Esau, whose ever else may be presented for examination. Why, strip any one of these meetings of its false colours, and see what it is; take the speakers from the platform, remove the landlords, lawyers, parsons, land stewards, bailiffs, auctioneers, and those interested in maintaining the question, and then present the real tenant-farmers, and give us really the names of those among them who have set the wheels in motion which has governed the movement which is now existing in this country. Gentlemen, we know better. We have had letters from all parts of the country, giving us accurate information relative to these proceedings; we know the real extent of these boasted meetings. Nine out of every ten of them are scarcely worth notice in consequence of the paucity of numbers and character of the individuals attending them. I have a letter in my pocket which I will not trouble the meeting by reading, but which gives an account of a meeting in Lincolnshire, at which it was stated in a London morning paper that about one hundred tenant-farmers were present. Now, the writer of this letter, who was himself present, says that he counted the persons in the room, who altogether amounted to forty-nine. Of this number two were clergymen, five lawyers (laughter), six publicans, four butchers, one banker, two reporters, and the writer of this letter, all, of course, set down as "*tenant-farmers*." (Loud laughter.) The speakers were gentlemen who had taken an interest in the meeting held the previous day in a distant part of the country; the chairman was a gentleman who then moved the first resolution, and here took the chair on this the following day. (Laughter.) There was a general change in the persons, and it transpired in the room, from some one of their party more indiscreet than the rest, that it was thought better that this arrangement should take place, in order that it might appear to be another meeting. (Renewed laughter.) Gentlemen, that is a fair sample of the Anti-League meetings of which you see such glowing

descriptions in the newspapers. (Hear.) The landlords and squire are not satisfied with the majority in the House of Commons, nor with their still greater preponderance in the House of Peers; but they are obliged now, in acknowledgment of the power of the League, to prepare against the next general election. (Hear, hear.) They know well enough that, deprive their agitation of the name of a political question, and let the counties, like the boroughs, the landlords are in a minority. (Hear.) Gentlemen, since we last met there has been an election for the borough of Devizes. Now, I dare say most of you are aware under what circumstances that contest took place. Sir Francis Burdett, the member for North Wiltshire, died; Mr. Sotherton, the representative for Devizes—anticipating no opposition to his return for that division of the county, and knowing that the borough which he then represented was as close and compact as any in the kingdom (hear)—preferred vacating his seat for Devizes, and standing for North Wiltshire. A requisition was consequently got up to Mr. Bruges, requesting him to stand for the latter place, and signed, as it was said, by nearly two-thirds of the electors. The writ was moved for in the House of Commons, and the earliest possible day appointed for the election to take place. Well, now, under ordinary circumstances, it would have been one of the most absurd things in the world to talk of contesting Devizes; but not so under the present state of things. Mr. Temple, a gentleman well known in his profession, of which he is a leading member—a Queen's counsel—looking at the state of affairs at Devizes, said, "Stop, gentlemen, not quite so fast! You, Mr. Bruges, may have a majority of electors pledged to support you; you may, moreover, have made your arrangements under the expectation of being elected without opposition, and of returning thanks to the electors upon your success; but you shall contest this borough notwithstanding. (Loud cheers.) Two-thirds of the electors may be pledged to support you at the hustings and the poll, but, if there are twenty good men and true in Devizes, I will take the responsibility of meeting you at the day of nomination, and explaining my opinions in reference to the question of Free Trade to the constituency, and abiding the result." (Cheers.) Gentlemen, Mr. Temple stood for Devizes, and lost, as he expected; but then good seed has been sown there; monopolists have learned that, if we contest such a place as Devizes, most assuredly we shall not suffer those boroughs to escape us where we are much more likely to have support than in this close, compact borough in the middle of North Wiltshire—Devizes. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, we shall contest all boroughs. (Loud cheers.) The Monopolists may have a Devizes vacant next week, and next week a Mr. Temple will be found to contest that borough on the principle of Free Trade. (Cheers.) We know what was the case at Durham, at Walsall, and at Stockport on the first election; and yet time rolled on, and the electors of Durham in three months, and those of Walsall in six months, returned to the charge, and sent to Parliament advocates of Free Trade who had been rejected at the previous elections. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, since we met last a number of meetings have taken place in some of the smaller towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire, where considerable sums have been received for the League fund. I shall not name those meetings to-night; but there is one, however, which, with your permission, I will just allude to. On Monday last a public meeting was held in the Town Hall of Birmingham, to receive a deputation from the Council of the National Anti-Corn-Law League; the meeting was open to all; it was held in the middle of the day, in the magnificent Town-hall of that borough; and some 4000 people attended. Mr. Cobden, Col. Thompson, and Mr. Moore addressed the meeting, and upwards of £850 were collected in the room towards the great League fund. (Cheers.) Birmingham has, therefore, taken up her fair position and joined the other towns which are now allied together, composing the "National Anti-Corn-Law League." (Cheers.) This is another proof of our progress. Last year our subscriptions from Birmingham did not amount to one-third of the sum which they do at this time. (Hear.) This year in all probability that town will contribute £2000 to the League fund. We point to this as a proof of our progress; we show everywhere an independent local effort which is springing up in support of the League. We would not deceive ourselves, over estimating our own strength and under estimating the power of those who are banded together by class interest against us; but this we know, that the time is gradually approaching when the commerce of this country shall be unfettered, and the labour of the people receive its just reward. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN then called upon

Mr. VILLIERS, M.P., who, upon coming forward, was received with enthusiastic and prolonged cheering, said—When I see the number in which you have collected in this great building, further to consider and to mark your unshaken interest in this great matter about which we are assembled, I do agree with the Chairman that there is little reason for dismay at the new and would-be threatening attitude which our opponents have recently assumed. (Hear, hear.) I agree with those who see only advantage to our cause in their proceedings, for if that cause be based on truth, why should we fear its general discussion, which our opponents are inviting to it? (Hear.) I bear them no ill-will; but, if I did, I should certainly not rejoice the less at their proceedings (hear); for if it be true that those who are doomed by Heaven are by the same power made foolish first, I think this recent move gives evidence of their doom (laughter), for I think they are really doing what they ought most to avoid. They are disclosing what it were much their interest to conceal; they are making themselves known to the country (laughter); they are showing thousands who were ignorant before who they were, and what they were, for whom these great sacrifices of the commerce, the industry, wealth, and greatness of the country have been, and are yet being made (laughter); they are showing what qualities of public spirit, of high feeling, and intelligence they possess to entitle them to hold exclusive privilege for legislation (hear, hear), and what confidence they deserve for disinterestedness in that duty amongst those who dream of their possessing it before. ("Hear," and laughter.) They seem to forget how much of their power has root in the imaginations of men, and how they profit by the confusion which exists in some men's minds between what is great and what is good, and between the rich and the respectable. (Hear, hear.) Their extreme good fortune, and perhaps the defect of our constitution, give them a league ready formed in the two Houses of the

Legislature. (Hear.) With this it seems they are not satisfied. In humble imitation of the League, which has been formed in self-defence, they have descended, as the Chairman said, into the field of public agitation, and have now fairly entered the lists of those whose course they have hitherto pretended to condemn. (Hear.) But I doubt much if they have the qualities for success. (Laughter.) The drone has not the properties of the other bee (hear); and I doubt their energy in such a struggle. They are strong in rank, strong in language (a laugh); and, unless monopoly has failed them more than we imagine, strong also in pecuniary means (hear); but strongest of all, I believe, they are in their imagination, if they fancy that they can, by mere bluster, and by no better weapon than vulgar diction, dissipate a power which has arisen from necessity and sense of wrong, and which receives its strength and spirit from that indomitable love of justice which did, and I trust in God ever will pervade our nation. (Loud cheers.) It is dangerous to prophesy, still I do predict that they will fail. (Hear.) They will, I know, puff themselves indignantly (a laugh); they will have to pay enormously (hear), and they will talk largely (laughter); and they may attempt some farther wrong upon the people; still I believe—for want of honesty of object, for want of faithfulness in their agents, for want of unity of purpose—they will first disagree and then disappear. (Cheers, and laughter.) Why is it now that they quit their post to agitate? Because I suspect they begin to mistrust all around them, and all whom, if their cause was decent, one should think, would rest attached to them. (Hear.) They mistrust the Minister they have made (cheers); they mistrust the members they have named (hear, hear); they have not really any faith in the farmer, though he occupies their land at will; and they do not expect, as in their hearts, perhaps, they know they do not deserve, much gratitude from their much bepraised but ill-fed, ill-housed labourer. (Cheers.) They feel the time is come when they must turn out themselves (laughter), and their flatterers tell them that, if they will but show themselves and speak, the League will vanish, and the tide of public feeling will recede. ("Hear," and laughter.) And these great men may now be seen sitting like the Danish King before the sea, declaring that the ocean's wave shall not roll on. (Cheers and laughter.) It is really a diverting scene to see these dukes and barons, in their waggons and their windows, teaching their tenants (what it seems their tenants have to learn), what good they have done them (cheers and laughter); how the Parliament has protected them (hear); how many friends they have (laughter); how prosperous they are (laughter); and what vast advantage will accrue to them from putting down the men who venture to dispute these things. ("Hear," and laughter.) It is wonderful that it should not strike these lords, that if these men had really been so favoured that they should not before have known it, and that it should require such especial screwing (as we know it has) to make them meet to hear it (laughter); but perhaps these lords had heard, what the League had certainly discovered, that these tenant-farmers were in the predicament that the enemies of monopoly had always said they would be, and that what had been predicted had occurred, that after this foolish law had injured every other class it would visit those for whose benefit it was pretended to be passed (hear, hear); and the fact is so. The League of late has been listened to by the farmers because they found they had been deceived, and they were puzzled to reply to the question which was put: "What good has the law done for you?" And vainly will these lords preach to them of their profit in this law unless they can prove what they say. (Hear.) The fact is, the landlords found that the whole machinery by which they maintain monopoly was getting out of sorts (laughter), and they deemed it necessary to put it in repair for work before the session. (Hear.) The party they most suspected was, it seems, the Steward of the State, him whom they call first Minister. (Laughter.) They would not, it seems, let him discover their mistrust of him himself, or learn for himself the conditions of his service; but they have in every market town and village posted him as one little to be trusted, accusing him of having wished the public good, and calling upon all faithful men to watch him for the future. (Laughter.) The members, too, who are named for counties by the few great families resident within them, have been summoned before their lords, and been cautioned for the future against the corrupting influence of this Minister. (Hear, hear, hear.) A purpose of these meetings, too, has been to lecture the farmers, and to direct them what to do in future. I see in Hertfordshire some lord has desired the farmers to show their teeth (laughter); and in Essex, I think the labourers are charged in future to speak out (laughter); though how the farmers showing their teeth will raise the price of wheat one does not see (laughter); and whether the labourers might not find some better use for their mouths than that of speaking out, I think is questionable. (Great laughter.) However, the object has been to put the whole concern in better trim, and, judging by the first night of the session, one would think they had succeeded (laughter):—it seemed to work well. All the cracks through which a little public good could have leaked out seem to have been stopped with care (laughter); and they say they are satisfied. I think it is some foreign writer who calls the British constitution the finest taxing machine in Europe (laughter); he should have mentioned its merit also for monopoly, and seen it lately in all its glory. It seems that, if by the action of monopoly the people are prevented paying taxes indirectly to the state, there is what is called a vigour in the constitution to extract the deficit directly from their income (hear, hear); and if the country just escapes convulsion from the double action of taxes and monopoly, there is assurance in the Minister to congratulate the country on its healthy state, and revival of its business here. But if the people venture to cry out against monopoly as the cause of their privation and increased taxation, what is it the monopolists don't say? I have here, I think, some squire's speech that was given to me as I entered the theatre; yes, here it is; he is describing the objects of the League, which he says are like those of the Corresponding Society, in Pitt's time, which was originated by the bloody Jacobins of France; and these men (meaning the League) were the great-grandchildren of these bloody fellows. (Loud laughter.) They wished to destroy the landlord in order to pick the pocket of the tenant, and then to send the labourer to the devil. (Great laughter.) This is moderate, however, compared to what I have read, for I think at most of the

meetings they have called the complaints against the Corn Laws as nothing less than blasphemy. (A laugh.) They have not the simplicity in their mode of expressing the same idea as the Brahmins in India were said to have shown when the Christian missionaries went first among that people: they did not denounce them as false teachers or blasphemers, as perhaps they might have been allowed to do; but they simply complained to the Government that men had come among them who would, if they succeeded, upset their rice-pots. (Loud laughter.) The Brahmins were paid by the people in rice, and they foresaw that if the Hindoos were to turn Christians, they should lose their pot of rice; and they expressed thus simply what they feared. (Laughter.) The only approach I have seen to this simple way of expressing the real ground of fear was in the circular which I think has been sent round in Norfolk, where the nobility, gentry, and clergy were invited to attend a meeting for the purpose of resisting the League, whose doctrines, it said, if successful, would reduce wheat from 18s. to 12s. a coomb ("hear," and laughter); in which, I expect, is what consists the blasphemy of the doctrine (laughter), but against which, I think, they will not get many to pray. (Hear.) I rather doubt if they will be able to resist it either; for they have a question to solve which I see is already puzzling some, namely, whether they can legislate against food without legislating against the discussion of the Corn Law? (Hear.) Some think not, I see, and consequently twenty-eight petitions were presented from the great men in Lincolnshire, praying of Government to stop the League. (Oh, oh.) Others think they can do without this, and that by their own sweet voices they can charm the plague away (laughter); in which they will succeed about as well as the clergyman, in a parish in the West, I heard of the other day, whom the wise people used to call up at night when the wind blew high, to read a chapter from the Bible to stay the storm. (Laughter.) However, gentlemen, whatever the views of these folks may be with respect to us, I believe we are here of one mind with respect to ourselves (hear), that the League is not to be put down, and to determine, in reply to their resolution not to abandon one iota of their protection, not to surrender one atom of our principle. (Very loud cheering.) Our proceedings are perfectly legal, and no Minister dares yet to stop free discussion in England. (Cheers.) What we have to do, in consequence of their proceedings, is to use fresh energy and exertion (hear, hear), and to avail ourselves of all the advantage which they have conferred upon us by exciting universal attention to our arguments. (Cheers.) Amongst the chief things that I have to thank them for, is for having cleared and narrowed the ground upon which we are respectively to take our stand. (Hear, hear, hear.) It was a difficulty which I always felt I had in discussion, that I never knew exactly what they intended to rest their case upon. It was sometimes one thing, and sometimes another; but luckily, as they have got more confident, they have got more clear (hear); and, now that they have an organ which they recognise as such, it is not difficult to discover their views and intentions. (Hear.) For this purpose I sometimes turn to the columns of the *Morning Post* (laughter), and on the day before this meeting I found an article announcing, as if to remove all doubt on the matter during the coming session, what it was that the landowners did claim; and this paper must be considered as of some authority, as I see that at all their meetings they pass a resolution of thanks for its past and faithful services. (Laughter.) Now I learn from this article what they consider to be the duty and interest of farmers and landlords. In the first place, they consider that the business of the farmer is to resist the hypothesis, that any supply from abroad is necessary (laughter); which is convenient no doubt. (Laughter.) Then it is said what the duty of the landlord is; and that too, is clear, for they say it is to take care of his own interest. (Laughter.) And then it is stated what the right of the agriculturist is; and that is to the monopoly of supplying England with food, provided they be able. (Laughter.) And the policy of the sliding scale is founded on this hypothesis: they say that in ordinary times the country wants no food from abroad, and ought not to have any. (Laughter.) Now this is all clear: it is the bold definition of their claim, unencumbered with any vague verbiage of protecting native industry, or of finding means of feeding some millions of people who rejoice in something short of good and wholesome food (hear); it is the bare enunciation of the claim to monopoly, and the mode of maintaining it. But it would not be just to say that they have not considered the consequences that we apprehend from monopoly, and say arise from it; they have considered them, and they have an answer to all objections. If we say that it tends to diminish the revenue, they point to the income-tax as the means of supplying the deficiency in case of need; if we say that it tends to injure the foreign trade, they say it is a blessing to do so, that it is overgrown, and that it should be curtailed (laughter); if we talk of the ruin it will bring upon the manufacturing districts, they have an answer to that, for they say that if they were all engulfed in one common ruin, England would be as great, if not greater, than she had ever been before ("oh," and "shame"): which views, I presume, satisfy their scruples, if they have any, as to the evil monopoly produces. They have also, it seems, considered the subject of agricultural improvement, and I must say that, very consistently, this journal always sneers at this; they say that the object of monopoly is to keep up price, that the effect of improvement would be to increase quantity, and, as that would be followed by fall of price, the same results which they apprehend from importation would then ensue from improvement. Now, what they want is to keep up price, and nobody ever has discovered a way of doing that but by limiting quantity; and, therefore, they see no interest to the landlord in anything that would occasion a fall of price (hear): then they have often said, what doubtless is true, that these improvements require money, that the farmer has got none (laughter), and that the landlord has something else to do with his than to lend him any. (Hear.) Indeed, a Conservative gentleman the other day, in Yorkshire, who made a speech on this subject, stated that the country gentlemen generally saved their loose money to provide for their younger children, after having provided for the eldest, and that they had none to spare for other purposes (hear): thus it is clear that the object of the law is monopoly in food, that its effects can only be felt by making it scarce and dear, and that this is to be accomplished by the sliding scale (hear); and that the Ministry whom the agriculturists will support is the one who

would with most subservient support the sliding scale. (Hear, hear.) If I mistake not they have at length found a Ministry that will suit their purpose. I judge that from the good will the real organ of the Government seems now to have towards them; for it was only two days ago that the *Morning Herald*, which is in official communication with the Government, suggested to the monopolists the way by which they could best secure their monopoly and obtain the adherence of those who might be interested against it, namely, by instantly instituting a rigid system of exclusive dealing. ("Shame," and "Oh.") This was suggested only two days ago, and in effect is this, that if any unfortunate tradesman should venture to have or to express an opinion unfavourable to the sliding scale, he should have all custom withdrawn from him, and perhaps be ruined. (Shame.) He might be a good tradesman, a good man, working hard to rear his family, punctual in all his payments, a good citizen and a good neighbour; still, if he venture to think the scale an injury to commerce, or if, brought in contact with the misery and suffering of the poor, he thought the Corn Laws unchristian laws, this organ of the Government advises that he be marked for the purposes of persecution in his business. (Loud cries of "Hear," and "Shame.") Such is the way in which it is proposed to uphold the monopoly, with its objects and effects as I have described them. (Hear, hear.) This is the mode prescribed by the party who pretend to wish to uphold the morality of the people, to be more pious than their neighbours, who would build more churches if they could get more money, and who, if it were proposed to give the poor tradesman the protection of the ballot as the means of guarding him against this tyranny, profess to object to it on the ground that they desired to uphold a manly and independent spirit among the people. (Loud cheers.) If the system is attempted, I do trust there will be from one corner of the country to the other, one universal cry in favour of the ballot. (Loud cheers.) The Free-Trade party is a powerful one in the country, and they might retaliate; but I would never recommend so vile and odious a tyranny to be resorted to. (Loud cheers.) A man has a right to his opinion whatever it may be, and it is a violent invasion of that right to attempt to injure him in his business on account of his opinion. (Loud cheers.) I only trusted, when our friends heard of the odious practices to which our opponents were resorting, that such would have the effect of redoubling their energies in favour of the cause. (Cheers.) But I would never recommend any other course of influencing opinion save that of fair reasoning: by that means we have already made great progress, and by perseverance in it we shall succeed. (Hear, hear, hear.) Notwithstanding the twaddle spoken at these meetings, we have obtained from every public man of any note in the country the admission that Free Trade is just and wise, and would benefit mankind if universally applied (hear); we have now to conquer the scruples which men honestly and otherwise profess to have to their application. Many of these pretexts have already been exposed, so that they cannot be repeated. There is one, however, that appears to be peculiarly in favour this year, which it might be well to notice, though I did not scruple to say that, of all others, it is the most absurd, and is ludicrously inconsistent with the fact; that the debt presents an obstacle to the repeal of the Corn Laws. Now, in the first place, it is notorious that corn is not taxed at all for revenue, and pious peers turn up their eyes in the House of Lords, and thank Heaven that it never has been. (Laughter.) Well, then, it would not injure the revenue in that way; but many other things are taxed for revenue which people in general consume; yet as food must be paid for first, their means of consuming the articles that are taxed just depend upon how much people have left to pay for food; so that, in fact, it is just in proportion as food is cheap that these articles may be expected to yield more or less revenue. (Hear.) This is what Mr. Huskisson meant by warning the landlords in his last speech in the House of Commons, that they could not maintain the revenue and the Corn Laws together, that the circumstances of the people did not admit of it: he said, the people were exposed to great rivalry abroad, that their wages were reduced, that the cost of living here was very high, and that unless the people earned more or paid less for food, they could not consume taxed articles to the extent they had. (Hear.) And I suppose it seldom happens that any prediction of any public man was so speedily verified as this which fell from Mr. Huskisson; for shortly after he died there was a succession of good and bad harvests that did precisely illustrate the truth and justice of what he had said. I will just call your attention to it, that you may see clearly the effect of abundance and scarcity upon the revenue. The three years of good harvests were 1835, 1836, 1837, and the three years of bad harvests 1838, 1839, 1840; the price of wheat in the good years was 47s., and the price in the bad year was 67s. Now, the revenue collected during the three cheap years was £159,851,000, and the revenue collected during the three dear years was, notwithstanding the increase of the population by one million, only £159,210,000. But was the falling off owing to diminished consumption? That is proved by the decline in the customs and excise. In the cheap years the revenue from these sources was £117,000,000, in the dear years £116,300,000; and it is also shown in the particular articles which were less consumed: for instance, malt, spirits, tea, and sugar yielded in the cheap years £31,800,000, in the dear years £49,200,000; thus showing a clear connexion between the means of consumption and the high price of food. (Hear, hear.) But let me name another calculation which has been made, and has not been disputed, which is—what the increased population would have given to the revenue had they consumed in the dear years as much as they consumed in the cheap years. It is shown to have been £2,300,000. Now, what is worth attending to, is the annual deficit which Sir Robert Peel proposed the income-tax to meet: it was £2,334,000 (hear, hear, hear); so that the deficit was actually only £31,000 more than the deficit occasioned by the diminished consumption of the people in the dear years. (Cheers.) Now, I mention this to show you the justice of what we said at the time, and continue to assert, that but for the Corn Laws the income-tax need not have been imposed (hear), and that it was imposed because, as Mr. Huskisson said, it was impossible to maintain Corn Laws and public credit too without fresh taxation on income or property. (hear, hear); and I want you to see what is the connexion between the

high and the low price of food, and the good or bad condition of a dense and crowded community like our own, and not to look at it merely financially,—when you will observe not only that the revenue always increases when food is cheap, and declines when food is dear,—but you will also find that crime, pauperism, disease, and mortality, all diminish in years of abundance and increase in years of scarcity. (Hear, hear.) And this is peculiarly important in order fairly to appreciate the advantage of getting rid of these Corn Laws (hear); for what is it that we call for when we ask for a repeal of the Corn Laws? Why, that there may be a constant good harvest. (Cheers.) We want that there shall always be abundance of food (hear), and that all those consequences which we observe to follow from a good harvest may be permanent and present among us. (Loud cheers.) And is there any doubt that this might be the case? Do our opponents deny it? No; it is their case that it would be so; it is their fear that there would be abundance (hear); they keep their law to prevent it; they know there is plenty to be had, and that we have by our manufactures the means of getting it. (Cheers.) I shall never forget my astonishment, at hearing a county member read a letter in the House, proving that a most prosperous trade would and might be carried on between this country and the United States, and detailing facts furnished him by a merchant that left no doubt in any body's mind of the fact, and hearing him use this information not to recommend the trade being thrown open, but as a threat to Sir Robert Peel of what might happen if he was to persevere in the principle of the tariff. ("Hear, hear;" "Oh, shame!") Why, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said last year, that whenever the harvest was good, the Treasury was replenished from the Exchequer. (Hear.) Mr. Gladstone said, that if we were to have a trade in food, it would give great employment to our people in producing articles to exchange for it; and Sir Robert Peel said, that if we were to reduce the price of provisions the people would not feel the income-tax (cheers); and thus it is that while the evil of a growing population deteriorating in condition is universally recognised, the remedy for the evil is as well known; but to enrich a section of the community it is refused to be applied. (Hear.) And I ask if it is not something like a mockery for those men who do these things to pretend to have any sympathy with the sufferings of the people, to pretend to be solicitous for their wellbeing, or think that the public wanted to be cautioned about maintaining public faith. (Cheers.) Why, when was it that the people wanted to cheat the public creditor? (Hear, hear, hear.) The people want only to be allowed to pursue their industry unshackled, which, by its effects in adding to the resources of the country, is the best security for the creditor. (Cheers.) The people do not want to be dishonest or idle (hear); they only implore those who govern to let them be the contrary. (Cheers.) The Duke of Richmond, the other day, said at the Sussex meeting that the advocates of Free Trade, after they had succeeded in their object, would seek to defraud the public creditor. The Duke of Richmond had not the slightest ground for this calumny. (Cheers.) The creditor is much more likely to be in danger from persons of his class than the honest and industrious classes who call for their trade to be set free. (Cheers.) They are the people whom I should fear most if I was the public creditor. (Hear, hear.) This charge, moreover, comes with a bad grace from the Duke of Richmond, considering that the only time that the public faith was ever questioned, was when a measure of this kind was proposed by a Government of which he was a member. (Hear, hear.) There was a contract made with the creditor, at the time the debt was incurred, that the transfer of stock should never be taxed; but when the Duke of Richmond was in the Cabinet the proposition to tax the transfer was made. I do not say it was his plan, but it was considered by men in the City to be a breach of faith. He is the last man, therefore, to bring this charge against those who have never offered the slightest ground for it. (Cheers.) But the manner in which these great people are talking of the commercial and productive classes seems to me to provoke inquiry into the relative merits of the different classes as regards their importance to the country, and no man can doubt in whose favour the decision would be given. (Hear.) To the enterprise, skill, and industry of the productive classes the greatness of this country is entirely owing (cheers), and an attack upon them by those who have inherited their property, who live idly, and who do nothing to add to the greatness, wealth, or power of the country, is, to say the least of it, most unreasonable. (Cheers.) I wish the aristocracy of this country had more to point to of which the country could be proud, during the undisputed rule they have had for a century and a half in this country; but they have engaged the nation in more foolish and fruitless wars than any sovereigns before them; their schemes of policy have all been proved to be wrong, and they have wasted the resources of the country more than all their possessions put together could redeem. (Hear, hear.) They are now making most fearful experiments upon the temper and endurance of the nation, by maintaining this monopoly; they are doing it with their eyes open, and the community are perfectly alive to what they are doing, and should any confusion ever arise springing from want and the necessities of the people, there will be little doubt as to whom the blame must attach. (Hear, hear.) It is certain that scarcity will again occur, and that when it does the population will be increased and the destitution more extended. (Hear.) Since the Corn Laws have been passed, every five years there has been a crisis arising from scarcity of food, and upon each occasion the danger to the peace and order of the country has been greater. (Hear.) We were never nearer confusion than in 1842; and I leave you to judge what will be the effect of the next dearth that may arise, when the people will be more numerous, their intelligence perhaps greater, and impatience for political power much more intense. (Hear, hear.) I say, let any man reflect upon these things, and if he has any stake in the country, if he has those within his home for whom he cares, and if he has any sense of public duty, let him say whether a responsibility does not attach to him individually to leave nothing untried, and nothing undone, to procure the removal of such a cause of present evil and future danger as these laws. (Loud cheers.) If any man mistrusts his own judgment, or those who are prominent in this matter, let him see the authorities by which our opinions against these laws are fortified; let him mark the conclusion to which every man who has thought most on the con-

dition of this country as to the danger with which it is threatened, and see if they do not point to the increasing numbers of the people, and their want of employment; and let him then say if any sane or sober man can justify any obstruction deliberately being cast in the way of the people getting employment or honestly exchanging the product of their labour for food. (Cheers.) However, the landlords have declared the issue upon which this struggle shall be taken, that is—monopoly or no monopoly: I say no monopoly, and no surrender (tremendous cheers); and I believe that the people will succeed because they are neither powerless, spiritless, nor slavish. (The hon. gentleman sat down amidst loud and general cheering, which was continued most enthusiastically for some minutes, the whole audience rising, and waving their hats and handkerchiefs from every part of the house.)

Mr. CONNEN, on presenting himself, was received with most enthusiastic cheering, and waving of hats and handkerchiefs, which prevented the hon. member for several minutes from proceeding; silence having been at length obtained, he addressed the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Since I last had the pleasure of meeting you here, I have had the honour of addressing many large assemblies of my fellow countrymen; but I can assure you I return to this magnificent gathering with increased surprise and gratification at the ardour and enthusiasm that I see to prevail in the Metropolis. I am told that we are favoured this night with the attendance of many visitors who are neither very well informed, nor, of course, very much convinced on our question. Now, will you, who sit on the front form in our seminary, condescend to make a little allowance if I give to these young pupils a lesson in the elementary principles of Free Trade, and endeavour to send them away as efficient missionaries as doubtless you have been in our cause. Well, then, I hope our good friends the reporters will spare their fingers that they may not convict me of tautology. We will begin at the beginning. Now, we are "Free-Traders;" and what is Free Trade? Not the pulling down of all custom-houses, as some of our wise opponents the dukes and earls have lately been trying to persuade the agricultural labourers; I should think it would do with nobody else. By Free Trade we mean the abolition of all protective duties. It is very possible that our children, or at all events their offspring, may be wise enough to dispense with custom-house duties altogether. (Cheers.) They may think it prudent and economical to raise their revenues by direct taxation, without circumventing their foreign trade. We do not propose to do that; but there are a class of men who have taken possession of the Custom-house, and have installed their clerks there, to collect revenue for their own particular benefit, and we intend to remove them out of the Custom-house. (Cheers.) Now, I want to impress on our new friends, these students in Free Trade, to remind them of that which I have frequently dwelt upon, and which cannot be too often repeated, that this system of monopoly is analogous in every respect to that which existed 250 years ago under the Tudors and the Stuarts, when sovereigns granted monopolies to the creatures of their courts for the exclusive sale of wine, leather, salt, and other things, and which system our forefathers, at great labour and heavy sacrifice, utterly extirpated. One by one these monopolies were abolished; and, not content with destroying the existing monopolies, they passed a law which became as it were a fundamental principle in our constitution, that no sovereign, thenceforth or for ever, should have the power of granting a monopoly to anybody for the exclusive sale of any necessary commodity of life. Now, what I want to impress on our young learners is this, that that which sovereigns cannot do, a band of men united together—the selfish oligarchy of the sugar-hogshead and the flour-sack—have got together in the House of Commons, and by their own acts of Parliament have appropriated to their own classes the very privileges, the selfsame monopolies, or monopolies as injurious in every respect to the interests of the people as those monopolies were which our forefathers abolished two centuries and a half ago. (Cheers.) There is no difference whatever in the effect of a monopoly in the sale of sugar held by a few men, the owners of those specks of land in the West Indies (for "specks" they are compared with the South American continent, the East Indies, Siam, China, the Indian Archipelago, and those other countries from which sugar might be supplied); there is no earthly difference in its effect on the community, whether a body of men in London take to themselves a monopoly in the sale of sugar, or whether Queen Victoria granted that monopoly to one of the noblemen of her court. (Loud cheers.) Well, our forefathers abolished this system; at a time, too, mark you, when the sign manual of the sovereign had somewhat of a divine sanction and superstitious reverence in the minds of the people. And shall we, the descendants of those men, be found so degenerate, so unworthy of the blood that flows in our veins, so recreant to the very name of "Englishmen," that we should not shake off this incubus laid on us as it is by a body of our fellow citizens? (Loud cheer.) I believe some of our visitors here to-night are of what is called "the agricultural interest." They are probably curious to know why it is that we, professing to be Free Traders in everything, should restrict the title of our association to that of "THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE." I will explain the reason. We advocate the abolition of the Corn Law, because we believe that to be the foster-parent of all other monopolies; and if we destroy that—the parent, the monster monopoly—it will save us the trouble of devouring up all the rest. (Cheers.) We have had now, for more than twenty years, a succession of cabinets every one of them claiming the merit in the eyes of the people of England of being *Free-Trade Administrations*; from the year 1823, when Mr. Huskisson proposed his extensive changes in our commercial system,—when he became installed, as it were, the very lion of the aristocratic coteries of London, as a Free Trader—a Free Trader in silks and ribbons, French lace, and the like—from that time to this we have never wanted a Government willing to take the credit to themselves of being free traders. Why, if I wanted an argument to convince you that we are right in the title that we have taken, and the direction we have given to our agitation, I would show it in the conduct of Sir Robert Peel two years ago. He then boasted that he had propounded the largest measure of commercial reform of any Minister in this country; he brought in his tariff with an alteration of 500 or 600 articles therein. I looked over it again and again, expecting to find corn there, but

was disappointed. The right hon. baronet was asked why corn was not there? and his reply was, "It has always been customary in this country to treat corn differently from every other item in the tariff." ("Hear, hear, and laughter.") In that significant reply of the Prime Minister do we find a justification for the title of our agitation, and the direction in which we carry it. You will have reform enough in *colonial-asses, caviare, fiddlesticks*, and other equally important matters; and you will have all those items very diligently attended to. Do you look after corn, and corn will take care of all the rest. (Loud cheers.) Thus have I told our new visitors what "Free Trade" means, and why we almost exclusively advocate the repeal of the Corn Laws, instead of taking a wider basis. Now, what are the objections alleged against the adoption of Free-Trade principles? First of all, take the most numerous body—the working class—by far the most important in the consideration of this question: probably nine-tenths of all the population of this country are dependent on labour, either the hard work of hands, or the equally hard toil of heads. I say, take their case first. We are told this system of restriction is for the benefit of the labourers. We are informed by the earls, dukes, and the squires, that the price of corn regulates the rate of wages; and that, if we reduce the price of corn by a free trade in that article, we shall only bring down the rate of wages. Now, I see a good many working people in this assembly, and would ask them whether, in any bargain ever made for labour in London, the question of corn or its price was ever made an element in that agreement? (Loud cries of "No, no.") Why, look at your hackney-coach and watermen's fares, and at your ticket-porters' charges. Your own corporation, in their by-laws and acts of Parliament regulating the wages of a variety of labourers in this metropolis, have been strangely oblivious of this sliding scale of corn, when they have fixed a permanent rate of wages. I think I have heard lately something about women who

"Stitch—stitch—stitch!
For three halfpence a shirt."

(Cries of "Shame.") I want to know whether the wages of those poor creatures are regulated by the price of corn? (Cries of "No, no.") Why, I thought I had settled that matter, as far as regards the working man, at the time Sir Robert Peel brought in his Corn Bill two years ago. I then moved an amendment to this effect:—"Resolved, That before we proceed to pass a law having for its object to raise, artificially, the price of bread, it is expedient and just that we should first of all consider how far it is practicable to raise in proportion the wages of labourers in this country." I was determined I would stop that gap for the monopolists for ever; and accordingly I brought on my amendment; and was then informed by Sir Robert Peel,—"It is quite impossible we can fix the rate of wages in this country. Parliament has no power to settle the rate of wages; that must be settled by the competition of the world's market." (Hear.) I forced the monopolists to a division on this matter, determined that it should not be a sham motion, and we accordingly had a division. The right honourable baronet and all his friends walked out at one door, and I had some twenty or thirty who accompanied me out at the other. We had not been back again in the House five minutes before this body of innocents were busy passing a law to prevent the price of their corn being settled by "the competition of the world's market." (Loud cheers, and cries of "Shame.") I should not be surprised some night, perhaps when my friend Mr. Villiers brings forward his next motion, in going down to St. Stephen's, to see a bit of paper fixed to the door of that place with something of this kind written upon it: "Corn and cattle dealers to be found within. No competition allowed with the shop over the water." (Loud cheers and laughter.) Now, the first and greatest count in any indictment against the Corn Law is, that it is an injustice to the labourers of this and every other country. My next charge is, that it is a fraud against every man of capital engaged in any pursuit, and every person of fixed income not derived from land. I will take the trader. I am a manufacturer of clothing, and I do not know why in this climate, and in the artificial state of society in which we live, the making of clothes should not be as honourable—because it is pretty near as useful a pursuit as the manufacture of food. Well, did you ever hear any debates in the House to fix the price of my commodities in the market? Suppose we had a majority of cotton-printers (which happens to be my manufacture) in the House: and if we had a majority I have no doubt we should find Sir Robert Peel quite willing to do our work for us (laughter): he is the son of a cotton-printer, and I dare say he would do it for us as well as any one else. (Renewed laughter.) Let us suppose that you were reading the newspaper some fine morning, and saw an account of a majority of the House having been engaged the night before in fixing the price at which yard-wide prints should be sold (laughter); "yard-wide prints, of such a quality, 10d. a yard; of such a quality, 9d.; of such a quality, 8d.; of such a quality, 7d." and so on. Why, you would rub your eyes with astonishment! You would clear your spectacles, if you wore any, and you would doubt your own senses! The very boys in the streets leading to Parliament, and the cabmen and omnibus-drivers, would hoot and hiss us out of the metropolis! Now, did it ever occur to you that there is no earthly difference between a body of men, manufacturers of corn, sitting down in the House and passing a law enacting that wheat shall be so much, barley so much, beans so much, and oats so much? (Loud cheers.) Why, then, do you look at this monopoly of corn with such complacency? Simply because you and I and the rest of us have a superstitious reverence for the owners of those sluggish acres, and have a very small respect for ourselves and our own vocation. (Cheers.) I say the Corn-Law Monopolists, who arrogate to themselves power in the House of Commons, are practising an injustice on every other species of capitalists. Take the iron trade for example, a prodigious interest in this country. Iron of certain qualities has gone down in price during the last five or six years from £15 10s. to £5 10s. per ton. Men have seen their fortunes—say, I have known them—dwindle away from £300,000 till now they could not sit down and write their wills for £100,000. Well, did any man ever hear in the House of Commons an attempt made to raise a cry about these grievances there, or to lodge a complaint against the Government or the country because they could not keep up the price of iron? Has any man come forward there proposing that by some law pig-iron should be so much, and bar-iron of such a price, and other kinds of iron in pro-

portion? No; neither has this been the case with any other interest in the country. But how is it with corn? The very first night I was present in the House this session, I saw the Prime Minister get up, having a paper before him, and he was careful to tell us what the price of corn had been for the last fifty years, and what it was now. Why, he is employed for little else but as a kind of corn steward, to see how the prices may be kept up for his masters. (Cheers and laughter.) What are the grounds on which this system is maintained? The farmer is put forward, the interest of the farmer and the farm-labourer is put forward as the pretext for maintaining this monopoly. Why, I have heard the admission made at the agricultural meetings by landlords themselves, that there are twenty farmers bidding for every farm, and that they excuse themselves to the farmers at these very meetings that they let their land at the full value, and they cannot help it. It is not their fault because there are these twenty farmers bidding for every farm that is vacant. (Hear, hear, hear.) Now, I would ask you, or the merest tyro in this question, if there be twenty farmers bidding for every farm, and the law can raise the price of the produce of that farm, do you think that one out of those twenty farmers will get the benefit of that rise of price? Will not the other 19 take care that it is brought down by competition to the ordinary profit of stock in this country? (Hear.) The farmers have been too long deluded by the mere cry of "protection." We read of it now in every meeting—"protection to the farmers." It is destruction to the farmers. (Hear.) The word should be changed from "protection" to "destruction," and it would be better expressive of the effect of the Corn Law on the farmers. (Cheers.) With respect to the farm-labourers, our opponents tell us, that our object in bringing about the repeal of the Corn Laws is, by reducing the price of corn to lower the rate of their wages. (Laughter.) I can only answer upon this point for the manufacturing districts; but, as far as they are concerned, I state it most emphatically as a truth, that for the last twenty years whenever corn has been cheap wages have been high in Lancashire; and on the other hand, when bread has been dear wages have been greatly reduced. Now, I distinctly put this statement on record, and challenge any one to controvert it. (Hear.) Wages may possibly be affected by the price of food in the agricultural districts, and rise and fall in proportion; but if they do it is simply for this reason—that they have reached their minimum, or the point at which they verge towards what you might call *slave labour*, when a man gets in the best of times only as much will keep him in health. When corn rises equal food must be given to the labourer to eat, just upon the same principle as farmers or others give an equal quantity of corn to their horses in dear years as they do in periods of cheapness, in order that they may be maintained in health, and be equal to the amount of labour which is wanted of them. (Hear.) But whenever the value of labour rises and falls in the agricultural districts with the price of food, it must be because those wages have previously sunk to that point which is next in degree to the wages which slaves obtain for their labour. Now, let me be fully understood as to what Free Traders really do want. We do not want cheap corn merely in order that we may have low money prices. (Hear.) What we desire is *plenty of corn*, and we are utterly careless what its price is, provided we obtain it at the *natural price*. (Cheers.) All we ask is this, that corn shall follow the same law which the monopolists in food admit follow labour; that "it shall find its natural level in the markets of the world." And now what would be the process of this equalization of prices? I think I can give you the *rationale* of it. The effect of free trade in corn will be this: It would increase the demand for agricultural produce in Poland, Germany, and America. That increase in the demand for agricultural produce would give rise to an increased demand for labour in those countries, which would tend to raise the wages of the agricultural labourers. The effect of that would be to draw away labourers from manufactures in all those places. To pay for that corn more manufactures would be required from this country; this would lead to an increased demand for labour in the manufacturing districts, which would necessarily be attended with a rise of wages in order that the goods might be made for the purpose of exchanging for the corn brought from abroad. (Hear.) Whether prices would be equalised, according to the opinion expressed by my Lord Spencer, by a rise in the price of bread abroad to the level at which it is here, or whether it would be by a fall in the prices here to the level at which they now exist on the Continent, would not make the least earthly difference to the Free-Traders; all they ask is, that they shall be put in the same position with others, and that there should be no bar or hindrance to the admission of food from any quarter into this country. (Cheers.) I observe there are narrow-minded men in the agricultural districts, telling us, "Oh, if you allow Free Trade, and bring in a quarter of corn from abroad, it is quite clear that you will sell one quarter less in England." Those men, fellow-countrymen, who utter such nonsense as this, are a sample of the philosophers who are now governing this country. (Loud cheers.) What! I would ask, if you can set more people to work at better wages—if you can clear your streets of those spectres which are now haunting your thoroughfares begging their daily bread—if you can depopulate your workhouses, and clear off that 2,000,000 of pauperism which now exists in the land, and put them to work at productive industry—do you not think that they would consume some of the wheat as well as you; and may not they by millions be, as we are now, consumers of wheaten bread instead of the poor miserable dietary they now have? (Tremendous cheers.) Mark me: these philosophical men, so profoundly ignorant of what is immediately around them, but who meet us at every turn with prophecies of what is going to happen in future, will tell us forsooth that Free Trade will throw their land out of cultivation, and deprive their labourers of employment. Now, we put against the prophecies of these selfish, ignorant beings the predictions of the most eminent and skilful in agriculture in this land; I will take my Lord Ducie, who confessedly stands at the head of the arable farmers of this country, and my Lord Spencer, who is admitted to be the first of the grazing farmers of England; I will take the biggest headed and shrewdest farmers and tenants in every county; and if the monopolists will give me a committee of the House of Commons, which I intend to move for, they shall be ex-

amined before it; and these practical men will, every one of them, predict what I have also predicted (although I claim to be no authority), that, with free trade in corn, so far from throwing land out of use or injuring the cultivation of the poorer soils, free trade in corn is the very way to increase the production at home, and stimulate the cultivation of the poorer soils by compelling the application of more capital and labour to them. (Loud cheers.) We do not contemplate deriving one quarter less corn from the soil of this country; we do not anticipate having one pound less of butter or cheese, or one head less of cattle or sheep; we expect to have a great increase in the production and the consumption at home; and all we contend for is this, that when we, the people here, have purchased all that can be raised at home, they shall be allowed to go 3000 miles—to Poland, Russia, or America—for more; and that there shall be no let or hindrance put in the way of their getting this additional quantity. Now, we are met by the monopolists with this objection:—"If you have a free trade in corn foreigners will send you their wheat here, but they will take nothing in return. (Laughter.) The argument employed, in fact, amounts to this, if it amounts to anything—That they will give us their corn for nothing. (Hear, hear, hear.) I know not what can exceed the absurdity of these men, if they be honest, or their shallow and transparent knavery, if they be dishonest, in putting forward such an argument as that. If there be a child here I will give him a lesson that he may go home and laugh to scorn those who thus talk about reciprocity, and they shall be able to make fools-caps and bonfires of the articles in the *Morning Post* or *Herald*. Now, I will illustrate that point. I will take the case of a tailor living in one of your streets, and a provision-dealer living in another, and this busybody of a reciprocity-man lives somewhere between the two. He sees this tailor going every Saturday night empty-handed to the provision-dealer, and bringing home upon his shoulder a side of bacon, under one arm a cheese, and under the other a keg of butter. Well, this reciprocity-man, being always a busybody, takes the alarm, and says, "There is a one-sided trade going on there, I must look after it." He calls on the tailor, and says, "This is a strange trade you are doing! You are importing largely from that provision-dealer, but I do not find that you are exporting any cloths, or coats, or waistcoats in return?" The tailor answers him, "If you feel any alarm at this, ask the provision-dealer about it: I am all right at all events." (Laughter.) Away goes the reciprocity gentleman to the provision-shop, and says, "I see you are doing a very strange business with that tailor; you are exporting largely provisions, but I do not see that you import any clothes from him: how do you get paid?" "Why, man, how should I?" replies the provision-dealer, "in gold and silver to be sure!" Then the reciprocity-man is seized with another crotchet, and forthwith begins to talk about the *drain of bullion*. (Laughter.) Away he flies to the tailor, and says, "Why, you will be ruined entirely! What a drain is, the precious metals is going on from your till! That provision-dealer takes no clothes from you: he will have nothing but gold and silver for his goods." "Ay, man," replies the tailor, "and where do you think I get the gold and silver from? Why, I sell my clothes to the grocer, the hatter, the bookseller, the cabinetmaker, and one hundred others, and they pay me in gold and silver. And pray, Mr. Busybody, what would you have me to do with it? Do you think my wife and family would grow very fat on gold and silver?" (Laughter.) Now, if there is any little girl or boy in this assembly, I hope they will go home, and for exercise write out that illustration of reciprocity, and show it to any of their friends who may be seized with this crotchet respecting reciprocity and the drain of gold, and see if they cannot laugh themselves out of their delusions. (Cheers.) Well, now my friend, Mr. Villiers, has alluded to the subject of revenue. I need not go into that point, for he has completely exhausted it; but it was a most imprudent pretence which the monopolists set up, and set up in the face of the income-tax, levied upon us, as it were, to be a scourge of thorns to remind us of our sins of ignorance, and our neglect of our interests. To think of their having the impudence to put it out to us, with this fact, not staring in our faces, but visiting us in our pockets; to think that this should ever be advanced again—that the monopolists keep up the revenue—is to me the most monstrous piece of impudence I ever heard of in my life! Now, we want the farmers to understand precisely what the National Anti-Corn-Law League is, and what its objects are. We are not going to allow the landlords to carry off the farmers with the old stale watchword and thereabout arguments again. Why, they had not any thing new to offer them, and, therefore, they have started this about the revenue; their agitators are all the old hacks over again; there has not been even a young aristocrat come forward to show a modicum of talent in support of the system. There they are! the same men and the same arguments, and the whole being summed up in "protection." That word "protection," reminds me of another word that was used by a character in the "Vicar of Wakefield," I mean Mr. Jenkinson, who, if ever he wanted to take in anybody, had some talk to them about the "cosmogony" of the world; and with that word he took in poor Moses with his green spectacles, and actually imposed upon poor Dr. Primrose himself in the same way. Now, this "protection" is, to my ear, very much like the "cosmogony" of good Mr. Jenkinson; and I think the men who use it, have just about as honest objects in view as Mr. Jenkinson had. (Cheers and laughter.) I do not like to turn these meetings into sordid assemblies, for we are too majestic a body to sordid any person; but I do like, if possible, to extract a little amusement out of our opponents in this matter; and certainly, when I look through their speeches and read what they have been saying, I must confess I have had more laughter about these statements than this question has afforded me ever since we began our agitation five years ago. We are going to prepare a pamphlet—I am not sure whether it will not grow into a volume—of elegant extracts from monopolists' speeches! There shall be separate headings to the several extracts. One head shall be "argument;" another, "wit;" a third, "humour;" a fourth, "manners;" and a fifth, "morals;" and you shall see choice specimens of every one of them. There is one worthy gentleman, who, in speaking of the League, has given such a bouquet of flowers of oratory, that I think we ought to put him as frontispiece

to this volume. (Laughter.) This gentleman in the course of about twenty lines manages to apply about as many abusive epithets to the League;—We are more "Jacobins," "Jonathan Wilds," and "Jack Sheppards." We are a "scratch pack of bounds," and he condescends to explain that that phrase means the odds and ends, or a pack collected from the whole county. The elegant gentleman winds up with the choice appellation of "ragamuffins" (loud laughter); that is the effusion of Sir Charles Knightley; and I think we must have his portrait for a frontispiece to our volume. (Renewed laughter.) I observe one noble lord has inquired very innocently, in alluding to our agitation, "What does all this bobbery mean?" (Laughter.) Now, they have let us into a secret in this agitation of theirs. We did not think—I am sure I did not—that there was so much titled ignorance or coroneted vulgarity in the land as I find there is. (Loud cheering.) I confess I did not expect to find the strongest argument come from such a source, but had hoped to meet with something like decency of manners! Why, who would belong to such a set? If that is the best language they can put on in public, what sort of talk must it be with them in private! (Loud cheers and laughter.) And then for violence—why, we were charged with violence at one time; and I really believe we used to be somewhat violent. Five years ago, when we began, we were small and insignificant, and very poor; fighting our way up in the world. We were really almost compelled to make a noise to attract a hearing. All small things, you know, are generally very noisy; it is the order of nature. See how the little dog barks at the stately steed as he goes along your streets; but the horse takes no notice of him. There was some excuse for us; our cause appeared a desperate one. Now, they must have an excuse, too, for their violence, and I suspect it is the very same we had—they feel their cause to be a desperate one. (Hear.) But I want, in this stage of our agitation, to impress on our friends the necessity of taking warning by the spectacles which our opponents now present, and that we should resolve not to imitate their bad example. Why, we have got up in the world; we can pay our way. (Cheers.) We have the nobles and the gentlemen of the land in our ranks, and we ought to be very decorous. We can afford to be condescending even. I should not wonder if we soon begin to ballot for members, and not admit people unless they happen to be "of the superior kind." Our opponents, I presume, intend to spend their money in something like the same way as we have expended ours,—that is, in giving lectures and distributing tracts. How I should like to attend one of their first meetings! Fancy a meeting like this! An orator introduced to deliver a magnificent—magniloquent I should say—lecture in behalf of starvation! Only think of his exordium and his peroration, with such an inspiring topic! We have heard much boasting of these meetings; we have been told that they are "farmers' meetings;" but we have not seen the names of any farmers who have made these vulgar speeches of which I have been speaking. Now, as having something like an hereditary right to identify myself with farmers, I do rejoice to say, that, in scanning over all the proceedings of these monopolist gatherings, I have not seen a single instance of vituperation, or anything approaching to vulgarity of language, on the part of the *bona fide* tenant-farmers. The monopolists of corn—the landlords—are the monopolists of all the vulgarity of language! (Cheers.) There have been one or two individuals paraded, who have been called "farmers," and who have made long speeches; but I have taken pains to inquire a little of their whereabouts, and I find that they are all auctioneers and land-valuers; and it is a remarkable fact, that I have never met with an orator at the meetings I have attended in the agricultural districts, but he has always turned out an auctioneer or a land-valuer. (Laughter.) The land-valuers are a body of men—I mean the land-valuers and auctioneers—who represent the landlord in his very worst aspect; they are persons that have an interest in this system which causes perpetual change and a constant rise in rent; for the more changes there are, or the more failures there are, the more valuing there is for the valuer, and the more selling there is for the auctioneer; and if you had a system by which prices were steadied, and leases were granted, the land-valuers and auctioneers would not be known in the land; in fact, they are a tribe hardly to be met with in Scotland at the present time. Now we expect our opponents will meet us fairly in this matter. We have avoided, although we have been often pressed to do so, interfering with any of their meetings. I hold it to be unjust in this country, when meetings are held avowedly upon one side of the question, to make a demonstration, that any body should go and interfere with such a meeting, or attempt to put counter resolutions. (Hear.) I say I hope they will deal fairly with us, but, judging by their conduct in past times, I do not expect they will. I know that monopolist money has been paid for the hire of men to attend and interrupt our meetings ever since we began our agitation. ("Hear," and loud cries of "Shame.") I am now suffering under a hoarseness from an encounter of this kind in the great Town-hall of Birmingham on Monday last. When I arrived in that town I found huge yellow placards posted all over the walls, the coat of which a printer there told me must have been many pounds, professing to emanate from the O'Connor Chartist agitators (hisses and groans), calling upon the working men to "assemble in all their might, and upset these mill tyrants, and drive them out of the town." Now it is remarkable that there was no printer's name to these placards, which there is every reason to suppose were imported from a distance. (Hear.) The Town-hall was thrown open. A fair public meeting had not been held in Birmingham for six years previously; and I was glad of an opportunity of making my first experiment upon the good sense of the working people of that district. (Cheers.) The magnificent building of which I have spoken was crammed, and four-fifths of the audience were working men; for it was in the morning of holiday Monday. About fifty men, however, of another description, were packed in the centre of that meeting. A most notorious individual was placed in the organ-loft by the side of us, who acted as fugleman to the rest. Their object evidently was to prevent the deputation of the League from being heard. While my friend Colonel Thompson—who is even hoarser than I am myself—was speaking, they kept up a continued clamour. (Cries of "Shame.") When my turn came I appealed to the 4000 working people, and asked them whether they would allow themselves to be tyrannized over by a handful of

men, who, with liberty on their lips, had despotism at heart? (Loud and prolonged cheering.) In less than five minutes the most disorderly among them were removed from the hall; and the remainder, when they saw two or three of their number carried out by the working men, showed—what such fellows will always show—that they were as great cowards as they had previously shown they were bullies. (Renewed cheering.) They were as peaceable as mice in a church for the rest of the meeting; and I will venture to say, it is the last appearance of that body in the Town-hall of Birmingham. (Loud cheers.) I know that monopolist money in former times has been so spent and taken by men who have degraded the name they have borne—that is, men of a political party seeking for liberty. I reverence men in their honest efforts in seeking for freedom in any form; but I say that these persons have degraded the sacred name under which they have pretended to work. They have been for the last three years doing nothing but trying to help the aristocracy in maintaining the Corn Laws. (Hisses and groans.) I say look at their organ of the press, and perceive the character of its leading articles for the last two years. Has it been advocating the object for which it professed to be established to promote? No. The staple of its articles are just the counterpart of what you will find in the *Morning Post*. Look at its leaders—who are they? Men who are ever found trying to thwart us in our honest, single-minded effort to pull down this giant monopoly. Well, then, I say those men who have been hitherto paid for this work—though I admit that some of them have been fools enough to do the work for nothing—as they have been paid, I suspect that some of the money that has been raised recently by the monopolists will find its way into the same channel, and that there may be further attempts made of the kind I have alluded to. But I think a body that had the tenacity to come into this theatre with such an object would look twice before they made the essay. There may be an attempt made even to interrupt the orderly proceedings of these most important gatherings; for if these meetings continue, and are carried on with the same numbers, order, and decorum they are now, speaking a voice that is felt throughout Europe (hear),—yes, I know they are felt throughout Europe, and one of the first things inquired for when intelligent foreigners come here is to have an opportunity of seeing such unparalleled demonstrations (loud cheers),—I say, if these meetings continue, do you think it will be long before their influence will be found in another place whose locality will be nameless, not far from Parliament-street? Then, I say, fair play. Let every man follow his own bent in this free country—free at all events to hold meetings like this. Let every man attend his own meeting, call together his own, and promote whatever legitimate objects he pleases. We will neither intrude into the meetings of others, nor allow intrusion into ours. (Loud cheers.) If a meeting be held to take the sense of a district, it is the duty of every man to attend; and the votes should be taken to see what the sense of the majority of that district may be. Now, I give notice to the monopolists, that in all my meetings in their counties I invite all comers to oppose me; I will consider their doing so no intrusion. Talk of their meetings! Why, I have been in every county in which they have held them, and I have no hesitation in declaring, that for every hundred they have had gathered together I have had a thousand on every occasion. (Cheers.) Take their largest number—in Essex, where it is said they had 600 gathered—we had 6000 at Colchester! Ay, and I promise them that, when the weather comes that is favourable for open-air meeting, I will visit their counties again, and take the opinion of their population. (Loud cheers.) I call my meetings in the same place where their own high authorities always convene theirs—in the county towns, such as Winchester and Salisbury. I there gather ten times the number to hear me as at these recent meetings, where, perhaps, they may have ten dukes, fifteen earls, or a dozen members of Parliament. But when I have taken the sense of such meetings in favour of Free Trade, what have the Monopolists said upon the subject? That we have carried our resolutions merely by "the rabble of the towns." (Hear.) Now, mark this fact: I have observed in every instance that their own organs of the press declare that I am indebted to "the rabble of the town" for carrying my resolutions. But, now it is this same "rabble" which they pretend to tell us is opposed to the Anti-Corn-Law League! (Hear.) They throw it in our teeth that we are not supported by this very rabble, which they formerly said was our whole support at our open-air meetings. (Laughter.) They go down to Birmingham and hire fifty, certainly of the dirtiest and most unintelligent fellows they can find, and try to get them to break up the meeting, and then boast that "the rabble of the town," as they condescend to call them, are against us. (Loud cries of "Hear.") Now I will not disguise from you my opinion, that the time is approaching when it will require every effort on the part of Free Traders to carry out the objects which we have in view. I am not one who would, and I never did, underrate the power or the importance of our opponents. There is much work for us to do, but the work shall and will be done. (Immense cheering.) There are men now brought out by this very agitation in every borough and large town that I have visited—new men—not the old hacks of party, but persons drawn out with a solemn and earnest conviction, with a craving after justice and truth in this matter, who are diligently at work in every part of the kingdom; and though we were to be taken off this scene in which we have been, and are now most prominent, and were unable to continue its effort, the question has gone past that time at which it can recede, and it only requires that you should continue to disseminate the knowledge which you have, and increase the interest which is felt in London upon this subject, that this question will ultimately be brought to a triumphant issue. It cannot be carried *pro* or *con* by such insignificant boroughs as Devises. Give us the large constituencies,—give us, as we will have when another election comes (and you cannot carry this question without a dissolution), every borough in South Lancashire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, give us Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leeds, Hull, Bristol, and all the large constituencies; give us Liverpool, ay, and give us London (tremendous applause).—and there is no Minister to be found who can maintain office to carry on a system of monopolies upon the strength of a mere numerical majority of the House of Commons, and by the aid of the representatives of such places as Devises or St. Alban's; there is no Minister who would dare to do it, though the monopolists would be glad to find their tool,

if they could, in the full and united expression of opinion of the great constituencies of this kingdom; and from the moment that you are right in the Metropolis—and we are right in all the large towns—that moment the Corn Laws are repealed! (Loud cheers.) Now you have work to do in London. I observe that your beaten candidate, who I thought was silenced for ever, at one of his meetings, either himself or his chairman denominated those who voted for Mr. Pattison at the last election as "the rabble of the City." (Renewed laughter.) Now it so happens that I am entitled to register myself as a voter for the city of London, but have neglected so to do; but I intend at the next revision to register, in order that I may have the honour of joining that rabble which rejected Mr. Baring. (Cheers and laughter.) Now, gentlemen, be diligent in disseminating knowledge on this question. The repeal of the Corn Laws will be carried when men understand it. And when you understand it, if you are honest men, you will feel it; if you feel it at least as I have, you will not be able to be quiet without doing something to put down this great injustice. I exhort you each in your several circles to spread abroad light on this subject. Knowledge is the power—knowledge alone—by which we shall bring this foul system to the dust. (The hon. member concluded amidst the prolonged and enthusiastic cheering of the assembly.)

The CHAIRMAN then said, I have now the pleasure of calling upon General Sir De Lacy Evans.

General Sir De Lacy, on advancing towards the platform, was greeted with loud acclamation. He said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I dare say you are aware that it is not unusual with gentlemen of the medical profession occasionally to recommend to their patients a change of air, even to a worse air, and I believe it to be most undoubtedly upon that system that your chairman has recommended you to hear me on this occasion. (Cries of "No, no," and applause.) I am quite sure you will perceive that no person ever presented himself, at least in my own recollection, before such a great meeting as the present, under such a complete disadvantage as I do at this moment. After two such splendid speeches—speeches not merely eloquent but powerful in their reasoning, and convincing in every part and every passage—that I, a tyro, should be called upon to offer my humble observations to your attention, places me, I confess, in a very awkward position. But, however, I will not apologize, because, having been requested to address you by your excellent chairman, I feel it to be a duty incumbent upon me, however imperfect my observations may be, to offer a few remarks to the meeting. ("Hear" and cheers.) Gentlemen, when two parties are contending, either against each other or upon any great principle, you will very easily, after a very short time, discover a very manifest difference in their mode of contest. You will perceive that the one party, who may be absolutely right and have an honest cause, commences and continues upon the same principle and system, and arguing upon the same basis; while, upon the other hand, the opposing party, who may not have a good cause to support, will shuffle, will evade, and change their system of tactics, and assume various guises throughout the contest. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Now, gentlemen, with regard to the party to whom we are opposed on this occasion; this has been made manifest. Not long since it was the fashion with our opponents to treat the supporters of Free Trade, and the Anti-Corn-Law League in particular, with contemptuous epithets and with derision—as a body not worth their consideration. That, however, has been materially changed, and now, gentlemen, soon after this you will have perceived that their advocates have adopted another tone: they have recommended to the agriculturists not to fear foreign competition, and to defy the Anti-Corn-Law League, if they will but go to school again and study agricultural chemistry, the art of sub-soiling, and the improvement of stock on their farms. (Laughter.) This was the system of tactics adopted last year by our opponents. In pursuing this system the First Lord of the Treasury was particularly distinguished, and, I believe, he recommended his friends in the county of Stafford to avail themselves of his offer of superior bulls (shouts of laughter), and other modes of improving their stock. (Hear, hear.) And with this description of argument the session passed away, and they were comforted and consoled under the advancing progress of the League. But, gentlemen, the League still continued to advance, and has carried its operations into the "bowels of the land"—into the innermost recesses of the agricultural districts. (Hear, hear.) The consequence is that at length they have taken the alarm—the tocsin has been sounded throughout those districts—and we now hear of agricultural dinners, and very violent speeches and great jokes, and great lords attending and expressing themselves in a manner not exceedingly polished with reference to the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Applause.) Well then, gentlemen, instead of continuing this system of comment upon the operations of the League, they have actually commenced to imitate or parody its proceedings. They have now commenced subscriptions, and they are determined to address the people on this subject. I confess I see no ground for alarm whatever in this altered state of the question: I believe that great advantages would arise to the further progress of this great cause by the contest which will now take place in point of argument between meetings of the agriculturists and those of the League. (Hear, hear.) I will not presume to test your patience by entering upon the fallacies—the obsolete fallacies—on which the changes will be rung at these meetings. (Hear, hear.) You have heard from Mr. Cobden (as he modestly termed it) the A B C of this great question, but which was indeed a summary of the great principles on which it rests. Gentlemen, among these fallacies one is the allegation of the heavy taxation under which this country suffers, and, therefore, the impossibility for the agriculturists of this country to compete with the lightly-taxed foreign producers. Why, gentlemen, if that be possible, it only offers a stronger reason why this country should not be subjected to additional taxation for the benefit of a particular class. (Hear, hear.) And then, gentlemen, with regard to our independence of foreigners. Is there anything on which we are independent, or on which we ought to be independent, unless it should be deemed advisable that we should hermetically close our ports and refuse all social intercourse with the rest of the world? (Hear, hear.) Is what consisted either the intellectual greatness or commercial prosperity of this or any other country, but in the general intercourse with the whole world, and in the very opposite of the present system. (Cheers.) Well, then, some

tiemen, the old story about agricultural distress, of course, will be and has been adverted to; but if anything could prove the cause of Free Traders to be correct it is that of the agricultural distress, in other words, the distress of the farmers. If it be true that the farmers are in distress,—farmers. If it be true that I believe it is,—why, then, is it not clear that the system of protection does not benefit that class? They contend that the manufacturers make great fortunes, that many shopkeepers and artisans make a very handsome competence. Is not that a further proof, supposing it to be the case,—and to certain extent undoubtedly it is,—is not that a proof, I say, that the system which they now pursue is not beneficial to the farmers, whatever it may be to the landowners? (Hear, hear, hear.) Then there is the old topic, the right of protection. That also has been alluded to so ably that I feel it would be very presumptuous in me to dwell further upon it; but I would just merely say, that if the agriculturists have really a just right to protection, and to the happy expedient of the sliding-scale, by which that protection is to be attained, on what ground can it be contended that any other trade, or any other branch of the trading community, are not equally entitled to it with the landowner? (Loud cheers.) That has also been so admirably touched upon, that it would be absurd for me to dwell on it. But, supposing this to be the case, supposing that the right to protection is to be acknowledged as the proper course to be adopted, why, then, I say it cannot but be allowed that every branch of trade and of commerce is equally entitled to it. (Hear, hear.) Then, what is the consequence? Why, we should be entirely confined to the home trade; you would no longer have any maritime commerce; your three millions of tons of shipping would soon begin to rot in your harbours; your power of maintaining your colonies would cease; your intercourse, even with those colonies, would be precarious, as is the case with Spain, Portugal, and other countries which formerly had colonies, but which now, for the most part, have left them in consequence of this very system recommended by the great landowners of this country. (Hear, hear.) Then, gentlemen, as to the "wooden walls" of England: on what is it that these "wooden walls"—which, though a soldier, I, for my own part, must confess are the best practical defence of this country—on what is it that they rest? Why, on the great commercial trade of this country, which foreign trade alone promotes. (Cheers.) The agriculturists have lately found an ally on the other side of the Atlantic—a most appropriate ally indeed—we have seen this in the message of the Governor of Pennsylvania to the representatives of that state. You have all of you heard of Pennsylvania (laughter), and of the admirable letters of Mr. Sydney Smith with regard to the non-payment of their debts by the people of that state. (Hear, hear.) The Governor in that message certainly adopts, most distinctly and completely, the language of the monopolists of this country. He says that it would be quite impossible for Pennsylvania to abandon, without a struggle, the policy which she has preserved for the last half century of standing up for her own interests: that, to be sure, requires a little explanation. The message is a long one; but it appears that Pennsylvania produces iron and coal in considerable abundance, and the Governor recommends that the Pennsylvanians should insist that all the other states of America should be put under contribution to Pennsylvania, and should not admit the introduction of iron or coal from any other place than Pennsylvania. (Laughter.) Now this is a complete exemplification of the monopolist system of this country (cheers); and I do think that this new ally of the state of Pennsylvania is not a very creditable one to the monopolists of this country. (Hear.) The Governor continues to say Free Trade is a very benign thing, but quite impracticable. Now, gentlemen, is this merely a theory, and not practicable? Why, it does not rest upon theory or even upon argument, because the small approximation made to Free Trade a few years back proves the case as completely as possible—for instance, in the articles of coffee and wool. It is not twenty years since relaxations in the duty took place in the article of coffee. A monopoly in coffee was given to our West India planters, and we were not allowed even to drink coffee grown in our West India settlements; and Mr. Huskisson, after great efforts and difficulties, within twenty years back obtained some relaxations from the landlords in the House of Lords and the House of Commons in that article, and reduced the duties very considerably, indeed to about one-half. (Hear.) What has been the consequence? That by the reduction of the duties alluded to the consumption has been increased three and four fold, and the duty, which was 1s. 6d. per pound at that time, is now only 6d., and the revenue arising therefrom instead of being £450,000 is now £900,000. (Cheers.) That is a practical view of the case. (Hear.) The same took place with regard to wool. There were protective duties to a high amount placed on wool, but some relaxations were obtained by great effort, and these landowners, who were especially interested with regard to wool, gave way; and now the consequence is, that the consumption of wool has been largely increased; the revenue has also been largely increased by the reduction of duty, and that which of all things they apprehend with regard to corn (for they say corn will be so cheap they will not have a remunerating price), although the consumption has been trebled, the price has been reduced; so that no loss has been sustained by the consumer, and the public at large have derived most manifest advantage from this partial approximation to Free Trade. (Cheers.) Another, and a very striking proof, or case, exists with regard to the alteration which has taken place with reference to our trade with France; and that touches on the subject of reciprocity. There are one or two able men who have thought fit to write a good deal in support of the crotchet of reciprocity, but I do think the case with regard to France, if there was no other argument, sets aside the question: it is this, that we commenced within the last twelve years, I believe in 1831, a reduction in the duties on imports from France, and, in order to give the exemplification with better force, the French Government have rather increased the impediments to force trade against us; but, notwithstanding the increase of duties on the part of the French, the relaxations made by the British Cabinet have had the effect of increasing our trade within twelve years from £600,000 per annum, in respect of imports, to £3,000,000 (loud cheers), being fivefold; and one of the most extraordinary advances in trade under such difficulties purely attributable to the slight approximation to Free-Trade principles which have been adopted by the Government. (Cheers.) There is another practical exemplification of

it, and a very grievous one it is. The proprietors of the sugar plantations in the West Indies, unfortunately for those who consume sugar, have had a great many seats in the House of Commons, and I believe some in the House of Lords, and they have been a powerful body, to whom the Ministry found it convenient to be extremely polite. (Hear, hear.) And with regard to sugar, they have actually refused those relaxations which have been applied for by the advocates of Free Trade, and what is the consequence? The quantity of sugar introduced into this country for consumption, taking some sixteen or eighteen years back, and comparing it with the present time, the quantity now consumed is about the same, and the duty rather less; and, during that period, the population of the country has increased some six or seven millions. (Hear, hear.) What is the inference from this, but that in consequence of maintaining the monopoly of sugar, and continuing the differential duty of 150 per cent. against foreign sugar in favour of these monopolists, one-third less sugar is consumed by nearly every one of the humbler families of this country. (Hear, hear.) You may be well assured of this, that the great landowners are not under the necessity of diminishing such consumption, and it entirely falls on the great body of the working people, who are absolutely, in consequence of this fact, obliged to consume one-third less of that agreeable commodity than they did twenty years ago. (Cheers.) These four articles alone contain a complete illustration and proof of the case. [Some slight interruption occurred at this point of the hon. member's address.] The gallant general continued:—Gentlemen, I feel I must claim your indulgence: I feel the difficulty of following the two great and able gentlemen who preceded me. (Hear, hear.) I have only one or two observations further:—(One of these agricultural orators, I don't know whether he was a clerical or a legal gentleman, but it was the same who said some time back that some six or eight millions of the population of this empire rejoice in subsisting on potatoes (laughter); this same individual, within the last week of his orations, says:—"Does cheap corn contribute to produce happiness? I doubt it (he says); for if it did that country, namely, Poland, in which, of all the countries of Europe, corn is cheapest, would undoubtedly be the happiest, but, unfortunately (he continues), it is well known that the Poles are the most miserable and most wretched in their condition of any of the people of Europe." Now, gentlemen, it is not cheap corn that the advocates of Free Trade contend for: it is abundance of corn and abundance of employment to enable them to purchase corn, which is the thing sought for; so that I think it was rather an unhappy allusion on the part of the speaker to the condition of Poland, for if there be one thing more true than another, it is this—that the miserable condition, both materially and politically, of the people of Poland is directly attributable to the dominion of the landocracy, such as that which now, though to a much less extent, undoubtedly oppresses the energies and commerce of this country. (Loud cheers.) I will not detain you further than to add, that I am one of those, of whom I dare say there are many in this meeting, who have felt with regret that a certain degree of apathy existed in the public mind on political subjects during the last few years (hear, hear): knowing, however, that it is attributable to the disappointment felt by a great portion of the public as to the results of the efforts made for Parliamentary Reform. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, there is now a great organized body formed; they have made progress in this great cause, and there is not the least doubt but they have justice on their side. It is no theory, but a positive fact that they advocate; and I do venture to think, whatever the efforts of the 30,000 landlords of this country may be, that the farmers and labourers will, ere long, discover and become instructed on the real merits of this question; and that they will find this is a contest to retain rack-rents, and not a contest for the benefit of the farmers or their labourers. (Hear, hear.) I do venture to think that, however authoritative these great dukes and lords may be, and however bullying they may be in their tone, the middle classes of this country will, on this occasion, maintain with constancy and vigour the great contest in which they have engaged, and that it ultimately must and will triumph. (The gallant general sat down amid loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have a little exceeded our time this evening, but I am quite sure that the highly intellectual trend which we have had will render any apology from me needless on this occasion. (Loud cries of "Moore" from all parts of the theatre.) Mr. Moore was announced to address this meeting along with the other gentlemen who have addressed it so ably to-night; but you are well aware that the most difficult thing in conducting public proceedings of this description is to know when such speakers should leave off, what length of time each should occupy, and how much should be assigned to each, in order that the subject might be well expounded. (Applause.) Mr. Moore will, therefore, have the goodness to delay his address until this day fortnight, the earliest possible day he can appear in London, and on that occasion I hope those gentlemen who are so anxious to hear him will avail themselves of the opportunity. (Cheers.)

The next weekly meeting will be held in this theatre as usual, when Mr. Fox and other speakers will have the honour to address it.

The immense assemblage then retired.

METROPOLITAN ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.

A meeting of the chairman and most influential members of the Metropolitan Anti-Corn-Law Association took place on Monday at the Central Office, 68, Cheap-side, for the purpose of taking into consideration a plan of operations suggested by the parent committee, to be immediately acted upon. There was a numerous attendance. P. A. Taylor, Esq., took the chair. Amongst the gentlemen present were Ralph Ricardo, Esq., W. A. Wilkinson, Esq., George Beacon, Esq., T. F. Gibson, Esq., &c. &c.

The CHAIRMAN said, that, after having prepared the way for the National Anti-Corn-Law League, the Metropolitan Association had for a time receded from the ground which had since been so ably filled by the League, but that great body had recently, at least to a certain extent, changed their mode of action, directing their energies to increasing the number of their friends in the House of Commons through the medium of a strict and close attention to the registration. It was now the duty of their associations to attend to this business in the metropolis, and, with a view to carry out this object most effectively, the parent committee had prepared a plan which he would now lay before them. Their able chairman, Mr. Francis Place, was absent, he feared, from indisposition; and their secretary, Mr. Sidney Smith, was now in Wiltshire,

assisting, with other of their friends, in the return of a Free-Trade member for Devon. (Hear, hear.)

The plan of practical operation, which was embodied in a report, was then read. (Report extracted in page 1.)

The CHAIRMAN said that the exact mode pointed out might not be the most proper to be adopted in every district, but their friends in the different localities were the most competent to judge how far the details were applicable in their own neighbourhoods. In the city of London they had collected the names of the most influential persons and friends of Free Trade in the several wards, and earnestly invited their co-operation in their own wards in bodies, and tendering them every assistance in their power. (Hear, hear.) By attending vigilantly to the registration, they would be prepared at any moment to enter into a contest to return for the city of London four Free-Trade members. (Hear.) They had undertaken (what was never before attempted) to complete an alphabetical list of all the voters in the City. This effort involved much labour and expense; but they, notwithstanding, anticipated a successful termination to their labour in a few weeks. (Cheers.)

Mr. COATES, in commenting upon the working out of the plan, said that there were thousands of individuals in the Tower Hamlets and other districts who inhabited rooms and portions of a house, of which the landlords paid the taxes, who were entitled to a vote if they resided in one place a twelvemonth. That fact should be generally known, and, if it were, he was sure that their movement would have many more supporters amongst the poorer classes, who were chiefly affected by the pressure of the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear.) He congratulated the committee on the very efficient plan they had suggested. He feared, however, some collision between the registration societies already existing and the new associations proposed. He thought it advisable, if possible, that they should be amalgamated and act together. (Hear.)

After some further observations from members present, Mr. SOUTH MORAN moved that the plan now read be adopted, printed, and circulated without delay amongst the metropolitan constituencies.

Mr. TODD seconded the motion, which was agreed to unanimously.

Thanks were voted to the chairman, and the meeting separated.—*Morning Chronicle*.

BIRMINGHAM.

BIRMINGHAM, Monday Evening, Six o'clock.

One of the most important meetings held in this town during the last six years has just terminated. In my last communication I informed you that a highly respectable committee had been appointed for the purpose of making arrangements to receive a deputation from the League, and raise subscriptions for the support of that body. Since that time several efforts have been made to procure the attendance of these gentlemen, but, owing to their various engagements, they could not attend before the meeting of Parliament. Last week, however, it was communicated to the committee that Messrs. Cobden, Bright, Colonel Thompson, and Mr. Moore would attend a meeting to-day, if one could be conveniently held. The committee accordingly lost no time in posting the town, and on Friday large bills, announcing the meeting, were circulated, and great interest existed to hear these gentlemen, who have so eminently distinguished themselves as the advocates of Free Trade, which we are so deeply interested in in this borough. The Tories and their agents were not, however, idle. Some gentlemen, said to have arrived in Birmingham from an adjoining town, issued large counter posters, denouncing the League, the factory tyrants, and calling upon the men of Birmingham to attend on Monday at the Town-hall and do their duty. This bill, however, although it had no printer's name attached, betrayed fully the source from whence it emanated, and the committee accordingly made arrangements to meet the threatened opposition. This morning another bill, of which the following is a copy, appeared, and it was fully expected that the meeting would be finally upset by clamour and confusion:—

"MEN OF BIRMINGHAM."

"It has ever been the policy of the agents of the League to impugn the motives of the Chartists, and assail their conduct as stimulated by the Tories for factious purposes."

"We, the Chartist Committee, elected at a public meeting held at the Hall of Science, to watch over the interests of the people's cause, deem it our duty, therefore, to repudiate all sympathy with either Tory tyrants or factory tyrants, believing that every class who deny us, the working men, a voice in the government of our country are enemies, whatever they may pretend. Fellow-workmen, we are slaves, and neither the Tories nor the League will make us freemen. Poverty and misfortune follow us from the cradle to the grave, though the industry is ours which produces the endless wealth possessed by our oppressors. Shall we allow our wives and children to sink in misery? Shall we allow our judgment to be warped by loud pretensions from the holy struggle for substantial justice? That justice which will give to every working man a power, through the laws of our country, to protect his industry, both from plundering nobility and the tyrannising, griping master. Go to the Town hall, and demand for every speaker a fair hearing. No factious opposition, no disturbance; demand fair play; and listen patiently, and judge for yourselves. We have appointed Mr. Mason to represent our opinions; truth and justice must triumph. The Charter, and no surrender."

At eleven, George White, one of the leading Chartists, entered the organ gallery, and was received with loud cheers by about twenty or thirty of his friends in the body of the hall, and hissing by others. A scene of confusion ensued, and it was fully evident that a party had taken possession of a portion of the hall, determined on interrupting the proceedings. In a short time after, W. Smith, Esq., C. Geech, Esq., C. Clifford, Esq., Mr. Cobden, M.P., Col. Thompson, and Mr. Moore, entered the gallery and were received with loud cheers and hissing. Mr. Smith said he had been appointed by the committee to take the chair on that occasion, and he would put it to the meeting to say whether he should do so or not. An immense show of hands was exhibited in favour of Mr. Smith taking the chair, upon which he did so. Mr. White moved that Mr. Saunders, a working man, should take the chair, but only a few hands were held up, and Mr. Smith proceeded to address the meeting in a very powerful speech, amidst the hissing and hootings of a few, and the counter cheers of the meeting. At the conclusion of his speech Colonel Thompson came forward, and was received with groans and hissing by the same party. He, however, obtained a hearing, and laid it on the party who had misled themselves for the occasion. At the conclusion of his speech it became evident that the opposing party were only a handful, that the thousands assembled were favourable to the meeting, and that it only required perseverance to enable the promoters of the meeting to carry their object. Mr. White, finding he could not be heard, left the hall, amidst great confusion, after which Mr. Cobden addressed the meeting at great length, and with his usual ability. It was attempted to put him down by hissing and hooting, but the party from whom the interruption came being clearly so small, Mr. Cobden demanded to know, would the assembled thousands be trampled upon by some dozen men sent in for the occasion? A general burst of indignation was raised at the interruption, and the people in the body of the hall at once proceeded to eject by force a few who disturbed the meeting. This done, Mr. Cobden resumed, and fresh interruption arising, the parties were put out of the hall, until the place became as perfectly silent as possible, and the proceedings were carried on without the shadow of interruption till the close, when a subscription of £850 was raised in half an hour, after which the meeting broke up. The hall was densely crowded, and the town has given, by this day's proceedings, the most unqualified support to the League.—*Morning Chronicle*.

Earl Spencer has declined to accede to the modest request of the Spalding Association for the Protection of Agriculture, to resign his office as President of the Royal Agricultural Society in England.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, February 7, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | | | | | |
|---|---------|--|--------|--|--------|
| Richard Wyles, Court-street, Faversham | £1 0 0 | John Frost, 3, Holt Town, Manchester | £1 0 0 | Henry Javan, 8, Upper Copenhagen-street, Islington | £0 2 6 |
| Rev. J. H. Rook, Partridge-lane, do. | 0 2 6 | Peter Newton, Mount-street, Ancoats, do. | 0 0 0 | H. Baker, 3, Lawrence-lane, City | 1 0 0 |
| C. Horns, Coal Exchange-quay, do. | 1 0 0 | A. Orpen, do., do. | 0 0 0 | Anderson, Hober, and Co., Hambro' | 1 0 0 |
| S. Brown, Preston-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Small subscriptions at Newton's Works, Ancoats, do. | 0 5 6 | Per Mr. { G. and T. Thorp, Clapham Rise | 1 0 0 |
| T. Barrow, West-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Jonathan Thompson, Peru-street, Bradford | 0 5 0 | Tracy, { John Taylor, carpet warehouse, 80, St. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Denham, Osprings-road, do. | 0 2 6 | Henry Crowther, do., do. | 1 0 0 | John-street-road | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Frost, do. | 0 5 0 | Thomas Law, Chapel-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Henry Morley, 17, Grosvenor-street, Eaton-square | 1 0 0 |
| H. Boulding, (a sacrifice to principle,) do. | 0 5 0 | Wm. Jones, Store-street, Manchester | 10 0 0 | A Friend to the Cause | 1 0 0 |
| Literary Institution, Tanners' Arms, Tanner-st., do. | 1 1 0 | Diethelm and Gaddam, Pool-street, do. | 10 0 0 | Mr. Baddington, St. John-street | 1 0 0 |
| E. Watson, West-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Joseph Flockton, 26, Oxford-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Augustus Lines, 3, Irongate Wharf, Paddington | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, per H. Bolden, do. | 1 0 0 | Hay, Nish, and McKend, 27, Oxford-street, do. | 1 0 0 | S. K., 40, Henry-street, Pentonville | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Hills, sen., Standard-road, do. | 1 0 0 | Jas. Pearson, 93, Great Ancoats-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Colonel Salway, Egham Park, Surrey | 10 0 0 |
| Vincent Hills, Abbey-street, do. | 0 10 0 | J. Boardman, Queen's Arms, Bradford, near do. | 1 0 0 | T. C. | 0 10 0 |
| John Dwyer, West-street, do. | 0 10 0 | T. Parkinson, 81 A, Market-street, do. | 0 2 6 | James Grant, 71, Cheapside | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 5 0 | J. Boden, 18, Great Ducie-street, do. | 0 2 6 | George Enoch, 12, Park-place, Regent's Park | 0 5 0 |
| No Monopoly, do. | 0 10 0 | Small sum | 0 1 0 | Wm. Lestowgon, 24, Eagle-street, Red Lion-square | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 5 0 | J. Lister, 24, Frederick-street, Regent's Park | 0 2 6 | Mr. Brady, 9, White Conduit-street | 1 0 0 |
| A Free Trader, do. | 0 5 0 | J. B. Simonds, 9, Great College-street, Camden-town | 1 0 0 | A Small Farmer | 0 2 6 |
| J. Waterman, West-street, do. | 0 2 6 | John Webber, 1, Brewer-street, Golden-square | 1 0 0 | Edward Jeffries, Hillmorton, near Calne | 1 0 0 |
| George Baker, Abbey-street, do. | 0 2 6 | William Bowerman, 28, New-street-square | 0 2 3 | Captain Duberley, Gainea, St. Neot's | 50 0 0 |
| A Wellisher, do. | 0 2 6 | William Saunders, Chapel-street, Islington | 0 2 6 | A. K., Hackney-road | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 2 6 | Contribution from Chester in postage heads | 0 1 0 | M. Green | 0 2 6 |
| Richard Ladd, West-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Mrs. Nelms, Maldstone | 1 0 0 | A Lancashire Witch | 0 2 6 |
| A. B., do. | 0 2 6 | A Free Trader | 0 1 0 | A Juvenile | 0 1 0 |
| X. Y. Z., do. | 0 2 6 | Rev. Robert Ashton, Putney | 1 0 0 | Mr. Pearson's weavers, Bolton | 1 1 0 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 5 0 | J. Crosthwaite | 0 10 0 | E. Beck, Isleworth | 0 10 0 |
| Geo. Higginbotham, Ashton-under-Lyne, near Man- | 20 0 0 | O. H. | 0 2 6 | William Scholes, Hightown, near Leeds | 1 0 0 |
| John Purdom, Hawick, N.B. | 1 0 0 | Archibald Black, 18, Queen-street, May-fair | 2 0 0 | Michael Spedding, Batley, near | 1 0 0 |
| John Barlow, pawnbroker, Wallgate, Wigan, Lanca- | 1 0 0 | Rev. James Edwards, Brighton | 1 0 0 | Matthew Parker, do. | 0 10 0 |
| shire | 1 1 0 | Richard Warwick, Wyddington House, Cheltenham | 1 0 0 | Thomas Lee, Hick-lane Mill, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Adam Gee, Heywood, Lancashire | 1 1 0 | Thomas Heath, 44, Holywell-street | 0 2 6 | John Ward, Batley Carr, near | 0 5 0 |
| E. Binney, 52, Pall-mall, Manchester | 2 0 0 | H. Wilkinson, 15, Manchester-buildings | 1 1 0 | George Robinson, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thos. Maddock, tanner, Knutsford, Cheshire | 1 0 0 | Thos. King, West Mill, Colinton, near Edinburgh | 1 0 0 | Peter Hepleston, Batley | 0 5 0 |
| James Hall, Hall's-place, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas Brown, Ironmonger, Maryport | 1 0 0 | Widow Sheard, Wilton Arms, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Go on and prosper | 0 3 0 | Daniel Harrison, Price-st., Birkenhead, near Liverpool | 1 0 0 | George Wainwright, do. | 0 1 0 |
| Wm. Webb, Esq., Mayor of Hereford | 5 5 0 | George Watson, grocer, Whitehaven | 1 0 0 | John Burnley, of Batley, for the men in his | 2 0 0 |
| Mr. Harrison, Bye-street, Hereford | 1 0 0 | Richard Thompson, 3, Mersey View, Birkenhead, near | 1 0 0 | employ | 2 0 0 |
| Edward Abley, High-street, do. | 0 5 0 | Liverpool | 1 0 0 | F. Harcourt, Three Tuns, Oxford | 1 0 0 |
| John Benbow, do. | 0 5 0 | George Taws, 171, Hilton-street, Dundee | 1 0 0 | C. Wood, 18, Poppin's-court, Fleet-street | 1 1 0 |
| H. A. Weston, do. | 2 2 0 | John Long, Orme's-green, Harrow-road | 1 0 0 | R. Burnett, Piazza, Covent-garden | 1 1 0 |
| Josh. Wontner, do. | 2 2 0 | William and Mitchell, 24, Wadour-street | 1 0 0 | J. Lowe, 68, Fleet-street | 1 1 0 |
| T. N. Webb, High Town, do. | 1 0 0 | H. Jackson and Son, 66, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell | 12 6 | R. Williams, 44, Ludgate-hill | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Addison, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Hart, 17, Great Garden-street, Whitechapel | 0 2 6 | Mr. Kirk, Fleet-street | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Gibson, Widemarch-street, do. | 0 5 0 | Henry Revell, 28, Burton-crescent | 1 0 0 | Mr. Gurney, Farringdon-street | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. George, Bye-street, do. | 0 10 0 | Joseph Turner, batter | 0 5 0 | R. R. | 1 1 0 |
| R. Jennings, High Town, do. | 0 5 0 | William Davison, chemist | 0 5 0 | Mr. Davis, Pulpit Office, Glasshouse-yard | 1 1 0 |
| R. W. | 0 5 0 | Miss Biesley | 1 0 0 | P. Repton, Stonecutter-street | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Spoxl, Castle-street, Hereford | 0 5 0 | Anonymous | 0 2 6 | Mr. Grant, 3, Clemmington-court, Wood-street | 1 1 0 |
| William Keay, Bye-street, do. | 0 2 6 | A Friend | 0 5 0 | Mr. Clark, engineer, Whitefriars | 1 1 0 |
| Robert Keay, New-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Robert Busby | 1 0 0 | Mr. Patton, 16, Penton-street, Pentonville | 0 3 0 |
| Quentin Keay, do. | 0 2 6 | A Friend | 0 10 0 | Mr. Kent, 10, Waterloo-place | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Hoven, Bye-street, do. | 0 2 6 | John C. Busby | 1 0 0 | M. C., of Bath | 0 5 0 |
| A few Friends, do. | 0 6 6 | Anonymous | 0 2 6 | G. N. E. Nelson, 10, Water-street | 1 1 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 10 0 | Miss Snowdon, Bondgate-street | 0 2 6 | Mr. Ashton, Cogers' Hall | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Muer, Stewarton, Ayrshire | 1 0 0 | T. A. Short, Chapel-lane | 0 2 6 | W. H. Bennett | 0 5 0 |
| Peter Cairns, minister, do. | 2 0 0 | Edward Thew, sen. | 0 5 0 | W. Allingham | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Black, do. | 1 0 0 | Small sums | 0 5 0 | T. Middleton, 3, Loman-street, Southwark | 1 1 0 |
| John Chesp, Girsenti, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas Roblow, 30, Upper Marylebone-street | 0 10 0 | W. Turton, Sheffield | 0 5 0 |
| J. A. Snodgrass, do. | 0 5 0 | Pence collected at the Coach and Horses Inn | 0 12 0 | H. Longford, 7, Grange-place, Bermondsey | 0 5 0 |
| W. Newman, do. | 0 5 0 | W. G. | 0 5 0 | A. Gurney, Brill House, Somers-town | 1 1 0 |
| James Wylie, do. | 0 5 0 | W. Crosby, paper hanger, 89, Edgware-road | 1 1 0 | J. Gurney, 10, Prince's-place, Commercial-road | 1 1 0 |
| John Black, do. | 0 2 6 | J. Wessell, 11, Welbeck-street, Marylebone | 1 0 0 | C. Wood, jun., 18, Poppin's-court, Fleet-street | 1 1 0 |
| William Stevenson, do. | 0 2 6 | R. Hopkins, 43, Charlton-street, do. | 1 0 0 | C. James Wood, 19, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Hugh Muer, do. | 0 2 6 | A. Smith, 13, Welbeck-street | 0 2 6 | E. W. Wood, 19, do. | 0 3 0 |
| Andrew Clark, do. | 0 2 6 | Jas. Miller, Constitution-street | 10 0 0 | David Relf and James | 0 7 6 |
| John Coskie, do. | 0 6 0 | W. Taylor, Scotstown-park, So. Queen's-ferry | 10 0 0 | Baillie Boath, manufacturer | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 1 4 6 | Alexander Watson, Cassell's-place | 5 5 0 | Joseph Ritchie, bootmaker | 1 0 0 |
| Binn, Dean, and Co., Dukinfield, near Manchester | 25 0 0 | W. Muir, merchant | 5 5 0 | Andrew Lawson, manufacturer | 1 0 0 |
| Matthew Binn, Brownsfield Mill, Great Ancoats- | 30 0 0 | G. Berry, do. | 5 5 0 | John Moffat, do. | 1 0 0 |
| street, Manchester | 30 0 0 | John Veitch, Cassell's-place | 5 0 0 | Rev. Andrew Murray | 1 0 0 |
| Theophilus Trotter, Lydney, Gloucestershire | 1 0 0 | John Crabbie, 27, Pilgrim-street, Leith-walk, | 5 0 0 | A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| Headin T. Leech & Bister, Urmastone, near Manchester | 1 0 0 | Edinburgh | 5 0 0 | John Yeaman, banker | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Nicholson, Exchange Arcade, do. | 2 0 0 | R. Laurie, 21, Claremont-crescent, Edinburgh | 5 0 0 | James Anderson, auctioneer | 0 2 6 |
| G. Bedford, Tib-lane, do. | 1 0 0 | W. Girdwood, Eastfield | 5 0 0 | James Barry, brewer | 0 7 6 |
| Callender, Bickham, and Co., Mosley-street, do. | 200 0 0 | Jas. Marshall, Thomson's-place | 3 3 0 | James Stuart, shoemaker | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Vaughan, printer, Ross, Herefordshire | 0 2 6 | John Smith, merchant | 3 3 0 | George Simpson, mason | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Bliss, accountant, do. | 0 2 6 | David Callender, Lochend-road | 2 2 0 | Wm. Roberts, town clerk | 0 10 0 |
| Thomas Cooke, druggist, do. | 0 2 6 | David Thom, 23, Pilgrim-street, Leith-walk, | 2 2 0 | Wm. Law, druggist | 0 2 6 |
| John Rudge, Edgecross-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Edinburgh | 2 2 0 | John Craig, ironmonger | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 | Baillie Gillon | 2 2 0 | John Yeaman, merchant | 0 2 6 |
| A Repeater | 0 2 6 | C. J. Henderson, 11, Smith's-place, Leith- | 2 2 0 | James Burns, shoemaker | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums | 0 2 6 | walk, Edinburgh | 2 2 0 | John Steele, merchant | 0 10 6 |
| A. K. Saunders, Market Lavington, Wilts | 3 0 0 | R. Philip, Old Wharf | 2 2 0 | John Ireland, salesman | 0 2 6 |
| W. Smith, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Moffat, Tolbooth-wynd | 2 2 0 | James Anderson, baker | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Tucker, M.D., do. | 1 0 0 | George Kidd, Nor. Br. Colour Works | 1 10 6 | John Morrison, innkeeper | 0 5 0 |
| R. Willett, sen., Fiddington House, near do. | 3 0 0 | W. Richardson, bookseller, 100, Kirkgate | 1 2 6 | Alexander Lowson, grocer | 0 2 6 |
| Miss Ellen Saunders, do. | 0 10 0 | John Innes, 2, Queen-street | 1 1 0 | Wm. Cable, merchant | 0 5 0 |
| Henry Gauntlett, do. | 0 10 0 | Convenor Adamson, Duke-street | 1 1 0 | Thomas Foad, manufacturer | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. N. Hobbs, do. | 0 10 0 | John Kay, teacher, 98, Constitution-street | 1 1 0 | Small sums | 0 14 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 5 0 | Jas. White, 30, Charlotte-street | 1 1 0 | Fred. Wm. Froggett, 14, Gibson-square, Islington | 1 0 0 |
| H. J. Wolstenholme, Holywell | 1 1 0 | R. S. Crabbie, 11, King's-place, Leith-walk, | 1 1 0 | Per S. Gaw- (Rt. Dobbing, 25, York-place, City-road | 1 1 0 |
| M. S. Kenrick, do. | 5 0 0 | Edinburgh | 1 1 0 | thorp. { Mrs. E. Dobbing, do. | 1 1 0 |
| J. P. Eytan, do. | 2 0 0 | Rev. G. D. Cullen, 7, James-place | 1 1 0 | A Friend | 0 10 0 |
| James Eytan, Mold | 1 1 0 | John Palmer, 75, Kirkgate | 1 1 0 | Thomas Worrall, Sheffield | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Eytan, Flint | 2 2 0 | Jas. Dick, Soap Works | 1 1 0 | J. Mitchell, Cheshire Cheese, Grosvenor-row, Chelsea | 1 0 0 |
| Captain A. Francis, Halkin, Holywell | 1 0 0 | John Dalziel, baker | 1 1 0 | G. H. Jacques, 8, Kennington-terrace, Vauxhall | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Garland, do. | 1 0 0 | Peter Brash, Soap Works | 1 1 0 | J. H. Robinson, 25, Aldersgate-street | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. E. Hughes, do. | 0 10 0 | David Couston, corn merchant | 1 1 0 | John Robinson, 28, Gloucester-street, Liverpool | 0 2 6 |
| John Lloyd, do. | 1 0 0 | Russell and Ewan | 1 1 0 | Mary Robinson, 4, Smart's-buildings, High Holborn | 0 2 6 |
| Live and let Live, do. | 0 10 0 | George Walker, 2, Kirkgate | 1 1 0 | Edward Field, 29, Wilsted-street, Somers-town | 0 2 6 |
| Richard Cooper, Bradwall-road, Sandbach, Cheshire | 2 0 0 | Richard Lyall, 37, Bridge-street | 1 1 0 | Robert Coulson, 19, Whiskin-street, Clerkenwell | 0 2 6 |
| Thos. Smallman, Middlewich-rd., do. | 1 0 0 | John Black, 35, Mitchell-street | 1 1 0 | J. Brown and Friends, printers, High-street, Dept- | 1 0 0 |
| John Kennerby, North Union, do. | 0 10 0 | F. Fulton, 21, Charlotte-street | 1 1 0 | ford | 1 0 0 |
| William Dean, do. | 1 0 0 | George Imbach, 27, Elder-street, Edinburgh | 1 1 0 | Wm. Whitridge, 24, St. Paul's-place, Ball's-pond, | 1 1 0 |
| Nam. Stringer, Top of the Town, do. | 1 0 0 | Walter G. Cassels, merchant | 1 1 0 | Islington | 1 1 0 |
| John Bayley, Chapel-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas Callum, 21, Charlotte-street | 1 0 0 | Eastington Association, near Stroud | 20 0 0 |
| James Lea, High-street, do. | 1 0 0 | David Spence, 10, Kirkgate | 1 0 0 | H. Fenner, 13, Park-place, Regent's-park | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Billington, do. | 1 0 0 | Robert Innes, ship builder | 1 0 0 | Wm. Tatham, Oxford-terrace | 0 10 0 |
| Thomas Bostock, Market-place, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas White, dyer, Tolbooth-wynd | 1 0 0 | Edward Smith, 6, King-road, Cambridge-road | 0 2 6 |
| John Shaw, High-street, do. | 0 10 0 | John Hume, 15, Mitchell-street | 1 0 0 | Caleb Collins, draper, Brighton | 2 0 0 |
| John Jones, do. | 0 10 0 | John Scott, 5, Dock-gates | 1 0 0 | Phenezer Tindall, 14, Cockhill, Ratcliffe | 2 0 0 |
| Edward Fox, Top of the Town, do. | 0 10 0 | G. Petrie, foreman, Edinburgh Ropery Co. | 1 0 0 | Mark Morgan, High-street, Newport, Isle of Wight | 1 0 0 |
| John Stringer, do. | 0 10 0 | Robert Marshall, Mitchell-street | 2 0 0 | R. Palmer, Belvoir-street | 5 0 0 |
| Thos. Stringer, do. | 0 10 0 | Thomas Callender, 8, Duke-street | 1 0 0 | C. Bedella and Co., Oxford-street | 25 0 0 |
| J. Crocker, 100 A, King-street, Manchester | 5 0 0 | R. Walker, Newhaven, by Edinburgh | 1 0 0 | D. Orange and Co., New-walk | 20 0 0 |
| Thomas Bryce, Leigh, Lancashire | 1 0 0 | Robert Murray, Soap Works | 1 0 0 | The Workmen of Orange and Co. | 1 0 0 |
| Evans and Nicholson, Pool Fold, Manchester | 50 0 0 | Alexander Brown, do. | 1 0 0 | Edward Ridley, draper, Market-place | 5 0 0 |
| Wm. Foster, a t Jan. Carlton and Co.'s, Mosley-st., do. | 1 0 0 | Robert Robb, do. | 1 0 0 | Higginson and Coleman, Talbot-lane | 5 0 0 |
| G. Lowe, Rock House, Hill-street, Hastings | 2 0 0 | William Herd, do. | 1 0 0 | C. B. and H. M. Robinson, Gas Office | 5 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 | Jas. Couper, 17, Couper-street, North | 1 0 0 | H. Gill, St. Nicholas-square | 3 3 0 |
| W. L. Yates, Castle-street, Hastings | 0 10 0 | James Moyes, 33, Bridge-street | 1 0 0 | R. Rozzell, Newark-street | 2 0 0 |
| T. Ross, jun., do. | 0 10 0 | Alexander Miles, 27, Sandport-street, North | 1 0 0 | W. and G. Baines, Market-place | 2 0 0 |
| A Friend, per T. Ross, do. | 0 10 0 | James Sutherland, 44, Constitution-street | 1 0 0 | Rev. C. Berry, Narborough-road | 2 0 0 |
| J. B. Kelland, High Wickham, do. | 0 10 0 | Charles Morrison, Shore | 1 0 0 | Stone and Paget, Welford-place | 21 0 0 |
| F. Bennetts, St. Andrew's-terrace, do. | 0 5 0 | Anthony Laird, 22, do | 1 0 0 | John Whitmore, High Cross-street | 6 0 0 |
| J. Kinny, jun., Castle Hotel, do. | 0 5 0 | James Cochrane, 3, Mitchell-street | 1 0 0 | R. J. Smith, New-walk | 5 0 0 |
| T. Ross, Pelham Cottage, do. | 0 5 0 | John Black, 47, Couper-street, North | 1 0 0 | Thomas Sunderland, King-street | 5 0 0 |
| Thos. Mann, High-street, do. | 0 5 0 | Alexander Mann, 21, Bernard-street | 1 0 0 | John Bailey and Son, Charles-street | 5 0 0 |
| John Wimbie, Court House-street, do. | 1 0 0 | W. S. Robertson, Timber Bush | 1 0 0 | W. and J. Eames, Newark-street | 5 0 0 |
| Chas. Stanley, Castle-street, do. | 0 5 0 | James Wilson, at Alex. Gillie's, 4, Armfield, | 1 0 0 | Edward Weston, King-street | 5 0 0 |
| Robert M'Leelan, 12, Waterloo-place, do. | 0 2 6 | Newhaven, by Edinburgh | 1 0 0 | Parker, Kent, and Co., Clarence-street | 5 0 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 2 6 | Robert Hampton, 15, Dock-street | 1 0 0 | Charles Spencer, High Cross-street | 2 0 0 |
| John Howarth, St. George's-road, Manchester | 1 0 0 | James Gains, 8, Springfield, Leith-walk, Edin- | 1 0 0 | John Travis, 164, Belgrave-gate | 2 0 0 |
| Rd. Cheetam, 3, Bouners-place, Higher Ardwick, do. | 1 1 0 | burgh | 1 0 0 | Charles Gould, Crescent | 2 0 0 |
| | | W. Young, Silverfield | 1 0 0 | John Flower, New-walk | 1 0 0 |
| | | John Todd, fisher | 1 0 0 | S. Coleman, Duke of York, Oxford-street | 1 2 0 |
| | | W. Ford and Sons, merchants | 1 0 0 | Henry Green, 23, Rutland-street | 2 0 0 |
| | | T. Rider, Fife-place, Leith-walk, Edinburgh | 1 0 0 | Thomas Turner, Sharnford | 1 0 0 |
| | | J. Smeal, 5, Couper-street | 1 0 0 | John Kind, Whetstone | 1 0 0 |
| | | H. Webster, St. Andrew-street | 1 0 0 | Thomas Paget, surgeon, High-street | 2 0 0 |
| | | John Duncan, 76, Shore | 1 0 0 | Thomas Hodges, Redcross-street | 1 0 0 |
| | | Henry Kemp, merchant, Musselburgh | 1 0 0 | W. Weston and Son, Bond-street | 1 0 0 |
| | | James Euston, jun., skinner, do. | 1 0 0 | John Perry, North Gates | 1 0 0 |
| | | Robert J. Simpson, clothier, do. | 1 0 0 | R. M. Cook, draper, London-road | 1 0 0 |
| | | James Monro, Market-street, Fisharrow | 1 0 0 | Thomas Bradley, Humberstone-gate | 1 0 0 |
| | | John Wallace, Sandport-street | 1 1 0 | W. Brown, 4, Nelson-street, London-road | 1 0 0 |
| | | James Cree, merchant | 1 1 0 | Thomas Johnson, maltster, Southgate-street | 1 0 0 |
| | | | | T. and C. Inchley, Wellington-street | 1 0 0 |

| | | | | | |
|--|---------|--|--------|------------------------------------|--------|
| Mr. Geo. McMurray, Warrington | £1 0 0 | Samuel Biggin, Scotland-street | £1 0 0 | J. G. Wadsworth, Hodge Print Works | £1 0 0 |
| | 0 0 0 | | 0 0 0 | | 0 0 0 |
| Mr. R. McLellan, Drummore | 1 0 0 | T. and W. Badger, Copper-street | 1 0 0 | Richard Halstead, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. D. Lindsay, Ashfield, nr. Dromore | 1 0 0 | M. Wag, Slemaker, Jericho | 0 5 0 | Geo. Halstead, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Hens, Warrington | 1 0 0 | Jos. Ellison, Slemaker, Allen-street | 1 0 0 | Robt. Archer, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Rennie, Tetley, and Co., Leeds-road | 50 0 0 | Samuel Peace, Meadow-street | 1 0 0 | John Chorlton, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Robt. Montee, Kirkgate | 20 0 0 | Workmen at J. Nowill and Sons, Meadow-st | 1 0 0 | Richard Howarth, do. | 0 6 0 |
| Mrs. and Misses Tordoff, Belle-vue, Manning- | 5 5 0 | J. A. Riddon street | 1 0 0 | Joseph Tinker, do. | 0 6 0 |
| ham, near | 1 0 0 | W. Corran, James-row | 2 0 0 | Arch. Herd, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Robt. Pearson, Kirkgate | 1 0 0 | W. Lucas, Royd's-mill | 2 0 0 | Geo. Roylo, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Jas. Montee, do. | 0 5 0 | A Friend to Free Trade, per H. Hinde | 5 0 0 | Job Holt, do. | 0 5 0 |
| H. B. Byles, do. | 0 5 0 | A. M'Turk, 21, James-street | 2 0 0 | — Willis, do. | 0 5 0 |
| David Smith, tailor, Eccleshill | 1 0 0 | The Secretaries, H. Hinde and R. J. Gainsford | 5 0 0 | Thos. Howard, do. | 0 5 0 |
| H. W. Crossley | 1 1 0 | George Wostenholme, Rockingham-street | 5 0 0 | Thos. Halstead, do. | 0 3 6 |
| Fair Play | 20 0 0 | Dr. Thompson, Norfolk-street | 10 0 0 | Jon. Halstead, do. | 0 3 6 |
| G. Armitage and Co. | 20 0 0 | S. Thornhill and Son, Newcastle-street | 3 0 0 | Henry Halstead, do. | 0 3 6 |
| Edward Smith, Wicker | 200 0 0 | James Barton, West-street | 2 0 0 | Jas. Schofield, do. | 0 3 6 |
| T. Turton and Sons, Spring Works | 50 0 0 | Parker and Linley, Carver-street | 2 2 0 | Jas. Swann, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. T. B. Turton | 5 0 0 | Wood and Atkinson, Rockingham-street | 2 0 0 | John Tomlinson, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. Joseph Turton | 5 0 0 | J. Sidebotham, grocer, Glossop-road | 1 0 0 | Jas. Matley, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. William Turton | 5 0 0 | Alderman Moorhouse, Devonshire-street | 1 0 0 | John Ramsbottom, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. Matthews | 5 0 0 | S. White, 11, Regent-street | 1 0 0 | James Goddard, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Naylor, Vickers, and Co. | 50 0 0 | John Dickinson, West-street | 1 0 0 | Aaron Bardeley, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Anti-Ferrand | 25 0 0 | T. Hudson, do. | 0 5 0 | George Schofield, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Jessop and Sons | 25 0 0 | R. Braithwaite, Rockingham-street | 0 5 0 | Wm. Nuttall, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Twigg, Brothers, Kilnhurst Potteries, near | 10 0 0 | A. B. C., per W. Atkinson | 0 5 0 | John Moss, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Rotherham | 1 0 0 | W. Adam | 1 0 0 | Alex. Chadwick, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Moses Radon, Norfolk-lane | 1 0 0 | W. Smith, Portobello | 10 0 0 | John Wagstaff, do. | 0 2 6 |
| D. Doncaster, Uppertorpe | 5 0 0 | Joshua Ingle, Rockingham-street | 2 0 0 | N. Tinker, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Hobson, Arundel-street | 5 0 0 | Hunting and Son, Regent-street | 1 0 0 | John Jackson, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Charles Milner, Fargate | 5 0 0 | John Bingham, 202, Allen-street | 1 0 0 | George Ashby, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Fisher, Orchard-place | 20 0 0 | John Walton, Cornhill | 0 5 0 | David Ramsbottom, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Charles Fisher, do. | 2 0 0 | James Brown, Division-street | 5 0 0 | John Walker, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Hargreaves, Kyre-lane | 20 0 0 | George Radon, Fargate | 1 0 0 | John Garlick, do. | 0 2 6 |
| F. H., 62, Byre-street | 1 0 0 | George Tucker, York-street | 2 0 0 | Block-printers, do. | 8 6 9 |
| M. and R. Brady, Leavy Greave | 5 0 0 | David Johnson, Campo-lane | 0 5 0 | Small sums | 213 0 |
| R. Daff, Boot and Shoe Inn, Pinstone-street | 1 0 0 | H. Howson, Snig-hill | 0 5 0 | | |
| T. P. G. Osborne, Portmahon | 1 0 0 | Crookes and Roberts, Porter-street | 2 0 0 | | |
| Charles Appleby, Willey-street | 10 0 0 | S. Meggitt, Duke-street | 0 10 0 | | |
| A Mother, per E. Smith | 10 0 0 | W. Tomlinson, Angel Inn, South-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| Walker, Wall, and Co., Nursery | 20 0 0 | Thomas Barry, brewer, do. | 0 10 0 | | |
| "Cobden for ever" | 0 10 0 | John Shaw, Owlerton | 0 10 0 | | |
| John Charlton, 57, Charles-street | 1 1 0 | J. Cadman, Devonshire Arms, South-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| James Johnson, Holy-green | 0 2 6 | W. A. Goodall, do. | 1 0 0 | | |
| Bolton and Co., Market-street | 1 0 0 | Joseph Cutts, Hermitage-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| Crowley and Pearson, Kellam Works | 10 0 0 | J. Chamberlain, Fargate | 1 0 0 | | |
| George Johnson, 13, Porter-street | 2 0 0 | T. Brown, 12, South-street | 0 5 0 | | |
| Samuel Hancock, Peacraft | 1 0 0 | L. Hillier, 12, do. | 0 5 0 | | |
| J. S. Hancock, do. | 0 10 0 | W. White, Brook-hill | 0 5 0 | | |
| George Latham, 20, Gell-street | 1 0 0 | Cornelius Atkinson, South-street | 0 5 0 | | |
| T. S. Naylor, 202, Brook Hill | 1 0 0 | Jas. Ashmore, do. | 0 5 0 | | |
| Robert Thompson, Granville-street, Park | 0 5 0 | W. Underwood, Porter-street | 0 2 6 | | |
| Robt. Holborn, Brook-hill | 2 0 0 | G. Y. Bramall, do. | 0 2 6 | | |
| E. and J. Greaves, Park | 5 0 0 | Thomas Goodwin, do. | 0 2 6 | | |
| Wm. Greaves, South-street, Park | 1 0 0 | Charles Bellamy, Devonshire-street | 0 2 6 | | |
| Thomas Sheldon, Trafalgar-street | 1 0 0 | James Turner, near Lead Works | 0 2 6 | | |
| Wm. Burrell, Snig-hill | 1 0 0 | A Friend, per G. Johnson | 0 2 6 | | |
| Aaron Hatfield, Pepper-alley | 5 0 0 | Samuel Foote, South-street | 0 2 6 | | |
| A. Hatfield and Son, do. | 10 0 0 | Charles Peace, Eagle Works | 5 0 0 | | |
| Geo. Gray, Milton's Head, Allen-street | 1 0 0 | P. Ashberry, Bowling-green-street | 5 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Mappin, Mulberry-street | 5 0 0 | Drabble and Sanderson, Spring-street | 5 0 0 | | |
| John Nicholson, Thomas-street | 1 0 0 | George Smith, 68, Russell-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| Workmen at Roberts and Smith's, Kyre-street | 1 11 0 | Brown and Flather, Soily-street | 0 10 0 | | |
| Henry Hall, the Mount | 2 2 0 | R. Alexander, Sheffield Arms, Meadow-street | 0 2 6 | | |
| W. Atkinson, Angel-street | 1 0 0 | W. P., per W. Hoole | 0 5 0 | | |
| Wm. Holdsworth, Snig-hill | 1 0 0 | John Armitage, Allen-street | 0 5 0 | | |
| Alfred Osborne, 19, Smithfield | 1 0 0 | George Barnaley, Cornhill | 0 5 0 | | |
| John Hughes, Russell-street | 1 0 0 | Samuel Parker, Parker's Wharf | 10 0 0 | | |
| Josephus Smith, 141, South-street | 1 0 0 | Thomas Robinson, Fig-tree-place | 1 0 0 | | |
| Roberts and Mettam, Barker-pool | 5 0 0 | Spear and Jackson, Saville-street | 5 0 0 | | |
| Wm. Bagshaw, 37, Spring-street | 1 0 0 | J. Osborne, Sussex-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| James Biggins, Attercliffe | 0 10 0 | J. Nowill, Meadow-street | 2 0 0 | | |
| Clerks at Green-lane Works | 1 0 0 | W. Nowill, jun., do. | 1 0 0 | | |
| Workmen at do. | 2 12 3 | James Taylor, Burgess-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Morton, Infirmary-road | 0 10 0 | Merrill and Jarvis, Holly-street | 2 0 0 | | |
| Joshua Jervis, Sportsman Inn, Bridge Houses | 1 10 0 | Wm. Troth, Moorfields | 1 0 0 | | |
| P. Frith, Arundel-street | 5 0 0 | Wm. Lister, West-bar | 1 0 0 | | |
| J. Littlewood, 91, Broad-street, Park | 1 0 0 | Isaac Read, Lambert-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| E. Shurt, Wellington Inn, Conlpit-street | 0 10 0 | Joseph Dickinson, West-bar | 1 0 0 | | |
| Jos. Burgin, 63, West-street | 1 0 0 | Alfred Hobson, 95, Edward-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| Benjn. Hobson, Stubbing House, nr. Greenaiside | 1 0 0 | G. K. Moorhouse, Farnival-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| John Turner, Harvest-lane | 1 0 0 | J. W., at do., do. | 1 0 0 | | |
| John Dixon, Castle-street | 1 1 0 | W. Binney, Mulberry-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| J. Sellers, Colliery Railway station | 1 0 0 | W. Layland, 11, Love-street | 2 0 0 | | |
| John Needham, Harvest-lane | 0 10 0 | Thomas Hobson, cutler, Hallam | 0 5 0 | | |
| C. Wardlaw and Son, 31, Malinda-street | 1 0 0 | Working men at Paul Ashley's, Watson's-walk | 2 8 7 | | |
| John Pitt, Waingate | 1 0 0 | John Martin, Mill-sand | 2 0 0 | | |
| A Working Man | 0 2 6 | Samuel Hague, Eldon-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| P. Beaumont, Canal-office | 1 0 0 | J. and J. Stevenson, Arundel-street | 5 0 0 | | |
| T. Smith, Westfield-terrace | 1 1 0 | A Friend, per J. Stevenson | 1 0 0 | | |
| George Holmes, 80, West-bar | 1 0 0 | A Friend, do. | 0 5 0 | | |
| James Johnson, 54, Broomhall-street | 1 0 0 | T. Fisher (Shaw and Fisher), Suffolk-road | 2 2 0 | | |
| Jonathan Crookes and Son, Eldon-street | 1 0 0 | T. Ibbotson and Co., Charles-street | 2 2 0 | | |
| A. B. C. | 1 0 0 | Miss Wilkinson, Suffolk-road | 1 0 0 | | |
| Broadhead and Hall, Eldon-street | 0 10 0 | Michael Hunter, Wicker | 5 0 0 | | |
| John Pitt, Trafalgar-street | 0 10 0 | Mark Oakes, Attercliffe | 1 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Hall, 66, Eldon-street | 0 5 0 | E. W. Richardson, do. | 1 0 0 | | |
| George Dalton, Wellington-street | 0 5 0 | Jonathan Robbuck, Saville-street | 5 0 0 | | |
| J. Howarth, 121, Fitzwilliam-street | 0 5 0 | John Wilson, Sycamore-street | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Cawton, Spring-lane | 0 2 6 | Knowles and Brown, Rotherham | 10 0 0 | | |
| Hawcroft and Pearson, Eldon-street | 0 2 6 | W. Hoole, Malinda-street | 5 0 0 | | |
| V. Woodfin, Wellington-street | 0 2 6 | J. C. Simpson, Gibraltar-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| H. Taylor, 105, Fitzwilliam-street | 0 2 6 | Fenton and Shore, Division-street | 5 0 0 | | |
| Joshua Purder, 154, do. | 0 2 6 | W. Jackson, surgeon, Bank-street | 5 0 0 | | |
| John Shennar, Eldon-street | 0 2 6 | Thomas Watson, Fargate | 1 1 0 | | |
| Charles Ward, Rockingham-street | 0 2 6 | John White, Workhouse-croft | 1 1 0 | | |
| John Driver, 25, Charles-street | 1 0 0 | W. Peich, 40, Smithfield | 1 0 0 | | |
| John Parkin, 88, Wicker | 1 0 0 | A. Hill, Slemuth, Infirmary-lane | 1 0 0 | | |
| C. E. Smith, Fir vale | 0 10 0 | A Friend | 1 0 0 | | |
| Henry Askin, Howard-street | 1 1 0 | Jos. Outram, Black Swan Inn | 1 0 0 | | |
| S. S. Middleton and Co., Charles-street | 1 1 0 | Charles Unwin, West-bar | 1 0 0 | | |
| Gasley and Worsley, West-bar | 5 0 0 | R. Eaton, Sheffield Banking Company | 1 0 0 | | |
| T. Goodwin, Wentworth-terrace | 1 0 0 | J. H. Barber, do. | 1 0 0 | | |
| Workmen at John Watson's, Arundel-street | 0 10 1 | A Friend | 1 0 0 | | |
| W. Jervis, grocer, Snig-hill | 2 0 0 | John Walters, Carver-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| J. Newton, do., West-bar | 2 0 0 | A Friend | 0 10 0 | | |
| W. Harrison, Townhead-street | 1 0 0 | H. Hall | 0 10 0 | | |
| Samuel Frost, Broad-lane | 5 0 0 | George Trickett, Loxley | 0 10 0 | | |
| Workmen at S. Frost's, do. | 1 0 0 | C. Hutchinson, West-bar | 0 5 0 | | |
| Joseph Ashforth, Bridge-street | 5 0 0 | Friend to Working-men | 0 5 0 | | |
| Horatio Greaves, Burgess-street | 5 0 0 | S. Smith, King-street | 0 5 0 | | |
| Charles Fox, Cheney-square | 2 0 0 | F. Carr | 0 5 0 | | |
| T. Miller, cabinetmaker, Scotland-street | 0 5 0 | Friend to the League | 0 2 6 | | |
| John Russell, 13, Howard-street | 1 0 0 | T. Deakin, Infirmary-lane | 0 2 6 | | |
| W. Jackson, 13, Howard-street | 1 0 0 | Well-wisher to the League | 0 2 6 | | |
| W. Whitworth, 5, Castle-street | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 0 2 6 | | |
| H. Jackson, 34, Charlotte-street | 0 2 6 | Complete Suffrage, Wife and Seven Children | 0 3 0 | | |
| W. H. Jackson, 36, do. | 1 0 0 | Samuel Butcher, Kyre-lane | 20 0 0 | | |
| Thomas Birks, Pond Brewery | 20 0 0 | W. Leadbeater, Allen-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| H. Wilkinson and Co., Norfolk-street | 20 0 0 | Small sums | 0 18 2 | | |
| John Arnold, Wellington-place | 1 0 0 | William Allen, The Lodge | 5 0 0 | | |
| W. Thompson, Uppertorpe | 2 0 0 | Isaac Priestman | 5 0 0 | | |
| J. and J. Elliott, Hollis Croft | 3 0 0 | W. C. Copperthwaite | 2 0 0 | | |
| J. Hawkey, do. | 4 0 0 | W. and R. Hartley | 5 0 0 | | |
| W. Howe, do. | 1 0 0 | An Advocate for Free Trade | 2 0 0 | | |
| G. and J. Oxley, do. | 0 5 0 | John Hopkins | 10 0 0 | | |
| Natli. Greaves, Portobello-street | 2 0 0 | An Enemy of Monopoly, and a Friend to Purity of Election | 5 0 0 | | |
| J. S. Taylor, 70, Norfolk-street | 1 1 0 | Samuel King | 2 0 0 | | |
| W. H. Gibbs, Howard-street | 0 10 0 | Ann and E. Priestman | 2 0 0 | | |
| W. C. Hutton, Surrey-street | 1 1 0 | J. F. Stackhouse | 1 0 0 | | |
| W. Hoyland, Church-street | 10 0 0 | A Friend to Free Trade | 1 0 0 | | |
| W. and J. G. Parker, Kyre-street | 2 0 0 | M. C. Frankland, Norton, near | 1 0 0 | | |
| J. Collins, Howard-street | 0 2 6 | Charles Smithson | 2 0 0 | | |
| A Friend, per W. Hoyland | 0 5 0 | T. J. Thompson, Old Malton Abbey, near | 5 0 0 | | |
| J. and W. H. Charles, Kellam Works | 2 2 0 | Peter Shaw & Son, Micklehurst, near | 20 0 0 | | |
| Samuel Ackroyd, Uppertorpe | 1 0 0 | Wm. Newton, New Buildings, Sta- | 1 0 0 | | |
| Zaccheus Dyson, do. | 0 10 0 | ley, near Manchester | 1 0 0 | | |
| Henry Fish, do. | 0 10 0 | Moses Slater, Carrbrook, near Ash- | 1 0 0 | | |
| W. Lawrence, do. | 0 5 0 | ton-under-Lyno | 1 0 0 | | |
| Thos. Nowill, Netherthorpe | 1 0 0 | | | | |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|----|----|---|
| Melbourn, Wiltshire. | J. L. Phillips | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| | J. F. Smith | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Fowler | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| | Wm. Simpson | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Cochran | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Hezekiah Hayward | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Edward King | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | William Gillet | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | Robert Simpson | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | Robert Simpson | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Nottingham, Second Remittance. | John Henson, Clinton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Joseph Rollett, "Sir Isaac Newton," Glass-house-street | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| | John Burton, Messrs. Heard and Hurst's, Houndgate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | William Cartledge, Postern-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| | Wm. Hollins, Plesley Works, near Mansfield | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Thornhill, Warsop-gate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Searesfield and Co., Stony-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| | H. G. Rideout, Houndgate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Booth and Taylor, Pilcher-gate | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| | Booth and Taylor, Pilcher-gate | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| Bury, Third Remittance. | John Openshaw, Bolton-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| | Edward Mucklow, Bolton New-road, near | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Robt. Shaw, Bolton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Henry Smith, Georgiana-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Wood, Messrs. Walker and Co.'s | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Miss Butcher, Fleet-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Squire Diggle, Messrs. Walker and Co.'s | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Wm. Johnson, Garden-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | George Booth, King-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Wm. Warburton, Bury-bridge | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Todmorden, near Rochdale, 6th Remit. | A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | A Repeater | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Small sums | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| | David Oliver and Sons, Wood Mills, near | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| | Mrs. Samuel Oliver, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Mrs. Oliver, Mutton-hole, near | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Miss Ada Oliver, do. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | Miss Jane Oliver, do. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | Miss Helen Oliver, do. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | Miss Eliza Oliver, do. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Rochdale. | Wm. Moore and Sons | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| | Timothy Iveson, saddler | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | A Friend, per Chas. Walker | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| | George Elliott, Regent-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | A Conservative Friend, per John Milnes | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | Misses Sarah and Rachel King | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| | Misses Sarah and Rachel King | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| | Misses Sarah and Rachel King | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| | Misses Sarah and Rachel King | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| | Misses Sarah and Rachel King | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Oley, Yorkshire. | F. H. Fawkes, Farnley Hall, near | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| | W. Ackroyd, Westbourne Lodge | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| | Wm. Gill, Burley Hall, near | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| | A Friend | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| | Peter Garnett | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Cousins, Branhope Hall | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| | Thos. Duncan, worsted spinner | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | Robert Barker, tanner | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | Wm. Musgrave, currier | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | J. Spence, surgeon | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dundee, 8th Rem. | Edward Barrett, attorney-at-law, Grovo | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | John Craven | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Sheraton, Farnley, near | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | M. G. Forster, leather dresser | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Robert Ferguson, draper | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Thomas Hunter, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Miligan and Bennett | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Chippindale and Hodgson | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Chippindale and Hodgson | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Chippindale and Hodgson | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Burgownie, Perthshire. | James Miller, brewer, Hawkhill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Low, sen. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Baxter | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Peter Brown | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | William Fife, Keath-bank | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Baxter, Ash-bank | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Grimsdell, Oak-bank | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | David Rattray, Bramble-bank | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | David Grimsdell, Lorny | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Morris, Eastmill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Jedburgh. | Thomas Mitchell, ironmonger | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | William M'Nardie | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Thomas Blackie, Keath-bank | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Lawson, manufacturer | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Alexander Nelson, merchant | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Alexander Simpson, Oak-bank | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Gibb, Ash-bank | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Cameron, Plackmill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | William Procter Milton, of Rattray | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Charles Robb | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Greenock-Continued. | A Friend to Free Discussion | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Misses Robinson | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | Adam Waugh, carrier | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | Dalgleish and Mercer, manufacturers | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| | Mrs. Sharp, innkeeper | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | The Right Hon. the Earl of Buchan, Dryburgh | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | George Turnbull, of Brae (2nd subscription of) | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | Thos. Halliburton, farmer, Tusbislaw, Selkirk | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Riddle, farmer, Cappuck | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Lom, merchant, Lilliesleaf, Roxburgh-sh. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | Small sums | 6 | 10 | 0 |
| | Provost Baine, merchant | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| | Andrew Ramsay, do. | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| | Robert Steele, shipbuilder | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| | Scott and Mackenzie, printers, Bank-street | 6 | 6 | 0 |
| | A. R. Johnston, merchant, Holmescroft | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| | James Stuart, do., Beltrees | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | Robert Baine, banker | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | Duncan Ferguson, merchant, Mount-park | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | William Macle, sugar refiner | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | Robert Macle, do. | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| | Wm. Panton, merchant, Ardrossan | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | Adam Fawcett, sugar refiner | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | Alan Fullerton, banker | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| | James Arbuckle, tanner | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | G. Allan and Sons, Clyde-forge, Pt. Glasgow-rd. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | Thos. M. McFarlane, tanner | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | William Marshall, do., Pt. Glasgow-road | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | D. A. Campbell, distiller | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | Robert Thorne, wine-merchant | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | Neil Campbell, merchant | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | John Rodger, jun., do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | Andrew Anderson, banker | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | Andrew Lindsay, merchant | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | Matthew Orr, rope and sail maker | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | Thos. O. Hunter, merchant | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Hunter, fish and oil merchant | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | James C. Buchanan, merchant | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | Thomas Lamb and Sons, wrights | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Robert Morton, baker, Hamilton-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | James Duff, brassfounder | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | J. Duncan, Clyde Shipping Co. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Thomas Anderson, slater | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Wm. Thomson, Hlland | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | John McIlvann, shoe merchant, William-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Robt. Bruce, M.D., Cathcart street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Bannatyne, fish curer, Brougham-st. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | William Baird, coal merchant | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | William Truelove, grocer, Cathcart-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Charles Sattie, smith, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | John Graham, merchant, Grey place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Thomas Hamilton, do., George square | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | William Service, writer | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | James Watson, merchant, Oak-bank | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | George Arbuckle, West Blackhall-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | James Mackie, M.D., Hamilton-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | John Speirs, M.D., do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Alexander M'Gowan, M.D., do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Alexander M'Gowan, M.D., do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Alexander M'Gowan, M.D., do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert Cowan, draper, Hamilton-street | Robert Cowan, draper, Hamilton-street | 41 | 1 | 0 |
| | Robert Little, merchant, West Street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | William Thom, grocer, Hamilton-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Newblagging and Gardner, ironmongers, Wil- | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | liam-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | John M'Millan, ship chandler, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | J. Hercus, merchant, of T. Hamlin and Co.'s | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Geo. Dalgleish, do., at do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Geo. Allan, tobacconist, Dalrymple-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John M'Lean, cooper, Charles-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | John Stewart, shoemaker, Cathcart-square | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Wm. Wallace, wine merchant, Highland-close | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Robert Houston, dyer, Crawford-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Buchanan, cooper, Charles-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Geo. Fleming, housewright, Sugarhouse-lane | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Robert Aitken, tallow chandler, Charles-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Robert Hutcheson, surveyor, Hamilton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Anthony Duffy, rag merchant, Vennel | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Adam Lyle, cooper, Nicholson-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Harley, joiner, West Blackhall-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | Robert Cassels, grocer, Hamilton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Ker Gray, town clerk | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Robert Baird, painter, West Breast | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Kean, broker, Vennel | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Miller, merchant, West Quay | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | W. S. Anderson, M.D., 44, Nicholson-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Robert B. Findlay, clothier, Union-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Fraser, clothier, of Connor, Fraser, & Co.'s | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John M'Gregor, Nelson-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Thomas Blair, shoemaker, West Burn-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | C. P. Hunter, Viewbank | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Thos. Lang & Co., merchants, Clyde-crescent | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | D. and P. Sinclair, painters, W. Blackhall-st. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | George Allan, jun., smith | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | A. Brown and Co., joiners, Virginia-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | William Allison, builder | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Matthew Paton, joiner, Bogle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Charles Paterson, shoemaker, Cathcart-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Collin M'Millan, clothier, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Clark, watchmaker, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | Wm. Liddell, writer, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John A. M'Farlane, grocer, W. Blackhall-st. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | William Houston, manufacturer | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | William Anderson, grocer, Cathcart-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Thomas King, writer | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | A Lady | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | W. Curtis, wine merchant, Manse-lane | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Colin Lamont, banker | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | J. G. Bankier, bookseller, Hamilton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Kerr, do., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | James Scouler, confectioner, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Rev. Wm. Auld, Mount Park | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Rev. Sutherland Sinclair, Shaw-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Reid, of Nellie, Fleming, and Reid's, | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | worsted spinners | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Archibald Black, merchant, Shaw-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Henry and John Reid, merchants | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Black, jun., writer, Shaw-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Geo. Brodie, spirit dealer, Shaw-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John M'Loskey, clothier, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | Wm. Kelly, grocer, William-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Rt. Brown, do., Shaw-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Jessamine, merchant, at Campbell, | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Anderson, and Co.'s | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Wm. Calder, coal merchant, East Quay-lane | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | William Boyd, merchant | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John Russell, plumber, Rae-end-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | John More, joiner, Cross-shore-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Graham, merchant, East Breast | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Barclay Henry, surgeon, High Vennel | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | John Martin, merchant, Shaw-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Walker and Moody, clothiers | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | James Turner, jun., writer, Hamilton-street | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | John Tierney, spirit dealer | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | Joseph Orr, sailmaker, West Quay-lane | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | John Calder, hatter | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | Hew M'Ilwraith, writer, William-street | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | John Morrison, bookbinder, do. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | David M'Leod, blockmaker, West Breast | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | Andrew Lusk, grocer, Hamilton-street | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Greenock-Continued. | Archibald Gilmour, Burns Tavern | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | Wm. A. Orr, ship chandler | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | Charles Auld, M.D., Hamilton-street | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | John Todd, cooper, West Burn-street | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | Rev. James Jeffrey, Mount Park | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | Alexander Ritchie, Crawford-street | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | James Baird, 17, West Burn-street | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | Robert M'Vicar, smith, Rae-end-street | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | Lochart S. Cassels, grocer, Cathcart-street | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| | J. G. Stevenson, bookseller, W. Blackhall st. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | Rev. Thomas Finlayson, Ford-place | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | Michael Ryan, East Shaw-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | William Allison, 31, Vennel | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | James Lang, joiner | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | Alex. McCulloch, fletcher, Cathcart-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | R. Baxter, at McLean's, cooper, Charles-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | J. Gilchrist, accountant, Regent-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | Geo. Logan, merchant, Shaw-place | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | Rev. Robt. Wilson, Ann-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | Alex. Stuart, of Beltrees | 0 | 9 | 6 |
| Greenock-Continued. | Alex. Mann, superintendent of police | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| | Jas. Scott, fletcher, Hamilton-street | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| | Andrew More, joiner | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | Wm. Kerr, meal merchant, Hamilton street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | Jas. Wyse, confectioner, Hamilton-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | Michael McLarty, hatter | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | Alex. Cairns, pawnbroker, Market-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | John Fleming, artist | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | Jas. McKelvie, clerk, St. Andrew's-square | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | Gilbert Cowan, 51, West Stewart-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | A Friend | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | Geo. Hamilton, master of works, Cross Shore- | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | J. McAlister (of McAlister and Thomson's), | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | smith, East Breast | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | Arch. Stewart, George Inn, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | John Stewart, spirit dealer, Shannon's-close | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | R. Muir and Son, shoemakers, Shaw-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | Dan. Taylor, cork cutter, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | John O'Neill, clothier, William-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Greenock-Continued. | Thos. Niven, baker, Cathcart-street | 0 | | |

| | | | | | | |
|--|---------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|---------------------------|-------|
| Berry Brow and Armitage Bridge, near Huddersfield. | Joseph Vickerman | 1 0 0 | John Walker, Henley Cot | 1 0 0 | A. Dixon and Son | 1 0 0 |
| | Thomas Shaw | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Robert Milligan, Acacia Cot | 1 0 0 | Wm. Atkinson and Son | 1 0 0 |
| | J. and R. Tinker | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Forbes, do. | 1 0 0 | George Anderton | 1 0 0 |
| | Abraham Dawson | 1 0 0 | Miss Forbes, do. | 1 0 0 | R. and C. Goldthorn | 1 0 0 |
| | Richard Brook | 1 0 0 | Miss Harvey, do. | 1 0 0 | Jas. Butcliffe, Broadbent | 1 0 0 |
| | David Beaumont | 1 0 0 | Miss Caroline Thompson | 1 0 0 | Birkbys and Kitsons | 1 0 0 |
| | Benjamin Brooksbank | 1 0 0 | Joseph Briggs, manufacturer | 1 0 0 | Thomas Bentley | 1 0 0 |
| | Henry Naylor | 1 0 0 | William Thompson, do. | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 1 0 0 |
| | Benjamin Batley | 1 0 0 | Richard Sykes, Waggon and Horse | 1 0 0 | Thornton, Brothers | 1 0 0 |
| | William Varley | 1 0 0 | James Pearnley, Cragg Bottom | 1 0 0 | Joseph Butterworth | 1 0 0 |
| | Daniel Lee | 1 0 0 | John Lawson | 1 0 0 | George Stead | 1 0 0 |
| | Thomas Shaw, jun. | 1 0 0 | David Asquith | 1 0 0 | Rev. James Scott | 1 0 0 |
| | John Shaw | 1 0 0 | Joseph Asquith, sen. | 1 0 0 | James Sugden and Son | 1 0 0 |
| | William Crosland | 1 0 0 | Joseph Asquith, jun. | 1 0 0 | Thos. Harrison | 1 0 0 |
| | Edward Taylor | 1 0 0 | Wm. G. Thompson | 1 0 0 | John Austwick | 1 0 0 |
| | Robert Hirst | 1 0 0 | Richard Clayton | 1 0 0 | J. Berry | 1 0 0 |
| | Joshua Shaw | 1 0 0 | Edmund Hustler | 1 0 0 | Thos. Wooller | 1 0 0 |
| | Rowland Shaw | 1 0 0 | Robert Hustler | 1 0 0 | Benjamin Bentley | 1 0 0 |
| | George Shaw | 1 0 0 | John Holdin | 1 0 0 | Miss Booth | 1 0 0 |
| | George Oldfield | 1 0 0 | John Hollings | 1 0 0 | George Humble, jun. | 1 0 0 |
| Godfrey Brook | 1 0 0 | William Parkinson | 1 0 0 | John Robson | 1 0 0 | |
| James Naylor | 1 0 0 | William Rigg | 1 0 0 | John Langbottom | 1 0 0 | |
| Allen Oldfield | 1 0 0 | Joseph Woodward | 1 0 0 | Thomas Armitage | 1 0 0 | |
| Benjamin Atha | 1 0 0 | Thomas Pratt | 1 0 0 | John Tetley | 1 0 0 | |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 | George Thompson | 1 0 0 | Edward Stead | 1 0 0 | |
| John Oldfield | 1 0 0 | Alfred Thompson | 1 0 0 | George Hirst | 1 0 0 | |
| James Lockwood | 1 0 0 | Jeremiah Thompson | 1 0 0 | James Wilson | 1 0 0 | |
| James Wagstaff | 1 0 0 | William Shires | 1 0 0 | James Hartley Scott | 1 0 0 | |
| Joseph Shaw | 1 0 0 | William Greave | 1 0 0 | James Yates | 1 0 0 | |
| John Bottomley | 1 0 0 | The Workmen at Larkfield Mill | 1 0 0 | William Yates | 1 0 0 | |
| Richard Poole | 1 0 0 | James Stables | 1 0 0 | John Fox | 1 0 0 | |
| Thomas Gledhill | 1 0 0 | James Baldwin | 1 0 0 | Charles Collins | 1 0 0 | |
| Matthew Riley | 1 0 0 | John Yeadon | 1 0 0 | James Barker | 1 0 0 | |
| Joseph Schofield | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 1 0 0 | Carvers and Brearley | 1 0 0 | |
| Nathan Gledhill | 1 0 0 | A Manufacturer | 1 0 0 | H. H. Wright | 1 0 0 | |
| Joseph Hinchliffe | 1 0 0 | Benjamin Hardaker | 1 0 0 | J. B. Greenwood | 1 0 0 | |
| Mr. Batley's men | 1 0 0 | David Nicholls | 1 0 0 | William Marsland | 1 0 0 | |
| Measrs. Wrigley's men, Dungeon | 1 0 0 | David Richardson | 1 0 0 | Samuel Sugden | 1 0 0 | |
| Small sums | 1 0 0 | George Bingley | 1 0 0 | Wm. Deamally | 1 0 0 | |
| John Campbell, M.D. | 1 0 0 | John Hutchinson | 1 0 0 | Joseph Hill | 1 0 0 | |
| John Oliver | 1 0 0 | John Riley | 1 0 0 | Joseph Brooke | 1 0 0 | |
| Thomas Shaw | 1 0 0 | Samuel Pratt | 1 0 0 | R. F. Brooke | 1 0 0 | |
| Wm. Tipping, at Mr. Mason's | 1 0 0 | William Outhwaite | 1 0 0 | Abraham Roberts and Co. | 1 0 0 | |
| Taylor and Rockliffe, Haughton, | 1 0 0 | Anonymous | 1 0 0 | David Fox | 1 0 0 | |
| near Manchester | 1 0 0 | John Walker, jun., Joiner | 1 0 0 | Birkbys and Kitson's Men | 1 0 0 | |
| R. A. Thicknesse, Beech-hill | 1 0 0 | Joseph Bentley | 1 0 0 | John Garstide and J. W. Moor | 1 0 0 | |
| James Black, Standishgate | 1 0 0 | John Booth | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 1 0 0 | |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 | Walter Ross | 1 0 0 | Joseph Oldy | 1 0 0 | |
| Robt. Bone, Great George-street | 1 0 0 | James Mitchell and Co. | 1 0 0 | William Broadbent | 1 0 0 | |
| Thos. Hawett, surgeon | 1 0 0 | Thomas Smith | 1 0 0 | Busby Blakelock | 1 0 0 | |
| H. R. | 1 0 0 | Robert Stuart | 1 0 0 | A Friend to Freedom | 1 0 0 | |
| Rev. C. Middlehurst, Standishgate | 1 0 0 | William Rycroft | 1 0 0 | Wm. Roberts, cardmaker | 1 0 0 | |
| James Leech, grocer, Scholes | 1 0 0 | William Ibbotson | 1 0 0 | Wm. Pickard | 1 0 0 | |
| Robert Leather, King-street | 1 0 0 | Thomas Wadsworth | 1 0 0 | Edward Stead | 1 0 0 | |
| Thos. Rawson, Schofield-lane | 1 0 0 | John Hartley | 1 0 0 | David Holdroyd | 1 0 0 | |
| Rev. B. Millard, Great George-street | 1 0 0 | Thomas Ravensley | 1 0 0 | James Roberts | 1 0 0 | |
| Wm. Fairhurst, grocer, Scholes | 1 0 0 | James Wade | 1 0 0 | Thomas Pickles | 1 0 0 | |
| John Riddlesworth, Queen-street | 1 0 0 | John Yeadon, Little London | 1 0 0 | William Clayton | 1 0 0 | |
| Mrs. McKerrrow, Wallgate | 1 0 0 | William Baldwin | 1 0 0 | George Fielding | 1 0 0 | |
| John Mc Muldrow, Great George-street | 1 0 0 | John Walker, sen. | 1 0 0 | Benjamin Woodcock | 1 0 0 | |
| Edwin Collier, Chapel-lane | 1 0 0 | Benjamin Briggs | 1 0 0 | William Herring | 1 0 0 | |
| Thos. Weddall, do. | 1 0 0 | Small sums | 1 0 0 | John Gomersall | 1 0 0 | |
| Thos. Fairclough, Wigan-lane | 1 0 0 | William Kenion | 1 0 0 | John Knowles | 1 0 0 | |
| Jas. Fairhurst, King's Arms | 1 0 0 | John Parkinson | 1 0 0 | John Sykes | 1 0 0 | |
| Joseph Gore, Wellington-street | 1 0 0 | John Dawson | 1 0 0 | William Sellers | 1 0 0 | |
| John Lund, Scholes | 1 0 0 | Joseph Hustler | 1 0 0 | William Peel | 1 0 0 | |
| James Taylor, Standishgate | 1 0 0 | John Denison, Bancroft | 1 0 0 | Small sums | 1 0 0 | |
| Wm. Brockbank, do. | 1 0 0 | Matthew Walker, innkeeper | 1 0 0 | Daniel Gaskell, Lupset Hall, near | 1 0 0 | |
| Thos. Woods, do. | 1 0 0 | Joseph Dawson | 1 0 0 | James Mickelthwaite, Tamny Hall | 1 0 0 | |
| Margaret Alexander, Rodney-street | 1 0 0 | Josh. White, Eahol | 1 0 0 | Joseph Holdsworth, Belle Vue | 1 0 0 | |
| John Part, Standishgate | 1 0 0 | William Hustler, sen. | 1 0 0 | William Shaw, Portobello | 1 0 0 | |
| Thos. Rigby, Scholes | 1 0 0 | Jotham Harrison | 1 0 0 | George Craven | 1 0 0 | |
| E. Wardle, auctioneer, Standishgate | 1 0 0 | William Wormald | 1 0 0 | Thos. Clayton, Northgate | 1 0 0 | |
| Thos. Mitchell, card maker, Halifax | 1 0 0 | Michael Gill | 1 0 0 | Joseph Thornton, Kettlethorpe Hall, near | 1 0 0 | |
| Small sums | 1 0 0 | Richard Baldwin | 1 0 0 | John Holdsworth, New Wells | 1 0 0 | |
| W. L. N. | 1 0 0 | Abraham Denison | 1 0 0 | Henry Briggs, Overton, near | 1 0 0 | |
| T. B. S. | 1 0 0 | Joseph Denison | 1 0 0 | Robert Scott, Wood-street | 1 0 0 | |
| Henry Johnson, Acomb, near | 1 0 0 | James Clapham, New Mill | 1 0 0 | Caleb Crowther, M.D., Kirkgate | 1 0 0 | |
| John Swale | 1 0 0 | Benjamin Dawson | 1 0 0 | Charles Morton, Normanton, near | 1 0 0 | |
| Charles Robinson | 1 0 0 | John Harrison, New Mill | 1 0 0 | John Nettleton, Westgate | 1 0 0 | |
| Henry Richardson, Clemonthorpe | 1 0 0 | Henry Bentley | 1 0 0 | James Holdsworth and Sons, Wood-street | 1 0 0 | |
| William Cropper, Dringhouse | 1 0 0 | Thomas Parkinson | 1 0 0 | Daniel Haigh, Cheapside | 1 0 0 | |
| Four Friends | 1 0 0 | Joseph Brown | 1 0 0 | A Friend, No. 3 | 1 0 0 | |
| James Dillon, St. Sampson's-square | 1 0 0 | John Bateson | 1 0 0 | Joseph Rhodes, jun., manufacturer | 1 0 0 | |
| James Pratt, King's Staith | 1 0 0 | Wm. Parkinson, jun. | 1 0 0 | Workmen at the Tammy Hall | 1 0 0 | |
| Robert Lyons, Lendal | 1 0 0 | William North | 1 0 0 | Thomas Nichols, Northgate | 1 0 0 | |
| Henry Lyons, do. | 1 0 0 | Joseph Riley, West-house | 1 0 0 | John Oyston, Kirkgate | 1 0 0 | |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 | John Appleyard | 1 0 0 | Thomas Wood, Alverthorpe, near | 1 0 0 | |
| Geo. K. | 1 0 0 | George Teale | 1 0 0 | Simon Pickard, draper | 1 0 0 | |
| Wm. Winspear, St. Helen's-square | 1 0 0 | James Greenwood | 1 0 0 | Ebenezer Walker, Westgate | 1 0 0 | |
| Ellis and Birks, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Sheard | 1 0 0 | Thos. Holdsworth, King-street | 1 0 0 | |
| T. F. | 1 0 0 | John Parkinson, jun., grocer | 1 0 0 | Christ. Todd, Oil-mills | 1 0 0 | |
| W. H. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Ibbotson | 1 0 0 | James Kershaw, Westgate | 1 0 0 | |
| John Johnson, Messgate | 1 0 0 | John Marshall, New Mill | 1 0 0 | Thos. as Ledger, Northgate | 1 0 0 | |
| Charles Gibson, Parliament-street | 1 0 0 | John Rawnsley, sen. | 1 0 0 | George Willis, Market-p ace | 1 0 0 | |
| Thos. as Forth, Pavement | 1 0 0 | Joseph Atkinson, butcher | 1 0 0 | George Heald, Thornes, near | 1 0 0 | |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 | Joseph Wilkinson, Barhouse | 1 0 0 | Wm. Kendall, Westgate-moor | 1 0 0 | |
| Ditto | 1 0 0 | Thomas Denison, Moor-lane | 1 0 0 | George R. Smith, Westgate | 1 0 0 | |
| Ditto | 1 0 0 | Wm. Livingstone | 1 0 0 | John Gilderdale, Cross-square | 1 0 0 | |
| Mrs. Hamilton, Church-street | 1 0 0 | John Hatterley, Quarumby | 1 0 0 | Wm. Padgett, Fruit-market | 1 0 0 | |
| James H. Tuke, Castle-gate | 1 0 0 | John Haigh, sen., do. | 1 0 0 | John G. Wood, Cross-square | 1 0 0 | |
| John Pole, High One-gate | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Henry Walker, Lindley | 1 0 0 | Wm. Scarth, Westgate-common | 1 0 0 | |
| William Briggs, Parliament-street | 1 0 0 | Ely Scott, New North-road | 1 0 0 | Thomas Perkin, grocer, Kirkgate | 1 0 0 | |
| A Friend, Pavement | 1 0 0 | John Brook, Marshhouse, near | 1 0 0 | George Lee, Westgate | 1 0 0 | |
| John Caxson, do. | 1 0 0 | George Hanson, Crossland Moor | 1 0 0 | Francis Cardwell, druggist | 1 0 0 | |
| Wm. Walker, Clarence-street (2nd subscrip.) | 1 0 0 | James Mellor, Salendine Nook, near | 1 0 0 | A Friend, No. 1 | 1 0 0 | |
| James G. | 1 0 0 | Titus Calverley, do. | 1 0 0 | A Friend, No. 2 | 1 0 0 | |
| Edmund Richardson, Pavement | 1 0 0 | An Operative | 1 0 0 | Charles Locke, Snapethorpe Colliery | 1 0 0 | |
| Rob. Henry Noddings, 6, Mount-parado | 1 0 0 | Richard Dewhurst, Aspley | 1 0 0 | Thomas Haigh, grocer, Westgate | 1 0 0 | |
| Thos. Allis, Oswaldwick, near | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Richard Dewhurst, do. | 1 0 0 | A few Friends at Mr. Jacques's, Volunteer Inn | 1 0 0 | |
| Michael Charlton, St. Sampson's-square | 1 0 0 | Miss Sarah Dewhurst, do. | 1 0 0 | John Pickard, Kirkgate | 1 0 0 | |
| T. R. H. | 1 0 0 | Miss Ann Dewhurst, do. | 1 0 0 | John Marriott, Quebec-street | 1 0 0 | |
| Edward Calvert, 68, Mickie-gate | 1 0 0 | Richard Dewhurst, jun. do. | 1 0 0 | Abraham Ginn, corn-miller | 1 0 0 | |
| A. and H. Stanfield, do. | 1 0 0 | David Ainley, Golcar, near | 1 0 0 | John Holmes, Stamp-office-yard, Westgate | 1 0 0 | |
| Caleb Fletcher, Clemonthorpe | 1 0 0 | W. H. Roebuck, 21, John-street | 1 0 0 | Samuel Marshall, Westgate | 1 0 0 | |
| John Candler, Retreat, near | 1 0 0 | Richard Fawcett, at R. Abby's, Market-place | 1 0 0 | John Hampshire, Kirkgate | 1 0 0 | |
| Robert Smithson, Skelder-gate | 1 0 0 | Mrs. David Haigh | 1 0 0 | W. Bykes, grocer, do. | 1 0 0 | |
| Michael Varvill, Mickie-gate | 1 0 0 | Rowland Hall | 1 0 0 | Wm. Ask, do. | 1 0 0 | |
| Frazer Varvill, do. | 1 0 0 | Mr. Young, New-street | 1 0 0 | John Burton, St. John's | 1 0 0 | |
| Edward Snowden, Shambles | 1 0 0 | William Atkinson, Market-place | 1 0 0 | W. T. Dade, Drury-lane | 1 0 0 | |
| Joseph Swale, Lawrence-street | 1 0 0 | Smith and Morton, Longwood, Cherry-tree | 1 0 0 | John Wilkinson, Kirkgate | 1 0 0 | |
| James H. King, Walm-gate | 1 0 0 | James Oakes, Colne-bridge, near | 1 0 0 | Thomas Austwick, Cross-square | 1 0 0 | |
| Thomas Agar | 1 0 0 | John Littlewood, Honley, near | 1 0 0 | Wm. Scowby, Fruit-market | 1 0 0 | |
| Summers Varvill, Tanner-row | 1 0 0 | Booth Hepponstall, in Newsome-cross | 1 0 0 | Wm. Glover, Ship Inn | 1 0 0 | |
| Charles Epworth, Proctor's-court | 1 0 0 | George Binns, Lindley, near | 1 0 0 | Wm. Gill, Northgate | 1 0 0 | |
| A Corn-Law Repealer | 1 0 0 | James Lockwood | 1 0 0 | For Falvey | 1 0 0 | |
| Henry Wilberforce, Walm-gate | 1 0 0 | William Stockdale | 1 0 0 | For Falvey | 1 0 0 | |
| Thomas Swale, Lawrence-street | 1 0 0 | Joah Sugden | 1 0 0 | John Gully, Ackworth Park, near | 1 0 0 | |
| Michael Varvill, Mickie-gate (2nd subscription) | 1 0 0 | David Sugden | 1 0 0 | Luke Howard, Ackworth Villa, near | 1 0 0 | |
| Mr. Featherstone, Pavement | 1 0 0 | William Carter | 1 0 0 | Joseph F. Tempest, Ackworth Mount, near | 1 0 0 | |
| Edward Anderson, Stone-gate | 1 0 0 | Francis Middlehurst | 1 0 0 | Rev. C. E. Armstrong, Hensworth, near Pon- | 1 0 0 | |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 | Samuel Beaumont | 1 0 0 | terfract | 1 0 0 | |
| William Wood, Foss-gate | 1 0 0 | David Lockwood | 1 0 0 | Willoughby Wood, Campall Hall, near | 1 0 0 | |
| William M'Cabe, St. Saviour's-gate | 1 0 0 | John Lockwood | 1 0 0 | George F. Linney, Ackworth School, near | 1 0 0 | |
| T. J. Hart, Collier-gate | 1 0 0 | Robert Pitton | 1 0 0 | Small sums | 1 0 0 | |
| H. Thompson, Friends' School, Lawrence-street | 1 0 0 | J. T., a Free Trader | 1 0 0 | William Atley, Sana-street | 1 0 0 | |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 | The Misses Sugden | 1 0 0 | P. Brown, Villiers-street | 1 0 0 | |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 | William Midgley | 1 0 0 | J. M. Ogden, Bridge-street | 1 0 0 | |
| Mr. Briggs, tea dealer, Pavement | 1 0 0 | Stephen Leather | 1 0 0 | J. Campbell, Lambton-street | 1 0 0 | |
| Samuel Walker, Stone-gate | 1 0 0 | Richard Barnshaw | 1 0 0 | W. Braithwaite, High-street | 1 0 0 | |
| John Clemensha, Fisher-gate | 1 0 0 | Thomas Beaumont | 1 0 0 | W. Wade, do. | 1 0 0 | |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 | James Binns | 1 0 0 | Charles Murray, Sana-street | 1 0 0 | |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 1 0 0 | John Stringer | 1 0 0 | J. W. Ord, High-street | 1 0 0 | |
| A Friend (2nd subscription) | 1 0 0 | Joseph Rollinson | 1 0 0 | W. Henderson, draper, High-street | 1 0 0 | |
| A Repealer | 1 0 0 | Edmond Dyson | 1 0 0 | Anon. | 1 0 0 | |
| Joseph Mason, attorney, Monk-gate | 1 0 0 | William Haigh | 1 0 0 | J. Spoor, High-street | 1 0 0 | |
| A Corn-Law Repealer | 1 0 0 | Job Townend | 1 0 0 | James Joplin, Frederick-street | 1 0 0 | |
| John Bacon, Church-street | 1 0 0 | | | Mr. Wilkinson, chemist, High-street | 1 0 0 | |
| Small sums | 1 0 0 | | | | | |

| | |
|--|--------|
| J. Richardson, draper, do. | £1 1 0 |
| D. Loupoda, Norfolk-street | 5 5 0 |
| Thomas Pratt, Union-street | 5 5 0 |
| W. Catling, grocer, High-street | 0 10 0 |
| R. Wrightson, 141, do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. H. | 0 10 6 |
| A. Wilson, D'Arcy-terrace | 1 1 0 |
| J. Leadbitter, chemist, High-street | 0 5 0 |
| Anon. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Newbitt, Tatham-street | 0 2 6 |
| Henry Wilson, High-street | 2 0 0 |
| G. Turner, King-street | 1 0 0 |
| F. Marshall, 500, High-street | 1 1 0 |
| W. Robinson, High-street | 1 0 0 |
| Free Trader | 1 0 0 |
| X. Y. Z. | 1 0 0 |
| "A Friend in need is a Friend indeed" | 0 5 0 |
| J. Yallowley, High-street | 0 2 6 |
| Geo. Matthews, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Anti-Ferrand | 0 2 6 |
| James Vint, Ryhope-lane | 1 1 0 |
| Charles Drury, High-street | 1 0 0 |
| W. T. Bell, do. | 1 0 0 |
| M. Kearney, Paine-lane | 1 0 0 |
| W. Meers, High-street | 0 5 0 |
| Benjamin Firth, Victoria Mill | 5 0 0 |
| Samuel Leppington, Brookfoot | 5 0 0 |
| John Rayner, Clifton | 1 0 0 |
| David Goldthorpe, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Blackburn | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Blackburn | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Pyrech | 1 0 0 |
| William Parker | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Wheatley | 1 0 0 |
| William Field | 1 1 0 |
| John Pollard, Ballife-bridge | 1 0 0 |
| J. Woodhead, Bramley-lane, Lightcliffe, near Halifax | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Goldthorpe, Clifton | 0 10 0 |
| Charles Mann | 0 10 0 |
| Joseph Noble | 0 10 0 |
| Abraham Henson | 0 2 6 |
| John Burgess | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| Richard Greenwood | 0 5 0 |
| Mr. Poynder | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Jessop | 0 5 0 |
| Christopher Brook | 0 5 0 |
| Luke Noble | 0 2 6 |
| John Washington, Lightcliffe | 0 2 6 |
| Samuel Sunderland, Bramley-lane | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums | 0 6 0 |

Additional remittances have been received from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Stockport, Bolton, Hull, Dumfries, &c. The lists of names, and amounts of subscriptions, will be published next week.

Gains, St. Neot's, Feb. 4, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to enclose a cheque for £50, as my subscription for the present year.

In the two Cambridge papers will be seen full reports of the Anti-League meeting at Huntingdon. The subscription of £830 is large—they expect it to reach £1300; but, they ask themselves, "What is to be done with it now the Minister has declared to stand by us?" I should have been satisfied with a 5s. duty to end in none; but, Sir Robert Peel's declaration to stand by the sliding scale, like the Duke of Wellington's declaration against all reform, has narrowed the question, by throwing aside the fixed duty, and proving the just policy of the League in adhering, from the first, to a total repeal.—I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,

JAMES DUNERLY.

To G. Wilson, Esq., Anti-Corn-Law League.

London, January 20, 1844.

SIR,—The benefits resulting from commercial freedom, or the right to buy and sell, respectively, in the most advantageous markets, though long advocated by writers on political economy, have, till lately, been scarcely understood or appreciated by the people. It remained for the Anti-Corn-Law League to simplify this foundation principle by its incontrovertible demonstrations, that the United Kingdom is almost as heavily taxed for the purposes of protection of divers minor interests as for the exigencies of the state.

Previously to 1840, the popular belief was, that we must unavoidably pay extravagantly for the necessities of life, because we were a highly-taxed nation. This fallacy is now at an end, and the disastrous results of "protection" in enhancing the costs of the necessities of life, without increasing the national revenue, has been demonstrated.

But, while the vast injuries resulting from the artificial value for corn have been unanswerably proved, the evils accruing from the same unjust principle in regard to colonial produce have been comparatively untouched—take for example sugar, one of the great staples for production of revenue. Heavily taxed as this article is, yielding an annual revenue of upwards of four millions sterling, the direct taxation is only less onerous than the tax for "protection," the direct duty being 25s. 2d. per cwt., the indirect duty (say the difference in price between similar qualities of foreign and colonial sugar) being about 20s. per cwt., equal upon the deliveries of the year to nearly four millions sterling; as palpable an inroad upon the comforts and pockets of the people as though extracted for the necessities of the state. The same vicious principle disfigures the tariff of 1842 in respect to coffee and other articles; but, costly as are the evils resulting from this system in their effects on the price of the many important commodities that come within its operation, they constitute perhaps the lightest portion of the grievance. The protective system drives nations from us; debars us of the right of consuming the cheaply-raised produce of some of the most fertile portions of the globe, and of transmitting our manufactures in exchange; it cramps alike the productive powers of the agriculturist, the energies of the manufacturer, the operations of the merchant, and the honest exertions of mechanics and labourers.

To your exertions, and those of the other talented and zealous leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League, the nation is indebted for the illustration of the power of public opinion, as now demonstrated on this question. A few years since no statesman would have ventured to take office upon other than the avowed support of the protective system, both home and colonial; now, it may

fairly be questioned whether one could be found to assume office pledged to the support of that pernicious system which it is the great aim and object of the League to destroy, and in furtherance of which I beg leave to enclose £100 as my subscription to its funds.

Your very obedient servant,

GEO. MOFFATT.

Geo. Wilson, Esq., Manchester.

ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.—HUDDERSFIELD, Feb. 6.—At a meeting of the Committee of the Huddersfield Anti-Corn-Law Association, held on the evening of Tuesday, Feb. 6, it was resolved:—"That, in consequence of the declarations recently made by Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell upon the subject of the Corn Laws, an immediate communication be sent to the Council of the League, assuring them of the unalterable determination of this committee never to compromise the fundamental principles of the Anti-Corn-Law League, nor to relax its efforts until the total and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws is obtained. Signed, FRED. SCHWANN, Chairman."

WAKEFIELD.—On Friday last, one of the most enthusiastic meetings that was ever held in this town took place in the Music Saloon. Long before the hour (seven o'clock,) for the business to commence, the large room was densely crowded in every part, and numbers had to go away unable to gain admission. G. Craven, Esq., chairman of the association, was unanimously called to the chair. After a short but lucid speech, he called upon Mr. Charles Morton, who moved the first resolution, which was to the effect that the National Anti-Corn-Law League were entitled to the cordial support of the meeting for the advantages they had endeavoured to obtain for our trade and commerce. Mr. T. Holdsworth briefly seconded the proposition. Mr. Plint, of Leeds, ably supported the resolution, which was put and carried unanimously. Mr. Briggs, of Overton, moved the next resolution, which was, "That a subscription be made on behalf of the Great League Fund." Mr. Shaen, of Leeds, seconded the motion. Mr. Falvey, from the Anti-Corn-Law League, supported the last resolution. The chairman then announced subscriptions from the following gentlemen:—Daniel Gaskell, Esq., 50l.; Joseph Holdsworth, Esq., 20l.; Wm. Shaw, Esq., 20l.; James Micklethwaite, Esq., 20l.; George Craven, Esq., 10l.; Thomas Clayton, Esq., 10l.; from Ackworth, including 25l. from J. Gully, Esq., and 10l. from Luke Howard, Esq., and several smaller sums, 50l.; Messrs. Henry Briggs (second donation), 5l. 5s.; C. Morton, 3l.; Charles Watson, 3l.; Joseph Rhodes, 2l.; John Nettleton, 2l. 2s.; Christopher Todd, 1l. 1s.; Thomas Nichols, 1l. 1s.; James Kershaw, 1l.; Daniel Haigh, 2l.; a Friend, 2l.; John Flatman, 2l.; a Conservative, 1l. The total subscription at the meeting amounted to about 224l. Votes of thanks were then given to the chairman and the deputation, and the meeting broke up.—*Leeds Times*, Feb. 2.

DONCASTER.—In accordance with the announcement by hand-bills, a tea-party was held on Tuesday week, in the Concert-room, High-street, in this town, which was very numerous attended, by far the greater number present being females. This is the third of these occasions, and in the present instance there was no apparent decrease in the numbers. Four long tables were arranged the whole length of the room, and in the recess was a raised table for the chairman and speakers. The tables were presided over by about forty ladies, who performed the due honours of the tea table. The walls of the room and the front of the raised table were decorated with evergreens; and opposite to the chairman were some flags containing appropriate mottoes, among which were the following:—"Victoria, our beloved Queen." "The fair rose of England, the white rose of Yorkshire." "They cause him to go naked and without clothing, and take away the sheaf from the hungry." "The bread of the needy is his life; he that defraudeth him thereof is a man of blood." "Free Trade, the international law of the Almighty." "No monopoly." Willoughby Wood, Esq., occupied the chair. The meeting was first addressed by the chairman in some pertinent and able remarks. Mr. Chadwick, of Arksey, succeeded him in a humorous speech. Colonel Thompson next addressed the meeting, and was followed in an effective speech by Mr. Thomas Plint, of Leeds. The other speakers were Mr. Johnson and Mr. Hastie. A vote of thanks having been given to the chairman, it was announced that the subscriptions now raised in Doncaster amounted to £30, and it is believed that that sum will be increased to £100, nearly £30 more than was raised last year. After three cheers for the total repeal of the Corn Laws, the meeting separated.—*Doncaster Gazette*.

BINGLEY.—A deputation from the Bradford Anti-Corn-Law Association, accompanied by Mr. Murray, from the League, and Mr. Shaen, from Leeds, visited Bingley on Monday night, the 29th ult., for the purpose of diffusing information on the subject of the Corn Laws, and receiving any subscriptions which might still remain ungathered. The meeting was held in the building some time ago occupied as the Court-house, and was tolerably well attended by the inhabitants, especially by the working men. On the platform were John Smith, Esq., Morton; Thomas Smith, Esq., Morton; Robert Milligan, jun., Esq., Harden; Rev. J. A. Savage, Wilsden; Rev. Atherton, Bingley; Messrs. T. Jowett, W. Anderton, J. Sharp, and R. Whitley; and the gentlemen of the respective deputations. The Rev. Mr. Savage presided, and addressed the meeting. The meeting was also addressed by Mr. Murray, Mr. Shaen, and Mr. J. Yates, of Bradford. The chairman then read an excellent letter from Walter Milligan, Esq., who was not able to be present owing to the state of his health, in which he expressed his warm interest in the cause, and confirmed it by signifying his intention of subscribing 10l. in addition to 25l. already contributed by the firm of Milligan and Jowett at the Bradford meeting. The result of the subscription was as follows:—Milligan and Jowett, 10l.; Wm. Anderton, 10l.; the Chairman, 5l.; John Smith, Esq., of Morton, 5l.; in addition to 10l. given at Morton; Jonas Sharp, 5l.; R. Whitley, 1l.; Wm. Leach, Harden, 10s.; Rev. W. Atherton, 5s.; Josh. Waddington, 2s. 6d.; Wm. Hollingdrake, 2s. 6d.; seven men in Milligan and Jowett's employment, 1l. for the League; collected in hats, 4s. 2d.—*Bradford Observer*.

KEIGHLEY.—A meeting was held at Keighley, on

Tuesday evening, the 30th ult., in a large room at the Hare and Hounds Inn. Many of the more influential tradesmen of the town were on the platform, including Messrs. John Brigg, John Craven, Samuel Clapham, Jos. Craven, S. Hall, Butterfields, — Gibson, J. Town, F. Smith, Esq. Messrs. A. Prentice and Murray, of Manchester, and Wm. Byles, of Bradford, attended as a deputation from the League. Mr. Joseph Craven was unanimously called to the chair, and, having briefly opened the proceedings, called on Mr. W. Byles, who stated the reasons which had induced the Bradford Anti-Corn-Law Association to convene the meeting. The meeting was then addressed by Messrs. Murray and Prentice; after which the chairman announced the following subscriptions:—Messrs. Butterfield, Brothers, 50l.; Messrs. J. and J. Craven, 50l.; Mr. S. Clapham, 20l.; Mr. John Brigg, 20l.; Mr. Proctor Hall, 10l.; Mr. Josh. Town, 10l.; Mr. Wm. Lund, 10l.; a Friend, 20s.; F. Smith, 20s.; a Stranger, 5s.; collected in hats, 3s.—*Ibid.*

OLDHAM.—On Tuesday last, the Oldham committee of the Anti-Corn-Law Association forwarded their second remittance to the great League Fund, which, with the former payment, makes the very handsome sum now remitted £769 4s. A third remittance will be forwarded in a few days, and it is ultimately expected that the subscriptions will exceed £1000. Last year the amount paid in to the £50,000 fund from Oldham was only 600 guineas.—*Manchester Guardian*.

ACKWORTH.—A meeting of the friends of Free Trade was held at this village on Thursday evening last, at seven o'clock. John Gully, Esq., in the chair. Willoughby Wood, Esq., of Campsall Hall, moved the first resolution, showing the progress of the Anti-Corn-Law League, its fitness to accomplish the object it seeks to attain, that all monopoly was an injustice, and that its removal would be a great boon to the country. The motion, approving of the Anti-Corn-Law League, was seconded by Mr. Simeon Haggas, and carried unanimously. Josh. F. Tempest moved the next resolution, which was to raise a subscription in aid of the League Fund, and was seconded by Mr. George F. Linney, and carried unanimously. Mr. Charles Morton, of Normanton, then came forward, and in a speech full of dispassionate reasoning and sound argument, showed the bad effects of all monopolies, and the fallacy of the arguments advanced in favour of their continuance. After thanks being moved to the chairman for his attendance, by Mr. William Sewell, the subscription list was opened, and a committee appointed to carry forward the object of the meeting. The amount already subscribed, deducting all expenses, is £40 4s., which is no mean sum for an agricultural village.—*Ibid.*

BARNARDCASTLE.—On Friday evening, the 26th ult., a public repeal meeting was held in the Union-hall, Barnardcastle. The company was very numerous, consisting chiefly of operatives, to whom great praise is due for their active exertions in all our Corn-Law movements. Mr. James Knapton was called to the chair; who, in opening the meeting, stated that the Barnardcastle Association was at present in a very prosperous condition, its patrons almost daily increasing, and that their zeal in the cause (considering the late depression in trade) was proved from the very liberal contributions he had the pleasure of presenting from the various manufactories in the town, amounting to £22. Addresses were also delivered by Messrs. Atkinson, Winter, Cully, Rodgers, and Cardwell, bearing chiefly on the operation of the present Corn Laws on the working class, and on the object of the great League Fund. At the conclusion subscriptions were collected, amounting to £25, being nearly double that of the previous year.—*Tyne Mercury*.

BRISTOL.—On Monday evening last a meeting of the Bristol Branch of the Anti-Corn-Law League was held at the public rooms, Broadmead. George Thomas, Esq., presided and addressed the meeting, which was also addressed by Gabriel Goldney, Esq., a gentleman of Conservative politics, who, in the commencement of an excellent speech, stated that he rose, in obedience to the call made upon him, to express his utter detestation of the opprobrious epithets which had been applied to the Anti-Corn-Law League by the Conservative press of the City. He could give no stronger proof that the question was not a party one than by his uniting, as he did, with gentlemen from whom he materially differed on political subjects. After a short speech from Harman Visger, Esq., the Chairman, in the course of a few additional observations, said he knew there were many gentlemen in the City of the same political sentiments as Mr. Goldney, who yet, like him, were opposed to the Corn Laws, and who, though they had not come forward like him, would still aid in raising the League Fund of £100,000. (Hear, hear.) The arrangements for holding a large tea meeting for that purpose were not yet completed, and it would probably be some time before it could be held, but such a meeting would certainly take place; before that, however, another meeting similar to the present would be convened. (Hear, hear.) The Chairman then left the chair, and the meeting broke up.

SOUTHAMPTON.—An Association for the Diffusion of the Principles of Free Trade has lately been formed in this town, and on Tuesday evening a public meeting was held in connexion with the association, at the Long Rooms, a place capable of accommodating upwards of 1000 persons. At the hour for commencing the meeting the room was filled with a respectable audience, and, although the public were admitted indiscriminately without tickets, but one hand was held up against the Free-Trade resolution. The chair was taken by F. Cooper, Esq., who introduced to the meeting Mr. A. L. Saul, of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Mr. Saul proceeded to deliver an able and argumentative address, exposing, in a lucid manner, the evils of monopoly, and combating with effect the assertions of the opponents of Free Trade, as to the effect of a repeal of the Corn Laws on the working classes. After Mr. Saul had concluded, Mr. Richard Andrews, the eminent coach-builder of Southampton, addressed the meeting in a speech replete with humour and sound sense, during which the room rang with alternate peals of laughter and the loudest plaudits. Mr. Andrews proposed a resolution, approving of the formation and objects of the association, which was ably seconded by Dr. Evans. Mr. Ekless, yeoman, of Bursledon, was then called for, and spoke at some length. He gave a graphic description of the proceedings at two meetings of "Farmers' Friends," held at Fareham and Winchester, to oppose the League, and at which he had created confusion in the ranks of the landowners and their tools, by proposing a total repeal of the Corn Laws as the best measure for the benefit of the

farmer. The meeting was also shortly addressed by Mr. W. Lankester and other gentlemen. At the close a working-man put some questions, which were answered by Mr. Saul entirely to the satisfaction of the audience. Votes of thanks were given to Mr. Saul and the chairman, and the meeting separated.

ANTI-LEAGUE MEETING AT DORCHESTER.

A meeting was held in the Town Hall, Dorchester, on Saturday the 3rd of February, to "take into consideration the best constitutional means to be adopted for defeating the further progress and ruinous intentions of the Anti-Corn-Law League." The meeting was called for twelve o'clock, but, such was the interest excited, that, at half-past twelve, not a single person beside the writer of this notice was present. When the proceedings commenced, there were, including clergymen, lawyers, surgeons, &c., 68 persons in the room, and the number increased afterwards to about 120. We speak confidently on this head, having taken the trouble to count, though, from what we have heard, we have no doubt the Monopoliist organs of this neighbourhood will give a very different statement.

JOHN HAYNE, Esq., of Fordington, was called to the chair. He stated that they had met for the purpose of forming a society for the protection of agriculture. In the course of events they had often to observe that out of evil comes good; thus, the Anti-Corn-Law League had been of great service in uniting the agriculturists, and binding them together in opposition to further changes of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) The League had attempted to sever the link that united landlord and tenant; but, finding the farmers too wide-awake to be duped, they had attempted to work on the labourers, and set them against farmers and landlords both. He held in his hand a newspaper containing an account of an Anti-Corn-Law meeting lately held at Newcastles.

J. WHITTLE, Esq., of Toller: A revolutionary meeting you mean.

MR. HAYNE: At this meeting the gallery gave way. (This announcement was received with a shout of exultation, accompanied by a few cries of "Hush, hush.") He merely mentioned this fact on account of the remark it called forth from a speaker at the meeting, who considered that it was emblematic of the downfall of the Corn Laws; but he (Mr. H.) thought it might more correctly be viewed as an omen of the downfall of the League. (Cheers.) He was an importer of corn to some extent himself, and he held in his hand a sample of wheat which had cost him 31s. per quarter at Dantzic. The freight and other charges amounted to 3s. 9d. For this wheat he could easily get 58s. or 59s. per quarter, whilst he could obtain for wheat grown in Fordington-field, a sample of which he also held in his hand, only 49s. A fixed duty of 8s., therefore, would be no effectual protection. After some further unimportant remarks, he said they had assembled in self-defence, which was the first law of nature, to frustrate the machinations of that vile unconstitutional body, the Anti-Corn-Law League. They wished well to the manufacturing interest, but the Anti-Corn-Law League they set at defiance. (Loud cheers.)

MR. WHITTLE: Can you tell us anything about American flour, Mr. Hayne; how will that affect us?

MR. HAYNE: Oh, that's settled now—it's done, and we can't help it. Our best plan is to stick to things as they are.

Several resolutions were then moved and seconded, denouncing the League, and demanding continued protection for agriculture.

When one of these resolutions was put, a gentleman, sitting at the table taking notes, was observed to hold up his hand against it. His name having been requested, he gave it as "Rev. Francis Bishop, of Warrington," adding, at the same time, that he was "a member of the Anti-Corn-Law League." This announcement occasioned great uproar. The above-named Mr. Whittle exclaimed, in a state of great excitement, "Let us serve the League as he deserves," intimating by his gestures his rudely meaning too plainly to be mistaken. There were, however, some gentlemen in the room, who cried "Shame" at the proposition, and caused even the proposer to hold down his head.

J. F. HODGES, Esq., a wine merchant of Dorchester, came forward and said that he thought a few remarks on the merits of the general question of Free Trade would not then be out of place, especially as they had a deputation from the League present.

MR. BISHOP begged to offer a word by way of correction. Though, as he had stated, a member of the League, he had come to that meeting entirely on his own responsibility. He was, however, quite willing to discuss the question, and would merely then add that he had the interests of agriculture quite as much at heart as any gentleman in that room. (Laughter.) Gentlemen might laugh—the idea, perhaps, was new to them—but he would presently prove that the members of the League were the farmers' best and truest friends.

MR. HODGES then resumed, and spoke at some length in favour of the principle of protection, stating, in the course of his remarks, that he was glad they had a member of the League present, for they would show him that they could give a reason for their opinions, and that they were willing to discuss and defend them manfully, and in the spirit of fairness and justice.

MR. BISHOP rose and declared his willingness to accept the last speaker's offer to discuss the question before the meeting, but he was immediately met with great clamour and confusion, and cries of "We won't hear the League," &c. "Gentlemen," said Mr. B., "is this your fairness?—is this your manliness?—is this your justice? (Great confusion.) I cannot believe, gentlemen, after what has passed—after the challenge to discuss the question that has been given, after my acceptance of that challenge—I cannot believe that here, in an assembly of Englishmen, I shall be denied that hearing to which I am so unquestionably entitled. (A few cries of "Bravo," drowned by the hissing and hooting of the great body of the meeting.) Am I to understand, then, that you will hear only one side? (A voice: "This is not the place for a clergyman.") Tell your clerical friends behind you that," said Mr. B. "The last speaker has said that you were glad to see a member of the League. Am I to understand that you are glad to see but afraid to hear him? (Great confusion.) I appeal to you, Sir," said Mr. Bishop, turning to the chairman, "to obtain me a hearing."

THE CHAIRMAN said he must leave it to the meeting.

MR. BISHOP: I appeal to you, Mr. Hodges, to quiet your friends.

MR. HODGES: I've not the meeting under my control.

MR. BISHOP: But make the attempt: if you are so anxious for a discussion, try your powers of persuasion on your friends, or I shall think your courage has all oozed out at your fingers' ends.

THE CHAIRMAN then intimated to Mr. Bishop that, as it was market-day, it would be most inconvenient to protract the meeting; he had therefore decided, in accordance with the wishes of the great majority present, that Mr. B. could not be heard.

MR. BISHOP said that he thought the decision a most extraordinary and unjust one, but, of course, he could not do otherwise than abide by it.

One or two other resolutions were then simply proposed and seconded, a committee formed, and a subscription talked of, but no names were named at the meeting.

The proceedings have excited considerable interest, and we hear the matter will not be allowed to drop yet, since we understand it is Mr. Bishop's intention to give a lecture in Dorchester on the Corn Laws, especially in reference to their bearings on the interests of the farmers.

DEFEAT OF THE ANTI-LEAGUERS.—On Saturday the farmers of Dorsetshire met at Richmond, and were to have carried out the Anti-League policy, but the connoisseurs of the scheme reckoned without their host. The Earl of Zetland, whose intention to be present was generally known, attended, as did also several persons of importance connected with the landed interest. A resolution

was moved by the officers of the meeting, word for word similar to the Derby resolution; but the noble earl made an excellent Free-Trade speech, and showed that the sliding-scale did no good to the tenant-farmer. As his whole property is landed, the Yorkshire farmers began to consider that all the fears of the monopolists were not to be taken as gospel, and the meeting was adjourned, without the putting of the first resolution. Of course the whole string fell through, and the conveners of the meeting retired to meditate on the fate that awaits those whose estates are encumbered with wives' pin-money and daughters' settlements.—*Chronicle.*

MR. JONES LOYD ON THE ANTI-LEAGUE MOVEMENT.

TO J. W. SUTHERLAND, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge your circular letter, inviting me to attend a preliminary meeting of the landed proprietors, farmers, and others of the eastern division of the county of Surrey, with the view to the formation of a general "Society for the Protection of British Agriculture, in opposition to the mischievous designs of the Anti-Corn-Law League," and further requesting, "that in the event of my being unable to attend, I would oblige the committee with my views on the subject."

Having been prevented, by my absence from home, and by the late period at which your letter reached my hands, from attending the meeting in question, I proceed to comply with the latter part of your request.

The prosperity of British agriculture is a cause in which I should gladly enlist myself; it is, I am convinced, indissolubly connected with the wellbeing of the community at large, for no great interest of this empire can suffer alone. The prostration of agriculture must inevitably involve a corresponding depression of every other important interest of the country. This consideration, as well as motives of a more immediately personal and selfish character, would lead me cordially to co-operate with you in the formation of the proposed society, could I bring myself to believe that the agricultural interest is at this moment menaced with any real injustice, or that the measures by which it is supposed to be protected are really efficient for that purpose, and not inconsistent with the equal justice which is due to other classes of the community.

The maintenance of the present Corn Laws is usually meant by the expression "protection to British agriculture;" and if this is the purpose to which the efforts of the proposed society are to be directed, I must at once declare that my views on this subject are directly opposed to those of the meeting which you represent. I cannot acquiesce either in the policy or in the justice of any attempt to protect my own individual interest as a landed proprietor, or to uphold the welfare of that class in general, by laws which restrict the free supply of the food of the people, and which are intended to compel them to purchase in a dearer market the necessities of life, which it is apprehended they might otherwise obtain from a cheaper source. To whatever extent the present Corn Laws, by producing that effect, protect British agriculture, it is clear that they must do so at the expense of the British consumer, that is, of the people at large. They are made to pay more for their food than would otherwise be necessary; and the sum thus taken from them is supposed to go to the benefit of the agriculturist, or, more correctly speaking, of the landed proprietor. The difference between the natural price of an article of general consumption, the supply of which is subjected to no legislative restraint, and the higher price of a similar article, the supply of which is restricted by protective laws, is a tax imposed upon the whole community; and the amount of that difference either goes into the pockets of the producers of the protected article, or is altogether lost, being productive of benefit to no class. As a landed proprietor, I am naturally anxious to protect my own interest by all just means; nevertheless, I shrink from the responsibility of seeking protection through this channel. There seems to me to be injustice involved in it, against which protection is indeed needed, not, however, to the British landowner, but to the British people.

Protective laws, in proportion as they are effectual for their intended purpose, must necessarily give the character of monopoly to the protected trade; and monopoly, it has been most justly observed, is the parent of scarcity, of dearth, and of uncertainty. The injury thus inflicted by these laws upon the British people as consumers seems to me to admit of no question. But I would submit to you, whether, as a preliminary step to any further proceedings, it would not be well for us as landed proprietors to examine carefully whether these laws, thus at once offensive and injurious to other classes, are really productive of the benefit to our particular interest which has been usually ascribed to them. The agriculturist is a dealer in the produce of the soil; and the prosperity of his, as of every other trade, must be dependent upon the prosperous condition of his customers. The whole mass of the population constitute the customers of the agriculturist; and, therefore, whatever improves the general condition of the people, whatever increases the demand for their labour, and thereby causes a rise of their wages, must promote in the most effectual manner the prosperity of the agriculturist. Our population is annually increasing at a fearful rate; if a corresponding increase of employment be not found, that population must ultimately become a charge upon our land, and thus prove ruinous to our interests as landowners; but if, by the removal of obstructions which protective laws create, the extension of our trade, and the consequent demand for labour, be made to keep pace with the increase of our population, then the number and resources of those who constitute the customers of the agriculturist will progressively increase.

It is in this extension of the market for our products, and in the improved condition of those who are our customers, we shall find the best security for the present wellbeing, and the only safe ground of hope for the further progress of agricultural prosperity. In this manner it is, by a system of free competition, and equal exemption of all interests from pernicious interference, that the welfare of each class is indissolubly bound up with the general prosperity of all. Protective laws necessarily array the different classes of the community in jealous hostility with each other; they diminish the general wealth of the country, by interrupting the natural distribution of its labour and capital; they tend to diminish both profits and wages, thus impoverishing the markets in which the products of agriculture must be sold; and the benefit which they confer on the protected trade is in all cases apparent rather than real, securing to it a fitful and transient, not a steady and permanent prosperity.

Prices forcibly raised above their natural level by fiscal protections are naturally fluctuating and precarious; they constitute a very inadequate compensation for the real and permanent wealth which we might otherwise find in the improved cultivation of our land, augmenting the supply, whilst the simultaneous increase of the population and wealth of the empire extends the demand for, and by legitimate means raises the price of, all agricultural produce.

To relieve British agriculture from the odium which must ever attach to the appearance even of injustice; to substitute for the debilitating influence of artificial protection that steady and healthy vigour which can arise only from free competition and self-dependence; and to save the landowner from the danger to which he exposes himself, by seeking a delusive protection in measures which, by impoverishing his customers, are really undermining the foundation of his own prosperity—these are the avowed, and I know no reason for supposing that they are not the real and only designs of the Anti-Corn-Law League. I cannot concur with you in designating them as mischievous designs. They seem to me to be founded in reason; they would, I am confident, be found to be really protective and beneficial to our interests; and they are supported by a weight of argument and authority which, in my judgment, will render all attempts to resist them utterly hopeless.

Under these circumstances I would submit to your calm consideration, whether we shall not better prove our discretion, as well as our regard for what is justly due to others, by adopt-

ing their views rather than by resisting them. They are calculated to establish the interests of agriculture upon the sound and durable basis of reason, of justice, and of freedom, and in them alone I believe that true and effectual protection of our interests is to be found. In the laws, upon which too many of us at present rely, I can place no confidence; what is unjust and baneful to the rest of the community cannot be permanently beneficial to us. Our present interests are placed by these laws in a precarious, because in an artificial state; our native energies are weakened by unnatural protection; and the laws, which we so blindly and so fatally embrace, by undermining the general prosperity, are endangering that which has raised British agriculture to its present condition, and the permanence of which can alone preserve it from the most ruinous relapse.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

S. JONES LOYD.

CORN LAWS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

SIR,—I hope you will continue to give ample reports of the speeches delivered at the Anti-League or Protection Societies, as it is of the greatest importance that publicity be given to the arguments used in favour of protection. Nothing could be more advantageous to our cause than the establishment of these Protection Societies. The League have been hitherto engaged in combating the arguments of the monopolists as expressed occasionally at some agricultural meeting, in their newspapers, or in Parliament; but now that these Protection Associations take their stand on what we consider the fallacious grounds for protection adduced in the speeches at these meetings, we have a tangible point of attack. The League are prepared to meet them, not by answering the abuse lavished on that body, but by the force of reason. Their arguments, with our answers to them, will be circulated amongst the electors in the district where the meeting has taken place. Thus the farmers will be enabled to judge for themselves; and if they do so the result is certain. In corroboration I may mention a fact which has come within my own knowledge. There is an estate to the west of Perth upon which all the tenants, amounting to about thirty, advocate the principle of free trade, with the exception of one farmer. This man attended the meeting at Perth, and was so thoroughly convinced by what he there heard that not only did he return to his home a convert to the cause of Free Trade, but he was found next day busy at the work of conversion among the neighbouring farmers. I do not think the English farmers will again be so easily driven to the poll as they were at the last election, after being betrayed as they have been; getting, instead of their high protection, a tariff, a lower sliding scale, and the income-tax; the latter, perhaps, is, besides the land-tax, the only burden which can with truth be said to press more especially on the land. The arguments brought forward at these meetings in favour of protection are, generally speaking, the very ones we should use against it. At Northampton, for instance, it was stated as a fact, "that the farmers obtain less interest for their money than any other class of her Majesty's subjects." That they do so there is no denying, and that hundreds have, within the last 20 years, been ruined, and fallen back to the condition of common labourers, or been compelled to emigrate, is another fact which cannot be denied; but all this was and is taking place under a protective law, said to be maintained for their own exclusive benefit. It is impossible to name any trade which has thriven under protection in the same proportion as it does when free, or comparatively free. Take the silk trade for example. Now, have the exports increased, even to France, from which competition was so much dreaded, since the duties have been reduced? On the other hand, have the West India colonies benefited by protection, notwithstanding the twenty millions received by the proprietors—a sum double what they expected? It has been proved before the import duties committee that at this moment we sacrifice at least three millions by the maintenance of the sugar monopoly. I cannot believe, when the case is once understood, that this country will much longer submit to such a sacrifice of revenue, in addition to the large sum already paid, or persist in depriving the lower classes of such a blessing as cheap sugar. That such is the opinion of the West India proprietors is evident from the fact that they are now turning their attention to improved methods of cultivation. I met at the meeting of the Highland Society a gentleman, who came for the express object of procuring information, who assured me that he found that, by the use of agricultural implements and machinery, he could produce sugar two-thirds cheaper than by the present system. It is an impression but too prevalent amongst the farmers, that protection and high prices are synonymous terms, forgetting that under the last corn bill the duty on oats and barley is but trifling, and that wheat comes in most disadvantageously for them at 4s. duty, or, may be, less—causing a fluctuation in the price, that I have sold wheat of crop 1842, immediately after the harvest, at 45s., having to compete with the influx of foreign grain; whilst, by storing it, as the corn-dealers are now doing, for seven months, I got 68s. But really, when we are told at such a meeting as the one at Northampton, "that the Corn Laws were as much the right and property of the farmer as were his title-deeds the property of Lord Spencer"—for "farmer" read "landlord," they and the farm-labourers being always made the scape-goat—what are we to think of the ignorance on the subject displayed by those who cheered such an assertion? Is it possible that they have never read or heard of the manner in which the Corn Law was passed in 1815, when the landowners, commanding a majority in both Houses, called upon the Government to bring in a bill, the object of which was to keep up their rents to the war prices, by preventing the importation of foreign corn, and consequently raising the price of the people's food—that this iniquitous bill was hurried through Parliament, as stated by the speakers of that day, with the most indecent haste, time being refused for the re-signing of petitions which had been rejected on a point of form; and that such was the feeling against it, that the Houses of Parliament were surrounded with troops and artillery, and even the Government of that day, uncertain whether it would be safe to force it through Parliament, employed spies to ascertain the temper of the people, so that it has been truly said that the law of 1815 was carried at the point of the bayonet? Are we, then, to be told that the farmers have a prescriptive right to the Corn Law, when it is a fact that at the time of its passing they were opposed to it, a petition from Wiltshire being signed in the shortest possible time by 25,000 people, as they said, and said with truth, that it was a question of rent, and therefore the landlord's question?

Your obedient servant,

KINNAIRD.

Rosale Priory, Jan. 31.

The following letter, addressed by Colonel Gore Langton to the electors of East Somerset, whom he has represented for upwards of thirty years in Parliament, will be perused with interest by our readers.

TO THE CONSTITUENCY OF THE EASTERN DIVISION OF THE COUNTY OF SOMERSET.

"GENTLEMEN,—I cannot refrain from now expressing to you my opinion on the subject of those demonstrations into which it is sought to lead you, in opposition to the principles advocated by the Anti-Corn-Law League.

Satisfied that such demonstrations cannot prevent the speedy triumph of Free-Trade principles, I would caution you against meetings not having for their object the enlightenment of the public mind on a great question, but calculated to excite the passions and prejudices of class against class, which may continue to distract and disturb us when the occasion that elicited them shall have wholly passed away.

"If we look at the proceedings which have characterized similar meetings in other counties, we see little to imitate, but much to shun—assertion without proof, declamation without argument, and personal invective without dignity or moderation." The public are too intelligent not to recognise the

real promoters of these demonstrations, nor are they to be deceived by the appearance of tenants-as if to swell the numbers of the assembled. The landlords, as a body, are ardent supporters of the Corn Laws; I firmly believe they take a short-sighted view of their interests. In this matter they are opposed to Lord Spencer, and other large landed proprietors—men the direct representatives of the landed interest, since to great agricultural experience they unite the ability to take a comprehensive view of the complicated relations of society.

"In order to explain some of the phenomena which have attended these demonstrations, we must reflect that, under the operation of the Corn Laws, rents have risen, while the capital of the tenant has been yielding less and less profit, and the condition of the labouring class has evidently been deteriorating. Hence the exertions of the landlord contrasting with the apathy of the peasant, the suggestions of the zealous steward meeting on the part of the tenant no active consent, but a cold and passive acquiescence.

"Gentlemen, no one more laments than I do the necessity for such bodies as the Anti-Corn-Law League; but experience has taught us that attention to class-interests is the predominant feature of the Legislature, and that no measure of great and general concern can be carried without such aid.

"Our rulers seem wholly free from any animating predilection for justice, and incapable of seeking for rules of conduct in an enlightened anticipation of our future history.

"It must ever be borne in mind that a repeated refusal to remove the crying injustice of monopolies gave birth to the League. The able and intelligent leaders of that powerful body found a large field for the amelioration of man lying before them; they entered on its culture, the harvest is now ripening, and they have the satisfaction to think that by their hands was planted in the once sterile soil the germ of great and permanent good.

"I am, gentlemen, your obliged and humble servant,

"WM. GORE LANGTON.

"Grosvener-square, Feb. 8, 1844."

AGRICULTURE.

A TOUCHSTONE FOR MONOPOLISTS.

The advocates of the Corn Law loudly proclaim that the monopoly they seek to uphold is not a landlord's question. So said the Marquis of Salisbury to his tenants, in language sufficiently plain to those unhappy dependents. So lords and squires have asserted in most of the agricultural districts; and tenant-farmers have been evoked to meet, to subscribe, and to petition for the maintenance of the Corn Law, upon the express ground that it is essential to their prosperity and that of their labourers. Yet, despite of all this noble and worshipful assertion, notwithstanding all this meeting and subscribing and petitioning, a feeling of deep dissatisfaction pervades the minds of the occupying tenants. Doubts and anxieties prevail amongst them, and, even where they applaud their landlords' abuse of the League, they don't find their doubts resolved or their anxieties relieved. On the contrary, half of them would gladly make an end of the matter, and would accept Free Trade as a far less evil than the present state of uncertainty. Not one tenant-farmer in ten believes, whatever may be his wishes, that the free trade in corn can be long postponed. Moreover, farmers have many old and rankling grievances—for instance, insecure tenures, game laws, and the like—which they are beginning to see are closely connected with the Corn Laws; and assuredly all these evils have their root in a system which could not exist for a year after the repeal of the Corn Law. However, the landowners have got up societies in all directions, and have subscribed considerable sums of money, which are to be employed in teaching the farmers that they have a large interest in the monopoly of grain. It is known that the monopoly was created with the avowed purpose of keeping up rents, but lecturers and tract-writers are now to be engaged to show how the Corn Laws have kept up farming profits and agricultural wages.

Now, all this looks very plausible; but how does it happen that the noble and right honourable and worshipful proprietors of land, who have not merely majorities in Parliament, but may be said to form the Parliament, do not resort to the shorter and simpler process of a Parliamentary committee? Why should they have recourse to such cumbrous machinery as rural meetings and county subscriptions, to effect that imperfectly which they might do effectually by a select committee of the House of Commons? That the present is a period of agricultural distress is admitted. There are all the ordinary symptoms of such distress; landlords are throwing back their ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent. upon the tenants' rents; dissatisfaction with the corn and provision laws is loudly expressed amongst certain of the agricultural classes; farming labourers are turned off, and the poor-rates in the rural districts have fearfully increased; and destruction of agricultural capital through depreciated prices is a constant theme with the Pro-Corn-Law speakers. All that occurred in 1814, in 1821, in 1833, and in 1836, has happened now; yet then we heard the most urgent demands for Parliamentary inquiry—demands which were in each of those periods instantly complied with—but now not a whisper of such an inquiry has been heard. Why is this? How is this change to be accounted for? Never was there a time, if the views of the Protectionists are sound, when it behoved them to take the most effective means to demonstrate the soundness of such views; never were charges against the Corn Laws so strenuously or so perseveringly urged as at present; and never were those charges so widely believed to be just and true as now. Never before were the motives of the upholders of the restrictive system so seriously impugned. And the ground taken against the Corn Laws is somewhat

different from that occupied on former occasions. Free Trade is no longer a commercial, a manufacturers', or a consumers' question; all that has been conceded. The dispute has now been narrowed to the single point of whether or not the tenant-farmers and farm-labourers have been gainers by the Corn Laws. That those classes have been most grievously injured by restriction, and the system which restriction has induced, has been boldly and broadly asserted by the Free Traders, and not a few of the most eminent agriculturists have re-echoed that assertion.

If there be no truth in that assertion, if it be made in error or in ignorance, what so fit an instrument for its exposure as a Parliamentary committee? Yet not a syllable has been heard in favour of such an inquiry at any of the numerous "protection" meetings. This strange neglect has, however, been supplied by Mr. Cobden, who, on Tuesday night, gave notice in his place in the House of Commons, that he should shortly move—"THAT A SELECT COMMITTEE BE APPOINTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE EFFECTS OF PROTECTIVE DUTIES ON IMPORTS UPON THE INTERESTS OF TENANT-FARMERS AND FARM-LABOURERS IN THIS COUNTRY."

This motion will prove the touchstone of the landlords' honesty. If any member who has taken part in the "protection" meetings shall vote against this motion, he must be set down as a dishonest politician—a brawler who asserts that which he does not himself believe. Let the tenant-farmers who have been made cats-paws at these meetings mark well the conduct of their landlord-leaders; let them observe how they treat this motion; let them remember that the obstinate refusal of the landowners in Parliament to investigate the question of the Corn Laws has done as much to make converts to Free-Trade opinions as all the exertions of the League. And here is an offer to meet the Protectionists upon their own ground. Dare they refuse the investigation? Can they not call farmers, ay, and labourers, from every rural district in England, and show by their evidence what protection has done for the industrious capitalists and workmen in husbandry? But what if they refuse the challenge? How many tenant-farmers will then continue to march under such leaders? We shall not be surprised, even after all the out-door bluster of the landowners, if they should meet this motion by silent votes; but, if they do, their silence will be self-condemnation. To obtain such a committee of inquiry at this time would be most important to that most helpless, that non-represented body of men, the English tenant-farmers. They could, before such a committee, state their own grievances; they could show how they are urged on to effect permanent improvements and scientific farming with yearly holdings; how they are vexed and annoyed and plundered by game and gamekeepers; they could show how, in the fluctuations of price which have occurred under the successive Corn Laws, they have borne the brunt of the loss, while their landlords have merely thrown back a trumpery, compassionate per centage. Yet much of this may be effected in the debate itself, and for that purpose every intelligent farmer who understands the extent to which he suffers from the Corn Laws, and all other persons well versed in the subject of his intended motion, should furnish Mr. Cobden with facts and data illustrative of the evils inflicted upon the tenant-farmer by monopoly, and by the existing system of land-renting. And whatever be the fate of the motion much good will result from it; for should it be successful the tenantry of the country will have the opportunity of disclosing the real operation of the Corn Laws upon their business; or, on the other hand, should it fail through the opposition of the Pro-Corn-Law majority in the House of Commons, farmers and farm-labourers will understand the real value of all the ardent professions of anxiety for their welfare which have been of late so profusely dealt in by the landed aristocracy. Either way this motion will prove the monopolists' touchstone.

THE LANDLORDS' CRY FOR AID.

The meetings in favour of the Corn Laws, which have been everywhere got up by the landowners, have during the past ten days presented little of novelty. There has been the same vulgar abuse of the League—the same confident reliance on rural ignorance and enforced servility—the same reckless disregard of facts and experience—and the same "plentiful lack" of argument, which hitherto have been the characteristics of all these monopolists' gatherings. The Protectionists have obviously staked their all upon this throw; forgetful of the cautious reserve which the more wary upholders of aristocrat-produced scarcity and landlord domination have for some years past maintained, the most obsolete bigotries and audacious pretensions have been put forward—nakedly, broadly put forward—as reasons for maintaining the monopoly of food. This is plainly the last struggle of the landed interest, and it will no doubt be carried on with the unscrupulous desperation by which it has commenced; yet this is of all symptoms the most hopeful for the Free Traders and the nation. Men believed that the landed aristocracy had learnt something by the experi-

ence of the last twenty years; yet it has now been disclosed that, like the Bourbons of old, "they have learnt nothing, and they have forgotten nothing." They demand as their inheritance—and they say they will be content with no less—the subjugation of the whole industry of the British nation beneath the yoke of a landed oligarchy.

We have not space this week to notice any of the so-called arguments which have been used; but incidents have occurred at two of the monopolist meetings which are worthy of being recorded. At the St. Alban's gathering, in Hertfordshire, which was industriously proclaimed to be for the purpose of forming a society for the protection of tenant-farmers, Mr. Welford and Mr. Lattimore, who appeared as tenant-farmers, for the purpose of proposing an amendment on the first resolution, were refused a hearing, though their proposition was strictly within the terms on which the meeting had been convened. Mr. Welford, who moved the amendment, stated explicitly, that he was favourable to the formation of a local society for the protection of the tenant-farmers, but that he did not think the original resolution (a mere Anti-League absurdity) adapted to effect that object, and he moved the following amendment:—

"That the tenant-farmers require security against expropriation so repeatedly made upon their property by the Legislature; and considering the deception recently practised upon them by the measures of the present Government, whom they assisted to advance to power,—under the guidance of the landlords,—they have at length arrived at the conclusion, that a final settlement of the laws relative to the important interests of agriculture, is absolutely necessary for their future welfare and existence. And this meeting therefore declines again to embark in any political agitation under the direction of landlords, until the owners of the soil have proved the sincerity of their professed desire to promote the welfare of the tenant-farmers, by giving them the protection of secure tenures by leases at corn-rents, relieving them from the injuries sustained by game preserves, and meeting them fairly in carrying out and ensuring to them the fruits of permanent improvements.

Much interruption was offered to this gentleman, and violent irritation was displayed by the landlords present,—and they had mustered strongly,—at what they deemed an unwarrantable attempt to make the farmers really act for themselves; but all regard to form and decency was disregarded in preventing a hearing by mere clamour, as soon as an officious and official local attorney stated, as a point of order, that Mr. Welford had been the chairman of Mr. Cobden's most successful Anti-Corn-Law meeting at Hertford. At a later stage of the proceedings, Mr. Lattimore, who was well known to all present as a very eminent farmer, was also refused a hearing.

The second incident occurred at the Cambridge meeting of monopolists, where Lord Hardwicke (one of Sir Robert Peel's Court menial-officials) threatened the conductors of the *Morning Post* with his high displeasure, on account of their "attempts to write down the Ministry." This shows that even Sir Robert Peel's poor spirit writhes under, though it dare not recoil against, the ultra insolent dictation to which he is now being subjected by the landowners. On the other hand, at most of these meetings the part taken by the *Morning Post* is formally approved, and votes of thanks to its proprietors are usually recorded. Here we have the elements of discord between the landed oligarchy and their submissive but crafty man-of-all-work.

LANDLORDS AND LABOURERS.

Of all the pretences by which the squires at their Pro-Corn-Law meetings try to bolster up their failing monopoly, that of its being beneficial to the labourer is the most impudent. True it is that now the labourer's interest is usually alluded to parenthetically, or merely used to round an oratorical flourish in favour of artificial scarcity, for the most obtuse landed proprietor begins to perceive that the case of the labourer tells strongly against high prices, and, perhaps, even more against fluctuating prices. But, though the subject is touched cautiously and tenderly, all the aristocratic speakers assume that they are the peculiar protectors of the agricultural labourers. Now, as one fact is worth a thousand assertions, we will quote a brief passage from the letter of a "Renting Farmer," which appears in last week's *Dorset County Chronicle*. The object of the writer seems to have been to correct the following statement made by another correspondent of the same journal in a previous week, which was to the effect—"that the labourers have not forgotten that, at the riots of 1830, they were promised, and for a time received, higher wages, and abatements were made by some landlords for that purpose; but when our fears had subsided, and peace was restored, the price of labour was again lowered;" and the Renting Farmer fairly enough thought this sentence contained an imputation on his order,—that the farmers had reduced wages while actually receiving abatements of rent to enable them to pay higher wages,—and he vindicates the farmers in this manner:—

"Now, for my own part, I was not so fortunate as to receive any abatement for the purpose. I received, in the very midst of the riots, a note from an influential member of my landlord's family, desiring me to raise the pay of the men, sending me, at the same time, the scale of wages they had adopted, and saying, moreover, that no doubt my landlord would do what was right to protect his tenants. I did raise the wages of the men, and at the expiration of a month went to my landlord to know how far I might expect his support; he would make me no direct promise, but said he would not be worse than his neighbours; however, I received no abatement, and, of course, the men were lowered again. I know of no instance where the allowance made and promised at the time of the riots was not withdrawn before the wages of the men were lowered by their employers."

This vindication of the farmers seems to be complete; but how stand the landlords? We know that this interference with the rate of wages by landlords was almost universal in the south and west of England, and that the withdrawal of the allowance as soon as the crisis had passed over was as general. Let landlords abstain from making laws which occasionally take the rent out of the farmers' capital, which ought to have been employed in payment of wages—for the labourer has no law of distress in his favour, and the rent must be paid—and no such inter-

farmer with the wages of the peasantry as that of 1830 will ever be necessary. At this moment a large proportion of the rents received by the landowners are directly abstracted from that fund which ought to have been used by the farmer in payment of wages. This is entirely owing to the operation of the Corn Laws, and yet farmers and farm-labourers are asked to agitate, subscribe, and petition to uphold these laws!

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"B. D.'s" lines on true heroism are equally creditable to her poetic powers and Christian feelings. We gladly give them insertion:—

"Enough hath the world heard
Of heroes and glory,
Till our hearts loath the word
Of renown and its story;
Till our spirits wax weary
Of rapine and slaughter,
And earth groweth dreary,
As if demons had wrought her!

"Enough of pomp's splendour
Our dim eyes have blinded;
That faith we surrender,
That worship is ended!

"We stand by the altar
Of justice, and swear it,
Our hearts shall not falter
Our lips shall declare it!

"On the brows of the glorious,
In deed and endeavour,
Be the wreath which victorious
Shall crown them for ever!

"The noble in spirit,
Whom 'self' cannot darken,
We bow to their merit,
To their words will we hearken!

"They, in whom the pale mourner
For bread when he pineth
Spite of sneerer and corner,
His guardians divinely!

"With that proudest of honours,
That purest of fame,
Ye of hope are the donors,
And we bless while we name!

"Yea! the heart-broken mother
Shall smile through her sorrow,
And trust yet another
And brighter to-morrow!

"When pale famine no longer
Her loved ones shall slay,
But the gaunt fiends of hunger
Be scared from their prey.

"For the want-wasted maiden
Who weeps at her toil;
And the old man time-laden
With woe's heavy spoil;

"For such are they striving,
That patriot band!
Link by link strongly riving
Despair from the land.

"Whilst we watch them with blessing,
And hail them from far;
And when dark thoughts are pressing
Look up for one star!

"Truth's star, whose calm beaming
Though the proud may condemn,
For a nation's redeeming
Conducts us to them.

"20th Dec., 1843."
"P." proposes that Robert Peel's income tax should be an-
nounced into "income tax, Peel's Rob. Act."

"A Reader."—The correspondence to which he alludes was re-
fused insertion until paid for as an advertisement, and the
money was paid.

"T. D."—The laws against forestalling and regrating, of which
the case of William Margate is an illustration, were violations
of economic principle, forming part of that system of our
ancestors which in modern times is regarded as sheer absurdity.

A correspondent has sent us a reply from *Times* past to
Times present. It is a whimsical illustration of the necessity
of a good memory to a certain class of public writers named
in a well-known proverb:—

TIMES VERSUS FIXED DUTY.

The following extract from the *Times* of the 23rd of January,
1844, deserves notice:—

"Above all, it must be obvious to the mind of every man that a
diminution of the fund set apart for the parochial clergy, that the
difference might be pocketed by the avarice—those avarices to
whom we owe the Game Laws, the Corn Laws, and the utter cor-
ruption of the Poor Laws—would be, of all arrangements in this
world, the most preposterous, iniquitous, and odious. This
point is put with great force and perspicuity by Mr. Buller with
regard to the Corn Laws, which are dwelt upon in his letter
at considerable length, and in a strain of reasoning with which
we generally coincide, although the hon. gentleman appears
more tolerant of the *medius terminus* of a fixed duty on foreign
corn than we should expect of one who felt the bearing of the
main, the twofold (and to us incontrovertible) argument
against the existing tax on corn, viz., the impolicy and injus-
tice of any tax whatever. The peculiar grievance of the pre-
sent impost may be that it is uncertain, deceitful, and ill-
framed, even for its ostensible purpose; but as to a 'fixed'
duty, it is neither more nor less than a fixed evil—a fixed dis-
couragement of manufactures—a fixed robbery of the con-
sumer by the producer—a fixed bounty upon foreign industry,
to the detriment of British—a fixed aggravation of the bur-
den of the Poor Laws—a fixed monopoly of subsistence against
the hungry multitude."

The following extract, from the writings of one of the first
of our living philosophers, deserves attention:—"On these
grounds it would seem to me that some knowledge of the prin-
ciples of political economy—of jurisprudence—of trade and
manufactures—is essentially involved in the notion of a sound
education; a moderate acquaintance also with engineering—
agriculture—draughtsmanship, is of obvious utility in every sta-
tion of life; while, in a commercial country, the only remedy
for that proverbial short-sightedness to their best ultimate in-
terest, which is the misfortune, rather than the fault, of every
mercantile community upon earth, seems to be to inculcate
broad principles of free interchange and reciprocal profit,
and public justice, on which the whole edifice of perma-
nently successful enterprise must be based."—*View of Views*
on Scientific and General Education," by Sir John Herschel,
Bart., F.R.S.

"A Carpenter's Son."—The communication is respectfully de-
clined.

Several correspondents very eagerly inquire when London will
be canvassed for its subscriptions to the League Fund; it is
gratifying to find such a general eagerness to volunteer service
in the good cause, and such an impatience to begin work. So
soon as the Council is relieved from the heavy pressure of the
provincial collections, its entire attention will be devoted to
the metropolis.

"A Composer" is thanked; the hint shall not be lost
sight of.

"Odorous."—The cry of slave-grown sugar is one of the
most important manifestations of conscious hypocrisy exhi-
bited within our memory.

"J. A. L."—The constituency of Lambeth should declare its
sentiments on Free Trade to its members in a form admit-
ting of "no mistake."

"A Friend to Just Law."—The times are not ripe for such a
discussion.

"A. R. S., of Philadelphia." is well able to preach Free-Trade
doctrine himself, and needs no assistance.

"R. S. T."—The balance is lost to the public in the circuitous
process of trade-interference consequent on discriminating
duties.

"F. W."—The crimping drummer-boys from union work-
houses is a shocking practice, but after the exposure it has
already received we trust that the authorities will be ashamed
into its abolition.

"A Free-Trader" sends the following song, which was sung
at a late meeting of the Anti-Monopolist electors of Salis-
bury:—

Ye loyal sons of England, who strive for better days,
Press onwards in your object, though opposed in various ways?
Let union be your watchword—in union there is strength!
Your foes shall be defeated, and overcome at length.

(Chorus.)

For Monopoly must have its fall, and never rise again,
The happy day is drawing nigh to break the tyrant's chain.

Free Trade with all the world we very soon shall see,
If steadfast we press forwards—against Monopoly;
We find the League is very strong, although as yet but young,
And with great vigour carries on what they at first begun.

(Chorus.)

The very soul of commerce is freedom thro' the world,
Nor will we rest until we see its banners wide unfurled;
Protective laws abolished—Free Trade with all mankind,
The world our common market-place, where'er we feel inclin'd.

(Chorus.)

The conquest is quite certain, and very near at hand,
To banish all Monopolies, and purify the land;
It is our right as Britons—the mistress of the waves—
To shout with all our voices, we will no more be slaves!

(Chorus.)

For Monopoly must have its fall, and never rise again,
The happy day is drawing nigh to break the tyrant's chain.

"R. D."—Under consideration.

The following remarks on the demand made by the monopo-
list for the protection of native industry sufficiently ex-
pose the hypocritical folly of that delusive cry:—The amount
paid for wages in producing corn is easily estimated. The
quantity of corn grown in the United Kingdom is from 50 to
60 million quarters, requiring 17 to 20 million acres of land.
Now, the manual labour on the best cultivated land is not
more than 20s. per acre; making the total amount of wages
not to exceed £20,000,000 in producing corn. The export of
manufactured goods averages about £50,000,000; of which
more than one-half, perhaps two-thirds, is manual labour, or
equal to an export of £30,000,000 of *British* industry; and a
relief to this amount to the remaining labouring population.
This must be apparent to the commonest apprehension; yet,
in spite of this *great fact*, which only requires to be stated,
are the landholders crying out for the protection of *British*
industry to deceive the poor and ignorant.

"A Ten-guinea Leaguer" will soon see an answer to his ques-
tion: publicity is not desirable until work is done.
At the request of a correspondent we republish the following
letter from the *Chelmsford Chronicle*:—

"I am quite satisfied that amongst the rural population they
ALL have a sufficiency of bread, and whatever may have been
said by Mr. Cobden and others on that point is *entirely*
groundless."—Extract from Mr. R. Baker's speech at the
late Protection Society meeting at Chelmsford.

"Sir,—The above extract I have copied from your paper of
last week, and, being myself present, I believe it to be a cor-
rect version of what Mr. Baker said. Now an assertion like
this should be well considered before it is given to the pub-
lic. Mr. Baker has an extensive acquaintance with agricul-
tural matters, both as farmer and land-surveyor, agent, &c.,
and he has a fair claim to, and no doubt is considered, good
authority. At the meeting I said 'No, no!' to the statement,
and I could refer your readers to various districts, especially
in the northern parts of this county, where the wages and
earnings of the agricultural labourers are inadequate to find,
for themselves and families, sufficiency of bread. But a fact
is better than a long speech, and the following agreement, be-
tween a labourer and his master, is a startling one:—

"Oct. 11, 1842.—I, John Drury, do undertake the care of
four horses and one riding horse to feed and clean, at four
o'clock in the morning, and to do any sort of work, and plough
my acre of land per day, for the sum of seven shillings per
week, excepting the three weeks in harvest time, for which I
am to have two shillings per week extra. I also hire the cot-
tage and garden I now occupy, at four guineas per annum.
—Witness my mark, JOHN DRURY.

"Great Mapledred."

"Earnest, prit pay, la."

"This man serves his master" at 1s. per week *LAST* this year.
Drury is a married man, about 30 years of age, and a useful
ploughman, with a wife and child, and, being ill some time
since, he applied for relief to the Hated Board of Guar-
dians, when the original document was shown to the board.
It seems to me to be a mockery to talk of *protection* as ne-
cessary to the well-being of agricultural labourers; at all
events John Drury must be an exception.

"Yours, &c.,

"HENRY DIXON.

"Witham, Jan. 3, 1844."

"W. W." is thanked.

"S. R."—The bad advocate of a bad cause to whom he alludes
is unworthy of notice.

The following pithy remark has been sent us by a reverend
friend in the north of England:—

"Law is—law! and Crime is—crime."

"What crime can be more wicked than that which destroys the
food of man, and tends to raise the price of that which es-
capes?"—Lord Hardwicke

"His lordship, an ardent supporter of the Corn Law, here con-
demns as the most wicked of all criminals the incendiary—
the poor, ignorant, starving, desperate incendiary: nor do I
intend to deny his guilt, or even to palliate it—although, per-
haps, I might, on the inspired plea that 'Oppression maketh
(even) a wise man mad.' But wherein differ incendiaries in
the barnyard and incendiaries or combustion in the
bonded warehouse? Does not the one as well as the other
destroy the food of man, and tend to raise the price of that
which escapes? I have, of late, repeatedly read of bonded
corn having *heated* and been *destroyed*: it might have fed
many a poor family, and at a price not raised either by ac-
cident or by crime: but the Corn Law prevented this use of it,
and caused its destruction! Who, in this case, are the
criminals? and what cloak or palliation have they for their
'most wicked of all crimes'?"—*ÆQUUS.*

"Poems by Elliott and Jones;" "Life in a Sick Room;" "Miss
Breiner's Novels;" "Miss Lamont's Travels;" "The Archi-
tectural Annual;" "The Life of William Taylor of Norwich;"
"Dymond's Essays;" "Antigua and the Antiguans," and
several other works will be noticed at the earliest opportu-
nity. In the limited space allotted to reviews it would be im-
possible for the editor to enter into any lengthened discussion
of controverted topics; we shall, therefore, only notice such
works or parts of works as we can conscientiously recommend,
and, as a general rule, we shall abstain from pronouncing
censure, except in very flagrant cases.

The following letter has been sent us by a farmer: it needs no
comment:—

"Sir,—I am an old Tory and a large farmer, and therefore
you may suppose I am not very fond of the League. I, how-
ever, hate selfishness and oppression, and monopoly, and

The employer's name, although given by Mr. Dixon, is
omitted here for obvious reasons.—[Ed. C. O.]

therefore I read the LEAGUE paper, to see what they had to
say in favour of their plan. I find it full of plain truths, and
am sure it will do much good and correct much evil. I
heard the tenant of a noble landlord say at our market ordi-
nary, that from 15 acres of wheat, as well managed as land
could be, and I know he is a good farmer, he had thrashed
only 18 quarters, the hares and pheasants having destroyed
all the rest. Another said he had ploughed up six acres,
which were entirely destroyed. This is in one of the midland
counties, where the owners of the soil are as liberal and as
honourable as in any part of England, and the two tenants
I have alluded to live under two of the very best even of
these good ones. They are not, however, alive as yet to the
necessity of feeding the people at the cheapest possible rate.
We cannot let you have it all your own way, at present, Mr.
Editor, but write on a few more years and we shall do better
without protection than we have done with it. There is a
great national debt to be provided for, as well as old prej-
udices to conquer, and all cannot be done at once. Give us a
fixed duty of 8s. a quarter, to diminish one every year, till it
is all gone but 2s., and you will have all the farmers on your
side. Don't you think it would be better to meet us in this
way than to disturb the country by the agitation, and be
longer before you get anything? Move by degrees: we have
been so long accustomed to this that we cannot relish being
hurried. Yours, &c., "A FARMER."

The manuscript pamphlet, "by a Member of the University of
Durham," is received with thanks; but the subject of it has
been already so ably answered that it leaves nothing more to
be said.

We have still a very great accumulation of unanswered corre-
spondence, which we regret our inability to reply to this
week.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order,
to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have
one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post
on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper
may also be left with J. Gadsby, Nowall's-buildings,
Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of
any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who
receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear
in mind that their subscriptions are due.

GREAT LEAGUE MEETING.—
THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN.—THE USUAL WEEKLY
MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE, will be
held in the THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN, on THURSDAY
EVENING NEXT, the 15th inst.

Several Members of Parliament, W. J. Fox, Esq., and others, will address
the meeting.

GEORGE WILSON, Esq., will take the Chair precisely at Seven
o'Clock.

Cards of admission to the stage and boxes may be had on application
after Monday next, at the Central Offices of the League, No. 67, Fleet-
street.

The Cards of Registered Members of the League will, as heretofore, admit
to the Pit and Galleries of the Theatre.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, February 10, 1844.

In fulfilment of the pledge given to the country
that every borough as it became vacant should be
contested on Free-Trade principles, the friends of the
Anti-Corn-Law League in Devises selected Mr.
Christopher Temple to oppose Mr. Ludlow Bruges
for the representation of that borough, and he polled
67 votes, while the Monopolist polled 202. It is
needless to say that the League is not dispirited by
a result which every one anticipated; on the con-
trary, it rejoices in having planted the Free-Trade
banner in a new locality, and gathered round it a
nucleus of staunch supporters, sure to win over new
recruits by the diffusion of sound knowledge. In
Stockport, in Walsall, and in Durham, the Free-
Trade candidates, when first they appeared at the
poll, were defeated by large majorities, but the
principles of truth which they planted had too much
vitality to be destroyed by a single severe season;
they germinated in silence, they daily acquired fresh
strength and vigour, and when next the Free-Trade
reapers appeared in the field they garnered the har-
vest of a triumphant majority. Salisbury and De-
vizes may yet furnish parallels to Stockport and Dur-
ham; but, whether such redemption comes or not,
the Monopolists have learned that they will not be
allowed to ride roughshod over the constituencies
without opposition, and that the votes of the elec-
tors are not to be given as a matter of course to any
nominee of a confederacy for degrading the farmer,
starving the labourer, driving the merchant or manu-
facturer to bankruptcy, and sending the operative to
the workhouse.

At Devises, Monopoly laid aside not merely the
forms of decency, but those of law; the Monopolist
candidate, in the teeth of an act of Parliament, was
the Recorder of the borough, and, though we see
from an announcement in the papers that a clumsy
effort has been made to remedy this illegality, we
know that the trick would be scouted in a court of
justice, and perhaps by a committee of the House
of Commons.

The decent exhibition of hanging Messrs. Cobden,
Bright, and Smith in effigy, firing cannon at the
figures, and then burning them on a pile, and the
violence displayed to prevent the Free-Trade candi-
date from obtaining a hearing on the day of nomi-
nation, were quite in accordance with the claims of
the Monopolists to be regarded as "the friends of
order;" just as the unoccupied houses and closed
shops in every street in Devises aptly illustrate the
nature of the prosperity derived from Monopolist
protection. These signs of decay will continue to
be silent but powerful lecturers for the League, and
we are not without hope that their effect will be
powerfully felt whenever a new vacancy affords op-
portunity for another election.

THE FUNDS.

| | Jan. 5 | Jan. 6 | Jan. 7 | Jan. 8 | Jan. 9 | Jan. 10 |
|----------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Bank Stock | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 5 per Ct. Cons. Ann. | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 |
| 5 per Ct. Cons. Ann. | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| 5 per Ct. Cons. Ann. | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| Long An. R. 1860 | 12 1/2 | 12 1/2 | 12 1/2 | 12 1/2 | 12 1/2 | 12 1/2 |
| Cons. for Acc. | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 |
| Ind. Bds. and 10000 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| India Stock | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Belgian | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Chilian | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Colomb. & Ven. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Danish | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Dutch 3 per Cent. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Portuguese, conv. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Spanish 5 per Cent. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Do. 3 per Cent. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Peruvian | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

MODERN JANUS.—Sir Robert Peel, who has been described as the modern Janus with his double face,—one looking upon the doomed days of monopoly, the other upon the coming era of Free Trade,—is somewhat characteristically situated as regards his town residence in Privy Gardens. The premises occupied by him stand in two parishes, partly in St. Martin's and partly in St. Margaret's, for both of which he is rated, and for either of which he is enabled to vote. Our readers will judge how far his geographical position is analogous to his political one.

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LAWS, Monday, Feb. 5.—The supply of Wheat was good from Kent, and short from Essex, this morning. The condition of the samples was much improved by the frosty weather of the last few days. An advance of 1s. to 2s. was readily obtained on English, and of 1s. on the best qualities of Free Foreign Wheat. There was a moderate supply of Barley: the finest samples of Malting were disposed of without difficulty at former rates; but other descriptions met a slow sale, and last week's prices were barely supported. The trade in Beans and Peas was very dull at last week's rates. About eight cargoes of Irish Oats arrived since Friday, with several of English and Scotch; which, together with what remained of our late arrivals, made rather a full market. An endeavour was made to obtain an advance on the prices, but without success, and there was no activity in the trade. **S. H. Lucas and Son.**

Currency per imperial measure.

| | | | |
|---------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
| Wheat, English, Red | 45s to 55s | Peas, Maple | 28s — 30s |
| Do., do., Old | 52s — 61s | Malt, Pale Suffolk and | |
| Do., do., White | 60s — 64s | Norfolk | 54s — 58s |
| Do., do., Old | 60s — 64s | Chevalier | 60s — 62s |
| Dantzic | 57s — 62s | Brown | 58s to 60s |
| Stettin | 50s — 57s | Oats, English Feed | 20s — 22s |
| Barley, Malting | 34s — 35s | Do. Short | 21s — 23s |
| Do., do., Old | 32s — 34s | Scotch Feed | 21s — 23s |
| Grinding | 28s — 32s | Do. Potato | 23s — 25s |
| Beans, Tick | 26s — 27s | Irish Feed | 19s — 20s |
| Harrow | 28s — 30s | Do. Short | 20s — 22s |
| Pigeon | 32s — 34s | Do. Black | 19s — 20s |
| Old Harrow | 33s — 34s | Do. Galway | 17s — 19s |
| Peas, White | 28s — 30s | Flour, town made and | |
| Do., Bollers | 31s — 33s | best country marks | 45s — 50s |
| Grey | 20s to 28s | Norfolk and Suffolk | 40s — 44s |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 20th of Jan. to the 3rd of Feb. 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 5838 | 5187 | 4829 | 1191 | 1111 |
| Scotch | — | — | 2020 | — | — |
| Irish | — | — | 18391 | — | — |
| Foreign | 1481 | 770 | — | — | 660 |

MARK-LAWS, Friday, Feb. 9.—There is not much English Wheat fresh up since Monday; it is taken off readily at the prices of that day. Foreign Wheat is held firmly at former rates, but there is not much business doing. There is a good supply of English Barley; though not brisk, the trade is as good as on Monday. The supplies of Oats are short, and Monday's prices are fully maintained. No alteration in other articles. The duty on Wheat fell to 19s. yesterday. **S. H. Lucas and Son.**

Account of Corn, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 3rd of Feb. to the 9th of Feb., both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 3010 | — | — |
| Barley | 6399 | 380 | — |
| Oats | 2333 | 1470 | — |

A WEEKLY REPORT OF THE NUMBER OF QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 5, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | | BARLEY. | | OATS. | | BEANS. | |
|-----------|---------|------------|---------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|
| | Qrs. | Aver price | Qrs. | Aver price | Qrs. | Aver price | Qrs. | Aver price |
| Weekly | | s. d. | | s. d. | | s. d. | | s. d. |
| Averages | 108,378 | 52 6 | 106,808 | 33 2 | 57,527 | 15 11 | 10372 | 29 8 |
| Aggregate | | | | | | | | |
| Averages | .. | 51 2 | | 33 0 | | 18 8 | | 29 8 |
| Duty..... | .. | 19 0 | | 5 0 | | 8 0 | | 11 6 |

| | Qrs. | Price. | Qrs. | Price. |
|--------|-------|----------|-------|---------------|
| Wheat | 6278 | 53s. 5d. | Rye | 35 33s. 4d. |
| Barley | 7314 | 34s. 6d. | Beans | 1391 28s. 6d. |
| Oats | 23903 | 20s. 2d. | Peas | 1113 30s. 8d. |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 6.

BANKRUPTS.

- H. TISOR, Hertford, carpenter. [Thompson and Co., Salters' Hall; Nicholson and Longmore, Hertford.]
 F. HILLMAN, Cambridge-terrace, Edgware-road, ale merchant. [Appleton, Fenchurch buildings.]
 N. T. SMITH, Jun., Lime-street, London, ship owner. [Clayton and Cookson, New-square, Lincoln's-inn.]
 T. LANGRIDGE, Tonbridge Wells, Kent, auctioneer. [Manning, Craven-street, Strand.]
 T. WHITE, Regent-street, Marylebone, lace dealer. [Ashurst, Chesham.]
 R. HONE, Garnault-place, Spa-fields, stationer. [Cattlin, Ely-place, Holborn.]
 J. HARDLEY, Newport, Isle of Wight, miller. [M-Leod and Stanning, London-street, City.]
 C. SUTTON, Southampton, grocer. [Olderhaw, King's Arms-yard, Moorgate street.]
 M. OOSTON, Davies-street, Berkeley-square, watchmaker. [Ashurst, Chesham.]

- J. MOORE, Tamworth, Warwickshire, draper. [Ashurst, Chesham.]
 T. GREGORY, Poulshot, Wiltshire, miller. [Austin, Devizes.]
 C. REESBY, Stamford, Lincolnshire, miller. [Jackson, Stamford; Smith, Birmingham.]
 R. CHAPMAN, Scorton, Yorkshire, innkeeper. [Close, Farnville-inn, Hunton, Richmond; Teale, Leeds.]
 J. & G. EWART, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, auctioneers. [Brookebank and Farn, Gray's-inn-square; Brown, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.]
 G. WALTON, Stockton-on-Tees, wine merchant. [Dimmock and Burbey, Hise-lane; Stevenson, Darlington.]
 S. BILLINGTON, Birkenhead, Cheshire, woollen draper. [Minshall, Liverpool; Vincent and Sherwood, Temple.]
 M. TILDESLEY, Porto Bello, Staffordshire, timber dealer. [Phillips and Bolton, Wolverhampton.]

DIVIDENDS.

- Feb. 27. H. Molyneux, Lombard-street, watchmaker—March 2. W. C. Thornton, Cleckheaton, Yorkshire, machine maker—Feb. 29. J. M. Knight, Rugby, Warwickshire, ironmonger—Feb. 29. W. Atherton, Manchester, flint glass manufacturer—Feb. 28. J. Raleigh, Manchester, merchant—Feb. 28. J. Raleigh and T. G. Smith, merchants—Feb. 29. W. Rabey, Redruth, Cornwall, leather seller—Feb. 29. J. Gage, Delverton, Somersetshire, carpenter.

CERTIFICATES.

- Feb. 27. B. Reynolds, Mitcham, Surrey, silk printer—Feb. 27. R. Parker, Rotherhithe, Surrey, linen draper—Feb. 27. J. Smith, Darent, Kent, carpenter—Feb. 27. S. Wealey, Long Buckby, Northamptonshire, baker—Feb. 28. J. Atkins, Shore-ditch, Middlesex, tobacconist—Feb. 28. T. Gore, Broadstairs, Kent, baker—Feb. 27. M. Allen, Waltham Holy Cross, Essex, apothecary—Feb. 29. T. Kimber, North Cerney, Gloucestershire, farmer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

- J. HOWIE, Midtown, Cragie, horse and cattle dealer—R. KERR, Thornhill, Dumfriesshire, tanner—C. MALPINE, Glasgow, ship smith—R. P. M'BRAIR and D. JOHNSTONE, Jun., Glasgow, ship owners—A. OPPHEIM, Edinburgh, looking glass manufacturer—G. F. ROBERTSON, Greenock, merchant—J. WILSON, Glasgow, ship smith.

THE TOILET OF BEAUTY furnishes innumerable proofs of the high estimation in which GOWLAND'S LOTION is held by the most distinguished possessors of brilliant Complexions. This elegant preparation comprehends the preservation of the complexion, both from the effects of Cutaneous Malady and the operation of variable temperature, by refreshing its delicacy, and sustaining the brightest tints with which beauty is adorned. "Rogee, Eau de Cologne" is in white letters on the Government Stamp, without which none is genuine. Prices 2s. 9d., 5s. 6d., quarts 8s. 6d. Sold by all Perfumers and Medicine Vendors.

WORTHY OF REMARK.—The fact that many of the principal Hospitals in the kingdom—among which it is sufficient to name Guy's, St. George's, and the Westminster, in the metropolis, and the Manchester, Bristol, and Brighton Infirmary—have adopted BETT'S PATENT BRANDY, in preference to Foreign, affords a sufficient guarantee to the consumers of Brandy of the extreme purity of the article; the consequence being, at the same time, balled in his attempt to distinguish between its flavour and that of Fine Cognac. Price, pale or coloured, in quantities not less than Two Gallons, Eighteen Shillings per Gallon, at the Distillery, No. 7, Smithfield bars, leading to St. John-street.

BIOUKRENE, or FOUNTAIN OF LIFE.—This invaluable Medicine proves efficacious in removing all Scrofulous and Scorbatic Diseases. It attacks the cause of all eruptions on the skin; it purifies and nourishes the blood, invigorates the digestive organs, and effects an entire cure of Scrofula and Scoury in all the forms which these diseases assume.

This medicine is free from those mineral preparations which cannot be taken without injury to the constitution. Its action on the system is remarkably mild and gentle, and will not interfere with the patient's ordinary pursuits. * See a pamphlet entitled "Health and Comfort to the Afflicted," which may be had, gratis, of Mr. William Bailey, North-street, Wolverhampton, and also by all other vendors of Bioukrene; which is sold by Sutton and Co., Horse Churchyard; Edwards, St. Paul's Churchyard; Hannay and Co., Oxford-street; and by all Druggists and Medicine Vendors. Bottles, 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 11s.

FOR STOPPING DECAYED TEETH, Mr. THOMAS'S SUCCEDANEUM, price 4s. 6d.—Patronized by Her Majesty, the Royal Highness Prince Albert, and her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent. This valuable SUCCEDANEUM for Stopping Decayed Teeth, however large the cavity, is far superior to anything ever before used, as it is placed in the tooth in a soft state, without any pressure or pain, and in a short time becomes as hard as the enamel, and will remain firm in the tooth for many years, rendering extraction unnecessary. It arrests all further progress of decay, and renders them again useful in mastication. All persons can use Mr. THOMAS'S SUCCEDANEUM themselves with ease, without the aid of a dentist, as full directions are enclosed.—Prepared only by Mr. Thomas, Surgeon-Dentist, 68, Berners-street, Oxford-street, price 4s. 6d., and will be sent by post to any part of the kingdom.

ARTIFICIAL TEETH.—Mr. Thomas continues to supply the loss of teeth, and has introduced an entirely new description of ARTIFICIAL TEETH, which will be found very superior to all others, as they will never decay nor become discoloured, and their perfect resemblance to nature defies detection even by the closest observer. This method does not require the extraction of any teeth or roots, or any painful operation whatever. The charges will be found less than most dentists.—Mr. Thomas, Surgeon-Dentist, 68, Berners-street, Oxford-street. At home from Eleven till Four.

LOSS OF TEETH SUPPLIED WITHOUT SPRINGS, CLARPS, or WIRES, LOOKS TEETH FASTENED, and FILLING DECAYED TEETH WITH MINERAL MARMORATUM.—MONS. LE DRAY and SON, Surgeon-Dentists, 42, BERNERS-STREET, OXFORD-STREET, continue to restore DECAYED TEETH with their celebrated MINERAL MARMORATUM, applied without pain, heat, or pressure, preventing and curing the toothache, and rendering the operation of extraction unnecessary. They also fasten loose Teeth, whether arising from age, neglect, the use of Calomel, or disease of the Gums. Incurable, artificial, or natural teeth of surpassing beauty, fixed, from one to a complete set, without extracting the roots, or giving any pain, at the following Paris charges:—

| | |
|----------------|---------|
| A Single Tooth | 20 10 0 |
| A Set | 5 5 0 |

Arranged on a principle yet untried, rendering it impossible to distinguish the artificial teeth from the natural ones; answering most satisfactorily all the purposes of the original teeth in mastication and articulation, imparting to the countenance a younger and improved appearance, protecting the adjoining teeth, and remedying perfectly secure in their places. Artificial Teeth repaired, remodelled, and brought to their former shape and appearance.
 Artificial Palates of the most improved construction.—At home every day from Ten till Six.
 N.B. Removed from 60, Newman-street, to 42, Berners-street, Oxford-street.

FRAMPTON'S PILL OF HEALTH.

THIS excellent Family PILL is a Medicine of long-tried efficacy for correcting all disorders of the Stomach and Bowels, the common symptoms of which are costiveness, flatulency, spasms, loss of appetite, sick headache, giddiness, sense of fullness after meals, distension of the eyes, drowsiness, and pains in the Stomach and Bowels. Indigestion, producing a torpid state of the Liver, and a consequent inactivity of the Bowels, causing a disorganization of every function of the frame, will, in this most excellent preparation, by a little perseverance, be effectually removed. Two or three doses will convince the afflicted of its salutary effects. The Stomach will speedily regain its strength; a healthy action of the Liver, Bowels, and Kidneys, will rapidly take place; and, instead of listlessness, heat, pain, and jaundiced appearance, strength, activity, and renewed health will be the quick result of taking this medicine according to the directions accompanying each box; and if taken after too free an indulgence at table, they quickly restore the system to its natural state of repose.

Persons of a FULL HABIT, who are subject to headache, giddiness, drowsiness, and slaying in the ears, arising from too great a flow of blood to the head, should never be without them, as many dangerous symptoms will be entirely relieved by their immediate use.

For FEMALES these Pills are most truly excellent, removing all obstructions: the distressing headache so very prevalent with the sex; depression of spirits, dulness of sight, nervous affections, blotches, pimples, and sallowness of the skin, and give a healthy and juvenile bloom to the complexion. As a pleasant, safe, and easy Aperient, they unite the recommendation of a mild operation with the most successful effect, and require no restraint of diet or confinement during their use. And for ELDERLY PEOPLE they will be found to be the most comfortable medicine hitherto prepared.

Sold by T. Prout, 279, Strand, London. Price 1s. 1d. and 2s. 9d. per box; and by the Vendors of Medicines generally throughout the kingdom.

Ask for FRAMPTON'S PILL OF HEALTH, and observe the name and address of "Thomas Prout, 279, Strand, London," on the Government stamp.

THE CORN LAWS.—The sentiments of every member of Parliament respecting the CORN LAWS will be found in **MR. DODD'S "PARLIAMENTARY COMPANION,"** for 1844, which contains a full Biographical Dictionary of both Houses, a Statement of the Population, &c., with Explanations of Parliamentary Terms and Proceedings. Royal 82mo., price 4s. 6d., morocco gilt. Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria-lane.

THE MUSEUM; the most splendid Penny Periodical ever published, will APPEAR on SATURDAY, Feb. 10 (this day). The front page alone, containing a beautiful View of the extended NEW BRITISH MUSEUM, and a series of thirty-four Gorgeous Classical Designs, in addition to ten other spirited and well printed Engravings in the Number, will be acknowledged to be worth a hundred times the cost of the publication. Sixteen quarto pages for a Penny. Office, Craven-yard, Drury-lane. May be had of all booksellers.

MR. BEARD'S DAGUERRETYPE, or PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS.—These infinitely and much admired Portraits, in which further improvements have lately been effected, are taken by the Patentes, at 85, King William-street, City; 54, Parliament-street; and at the Royal Polytechnic Institution, 209, Regent-street, to whom, also, Licenses are granted for exercising the invention in provincial towns and districts.

CHINESE COLLECTION and GRAND DISTRIBUTION (admission free), value £5000, on the principle of the Antiquarian, in prizes, consisting of Chinese curiosities and Parisian novelties, on April 8, at the Chinese and Parisian Magazine, 7, Old Jewry. Every subscriber will obtain a handsome prize, consisting of Chinese jars, pictures, &c., or a splendid package of French ingenuity and taste. The division will take place under the highest patronage. The prizes are now on show at the above establishment. Tickets, 5s. each, may be obtained by applying to Messrs. T. Agnew and Sons, 14, Pall-mall; or at the retail branches of the Chinese and Parisian Magazine, 44, Poultry, and corner of the Old Jewry, Chesham; also of Hewitt and Co., 18, Philip-lane. W. Ancier and P. Ledoux, rue de Lombardes, Paris, will supply the Parisian articles, and the indefatigable exertions of the proprietors for the last ten years will furnish a magnificent collection from the Celestial Empire. TAYLOR, Brothers, and HEWETT, Chinese and Parisian Magazine, wholesale department, 7, Old Jewry, Chesham.

TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT and OTHERS.—TO LET, on moderate terms, a FURNISHED, COMPACT HOUSE, adjacent to Storey's Gate, St. James's Park, Westminster. Particulars with Messrs. Trollope and Son, Parliament-street; or, William Grubb Knight, builder, &c., 12, Alfred-place, Newington-causeway, South-west.

KINAHAN'S CELEBRATED L.L. (or Lord.)—Lieutenant's WHISKY (seven years old), is now universally admitted to be the purest, most delicious, and wholesome spirit ever imported—20s. per gallon; sealed bottles, 8s. 6d. each, can be had at a large number of the most respectable retail houses. A liberal allowance is made to the Kinahan's XX Dublin Stout, Bass's Pale Ale, Burton, Scotch, and Castleblinham Ales, in finest condition. Whisky well suited to the Trade (12 months old, and 2 years old), at very moderate prices. KINAHAN and CO., 25, KING WILLIAM-STREET, STRAND.

SUPERIOR WATERPROOF WRAPPERS, and OUTSIDE GARMENTS of all kinds.—An extensive variety of the above, also of BIRDIE'S well-known VENTILATING FRACK (in line of the Macintosh), always kept ready, guaranteed to exclude any description of rain whatever. Those who require real good, efficient, and respectable garments at the lowest price possible consistent with true economy, or who wish to avoid disappointment and vexation, will not regret the attention now confidently invited. First-rate Cloth of every description made to order at equitable charges. W. Berdoe, Tailor, &c., 69, Cornhill (North side).

CABINET FURNITURE, CARPETS, and UPHOLSTERY.—THOMAS PAUL and CO. inform the nobility and gentlemen furnishing, that their CABINET STOCK comprises every kind of furniture, calculated for any description of residence, from the cottage to the mansion, and will be found 50 per cent. cheaper than at any other house in London. Independently of the great saving, every article is guaranteed of the most seasoned and sound materials, so that parties furnishing (even for a foreign climate) are secure either from complaint or defective wear. References of many years' standing, together with the most ample warranty given where required. Their stock of Brussels carpets consists of a splendid variety, commencing at the extraordinarily low price of 2s. 3d. per yard, and those of new and elegant designs from 2s. per yard.—THOMAS PAUL and CO., cabinetmakers, upholsters, and carpet manufacturers, opposite the Mansion House, City.

THE NEW LIGHT.—A GREAT NOVELTY.—The patent CAMPHINE LAMP gives a light of surpassing power, richness, and purity, without any kind of grease or dirt, smoke or smell. The lamp is simply and beautifully constructed, and can be fitted to any description of lamp, pedestal, or gas fitting. It is not easily put out of condition. The Camphine (also a patent) is 4s. per gallon, and is so pure that if spilt on any article of dress or furniture will not leave either mark or stain, while it consumes so slowly that, at the cost of three farthings for two hours, it gives a light equal to twelve mould candles, without any smoking. It will be found far less expensive than any, and incomparably superior to all existing lights. To be seen burning at Hippon and Burton's (the wholesale and retail agents for English's Patent Camphine),—N.B. The ONLY Patent Camphine Lamp has "Hippon and Burton, Wells-street, Oxford-street," conspicuously placed on its head. The public are cautioned against all not so marked.

A CUP OF COFFEE IN ONE MINUTE!
DUNN'S ESSENCE OF COFFEE, warranted to keep good in any climate.—This Essence of the finest Mocha Coffee, improved by a process the result of thirty years' experience, contains all the fragrant and exhilarating properties of the Coffee in the highest perfection. It is admirably adapted to persons travelling, Officers in the Army and Navy, and Families visiting watering-places. Manufactured by D. DUNN, Pentonville, London, Manufacturer of Chocolate Powder, Essence of Ginger, and other Spices, Herbs, &c. Sold in Bottles from 1s. to 4s. each; and may be ordered of any respectable Grocer in the United Kingdom. Directions.—Put about a teaspoonful of the Essence into a coffee-cup, add sugar and cream or milk, then fill it up with boiling water, and a cup of Coffee, of superior flavour, is instantly made.

LOWDEN'S CELEBRATED COUGH PILL.—A safe and effectual cure for Coughs, Colds, Shortness of Breath, Asthma, &c. &c. They promote free expectoration, and hence prevent that accumulation of phlegm which causes a sense of choking, allay irritation, tickling in the throat, and relieve that sense of oppression, fulness, and difficulty of breathing, which nightly deprives the patient of rest. In Asthma and Coughs of long standing they are invaluable, and universally admitted to be the best known Medicine; in any case where they do not effect a perfect cure they afford such relief to the sufferer during the paroxysms or fits as to induce him henceforth never to be without them. Sold by Mr. Lowden, Chemist, 206, Fleet-street, London, in boxes at 1s. 1d., 7s. 9d., and 4s. 6d.; also by one or more respectable Medicine Vendors in each town in the United Kingdom.

PATRONIZED AND SANCTIONED BY HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT, THE ROYAL FAMILY, AND THE SEVERAL COURTS OF EUROPE.

ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL, for the Growth and for Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair. Price 2s. 6d.—7s. Family Bottles (equal to 4 small) 10s. 6d., and double that size, 21s. **CAUTION.**—SPURIOUS COMPOSITIONS are frequently offered for sale under a FICTITIOUS name or the word "GENUINE." It is imperative on purchasers to see that the words "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" are on the Wrapper of each bottle, and on the back of the wrapper nearly 1500 times, containing 20,000 letters. All others are FULS DULENT COUNTERFEITS. The principle on which "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" is prepared, is confined solely to the knowledge and practice of A. ROWLAND and SON, who are still at an immense expense in completing its preparation, and the amalgamation of its FULS DULENT MATERIALS renders abortive any attempt to discover its secret parts. ROWLAND'S KALYDOR, for Improving and Beautifying the Skin and Complexion. Price 4s. 6d. and 8s. 6d. per bottle, duty included. ROWLAND'S ODONTO, or PEARL DENTIFRICE, renders the Teeth beautifully White and preserves the Gums. Price 2s. 6d. per box, duty included. **CAUTION.**—It is imperative on purchasers to see that the word "ROWLAND'S" is on the Wrapper of each article. For the protection of the Public from fraud and imposition, the Honorable Commissioners of Her Majesty's Stamps have authorized the Proprietors' Signature to be stamped on the Government Stamp, thus, A. ROWLAND and SON, 25, Abchurch-lane, which is affixed to the Kalydor and Odonto. Sold by Chemists and Perfumers. * All others are SPURIOUS IMITATIONS!

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 21.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1844.

[8d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE METROPOLIS.

The demonstration of your opinion which is afforded by the weekly meetings at Covent-garden Theatre would, in reference to any common question of legislative improvement, and under ordinary circumstances, be sufficient to ensure the result which you desire. Public expressions much less unequivocal and decided have heretofore often been held adequate to prescribe the policy and duty of a Government, and to determine the conduct of Parliament. But we do not live under ordinary circumstances, and the Corn Law is no common question. The ruling class believes that both its interest and its influence are at stake. It has resolved on continued resistance. Its powers are mustering for a desperate struggle. The Prime Minister has sworn allegiance to its authority, and submits to vassalage as the condition of office. Recent events in Ireland have inflated the insolence of those who believe that nations are to be ruled by the strong hand of coercion rather than by the councils of wisdom. And there is every indication that the zeal and enthusiasm you so frequently evince at your meetings must be followed up by deliberate, unflinching, and arduous exertion.

One mode of exertion was pointed out and recommended in our last publication. You are invited to strengthen the hands of our Metropolitan Association for the completion of the Register. The mode is sufficiently described in the circular issued by that body, by which, throughout your several wards, parishes, and districts, you can co-operate. It is of the utmost importance that you should give the requisite time and attention to this matter. Leave no adherent of monopoly on the electoral list who is not legally entitled to be there. See that no friend of Free Trade, who is duly qualified, be omitted in that muster-roll, where, if his name be not found, it will matter comparatively little where else it is to be found when the day of conflict shall arrive. For you may be assured that, at the next election, not merely will this or that seat be in question, but the entire metropolitan representation. This is the sort of contest for which you must be prepared, and for which your preparation cannot too soon commence. On this point, as on the Corn Law itself, there will be no compromise. You must fight for the whole field, with foes who will aim at your total rout. Never forget this. Ensure your position in the registration. Your brilliant success in the return of Mr. Pattison leaves no other alternative for a future election than that of *Aut Caesar, aut nullus*. We need not expatiate on the results of a complete return of Free-Trade representatives for the cities of London and Westminster, the metropolitan boroughs, and the metropolitan county. They would obviously be such as to compensate, and more than compensate, for any exertions and sacrifices that may be needful. We believe this great event to be in your hands. You can reach it by diligence in the registration. Its loss, by indifference or negligence, would be worse than disgraceful: it would be deeply criminal. Be up, then, and doing; sleep not on your posts; belie not the fervour of your expressions in this great cause; consider

the magnitude of the prize; and obey the call of the mightiest interests for which a people ever asserted the claims of justice and humanity.

We invite you, also, to the continuance and extension of those voluntary subscriptions of which so many have come unsought to our office, as the columns of this paper have testified from week to week. It has not been deemed judicious to pursue in the metropolis the mode generally adopted in the country, of subscribing at public meetings. In your own course and method, London will doubtless supply its proportion to the fund of £100,000; the realization of which is no longer a question. We confidently await the time for putting down, by the decisiveness of fact, the sarcasms levelled by monopolist journals at metropolitan liberality. Such imputations can last but for their day; and you can make that day a very short one. On such a matter as this, we feel that suggestion is sufficient, and may well supersede any attempt at the language of persuasion.

The monopolists have not been routed from their strongholds in Devises and North Wiltshire. Who expected they would, with no time to agitate the question? Compulsion or bribery may gain votes extempore. Instruction and conviction are a slower process. And what have they won? According to his proposer, the "consistency" of Sir Francis Burdett will be emulated by Mr. Sotherton. So they are where they were. And is there no fear of losing anything? What, then, is the meaning of the novel phenomenon of labourers' names to a requisition to a candidate secure of success, and some 200 labourers marched with music to the hustings, at an uncontested county election? This smock-frock procession greatly delights the *Morning Herald*, whose reporter describes it as a portion of a cavalcade that, "for its extent and respectability, has never been equalled on any former occasion in this county." The labourers may thank the League for their unaccustomed importance. It has made them something in their superiors' eyes, and will make them more. To free, nominally at least, and then enlist their slaves, has often been the resource of a faction in civil warfare. The usual and rational construction put upon it is, that it is the resource rather of reckless desperation than of conscious strength. So we construe it in this case; not only with reference to North Wilts, but to all the cant about labourers at Agricultural Anti-League meetings. The symptom is one amongst many of fierce and unscrupulous resistance to those rights of industry which we are associated to obtain. There is a strenuous conflict before us. "Protection" shall remain as it is," say these champions; which is equivalent to saying—"Trade shall never be better than it is," though worse it may be; and, if the system be unchanged, worse it needs must become. People of the Metropolis, are you content with this? Can all the dictation of all the squires in Christendom reconcile you to such a prospect, or induce your submission? If not, then for your own sakes, as well as for that of the millions whom "Protection" robs and starves, place yourselves in the van of the Free-Trade army; lead the march, and on to victory!

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Second Week, ending Saturday, Feb. 17.

The regular Free-Trade campaign has not yet opened in the House of Commons; but there are "notes of preparation," foretelling the approach of a warm and hearty struggle. Meantime a great debate is going on respecting Ireland, and though that is not precisely a Free-Trade subject, it has a kindred affinity with it. Ireland is a stupendous example of the moral and physical evils which are as natural an issue of injustice as Death is the fruit of Sin; and there is this especial sympathy between the kindred wrongs of Ireland and of England, that both have their primary origin in that abuse of the power which exclusive possession of the soil puts into the hands of short-sighted men. In the voyage of Columbus, the cry of "Land!" was the cheering sound which bespoke a new world, and a new destiny for the human race. In the narrow circle of Britain, the cry of land carries us back to that "limbo of vanity"—the dark and dreary world—the old world of the feudal system; and the "tight little island," which, as large-minded and universal Sir John Herschel has demonstrated, is so geographically placed as if it were intended by Providence to command the old world and the new, is shut up by the squires within Bishop Berke-

ley's wall of brass, and its inhabitants, like ferocious beasts, cause starveling rats, doomed to prey upon one another.

Nor can we pass by the debate on Ireland—that country which quaint old Sir John Davies said was called Ireland because it was the *land of fire*—without noticing another bond of sympathy between its condition and that social state of England which the Anti-Corn-Law League is labouring to ameliorate. Sir James Graham made a speech on Tuesday night; and in that speech the Anti-Corn-Law League had its share of interest? But who is Sir James Graham? A very clever, tall, stout man, with a somewhat small voice, and a very unscrupulous spirit. In days when he was a Radical, and even something more, he wrote on "Corn and Currency;" he made speeches on Pensions and Monopolies; he talked of the "Birds of Prey" that gorged themselves on the carcasses of the public weal, and he warned the aristocracy that when the spectacle was witnessed of a whole people stretching forth their hands for food, then would titles and honours be swept away. But Sir James Graham is now Home Secretary in a Monopolist Administration; and is not unsuspected of a design to oust Sir Robert Peel from the premiership, if Sir Robert Peel had dared to defy the squires, and venture further in the direction of Free Trade. Not even the tremendous verities of the Christian faith can exclude hypocrites from the Christian Church;—how, then, can we exclude an occasional political adventurer from taking a share in agitation for the public good, when there is the temptation of Downing-street in view? Sir James Graham ostentatiously avowed himself, on Tuesday night, the friend of Lord Lyndhurst, another very able man; and though we abhor the poor schoolboy trick of citing scraps of Latin, which even the cicer often but dimly understands, there is a strong temptation to say of these two able men, Sir James Graham and Lord Lyndhurst—*arcades ambo*—Arcadians both, equal at singing and answering one another.

But Sir James Graham, on Tuesday night, picked up a dirty, secondhand snowball, and threw it askance at the Anti-Corn-Law League. With an air of ostentatious pomp, he told the House that the most "sagacious of living men" had called his attention to an observation by the most "profound of thinking women." In plain words, he gave the House to understand that the Duke of Wellington had taken him by the button, and, with book in hand, had shown him an observation by Madame de Staël. Unfortunately for the credit of the exclusive information of Sir James Graham, and for his extraordinary familiarity with the most "sagacious of thinking men," the Duke of Wellington quoted—or rather misquoted—the phrase, in a speech which he made *last session* in the House of Lords. He was defending the Government from the imputation of "doing nothing" with Ireland; and he told their lordships that, so far from disbelieving in the allegation of a conspiracy, he was of opinion with a French writer, "*on conspire sur la place*." That is to say, that now-a-days conspiracies were not hatched in private but in public; not in the secrecy of a collar, but in the publicity of the marketplace. Sir James Graham pompously repeats this, as a very striking and profound thing; and he paraphrased it by saying that now-a-days conspiracies were got up in Concoction Halls and in Theatres; plainly intimating that he would crush the Anti-Corn-Law League, if it were in his power; only in England even an unscrupulous Home Minister is sometimes compelled to let

"I DARE not wait upon I WOULD,
Like the poor cat I' the adage."

Unfortunately for the most sagacious of living men, and the most astute of Home Secretaries, it turns out that Madame de Staël said quite the reverse of what they attribute to her. The *Morning Chronicle* quotes the phrase correctly:—

"*On ne conspire pas sur la place publique*, said Madame de Staël, ridiculing Napoleon's horror of political crowds and assemblies, and intimating that whatever assembly or discussion was public became thereby innocent. What Madame de Staël meant, and what Sir James Graham so ludicrously misquoted and misapplied, was, that if you drive the people from the place publique then they will conspire."

All this is not unimportant, when viewed as interpretations of the spirit which actuates the Administration. There is, in the House of Commons, a nice-looking young man, of goodly presence, with a head which reminds one of *Othello's* description of the "curled darlings of the state," who is a sort of semi-Puseyite, or philosophical youngster of "Young England." His friends call him "Aby Baby Cochrane," and he passes for clever! He, on Wednesday night, told the House of Commons that Sir R. Peel had all but extinguished the Anti-Corn-Law League—an assertion which but ill comports with the horror about that odious and dangerous association, the Anti-Corn-Law League, which, on Tuesday night, was uttered in the House of Lords by Lord Beaumont—"a

foolish lord." In truth, every thing concurs to show that the existence of the League inspires fear, alarm, and hatred; and the words of Sir James Graham on Tuesday night are an indication that, if the squires will venture on the experiment, there is not wanting in the Home-office a man ready for their work.

But of this they are afraid. Therefore they will attempt a diversion. In the House of Commons they have an individual ready for their purpose, and who, like a thorough-bred scavenger, has a true taste for the flavour of night-soil. The character of William Busfield Ferrand has been summed up by *Punch*—that judicious punster, who never ventures to break a joke on anything on which public opinion is not well-defined. *Punch* proclaimed "homage to native talent." Mr. Catlin, in addition to the performances of his *Ojibbeways*, had secured Mr. Ferrand, warranted to "throw the hatchet" farther than any Indian could do. Mr. Cobden has, as we intimated last week, a notice of a motion, the point and purport of which is to inquire *what interest the farmers and the farm-labourers have in the monopoly of corn.* To escape such a discussion, the squires will move all Downing-street, Whitehall, and the Clubs; and as a mountebank, with his drum and his tumbling, was frequently engaged to drown the voice of Whitfield when preaching in the open air, so have the squires inspired Ferrand with the idea of shining once more in his own peculiar style. He is to fling up "devil's dust," and "throw the hatchet" in the House of Commons, in order to divert attention, if he can, from the motion of Mr. Cobden. Let him be treated with the silent contempt which is his fitting due. Serious attention to his statements will degrade the man who pays it. Deliberately and publicly and repeatedly insulted by Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham, in the House of Commons, he yet fawns, screeches, yells, when the Home Secretary speaks—a bullfrog voice and a rhinoceros skin render him a fitting instrument for shabby work. Here is the motion of which he has given notice: let the reader judge if it be not what we have described it, a *ruse* to divert attention:—

"That the committee be also directed to inquire into the effect produced upon the wages of the manufacturing operatives by the immigration of agricultural labourers into the manufacturing districts, at the requisition of the mill-owners; also, if the representations which had been made to those labourers, to induce them to immigrate, were true, and if the agreements entered into with them had been fulfilled; and also, the effect which the increase of machinery had produced upon the manufacturing operatives."

Our comments may appear severe; but to those who are aware of true characters and motives, we will not be charged with exceeding the limits of that severity which the interests of truth and justice demand. For that assembly of the "first gentlemen in Europe," and which really does contain many estimable and worthy individuals, nevertheless manifests that its majority is animated by that *corporate* spirit, which knows small scruple and little shame. Gentlemen as they are, the majority sitting on the Ministerial benches will resort to the use of means from which any individual gentleman would shrink. There is no device which they will not adopt in order to prevent, obstruct, or suppress a discussion unpleasant to their ears; and even when all their manoeuvres are foiled, and the discussion cannot be staved off, then, if any man with blunted feeling and reckless spirit is to be found, ready and willing to create a diversion, they will shower down upon him that approbation in public which in private they would not bestow.

And as if to illustrate, by the force of contrast, the class spirit which pervades the Legislature, the *Qui Tam* Penalties Bill has this week made its appearance in the House of Commons. The informer, in these actions, sues for penalties of which the law assigns him a share; he, therefore, proceeds, *qui tam*, that is, *as well* for our Lady the Queen, *as well* for himself. Some shrewd fellows have discovered that betting at horse races may be included within the operation of the statutes which prohibit and punish gaming; and they have thrown the "sporting world" into a state of tremor. The point is a doubtful one; but, as the Attorney-General observed, nobody likes to go to law on a doubtful point, when penalties of half a million are at stake. His Grace of Richmond therefore introduces a bill to discontinue the actions; it comes down to the House of Commons; the son of a Cabinet Minister is employed to manage it; the brother of the Prime Minister (Colonel Peel), who also has a Ministerial office, is a party deeply interested, for though, as he *naively* confessed, he had not been served with a writ, he was in daily expectation of one, and so all the "sporting characters" assembled in great force to support the bill. Well and ably did Mr. Milner Gibson, on Wednesday night, expose this partial attempt at legislation; and no small amount of moral courage is required for such an effort in the face of such an assembly, with such a personal interest in the matter. His speech was altogether an admirable one; he exposed the partiality which leaves poor men at the mercy of fine and imprisonment, if they should unwittingly offend against some obsolete statute, and yet hurries into the Legislature to fling a broad shield over the delinquencies of the privileged class; and with cutting effect he told those privileged classes, that, as they placed great reliance on penal statutes for promoting morality amongst the humbler orders, they must not attempt to escape by a side-wind from laws which Blackstones declared to have been passed to promote morality amongst them. His speech shamed the Government; they could not refuse to support the bill in which their own supporters, not to say some members of the Administration itself, have a deep and vital interest; but, anxious to escape the obloquy of the thing, and to prevent all further discussion, they offered, through the Attorney-General and Sir James Graham, a compromise, stating that they were willing not to *discontinue*, but merely to *suspend* the actions for three months, and meantime to have the gaming laws revised.

Some additional Free-Trade notices have been given since our last; and an important return was ordered on the game—not the *gambling*—laws. It is thus recorded:—

"**GAME LAWS.**—(On the motion of Mr. Bright, an address was ordered for a return of the number of persons convicted of offences against the game laws, either at petty sessions, quarter sessions, or assizes in England and Wales, during the year 1843, specifying the punishment or penalties inflicted in each case, and also specifying in what county and upon whose property the alleged offence was committed.)"

The game laws—foul and atrocious as they were in their operation—have been much improved within the

last ten or twelve years; but enough of them still remain to remind us of the time when Gurth wore his iron collar, and, as a bond thrall, kept his master's swine. The stern Norman Conqueror, who "loved the red deer as if he had been their father," converted vast tracts of England into his chosen and sternly-guarded pleasure spots; and left to the Commons of England those "Forest Laws," against which it required centuries to struggle. The game laws were the dregs of the forest laws; and we, who talk with humane horror about the tyranny of the Amceers of Scinde, in retaining fertile tracts as "hunting grounds," can turn homewards, and show the foot-prints of our own Amceers, both in our laws and on our soil.

For the rest, we may notice that, though the Government refuses to give us a sound commercial policy for Britain, they are busily engaged in framing and ratifying a code of enlightened commercial law for Hong-Kong and China; and the following notice is on the paper:—

Mr. Wallace.—"On the motion that the House resolve itself into a Committee of Supply, to move, That the surplus revenue be applied to the reduction of taxes bearing on the working classes; and that a reduction of the duty on tea appear to this House as that which would give the most general relief."

The motion of Mr. Milner Gibson, for an address respecting the deficiency of agricultural statistics in the United Kingdom, which was fixed for Tuesday last, has been postponed by the discussion on Ireland.

MEETINGS.

METROPOLITAN WEEKLY AGGREGATE MEETING OF THE LEAGUE.

The fourth weekly metropolitan meeting of the League was held on Thursday evening last, at Covent Garden Theatre. It has become now almost needless to repeat, upon each succeeding occasion, that that capacious building was crowded to excess: were its dimensions twice as large as they are, there is little doubt that it would be as compactly filled as at present, with an orderly, but most enthusiastic assemblage of the friends of Free Trade. The Council of the League are every week unwillingly compelled to refuse tickets for admission to many hundreds of eager applicants, anxious to witness the soul-stirring scene, and partake of the intellectual enjoyment, which are the characteristics of the Covent Garden meetings. The declaration of the intention of Ministers and Parliament to support the existing monopolies has evidently had the effect of strengthening the determination of the friends of repeal to labour more zealously and perseveringly to effect their overthrow; and every fresh meeting appears to increase the interest of the League audiences, and add to the intensity of their enthusiasm in favour of the rights of industry.

In the absence of Mr. Wilson (the Chairman), the meeting was presided over by the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P. The speakers, as will be seen by the report, were J. Hume, Esq. M.P., whose appearance was hailed with the loudest applause; W. D. Christie, Esq. M.P. for Weymouth; and W. J. Fox, Esq., the surpassing eloquence of whose address called forth the most enthusiastic cheers probably ever heard within the walls of that or any other building. Every allusion to the recent attack made by the Government, in Ireland, upon the freedom of discussion, and the right of the people to seek the repeal of laws which they believe to be oppressive, was warmly responded to by the meeting, and the announcement of the name of Mr. O'Connell as one of the speakers for the ensuing week was received with loud acclamations. The following, among other gentlemen, were upon the platform:—

Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P., Chairman; Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P.; W. J. Fox, Joseph Parkes, W. A. Wilkinson, Ralph Ricardo, J. P. Burnard, W. D. Christie, Esq. M.P., P. A. Taylor, Dr. Cooke Taylor, T. F. Gibson, S. G. Hall, — Patterson, W. J. Cole, — Preston, W. S. Burton, Henry Keeling, William Clay, Arthur Pattison, W. T. Hodgkin, Pennoek Tiger of Beverley, Jabez Johnson of Manchester, — Wakley, Esq., John Bell, Esq., Charles Williams, Esq., Dr. Simpson, Thomas Mason, Esq., Thomas Ruston, Esq., Joseph Phelps, Esq., George Kidout, Esq., Jeremiah Wynn, Esq., Sir Valentine Blake, M.P., John McLeod, Esq., J. Cox, Esq., Dr. Hitchman, Summers Harford, Esq., F. Roe, Esq., M. Thackeray, Esq., J. Dyke, Esq., W. A. Thomson, Esq., William Edgar, Esq., George Lambert, Esq., Thomas Bateman, Esq., John Thompson, Esq., J. Anderson, Esq., George Osborne, Esq., Richard Lloyd, Esq., Samuel Drewell, Esq., William Reynolds, Esq., Thomas Harbottle, Esq., Manchester; W. J. Scott, Esq., Manchester; C. O. Boyce, Esq., John Yardley, Esq., John Hurt, Esq., — Grant, Esq., R. Harrison, Esq., Mark Perkins, Esq., J. D. Gaskell, Esq., — Joy, Esq., Sir William Baynes, Bart., F. H. Poone, Esq., W. Roberts, Esq., John Chadwick, Esq., F. B. Cheer, Esq.; N. Overbury, Esq., Westbury, Wilts; R. Overbury, Esq., ditto; W. H. Birchall, Esq.; H. Birchall, Esq., Leeds; M. H. Bassett, Esq.; Michael Stocks, Esq., Halifax; Henry Edwards, Esq., — Fullerton, Esq., Joseph Robinson, Esq., R. W. Cole, Esq.; James Harmer, Esq., ex-Alderman of Farringdon Ward, whose appearance was received with considerable cheering; Professor Key, T. Sheppard, Esq., &c. &c.

The CHAIRMAN (who, upon coming forward was received with loud cheers,) said:—Our esteemed friend, Mr. Wilson, who commonly presides with so much judgment and ability at these meetings, is, as I regret to learn, unavoidably detained in the country, and he has in consequence made a particular request to myself to occupy his place in the chair this evening. (Hear, hear.) I am little used to the discharge of such a duty, and I feel somewhat incompetent to the task; but with out reference to this feeling, and without consulting my own convenience, I have complied with his request —(hear)—because I am always unwilling to advise others to do what I would not undertake myself (cheers); and I do now venture to express my opinion, that the time is come when every man friendly to this cause ought, in any and every way within his power, to come forward and aid, countenance, and mark his cordial concurrence in the efforts and objects of this great, useful, and necessary association. (Loud cheers.) The objects of the League are, as we know, identified with the welfare of this kingdom (hear, hear); but the sinister interest to which it is opposed is unfortunately identified with the majorities in the Legislature and the Ministry now in power. (Hear.) The difficulties of the League are, therefore, great (hear), and the reason for extraordinary exertion on the part of themselves and of their friends is obvious. (Cheers.) We live in times when every advantage is taken of the ignorance or apathy

of the people with regard to their own interests (hear, hear, hear); and there is no hope or chance of just, wise, or good government, but by the vigorous expression of enlightened opinion. (Cheers.) To produce this result, and thereby to check the sordid abuse of legislative power, the efforts of the League are earnestly and unceasingly directed. (Hear.) The gross misrepresentation of its objects by its opponents proves their fears of its progress, and marks their disappointment at the steady and legitimate mode in which it proceeds. (Hear, hear.) The object of the League has always been clear and definite, and, as I apprehend, continues to be so. That object is, as you know, to disseminate among the people, and make manifest to the whole nation, the justice, wisdom, and advantage of those doctrines affecting the trade and industry of the country, which the greatest and the most enlightened minds have propounded (hear, hear, hear); the truth of which the commonest understandings have admitted; and the immediate application of which, as now called for by the wants of the country, has been advised by men of the greatest practical experience, of the most cautious views, and most extensive information, that have ever lived in the country (cheers); and whatever the monopolists, or the Ministers under them, may choose to style it, I venture to say that this object is one that claims the sympathy and support of every just and sound-hearted citizen. (Cheers.) Since the last meeting, I understand that the word which is now so much in fashion with authority, and from which so much is expected in staying the cries of our injured fellow subjects in Ireland (immense cheering)—I mean conspiracy (laughter and derisive cheers)—has been applied to the meetings in this theatre. (Renewed laughter.) How far the word is justly so applied to these gatherings I do not know; but certainly, considering the purpose for which it is alleged that we associate, it is no wonder that anger and alarm should be felt at our proceedings; for it is upon the high authority of him who is said to have given this hint that the doctrines that we seek to establish are those of common sense (laughter); and certainly anything more fatal to our opponents or more dangerous to those who have obtained power through the ignorance, the delusions, and the divisions of the people—who have everything to apprehend from their wisdom, and nothing to gain by their improvement—than the prevalence of common sense it is difficult to conceive. (Cheers and laughter.) If any fresh nervousness is now exhibited on their part at the proceedings of the League, it may justly be excused as springing from a conviction in their minds that its doctrines are progressing, and that the time is at hand when that sound feeling which is termed common sense will again prevail in the country. (Laughter.) In this I verily believe they are right; and everything which the other League—which, I presume, has something else than common sense in view—has done will aid it (hear, hear); for common sense requires something more in answer to the serious charge brought against the law which is in question by this agitation, than vulgar personality, which is the staple of their oratory (cheers)—something more is necessary to justify a law charged with being passed for the very purpose of producing scarcity in a Christian land (hear); which experience has shown to be attended with all the evils of scarcity, which evils are annually shown to be aggravated by the augmenting wants of increasing numbers (hear, hear), and which law, with its objects and effects thus described,—upon the authority of those quite competent to disclose the fact, whose names stand high in public view, such as those of Russell and Fitzwilliam (cheers),—is, as they say, maintained by those who, invested with legislative power, are directly and pecuniarily interested in their continuance. (Hear, hear.) I say, when common sense sees that coarse invective is all that is offered in reply to these grave and serious imputations, it will justly conclude that there is no other answer that can be given; and when that fact is manifest, then will it be clearly seen that the doctrine we maintain—which is, that industry should be allowed to reap the fruit of its own toil wherever it can be honestly employed (great applause, in the midst of which Mr. Hume entered and was loudly cheered), that capital shall receive its natural profit without the mischievous meddling of the law (hear, hear), and that the idle and unproductive should be confined at least to what is their own (hear, hear),—then, I say, it will be seen that this doctrine is that of common honesty as well as common sense; and the conspirators who have combined to make this truth manifest to the nation, despising now the censure of unjust authority, will then receive the hearty and honest acknowledgments of a grateful people. (Loud cheers.) Believing that these results ought and will legitimately follow from the efforts of the League, I shall always most cordially give them any aid which it may be in my humble power to offer. (Cheers.) A veteran in our cause has just entered the theatre—one who has fought as zealously in the cause of political as of public economy—one who, among a few, has always stuck to his guns, and who, I believe, while a wrong or a grievance remains unredressed in the country, will be ever heard calling for justice. I will not interpose another moment between you and our excellent friend, Joseph Hume, Esq., whom it is now my pleasing duty to introduce to your attention. (Great and general cheering.)

Mr. HUME, on advancing to the front of the stage, was greeted with several rounds of applause, which, having subsided, he spoke as follows:—Gentlemen and ladies. —My hon. friend who has just addressed you has stated one truth at any rate respecting myself—that I have been for many years an anxious labourer in promoting the great object for which the Anti-Corn-Law League has been established. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I cannot but look back with great satisfaction, and many of you will do so, I trust, with equal satisfaction, when I tell you the progress that has been made in this great question—the numbers who have come to be converts to the cause—when I assure you that out of a House of six hundred and odd members, a measure of mine, simply to produce and have a fixed duty on corn, with a view of bringing down annually that amount for 8 or 10 years successively, until we should have Free Trade—that of the entire House at one period, only 14 years ago, I received only 13 supporters. ("Hear," and laughter.) I mention this because it is important to know the progress which has been made in public opinion. My opinion has never altered; on the contrary, every hour of my experience tells me that the principle on which the League is constituted, the objects which they desire and which they have in view, are based upon such immutable principles, that the more every man examines them, the more will he be convinced of their

vital importance. (Applause.) I am sorry I was rather late in reaching the council-room, and that I have interrupted the meeting; but I could not deprive myself of the pleasure of being in the House of Commons to see a veteran, also, as a redresser of grievances, enter the House and take his seat there this evening. (Loud cheers.) I can assure you one of the reasons of my attending this night, and accepting the invitation of the Council, was to express my opinion of the principle on which public meetings have recently been assailed, and on which proceedings have been brought to bear against those men who have been placed on their trials. (Applause.) I was anxious to be present, because the same principle which has been applied there may also be applied here. (Ironical cheers.) There is no public meeting, in my humble opinion, that may not be assailed on the same principle if the parties have the courage to dare it. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I am, therefore, desirous to appear, in order to express my desire to contribute in every way in my power to forward the agitation in behalf of Free Trade, and the repeal of the Corn Laws in particular. (Hear, hear, hear.) I think it behoves every man whose service can in the smallest degree forward that great cause, when the least danger is threatened,—when there is any chance of interference in the manner which we have seen other public meetings interfered with,—then and there I think every individual ought to step forward and support the cause. (Applause.) Since I last had the pleasure of attending here, a very important change has taken place in the country. Formerly we were met by the common and general assertion, that those laws which maintained monopoly in the food of man were necessary, not for the landlords, but for the labourers—the working-men:—"For them, and them alone, we require these laws to continue, and the prices to be maintained, in order that we may give adequate wages, and keep a greater number employed." (Hear.) Since then the curtain has been withdrawn; the truth has now oozed out, a League has been formed against the Anti-Corn-Law League, and the principles publicly avowed in the resolutions, and much more in the speeches at these meetings, are, that they must have these laws continued in order to maintain their rents and keep up prices. (Hear.) We have now, therefore, made a most important step in the progress of this reform, because we can now fairly test them and bring them to book, and ascertain what right they, (the landlords) have to obtain pre-eminence of protection for the employment of their capital beyond that which any other class or any other man in the country has a right to. (Applause.) I consider, gentlemen, the principle most important—I consider these proceedings most favourable—because I know of no honest man who can now in the House of Commons stand up and say that these laws ought to be continued. (Applause.) I say no man who has benefited—(and we have the assertion that the larger portion of the members of the House of Commons are interested in their own behalf to maintain high rents and high prices)—I repeat no man who has benefited by is likely to vote for a non-continuance of these Corn Laws (loud cheers); it is, therefore, a question for the mass of the people to consider and solve—it is for them to determine how long they will permit such an injustice (for injustice it is) to continue. (Hear, hear.) I say, also, that another most important change has taken place. The Prime Minister of England (Sir Robert Peel) is a convert undoubtedly to Free Trade—(laughter)—although, in 1840-41, he denounced Free-Trade principles and all those who endeavoured to bring them before the public, and explain how the Corn Laws acted against the community, and on what sound principles commerce ought to be conducted. I am one of those who came in for a full share of vituperation. I have been the humble means, with my hon. friend who has just sat down and a few others, of exposing, by evidence the most incontrovertible, and by the testimony of men, I will say, more capable than any other men in the country, of expounding the true principles of Free Trade, and showing the bearings of these laws on the industry and prosperity of the country,—I have undoubtedly been one of those who have exposed and laid bare the abuses and sufferings which arise from bad legislation, and I came in for my full share of vituperation from the opponents of the measure for having brought forward a one-sided question. (Hear, hear.) I was quite delighted, in 1842, to find Sir R. Peel come forward and avow the principles of Free Trade as his own, expounding them, in an able manner, such as would have done credit to any man breathing, and declaring that the time was come when no prohibition should exist. At that time he vaunted, and took it as a matter of the utmost importance to his own character, that he should be the man who would wipe from our statute-books the word "prohibition." (Hear, hear.) There are three or four—there were many other articles with high duties that could not be imported—but very few were actually prohibited. Sir R. Peel declared in the House of Commons in his place, in proposing a variety of alterations, he trusted that the word prohibition would be expunged for ever from the statute-book. I hailed his proceeding with great satisfaction, and (believing him to be a man of his word, and one who would continue to carry out the principles which he held to be sound, and which he thought to be right,) I did so because I heard him declare that he would not be a Minister, or act as a Minister or leader in the House of Commons, or be dictated to by any man; that he would exercise his own discretion, and do that which he thought best for the good of his country. He, therefore, declared in the face of the country and the world his adherence to Free-Trade principles, and expounded the great and important question, that it was the interest and the duty of every man and every state, in enacting laws so to frame them as to enable the people to go to the cheapest market to buy, and to the best market to sell. (Cheers.) These were the principles which Sir R. Peel expounded, and on them, if consistent, he would have taken his stand. How mortified and disappointed I have been to find that the man who had the power—who could have done what he pleased by the situation which he holds—has allowed himself to be dictated to by the landed interests of this country. (Hear, hear.) The Duke of Richmond has told him that he must not move—if he does, they must move him out. (Laughter and cheers.) The same Minister has been told, also, at one of the late Anti-League demonstrations, that he must not proceed: the country gentlemen had placed him in power, and if he did not support them, they would not support him. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) This is the state, gentlemen, to which the question has now

come. No question was ever brought more fairly before the public than that of Free Trade is at this moment. We know our relative position—we know our situation, and what is it? The laws proclaim that every man has a right to equal protection for his person and for his property. (Hear, hear.) I do not say that all have that protection, but that is the constitution. The commonwealth of this country, and the principle on which it is founded, lays it down as a broad maxim; and so every man in speaking boasts of the equal laws of England and their superiority over those of every other country in the world. Is it not, therefore, fair on the whole to boast of this (though, I am sorry to say, we boast of a great many things which we do not possess). We are very much tickled at the idea of free-born Englishmen, and the privileges which they have; but if you come to look at them you will find they are pared down so very much, that they may be put within a very narrow compass. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) You will find, if taken by a fair rule, and if you look at what we suffer, I believe we may say, that we have all the requisites to make men happy, and the country powerful—but that our wealth is so interfered with, and our privileges have been so narrowed, that we are actually in a state of great misery and suffering when we ought to be one of the happiest countries in the world. (Hear, hear.) The situation, therefore, in which we are placed is most important at this period. The League proposes to destroy monopoly, and so do all those who advocate the repeal of monopolies as I do, not only in corn, but in every other article; and I know no reason why any Englishman should be born to be a slave or deprived of his civil rights so long as he has not violated any of the laws of the constitution under which he lives. (Hear, hear.) On that ground I consider we are entitled to have equal protection and equal rights. I know no reason why I, because I am a landowner, should have my capital protected when you, as a merchant or manufacturer, are amerced or fined to support it. (Applause.) Many persons have attempted to throw difficulty into this great and important question. They said "You must provide food for the maintenance of your people; you cannot trust to foreign importation. The time may come when the foreigner will shut their ports against you, and then your people will starve; therefore, it is fit and proper that you should depend on your own markets, on your own fields, and on your own supply." (Cheers.) This, to say the least of it, was plausible enough. We get rid thus of the other plausible argument of the landowners, that the law was for the maintenance of the agricultural labourers, and not for themselves. (Hear.) Good, simple men, they would not take the least advantage of it; it was only for the labourers, and the people who work for them. (Derisive cheering.) The question now is altered; it is simply this:—Are we any longer to bear it when we see misery and suffering to its present great extent—when we see that we have not food enough for the mouths which we have—when we see parties unfortunately dying from destitution and want; and does it not become a question for every man, I don't care who he is, the humblest individual in society—to direct his attention to see what is the cause if he can, for there must be some cause for the existing necessity and distress? (Cheers.) There is no want of gold, there is no want of silver, there is no want of everything which man can desire if he only have money to buy it. The question then comes—why cannot every man—why cannot the industry of England, now earn the means of maintenance as formerly? There is the question. We want no nation of paupers; we want no charity establishments; we have the means, and the inhabitants of this country are anxious by their labour, and by the sweat of their brow to earn the means of purchasing food and other articles necessary for their subsistence. And therefore, I say, what is it? Is there any cause existing to produce this extraordinary state of things? I have no hesitation in saying that it is not a question of to-day. My opinion stands 30 years back; year after year pointing out that unless some measures were taken to meet the competition of other countries and to enlarge the field of our commerce and of our manufactures, as the population and the wants of that population increased—unless that was timely done, the period must arrive when distress would overwhelm us, and when we should suffer all that misery and disruption consequent on the decline of the resources of a great country. (Hear, hear.) That period has come—it arrived some years ago—and it followed upon the very causes which were foretold as clearly as they possibly could be: that if the ports were not opened—that if our trade was not freed from all the restrictive trammels and prohibitions which have hitherto impeded it—the time would come when you could not give employment to the numerous hands who are seeking work in addition to an annually and hourly increasing population. (Cheers.) The question then was, what were the means of selling and disposing of the labour of the additional population, and would these means be increased, or would they not? I say they have increased, but not in proportion to meet the increasing population and the growing demand for our exportations. What is the reason? If it was from any calamity which Providence had inflicted upon us, or from causes which we could not avert, all that we could do would be to bow in resignation to the visitation. But when I—speaking for myself—when I believe that a great portion of the evil at present suffered by the industrious population arises from bad legislation, and from the measures of that Parliament which it has the complete power over and means of removing—I say, for any man to continue these laws which are productive of so much distress, is acting a base and infamous part. I am not one of those who conceal their opinions. I have ever pointed out what is necessary to be done to enable a population to live by its own labour—I have ever been averse to all those eleemosynary means which tend rather to destroy than to elevate a population—I have been anxious to see the idle punished, or made to work; but I have been unwilling to see the industrious preyed upon by those who do not work, and yet abstract from them the means of working. (Applause.) On that ground I have been as great an enemy to public taxation unnecessarily as I am to the impost of the Corn Laws; because we have been subjected in this country, unfortunately, to two grievous evils—we have had inordinate establishments, and a large expenditure extracted from the pockets of the public; that, you may say, arises from mistaken views of our importance in the scale of nations, or various reasons might be given; but that we should be subject to taxation, not to go to the State, but into the pockets of individuals, is a doctrine and a system that I think ought not to be submitted to. (Loud cheers.) It is, therefore, against that unjust, and, I will say, im-

pious system—for it is alike against the laws of God and man—that I am glad to see my countrymen strive in a manner which must ultimately give the deathblow to monopoly. (Loud applause.) Now, I assert that we have had the power to avert, and might have avoided much of the evil we have gone through. Even now the time is not gone by when we may at least remedy it. I admit we cannot prevent the past evils which have taken place, and which are now going on (cheers); but the future are within our power, and to prevent them the League has been established. That is their object, that is their business; they want nothing for themselves. It is in order to obtain for the whole community that benefit and intercourse which commerce gives to this country in such a pre-eminent degree. (Cheers.) In order to make the matter fully understood, although extremely simple, and I may be supposed to make the explanation unnecessary, I will just put the view I take of it in a mode which I should hope every individual here—even those who have not directed their attention to it—may be able to understand. We are, strictly speaking, a commercial and manufacturing country; we owe our standing in Europe, we owe our position in the world to manufactures and commerce; we have a fertile land, probably, taking it for its size, more productive than any other spot which could be pointed out. What would it be—what would all the produce of the land be, whether in corn or in cattle, or in any other produce, if we had not customers to buy it, and to give our prices, and raise them higher than they are in any other part of the world? I, therefore, start with this position, which no man will deny, that commerce and manufactures have been our great "stay" for many years. (Hear, hear.) What is it that we ask? Commerce is only a barter and exchange for the produce of the labour of one man for the produce and labour of another. One man makes more of one article than he can use, and he exchanges the surplus of it for that which another man has but does not want. This proceeding takes place between man and man—it is the whole principle of commerce—it is on that its prosperity depends. We have had the means of creating that which man requires in the way of manufactures. We, in this island, have had greater power and greater facility than any other country in the world; and it is on that account that we are enabled to minister to the wants of the whole world to a greater degree than any other country; on that account also we stand higher with the wealthy amongst nations; and thus the importance of the country has been induced by the profits arising from these exchanges. (Hear.) If I have made myself understood, is it not clear that any law which should shut out any one article, or which should prohibit our selling in any market the surplus for which we have no use; is it not clear that such laws must tend to restrict the limits of, and cramp all, our commercial proceedings? (Cheers.) The law limits our power and reduces the demand for labour and the amount of wages. Want and destitution follow—want of employment and want of wages, as every one knows, is the consequence. (Cheers.) The operation is very simple, and no one need find any difficulty whatever in comprehending it. It is on that ground that I join with the Anti-Corn-Law League. I join with them in demanding that all restriction should be removed from food: first, because we have not food enough for the people, though our people have wherewithal to purchase it, if you will allow them; their industry is unrivalled, their produce is more than they can consume, our warehouses are loaded,—our ships are ready to carry them away. What, then, in the name of common sense, can induce any man, if he reasons on the principles of sound sense, to say, "No; your goods shall not go—your ships shall not be employed—you shall not bring corn back to the people—we will rather let them starve than allow it." (Cheers.) That is the operation which has been going on for several years to a greater or less extent. (Cheers.) Undoubtedly we are told that this is a very fine doctrine, but that you cannot always command it, and that other people will not take what you have to sell. I deny the position, and I say that every man will take that which he can get cheaper and better than anywhere else. (Hear, hear.) I ask him not to take what I make or produce if I cannot produce a better or cheaper article than any other person can. I will not go myself and buy bad articles at one place, if I know of another place where I can get them better and cheaper. (Hear, hear.) If I judge for myself, and you all judge for yourselves; you all act on that principle, whether you go to a butcher's, or baker's, or any other shop; you all consider what you should buy and pay for, and you will reason fairly on the subject with reference to yourself. (Hear, hear.) Apply the same rule to the subject of the Corn Laws. There is not one rule for one man and another for a state: the same principle operates throughout; and it is on that account, I believe, that the common sense of this country will not longer permit any party, dominant as they are, and possessed of the monopoly of political power at the present moment, to exercise an unlimited advantage over them. We have a House of Commons, and that House of Commons is undoubtedly hostile to our movement at the present moment. I do not believe that any power will produce any change in the present House of Commons. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I had hopes from the Minister, I have no hopes now. (Loud cheers.) He has shown himself far below the standard which he took up on assuming office. He has allowed himself to be overborne by the party he declared he would not truckle nor yield to. (Hear.) He has shown himself so obedient to them that I can scarcely hope he will recover that high standing and bearing for which I have given him credit. (Hear, hear.) What, then, is the situation which we are in? Are we to suffer, or is the country to go on in the same way? Is the destitution and misery that reigns around to be continued? If you take up the *Times*, or any other of the morning papers, you will hear that there is a great strife with a variety of people as to this refuge for the destitute, or that benevolent society. (Hear, hear, hear.) I think I cut out of one newspaper, three or four days ago, at least thirteen or fourteen advertisements, and all for the relief of destitution in the metropolis. (Hear.) Is that the way free-born Englishmen are willing the people should live? Is such a state of things to continue? (No, no.) I, for one, believe that it will continue until we have another House of Commons. (Loud applause.) I do not believe parties who have been witnesses to so much misery arising from misrule; I cannot hope that they will do anything; I can scarcely hope they will do anything, although I did hope, and have held my expectation to the last moment.

(Hear, hear.) But when I hear the declaration that nothing is to be done—that we are to stand fast as we are—that we are not to allow the least deviation—that we are to have no alteration in the tariff laws, or anything to promote trade—when I see no means taken to produce employment, which is what we want—when I see that no means are taken to extend the commerce and trade of the country—when I see all this determined by the language of those who have the political power—I repeat, I am almost without hope. (Hear, hear.) It is true you are in a very strange situation in this assembly now, as countenancing the meetings of the League, because you are all liable or may be liable—(The conclusion of the sentence was lost amid the shouts of laughter which greeted the honourable member's observation.) We were informed only a few days ago that this great and important League was scattering blasphemous publications, undermining the morals of the community, and doing that which would endanger society (laughter); and therefore, said our opponents, "We will raise an Anti-League to put down this League." Gentlemen, these are very strong words, and, I admit, the man who can see his fellow-man suffering all that we see so many thousands suffering—at a time, too, when he is conscious it is to benefit himself and to improve his own estate—the man who would allow such things to go on will allow himself to say and do anything. (Cheers.) It is on that ground I do express deep regret in addressing you on the present occasion. (Hear, hear.) I believe the present House of Commons will not be changed until the people shall really see their own importance. (Hear, hear.) They have the power at this moment, even in the limited electoral districts of this country, of completely changing the face of things. (Loud cheers.) They may send Free Traders into the next Parliament in sufficient numbers to carry out all the great, important, and benevolent questions which they have in view; and I cannot believe that such will not be the case. (Cheers.) I do hope that such means will be taken constitutionally—constitutionally through our electors. Indeed, I cannot believe the electors will continue much longer blind to their own interest, and return to Parliament a majority of those who are our worst enemies. (Cheers.) I say, our enemies, because you are for Free Trade, and they are opposed to it, and their policy tends to the very reverse. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I can only tell you that the country once boasted, and does boast now, of sending out fifty millions of exports during the year, and much more. The manufactures and produce of the United Kingdom, and of the country, are exported to this extent; and you must bear in mind that one-half our population has been brought up depending upon those manufactures and on that trade. See what would be the consequence if you were to resort to what the country gentlemen tell you—"Depend upon our home trade—what is foreign trade without it?" There would be fifty millions a year which we are now exporting—the produce of our manufactures, of much employment and wages, and of the means of supply sacrificed—and yet we are told that foreign markets ought not to be compared with the home markets. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I differ entirely from this principle. If we are to be narrowed within the limits of our own Isle—if we are only to supply ourselves—I should be sorry certainly to live to see any approach to it. (Hear, hear.) I should be sorry to think of the day that England should be obliged to recede from her present limits—sufficiently narrow as they are—when, with her increasing and growing population, it is actually necessary to our prosperity and happiness to go on expanding, as we have the power of doing, and increasing the sphere of our commerce as a means of giving employment to our labourers. (Applause.) Let not any man be deluded by the cry that "the home-market is the best." Speaking of goods, any one of sense knows no difference between the home and foreign. If I have a bale of woollens to sell—if I could sell it better abroad I should not sell it at home—therefore, the home and foreign market is only one of sale in that respect. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Then, as to the extent of the object: I want the whole world, hitherto contributory to England, to enjoy my advantages of ingenuity and labour, and that we should draw back that which we require—food and raw materials—convert them into manufactured articles, and supply the whole world—thus carrying on the circle. (Hear, hear.) It is in this way we have grown great—it is in that way alone we can continue to hold our position; and I believe no measure adopted, or course followed, is so important as that which the League now contemplate. (Loud cheers.) It is the business of every man, from the beggar to the peer—and I will say that it is equally to their advantage—for I speak after due consideration. I believe in my conscience that the landed proprietors have suffered more, and that they will suffer more in their property by a continuation of these laws than had they been entirely removed. (Hear.) I believe that, if they dare to continue the present system much longer, they will still go on suffering. (Hear.) I was informed only to-day, that in Ireland the effect is so great, that with all the farmer's depending on the breed and supply of cattle, the demand has been so little, owing to our policy and the want of means on the part of the people to purchase, that the farmers are in a state of the greatest possible destitution. (Hear.) Will not that soon reach the landlords? It has done so already, and it will do so still more. (Hear.) I therefore say that it is as much to the interest of the peer as of the peasant or the manufacturer, supposing he has nothing but land to depend on. (Cheers.) The whole of the landed aristocracy, in my opinion, ought to come forward and remove every prohibition, and give the opportunity for fair play in the maintenance of the capital which exists in the country, and allow the industry, the ingenuity, and the activity of Englishmen to do their best without being trammelled, and without being interfered with by these restrictive laws. (Applause.) It is on that account that I am an advocate for Free Trade in the fullest extent—but more especially in corn (loud cheers); for it is necessary, to enable England to compete with other countries—affording the people a fair field and the same opportunities as regards food and everything else. (Hear, hear.) This is the object intended by the League: to put food forward as the most important requisite, and in this conviction I entirely agree. Let us have free trade in corn, and in twelve months we should have free trade in everything. In conclusion, I have only to express my hope that every person who now hears me will consider that I am giving this recommendation, not on my own behalf, but upon theirs; that each will consider the relative situa-

tion in which he is placed, and that it is important to him, in whatever position he may be, to have free trade in corn, as a commencement to free trade in every other article. (Cheers.) If it is the landed gentry—if it is the landowners whom I address—I tell them that these laws will ere long be so much preyed on by paupers in this country that their income will be worth but little. (Hear, hear.) If it is a capitalist, I would say to him, what is his capital worth now? See the millions that are lying in the coffers of the Bank; some thirty millions at this moment in London of bullion, or equivalent to bullion, that cannot be employed to bring more than two or three per cent. Let Free Trade take place—let the tram-mels be removed from commerce—and we shall have industry and enterprise, and all that is necessary to carry them out; and every man in the country will soon be benefited by the returns of profits derived therefrom. (Hear, hear.) Down even to the beggar, there is not a man who is not interested in this great and important question. (Hear, hear.) I do hope that the time is not far distant when we shall see one unanimous display of approval of our object, even from that party strong as they are (they are strong in wickedness, we in truth). I do hope, I say, that the time is not far distant when we shall see a glorious and successful termination to the grievous wrongs under which the country suffers. (The hon. member concluded by thanking the audience for the kind manner in which they had listened to him, and was loudly cheered on resuming his seat.)

The CHAIRMAN next introduced Mr. Christie, M.P. for Weymouth.

Mr. CHRISTIE, on coming forward, was received with loud plaudits. He said:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, if anything can add to the honour of addressing this assembly it is to follow that veteran and venerable reformer to whom you have just listened, and to whom you have given so grateful and enthusiastic a reception. (Cheers.) I humbly join with Mr. Hume in suggesting to you, as a matter for thankfulness and congratulation, that against these meetings—which have now been held for rather more than a year—which during the last six months have been held monthly, and since the meeting of Parliament weekly—which, if they possess any feature more remarkable than their magnitude, are characterised by that extraordinary order which uniformly attends them—which are meetings of the citizens of a free country for the purpose of discussing a law which they believe to be injurious to the interests of the community—that against these meetings, so orderly, so intelligent, so befitting a country which boasts of its free institutions, no Government proclamation has yet been issued, no new-fangled law of conspiracy has yet put them down. (Loud cheers.) Two nights since, I heard Sir James Graham, the Secretary of State for the Home Department—putting on his most significant look—utter a sentence, on the words of which much study had evidently been bestowed, which, if it was not intended for mere clap-trap, and the significant look assumed for no other purpose than to raise a party cheer, or to insult by dark insinuation what he dare not openly attack, must have been intended as a warning for the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Cheers.) After saying that the altered circumstances of the time might require an alteration in the law of conspiracy, and quoting a maxim of Madame de Staël's, which he and the Duke of Wellington think most profound, he said: "Now-a-days Leagues hold their meetings in theatres, and traitors build conciliation-halls to disseminate sedition." (Ironical cheers and laughter.) All that I can say in answer to this is, that the Anti-Corn-Law League have not as yet frightened the Home-office with any sham military proclamation. (Laughter.) The Council of the League continues to address the people in terms plainly to be understood. The magical word "half-distance" has not yet appeared in its advertisements—Mr. Cobden heads no Anti-Corn-Law cavalry; and though, if Sir J. Graham would come here and look at us, I think we should present a very pretty little "group" for a Cabinet Minister to look on (cheers), my hon. friend who presides this day, and who must be supposed to have called us together, has been content that we should "group" here irregularly, and has not committed the dangerous indiscretion of ordering us to marshal ourselves in "troops" together. (Laughter.) But, gentlemen, I think further that it was not from Sir James Graham that this declaration against the League might have been expected. (Hear, hear, hear.) The League—without having, I believe, taken any particular trouble to ascertain Sir James Graham's opinions—have, hitherto, had good reasons for thinking that these meetings were honoured with his confidence and good opinion. (Hear, hear.) When, last year, the League began to hold its meetings in theatres, those who conducted the arrangements of the League unexpectedly found that the police force, which always attends at these theatres when devoted to the purpose of the drama, were not allowed to attend on occasions on which the League met here, by a special order from the Home Office. (Cries of "Shame," and hisses.) Mr. Wilson made particular inquiries of the chief superintendent of the metropolitan police, but the attendance of officers was still refused; and, up to this day, by special direction of the Home Office, we are without the presence of the police. (Laughter and applause.) From this, then, it seems to be inferred that Sir James Graham—he who presides over the Home Office—was satisfied with the legal and orderly character of our assemblies. (Hear.) So, gentlemen, if the Government—their heads turned with what they call their success in Ireland,—(it would be better for them to have waited and seen some of the results of their success, before they boasted of it, and indulged in unfeeling taunts against defeated conspirators, in the absence of that great man before whom they quailed when they granted Catholic Emancipation (tremendous cheering, and cries of "Bravo!"), with whom this very Sir James Graham, once the boldest of reformers, was seated for some years on the benches of the House of Commons,—a fellow-labourer in the service of the people,—consistently pursuing what he believes to be the interest of Ireland, from whom, however many of us may differ as to his projects and opinions (cheers)—whom the apostate baronet idly imagines he has humbled (loud cheers)—if, I say, they now prepare another indictment against the League, and endeavour to apply a law of conspiracy adapted to Madame de Staël's maxim, and to altered circumstances against the Anti-Corn-Law Association, why, we will call Sir J. Graham and the superintendent of the metropolitan police to our characters. (Laughter and cheers.) I hope that, if the League is to

be honoured with a notice from the Home-office, the troops of the new Pro-Corn-Law Association will not altogether escape attention. (Cheers.) I must say, that, if there is any danger in the attitude assumed by the Anti-Corn-Law League, the opponent associations seem to me to present a more dangerous aspect; for, judging from some of the speeches which I have read, and judging from the significant hints and bold declarations, of which Mr. Hume has given you some instances, which have been made by noble dukes, and noble earls, and others, intended especially for the notice of Government, the Pro-Corn-Law Associations seem to take a much higher and more dangerous flight than we do. The Anti-Corn-Law League makes it its object to act on the House of Commons—it makes it its object to secure in that assembly a majority in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws—it acts upon the constituencies, and endeavours to make them elect good members—it endeavours to make the constituencies act upon its members, and cause them to give good votes; but, judging from the tone that has been assumed by the Pro-Corn-Law Associations, they seem to aim their efforts directly and principally at the administrative Government. (Hear, hear.) They jump over the Legislature altogether, honour the Cabinet with their special superintendence, and aspire to keep the Government in order. (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, although the Government does not favour us, and though noble dukes and earls, no longer (preserving, a proud and seditious "half-distance" from their tenant-farmers, but condescendingly combining with them), fulminate against us, I venture to believe that the object which the Anti-Corn-Law League has in view is one which, if rightly understood, ought not to be angrily received by a Government professing to derive its power from the people, and by the noble and wealthy of a land, in which we are fast arriving at the general understanding that wealth, and rank, and talents, are given to a few only to advance the happiness of all. (Cheers.) What is our object? Neither more nor less than this—to prevent man's chief article of food, that great necessary of life which he who can command all luxuries does not discard, but which is the poor man's stay and chief resource, from being made scarce and dear, in order that wealth may be added to the wealthy, or that one class among the poorer classes of the community may receive fancied assistance from the State at the expense of the rest, or that bread may yield an unfair and disproportionate assistance to the public revenues of the State. (Hear, hear.) That is our object. I do not know whether I ought to call it strange—for the ways of monopoly are strange and inscrutable altogether—but still, when our object is clearly explained, it does seem strange that the plea of regard for the poor man's interest, and the agricultural labourer, should be attempted to be set up against us. (Hear, hear.) We, however, question that. Better, we say, that the agricultural labourer should trust to the strength of his own strong arm, and to his share in the general increase of wealth which must follow from the unimpeded industry of all, than to the fallacious promises held out by protective Acts of Parliament, which, in whatever degree they may tend to increase his rate of wages, must, in an incalculably greater degree, diminish the general stock of profits, and the general wealth on which his rate of wages must ultimately depend,—which, to use a common metaphor, kill in their operation, the bird which lays the golden eggs that are promised, which may seem to benefit, but which must in reality injure—

"Spoil with false care what else would flourish wild,
And rock the cradle till they bruise the child."

(Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, there is no monopoly which does not attempt to put up some such plea of humanity for its support. Take the other prominent instance of sugar. We are not to repeal the duties on corn, because it is said we shall injure the poor agricultural labourer at home. We are not to diminish the duties on foreign sugar, because we may do hurt to the black slave labourer abroad. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, with regard to corn,—and with regard to sugar also, but on that subject this is not the time nor the place to enter,—with regard to corn then, exclusively, I do say that if the name of humanity is to be introduced into this struggle, it is on our banners on which it must be written. (Loud cheers.) Consider, only, the tendencies of a law whose obvious working and whose obvious end is to raise the price of bread,—I care not for what pretext this law may be imposed,—no good that it can ever do can possibly weigh as a grain of dust in the balance against all the aggravations which it must administer to misery, in all the great variety of forms in which misery must exist in a densely-populated country like our own. (Hear.) Think of the vast amount of poverty to which the Legislature, imposing a tax on bread, must present itself in the odious aspect of standing between man and the full complement of food which the natural appetite of man requires, and then say whether ours is not a case which addresses itself to the best, the strongest, and the tenderest feelings of humanity. (Applause.) Yes, we have humanity on our side—as we have justice on our side—as we have reason on our side—and, notwithstanding the menaces of the Secretary of State, there is no cause, which, with these supports, will not in time in this free country prevail. (Cheers.) The Prime Minister has taken an early opportunity, during the present session, of declaring that he means to do nothing on the subject of the Corn Laws. He is satisfied with the present state of things. The new law has now been working for two years, and he is quite satisfied with the result. The Prime Minister may yet learn how much of the comparatively good working of his new law is owing to good harvests and other favourable circumstances, when, in a somewhat shorter space of time than I suppose is meant by Mr. Gladstone's celebrated phrase, "the revolution of ages," circumstances become changed and less plentiful harvests are yielded. (Cheers.) But when we consider the difference between the new sliding scale which Sir Robert Peel has enacted and the old one, it is impossible for any rational man to attribute the comparatively low price of corn and the smaller fluctuation of price during the last two years, than in the two or three years that preceded Sir R. Peel's entrance into office to any difference between the new law and the old. Essentially they are the same. We have, it is true, one lower maximum duty than we had; the duties which were formerly altogether inoperative have been done away with; we now slide evenly down from the highest duty to the lowest, instead of jumping occasionally, as we used to do; but all the same great principles and great irregularity of price, encouragement to speculation, &c.

ing back foreign corn in bond while the price is rising and the distresses of the people are increasing, and then, when the time of harvest comes, suddenly inundating the market with it, to the injury of the home-grower. (Applause.) And if, again, the time of high prices and scarcity of bread should arise, it will then clearly be seen that the new sliding scale is twin-brother to the old.

"And Duncie the second reigns like Duncie the first."

(Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, before I sit down, let me say a word or two about the House of Commons. The great and deeply-interesting questions which affect the sister-country have naturally excited first the attention of the Legislature. (Loud cheers.) Whatever time there has yet been to spare has not, perhaps, unnaturally been devoted to saving certain individuals of rank, and wealth, and station, from actions and penalties which they have incurred by inordinate betting on horse races (hear); and when from these penalties they have been freed, we suppose that many of them will be able to subscribe more handsomely to some of the new Pro-Corn-Law Associations. (Hear.) When our chairman presently introduces his annual motion in the House of Commons upon the Corn Law, it is too much to hope that the same promptitude and zeal will be exhibited in its reception. But I think we may hope that if ever again, before the total repeal of these laws, a time of high price and scarcity of bread arises, there will henceforward be no difficulty or delay in passing through the Legislature a bill to relieve the distress of the people, by suspending the operation of those laws which close our ports against the great corn markets of southern Europe and America. (Cheers.) Though other questions may, for a time, assume a prominence, the friends of Corn-Law repeal know that their turn must again soon come, and that the success of their cause is now ultimately certain. (Cheers.) If any one before doubted that a fixed duty was not altogether impossible, and that whenever the party opposed to those who now hold the Government comes into a position in which it can act, total and unconditional repeal must be granted, (Cheers.) Lord Morpeth's recent declaration would remove that doubt. He is a nobleman, as we all know, eminently without guile, and the last man who would utter an opinion which was not his sincere and genuine conviction. (Cheers.) He was a leading member of a Cabinet which, less than three years ago, proposed an 8s. fixed duty on corn, and he now comes forward to join hands with Mr. Cobden, and to declare that, if in another year the sliding scale is not given up, he will embrace the cause of total and unconditional repeal (renewed cheering); and if he, at the time of making that declaration, doubted as to the sliding scale being preserved for another year, Sir Robert Peel came in most opportunely to make a declaration of his determination to preserve the sliding scale, which would remove Lord Morpeth's doubt. Other great conversions and important declarations will follow that of Lord Morpeth's. I only hope,—and I trust it will not be thought presumptuous in me to express that hope,—but still, not being so closely connected with the Anti-Corn-Law League as many whom I see around me, being generally rather a distant observer of its proceedings than one who takes any active part in its operations, I hope, I may say not altogether inappropriately, that I trust there will be no irritating language employed, on the part of the leaders in the cause of total repeal, which may retard the conversion of other honourable and eminent politicians. (Loud cheers.) One common obstacle to a conciliatory mode of making and keeping converts I know, fortunately in this case, does not exist. There can be no apprehension on the part of the Anti-Corn-Law League of its honours being filched away by others; there can be no jealousy of new and conspicuous converts on the part of the veteran labourers in this cause. (Renewed cheers.) Its enemies have called the League a "great fact": its services will constitute it for ever a *great era in the history of the country* (cheers); and if it should be reserved for one who has not yet joined the ranks of total repeal, but who, in the responsible situation of leader of a great party, conscious that the eyes of the public are peculiarly upon him, feeling his honour to be the honour of his party, must naturally observe peculiar caution in any steps which he may take; if, I say, it should be reserved for the present leader of the Opposition, in a new House of Commons, as Mr. Hume has said, to grant as a Minister to the people of this country, the great boon of Free Trade to the people of his honoured name and his own services (loud cheers) in the cause of good government; why, come victory whenever and by whatever powerful hand it may, the general who shall have won the decisive battle will be honoured, but honour will be given also to those who pioneered the way and made the victory more easy (loud cheers); and no man—who, as he lays a larger meal before his children, desires thankfully to bless those to whom he owes it—can ever forget the skilful, eloquent, high-toned, persevering advocacy of Mr. Villiers (immense cheering), or those exertions of almost superhuman energy, and that remarkable union of a true, simple, manly character, with an intellect of extraordinary breadth, vigour, and acuteness which, in a short space of time that seems only as a day, have placed Mr. Cobden in the front rank of our public men (tremendous applause), and established him far beyond the reach of the calumnies and dark insinuations (hear), by which unscrupulous enemies have endeavoured to depress him. (The hon. gentleman sat down amidst great applause.)

W. J. Fox, Esq., upon coming forward, was received with prolonged and most enthusiastic cheering, which having subsided, he proceeded to address the meeting as follows:—If there hangs upon two honourable members of Parliament, who have addressed you this evening, the doom which used to be much more frequently on judges' lips than, happily, it is at the present day,—and if they are about to be "taken to the place from whence they came"—I trust that, upon reaching their destination, they will report to the assembly collected there that the *Anti-Corn-Law League is still in existence* (cheers and laughter); for it was announced in that House no longer ago than last night, that, since the declaration of Sir Robert Peel on the first night of the session, the Anti-Corn-Law agitation had "dwindled into insignificance." (Laughter.) Yes, it has, indeed, dwindled from a revenue of £50,000 in the year towards one of £100,000. (Hear.) It has dwindled from small local meetings to such gatherings as I now behold around me; and it has dwindled from the humility of petitioning the House of Commons into appealing to the masters of that

assembly. (Loud cheering.) What a strange, imperfect, confused, and ignorant notion must any man have of the Anti-Corn-Law League, who supposes that the breath of members of the House of Commons, or of Ministers of the Crown, can cause it to shrink and shrivel up into insignificance! Why, the monopolist legislators take the League to be some petty intrigue, or paltry manoeuvre of party; something to which the members of their own body are much more accustomed than they are to the grand principles of truth and justice, and the great movement of National Opinion. (Hear.) And that man, too, of all persons, to be cited in this manner, whose breath has so often blown hot and cold upon subjects; who has aforetime denounced as destructive of the political constitution and the religious establishment of these realms, the very measures which he has subsequently submitted to introduce;—of all men, his words are not those before which such a body as the Anti-Corn-Law League is to stand appalled, or at whose command it can shrink into annihilation! Neither upon the will of Sir Robert Peel, nor any other leader of party, does the existence of this League depend, or the attainment of its great objects which are now advancing towards accomplishment. We abjure all party alliances! It has lately been made a boast that even rich Whig landlords are joining the Anti-League Associations. Let them do so: so much the worse for the Whigs, but not for the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Hear.) Our strength is in the principles we hold; it is in the certainty that Free Trade is written down as an important step in the progress of nations; it is in the fact that the claims of industry are founded on the principles of eternal justice. The right of industry to a fair market for its produce may be violated for a time, and be withheld by influence or by violence, but can never permanently be refused to the demands of humanity. (Cheers.) Their dicta—upon whatever side of the House they may be, or to whichever party they may lean—their dicta stop the progress of this League or prevent the accomplishment of its objects! Why, we may as soon believe that the progress of the coming spring will be retarded or prevented by the bellowing of the bull in Tamworth park. (Cheers and laughter.) But what monopoly cannot effect through the medium of ancient institutions and legitimate forms is, it seems, to be brought about by voluntary associations and combined exertions. Not content with the great Pro-Corn-Law League of the House of Lords, not satisfied with the supplemental Corn-Law League of the House of Commons, or with the committee of the Cabinet and its coerced spokesman, not content with all this, we find a number of little associations springing up here and there all over the country, and crying out, as it were, to these Leviathan powers,—

"Oh, let my little bark attend and sail,
Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale!"

Very imitative bodies are these new associations! (Laughter.) Indeed, they have now taken to copy after us; we have left off petitioning Parliament, and therefore they are just going to begin; I hope the cast-off clothes will fit them gracefully. (Laughter.) They denounce our agitation. The Duke of Richmond says "agitation is immoral," and forthwith he puts himself at the head of another agitation! (Laughter.) On looking over the various resolutions and proceedings of these meetings, I have endeavoured to ascertain what their most prominent features are, and what they are driving at. Of the two things which stand out the most boldly in relief, one I find is *hatred of the League*. They do not know exactly what they are about to do, but they must "oppose the League;" they must "stop the League;" they must "put down the League;" and, to do all this, they begin by praising the very law of which they have heretofore been complaining; they announce themselves as supporters of the Ministry by whom they have just been betrayed; they show their consistency, scarcely knowing what else to drive at, by avowing their intention to uphold a law which they denounced, and to support a Premier whom they acknowledged they despise. (Cheers.) And then they declare that we are liable to the penalties of the law. Why, what have they done but put themselves in a position to shield us, if there be any impartiality in the administration of the law, from such inflictions? If we are an illegal body, much more so are they with their *Corresponding Societies*, making their conspiracies, not "constructive" but open and apparent to all the world. Not that I care about the word "conspiracy;" I should as soon as any other, or perhaps in preference, have addressed myself in the first instance to this meeting by the term "FELLOW-CONSPIRATORS." (Cheers.) I hold it no disgrace—when the pursuit of a lawful object by lawful means brings men under pains and penalties—the adoption of that or any other term whatever which may be applied to them. (Cheers.) I do say that, whatever may be the business of our meeting this evening, I should have felt ashamed of myself and of you if the privilege of free meeting and of free speech could be used here without an expression of sympathy with those who are to be punished for its use in the sister country. (Enthusiastic and long-continued cheering.) I say it is sympathy for our own sakes, not for theirs; for, of all men, I take him to have the least need of sympathy, who, even in a dungeon, if he is sent to one, will rule in the thoughts, hearts, and devotion of the nation he is serving. (Renewed cheering.) It is due to ourselves, and to the best and dearest right that the people of this country possess—the right of publicly meeting;—and if it be a great grievance, in numbers proportioned to the greatness of that grievance,—to declare their wrongs and to demand redress. That right should never be touched in any locality, or in the person of any individual without the protest—strong and heartfelt—of every one who values public freedom and the interests of a nation only preserved by the boldness of its speech and by its spirit of independence. (Loud cheers.) But to return to the Anti-League Associations. The crimination of the League seems to be their first great pervading object; this is the most intense feeling in their hearts, and the first idea to which they give utterance. But for what do they criminate us? Of all the petty, paltry charges ever scraped together, some of those that figure in the very head and front are the most pitiful. The first resolution of one great agricultural body sends paid lecturers about the country. They charge it as a crime upon us that lecturers are sent to teach public meetings. But even they have not the impudence to charge it upon us, that in some instances ruffians are sent to disturb public meetings. (Cheers.) They forget, too, that the great teacher and lecturer of the League is one who is not, and cannot be, paid by human agency; its

greatest and most efficient lecturer is an invisible power, but most formidable in its results—a missionary—a lecturer from the council of Heaven to the heart of humanity—a lecturer that speaks secretly to the minds of those who listen, as well as with the voice of him who addresses an assembly—an undying power, but everywhere pledged to support Free-Trade doctrines, and cry down oppression—and the name of that unpaid lecturer is *Love of Justice*! (Loud cheers.) They complain, too, of our petitions, now that we have done with them. (Laughter.) The generous maxim of "nothing but good of the dead," seems not to operate upon them. A number of stories are raked up against us, amongst which is that of a man having forged many names to an Anti-Corn-Law petition. They do not accuse us of forging names to a requisition to a monopolist candidate to stand for a county! (Hear, hear, hear.) With rather an unadvised choice of illustration, they say that one man went into a churchyard and copied a number of names from the grave-stones, and appended them to a petition against the Corn Laws. (Laughter.) Why, if the rogue actually did this, there was some shrewdness about him; and had their own perception been morally acute, I think they would have abstained from selecting such a particular illustration of the charge; for in the grave-yards of this country, in those both of crowded towns and remote villages, how many senseless inhabitants are there that have been brought to that condition, indirectly, indeed, but not the less certainly, by the operation of these accursed Corn Laws? (Cheers.) Could the dead interfere in our transitory concerns, myriads of them would have a right to petition on this matter. They have been victims of the system which the living are yet enduring, and under which they are writhing; and were there a power to reach their dust,—could old thoughts, feelings, and reminiscences be gathered together, and they come from those graves to which so many of them have been carried with but limited rites and shortened ceremony—"the little bell tolled hastily at the pauper's funeral," could they be gathered together from their resting-places, and be assembled in the neighbourhood of that body which sits and legislates on life and death,—O! there would be such a crowd, that the avenues to the Houses of Parliament would be blocked up far and wide! It would require a little army of horse, foot, and artillery—with a Wellington at their head—to cut a passage through the multitudes; and, if this were done, the appropriate result would be—that of finding the chaplain of the House of Commons preaching a sermon on that occasion from the text—"Thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." (Tremendous cheering.) Next in prominence to this most unwise disposition to vituperate the League, I find in the proceedings of these bodies an immensity of professions of *attachment to the labourer*. This is the stalkinghorse in every string of resolutions and in all their speeches. The good of the labourer and his worth seem to be their beings' end and aim. (Laughter.) It would appear from these statements as if landlords were only born that they might exercise love to labourers. (Renewed laughter.) One would suppose from such proceedings that they would never meet again at their festivities, but that after the toast of "Church and State," and its usual accompaniment of the song of

"A jolly full bottle!" (Laughter.)

the very next toast would be, "*Our love to the labourer*!" and if their description of his Arcadian state and rural felicity be true, this toast would be followed by the song in character of—

"Such a beauty I did grow!" (Laughter.)

They love the labourer so dearly, that they take care the fine proportions of his form shall not be spoiled by too rich or ample living, or obscured by too great an abundance of clothing. They love upon the principle laid down by a curate whose faith was doubted as to its orthodoxy, and who replied that he could not be expected to believe very largely, he only believed at the rate of £80 annually, while the bishop believed at the rate of £15,000 a year. (Laughter.) So it seems at these agricultural meetings that great lords and landed proprietors love the labourer at the rate of their £30,000, £40,000, £60,000, £80,000 a year, while the poor labourer in return can only love at the rate of 8s. or 9s. a week. (Renewed laughter.) There has been nothing like their wonderful attachment since the days "when King Cophetua loved the beggar-maid"; but that potentate did not make the maid a beggar that he might love her, as the landowners' system has made the labourer to whom they profess this attachment. (Hear.) The affection has often been celebrated in song, of—

"The lass that loves a sailor:"

but what in the world is that to the affection of "the lord that loves a labourer!" (Laughter.) They love them so dearly that for their sakes they will even injure the rest of the community; they will degrade their own character; pervert their power and station, and abuse legislative duties. They love them so dearly that for their sakes they will take out of the pockets of the public any amount of rent which they can enhance by taxation on food. (Hear.) "The labourers must not be thrown out of employment;" they, we are told, must have work; and "if Free-Trade principles are to prevail," they gravely say, "why, the land will go out of cultivation, and the poor labourer will starve." Now what is the meaning of this statement? For love itself—even the love of the landlord for the labourer—must sometimes be subjected to analysis. The owner of 50,000 acres, who gets from them his £50,000 a year, says, if Free-Trade principles prevail, his land will go out of cultivation, and England will become a desert. Does he mean that the land itself will take wings, and fly away, if he will take no rent for it? Does he wish us to believe that the land will yield no produce to any body that will till it? There it is; and no alteration in the laws of the land can annihilate that soil, or blast the power with which Providence has endowed it of bringing ample return to the seed which man deposits therein. Why, let him throw it out of cultivation; and suppose there are 1500 labourers now upon any particular property; if it is altogether abandoned there would be nice squatting for those labourers. (Laughter.) I take it that they would be pretty sure to turn it to some account; and I think it would go hard but what they would manufacture bread and cheese out of it. If they had no capital to work with, why, then, as we are told that the hares and rabbits on some of the estates need a considerable reduction, they might live on the game till their harvests came round. (Cheers and laughter.) Then, with a little power of co-operation, these 50,000 acres would be covered with in-

dustrious people, who would get food for their support, and who would have some surplus to spare, I take it, to find themselves in clothing. This is what comes of the cant phrase, when examined fairly, of throwing land out of cultivation. If this were to happen, the labourer would think it the happiest day of his life when the landlord was crossed in love with him, and driven away from his estate. But as such a state of things progressed, and the comfort of this little society increased, it is much to be suspected that, after a time, the landlord would come back again; there would be a repetition of scenes such as have disgraced both Scotland and Ireland; there would be notice to quit upon those who had taken possession of the abandoned property; the horrors of a clearing would be witnessed such as have occurred elsewhere, in which whole families have been known to lie down in the ditches, and to have sought in vain a refuge from the pitiless elements, to which they were exposed by equally pitiless landlords, and the re-enactment of the old Sutherland tragedy would end the farce of "The Labourer's Love." (Cheers.) When did all this love commence, and what is the history of this most fond and affectionate care of one class by another? How old is it? Does it belong to those ancient times of our country, when the old cultivator of the soil was required by his lease to know his "team of oxen" and his "lean of men"—when slaves were fattened here and sold in Ireland to the detriment of the home market there, until it was glutted with the surplus produce? Was it in the fourteenth century, when pestilence had ravaged the country, and the number of those whose business was tillage of the soil was so reduced that they claimed, as they had a right to do, higher wages for their work, and when the "Statute of Labourers" was, therefore, passed—a law which some have praised even in our day—enacting that the labourers should be flogged to their work, and compelled to labour at the wages which they had had before this opportunity came? Was it in the fifteenth century, when it was the law that if a man had been twelve years in the occupation of husbandry he was to follow the plough-tail for the rest of his life, and not be allowed even to apprentice his children in towns lest they should be in a better position than himself, and the lord of the soil lose the service of his serfs? Was it even in the sixteenth century, when a man catching any idle stroller might force him to work, forcibly take him for his slave, feed him with the offal of his table, and brand him even, that he might be known to belong to his service? Was it in the period from that time till the era of manufacturing energy and enterprise—a period during which the wages of the labourer, as measured in wheat, fell more than one-half, while the price of that wheat more than doubled? Was it in times subsequent to that under old or new poor-laws, sometimes subjecting the labourer to the degradation of being paid his honestly-earned wages out of the parish funds; at others turning the screw upon him, and telling him that he was a late comer to nature's table, and for him there was no cover set, bidding him, even in his rags and starvation, be independent? Is it now, when he is gifted with 20d. a day should the weather be fine, and loses it if the rain comes down? Is it in the present day, when his life wears out in a miserable succession of toil, from week to week and month to month? Where can we find the origin, where trace the history and see the marks of that paternal care by which one especial class now affirms that it has the labourer of the country under its peculiar and fond protection? (Loud and prolonged cheering.) If such be the feeling of the landowners to the labourers, why do they not bestow more exclusively their attention on them; for it happens to be the habit of legislators of this class to meddle with any business rather than their own? They are very anxious about factories, where people are paid higher wages by far than any which are earned in the employment of their tenants; they are for making regulations about hours and schools; they are always prompt at interfering with silk, cotton, and woollen manufactures—with everything in the world; but, meanwhile, there is the poor labourer whom they love so well, the most unprotected and unprotected being in the community. Now and then, perhaps, having given him some 10s. prize for a twenty years' service in the same family, coupled, as it was of late, with an admonition from the right honourable and reverend chairman of the meeting, in distributing the prizes—that the successful labourer should "not listen to people who were given to change: for the Bible taught that there must always be poor in the land." (Cries of "Shame!") And what is this very assumption of being agriculturists, on the part of the proprietary? What is it but a section of the same cant that we find exhibited in the whole course of their proceedings? Why, the nature of a man's property, and the use that is made of it, does not affect his character or his occupation. Being the owner of a library does not make a man learned; as Mr. Cobden has pithily said, "a man is not a sailor because he is a shipowner," neither are proprietors of great estates entitled to claim the honourable appellation of "agriculturists;" they are not the cultivators of the ground; they are only the recipients of its bounty, taking the lion's share of the profit. (Loud cheers.) If this language were allowed in reference to other matters,—if we were to designate the personal qualities and occupations of people by the use made of their property,—it would follow that the noble member of this League, the Marquis of Westminster, was the greatest bricklayer in London (laughter); that the Duke of Bedford was the most distinguished dramatist and musician, and that the clergy of the Abbey Church in Westminster, some of whose property is devoted to much more questionable uses, were eminent professors of prostitution. (Cheers and laughter.) The real question, stripped of all mystification between the League and those by whom it is opposed, is this,—whether the landed proprietors are to absorb all power, whether they are to be not merely a great and influential class, but whether they are to be the nation, the entire nation; for this is really the object at which they are aiming. (Hear.) They acknowledge a Queen, but they name her Ministers; they dictate the measures, and even the language, of those Ministers. They acknowledge a Legislature, but they are one House, and possess influence enough to command the other House. They acknowledge the middle class, but they command its votes, and cherish in it only the most degrading habits of servility. They acknowledge the manufacturing class, but they cripple its enterprise and restrict its markets. They acknowledge the working class, and they tax their bones, sinews, and labour; they tax the very bread which is their daily support. (Cheers.) I grant that they were once "the nation." There was a time when the

landed interest of England was the nation, and when there was no other known or recognized power. But what sort of a time was that? A time when the people of the country were mere serfs—when they were "property"—when they could be flogged, and branded, and sold. (Cheers.) There was a time when they were the nation—and where were then all the arts of life; where was literature and learning? The philosopher was in his cell, only showing himself to be the object of suspicion among the ignorant, and perhaps of persecution; or else sent for by the rich, that he might be bribed to give them magic aid to win the love of a lady's heart, or paralyze the might of an opponent's arm. There was a time when they were the nation—when they went forth in their mailed panoply, leading their followers to slaughter, from which good care was taken to preserve themselves as much as possible—when they rode almost unresisted over their helpless naked opponents, and were only capable of being put *hors de combat*, by being cracked, like lobsters, in their shells. (Laughter.) There was a time when they were the nation; and what a time was that for the towns! When every citizen who had anything to lose, had to fly from petty tyrants to the throne; to strengthen despotism with all his power, in order that he might have some resource against this overbearing oligarchy; and when, if there had been Rothschilds in the world, they would have had their teeth drawn to get at their treasures. (Cheers.) When they were the nation, no invention had enriched the land and made the metals and wood do the work of millions of human hands; no press had scattered knowledge over the whole face of the country, carrying intellectual light into hovels and cottages; no mercantile navy covered the sea, and sought the aid of every breeze that blew to reach some distant shore to bring back its freight of necessities and luxuries. When they were the nation, it was a land not worth living in; and to this time, were the natural effects of such enactments as the Corn Laws to have their full scope towards this period, would it turn back the wheels of time, and bring the nation so much nearer barbarism than it now is by the lapse and growth of centuries. (Loud cheers.) Proprietorship is not nationality! The peerage is not the nation! Brains and hearts go for something in constituting a people; our philosophers who think, our statesmen who act, our poets who sing, and our hardy multitudes who work,—these are the nation! (Loud cheers.) The members of the aristocracy take their place of true nobility in the nation when they co-operate with mind and heart, and, like some of the worthy friends of this association, give themselves to objects of patriotism and the promotion of public right. Such men redeem the class to which they belong, and shed a lustre upon others from their own inherent brightness. We regard all who toil—be it with thought, or with the strong hand—as members of the community—as those who help to build up a people, and to make a nation free, great, and prosperous! And surely, if we look at the position of the landowners of this country, there is so much in it which they cannot, by any change or chance short of tremendous and universal convulsion, be deprived of, that they might well be content therewith; "too happy, if their happiness they knew:" for it is certainly true, as has often been said, that England is the paradise of landowners; made so by the untiring labour, the indomitable energy, and the daring enterprise of its industrious children. (Cheers.) What would they have? Is not the land theirs from sea to sea—their even the bird that wings its flight in the air. We cannot till a field without their permission; we cannot build a house without their consent. They walk the earth as if they were the gods who had made it, and yet, not content with all this, they go on artificially to enhance the price of its produce to others; not satisfied with being the lords of the soil, they aspire also to be the lords of industry and the dolers out of the labourers' food. (Cheers.) Why are they not content? They have shuffled off from the land the burthens that once pressed upon it. They took their estates originally when the title was not honest industry, but the sword, rapine, and violence. They had them burthened with the support of Church and State. They found armies for the King when it pleased him to take the field for foreign conquest, or to repel domestic invasion; they have now turned into sources of emolument the very burthens that once hung upon the land, and they derive from the church, the army, and from our various institutions, resources for all their own offspring and their dependants; and yet, having done all this, they seek to weigh industry down to the ground with a heavier burthen than ever pressed upon the land. "Free markets" was the cry some centuries ago, when Wat Tyler and his peasant-companions were driven to insurrection by the extent of oppression of the monopolies of the landlords and corporations. "Free markets" was the cry of Wat Tyler. The dagger that struck him down still sticks in the arms of the corporation of London—a warning against violence to those who uphold that ancient controversy, and who raise as we do now the same cry of "Free markets" not in England only, but all the world over. (Loud cheers.) We demand that the markets should be as free as they have made those markets in which they hire venal tongues or traffic for venal votes. We demand free markets;—free as the air, unshackled as the billows of the sea, or as the thoughts in the soul of man! (Cheers.) They have had the lion's share of commercial prosperity; and yet what great advancements have been made! What have machinery, railroads, steamboats, or anything else done towards enriching the industrious that have not also raised the worth of the land and the rate of rents? (Hear.) There was an outcry—a putting forth, as it is called, of "a great fact"—in the newspapers the other day, namely, that the price of corn was now only the same as in 1791: "How, then," it was said, "could the farmer be expected to produce this in competition with foreigners when he has so many more burthens?" But in this statement the fact was suppressed, that although the price of corn may be now the same as in 1791, and the wages of labour no higher than at that period, the *rent* in this country has doubled, and more than doubled, since that time. (Hear.) And there is the real burthen that presses on the farmer, and which cripples him, as it does all other industry, from the power of a most successful competition with foreigners. Let them enjoy their prosperity; but let them not wound, limit, and restrain the untiring toil by which that prosperity is won. (Hear.) We fear them not—with their boast or their threatenings! Here are we in our own voluntary gatherings; and yonder, they in their set meeting, by royal mandate; here are we in our miscellaneous and multitudi-

nous assemblages, and there are they in their exclusiveness. Here are we in our hired theatre, and there are they in their senatorial halls, and with yet stater buildings erecting, and to be paid for by a nation's toll, and at the expense of the privations of thousands. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) Here are we with *rights*, and they with *might*; we take up the gauntlet they have thrown down, and we hurl defiance in their teeth! (The whole assembly here rose, and continued standing for some minutes, cheering and waving hats and handkerchiefs.) We advance to the conflict which they brave—of opinion against power—breaking no law, even of *their* making; in the spirit of that peaceful morality which they profess to have made part and parcel of the law of England. We carry out this great question, and we will win for *them* deliverance from the curse that the oppressor brings on his own head—for *ourselves* emancipation from the disgrace of being plundered and enslaved; and for *our country* deliverance from the prospect of confusion, from the endurance of wretchedness, from anarchy, and desolation. (Cheers.) The age of feudalism is past, and the spirit of feudalism cannot again govern this country. It may be strong in the *prestige* of the past, and glitter in the splendour which it has won from the toils of industry; it may fortify itself in the bulwarks of institutions, it may surround itself with a servile multitude; but the spirit of feudalism must succumb before the genius of humanity. The spirit, the principle, and the power of feudalism must stand by, and make way for the fights of industry, and the progress of nations towards commercial, political, and intellectual liberty. (Mr. Fox sat down amid one of those prolonged and most enthusiastic bursts of cheering, with which he was repeatedly interrupted during the delivery of the above extraordinarily brilliant oration, of the effect of which upon the audience it would be difficult to convey an adequate idea to the reader.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, the proceedings of this meeting have now terminated. I am only sorry to detain you for one moment after the splendid oration with which we have been delighted; but a fact has just been communicated to me that I think right to announce to the meeting before it disperses, which is, that that distinguished public character, to whom our eloquent friend has made allusion in the course of his speech,—and who, from the cause that he represents, and the treatment that he has received, I venture to say excites more interest and sympathy than any other subject of the Queen,—I mean Mr. O'Connell (tremendous cheers,) has been applied to to attend the next meeting, and with that consistency of service and zeal in our cause which I gratefully acknowledge, he has expressed his willingness to take that first occasion to mark his unshaken anxiety for the redress of this great English wrong. (Loud cheers.)

Three cheers were then given for Mr. O'Connell, and the meeting separated.

GREAT MEETING OF THE LEAGUE, IN THE FREE-TRADE HALL, MANCHESTER.

MANCHESTER, Thursday.

The Free-Trade Hall was crowded to excess last night again, on the occasion of the periodical meeting of the League. Indeed, this spacious building was never so crowded before; and we are told that the applications for tickets was so great, that the building might have been filled had it been twice as spacious. The gentlemen announced to address the meeting were Mr. Cobden, M.P.; Colonel Thompson, and Mr. R. R. Moore; and the audience included persons who had come many miles to have an opportunity of hearing them. Mr. G. Wilson, Chairman of the Council, presided; and, in addition to the gentlemen announced to address the meeting, above stated, we observed Mr. Alexander Kay, Mayor of Manchester; Alderman Burd, W. Rawson, Mr. Alderman Brooks, Mr. Alderman Willert, Mr. Alderman Armitage, the Town Clerk, Mr. James Chadwick, Mr. W. Bickham, Mr. W. Evans, Mr. T. Woolley, Mr. R. Heald, Mr. J. Rawson, Mr. James Kershaw, Mr. A. Bauer, Mr. F. Cobden, Mr. S. B. Potter, Mr. W. Ross, Mr. J. Simpson, Mr. W. Morris, Mr. T. Barton, Mr. Oliver Wilcox (London), and Mr. E. Shawcross.

Mr. HICKIN, the secretary, having read the minutes of the last meeting, on the motion of Mr. W. EVANS, seconded by Mr. Alderman Brooks, they were unanimously confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN, on coming forward to address the meeting, was received with loud cheering. He proceeded to say that it would not be right to describe the meeting as one of the usual periodical meetings of the League; for as often as he had seen vast multitudes called together in that room, he did not recollect on any previous occasion to have seen, at so early an hour, pit, gallery, and platform crowded by an audience so respectable as that assembled. Having alluded to the circumstance which had drawn so many together, and eulogized the services of Mr. Cobden, Colonel Thompson, and Mr. Moore, who were about to address them,—[the mention of Mr. Cobden's name calling forth immense plaudits, the whole audience rising amidst cries of "Cobden," and cheering for a considerable time]—the Chairman went on to remark that their services would still be wanted. The battle had yet to be fought, which would issue in the triumph of Free-Trade principles. Anti-League associations were everywhere springing up, in places, too, where the squirearchy had not dared to show their faces during the visits of Mr. Cobden last summer. The farmers and farm-labourers had read and digested the tracts sent amongst them, and the speeches made at the outdoor meetings; and they would not now be found ready, as at the last election, to throw up their caps for monopolist candidates. The Chairman then ridiculed the pretensions of the getters up of these meetings to be called "tenant-farmers," and ably exposed the real character of the parties who convened, and the objects for which such r. stings were called. He repelled the calumnies uttered against the League, especially that it was a body confederated against property. They were confederated to destroy monopoly. They asked for free markets for their commerce, for they represented millions who possessed no property but that of their fingers and their intellect; and for this property they sought fair play. (The chairman concluded an able speech amidst loud applause.)

Mr. COBDEN on rising was enthusiastically cheered. He had just entered upon his speech when some interruption took place, which the chairman, however, succeeded in effectually checking. He then addressed the

meeting in a speech of considerable length, and characterized by his customary clearness of statement, force of argument, and fallacy of illustration. (We give the honourable member's remarks on the several motions intended to be brought forward in the House of Commons by himself and other Free-trade members in the present session, as also his important remarks on the necessity of attending to the registry).—We are not going to repeal the Corn Laws this present session of Parliament. I don't think there is much prospect of the present Parliament repealing the Corn Laws at all. You may, perhaps, feel a little curious, a little anxious, as to what the course to be taken in the House of Commons may be. Well, gentlemen, there will be motions brought forward taking the Corn-Law question in detail before Mr. Villiers's motion is brought on. Mr. Ward will bring on his motion, inviting the majority of squires to grant a committee to inquire into the nature of these "special burdens" about which you hear so much. (Hear, hear.) Now, I predict that they'll either run away, as they did before, or else they'll vote against this inquiry. Well, Mr. Elphinstone will bring forward his motion upon the subject of the legacy and probate duties upon real property—(applause)—showing that these innocents, the landowners, who tell us that they have been laying the lash on their own shoulders, have been in reality getting off very lightly, for they have exempted their own real property from probate and legacy duty, from which they forgot to exempt personal property. (Hear, hear.) So that if you transmit your £100,000 in land you escape that taxation; but if you happen to transfer it down in money, they manage to deduct the taxation from it. (Applause.) Mr. Ricardo has given notice of a motion to discuss the policy or impolicy of treaties of commerce. We have some people here amongst us, I believe, who tell us that Free Trade would be a very good thing, provided we had Free Trade on the other side; but that, until other people are Free Traders, we must not be Free Traders ourselves. Now, gentlemen, when anybody tells you that, be sure you remember that this rule of reciprocity has never been applied in any other case: it is only when we come to talk of corn, that all these impediments are invented and surmised. You carry on commerce to the amount of £50,000,000 a year all over the world, and you have not one special reciprocity treaty to regulate all that trade. But when we propose to deal with the landowners' monopoly, then, forsooth, we cannot regulate our traffic until other countries have regulated theirs. (Applause.) Well, there is one motion of which I have given notice myself, which was to come on next Tuesday, and it is this: to have a select committee to inquire into the effects of these protecting duties upon the interests of farmers and farm-labourers. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, when I gave notice of that motion, I ventured upon two predictions, and I don't often turn prophet. In the first place, I prophesied that they would not grant the committee; in the next place, I predicted that there would be a manoeuvre to try and get rid even of the discussion, by somebody moving an irrelevant amendment. I thought, for instance, that somebody would move an amendment that should raise up a dust about something else, so that they might fly from the discussion, and escape having their noses brought to the grindstone. (Applause.) Now, since I have been down here, I see a notice of a motion by the hon. member for Knaresborough (great laughter,) as an amendment to my motion, having about as much connexion with my motion as our old river has with the volcano of Mount Vesuvius. (Applause and laughter.) Now, gentlemen, if they will give me a committee to inquire into the operation of the Corn Laws upon farmers and farm-labourers, my first step will be to send a respectful invitation to Lord Ducie and Lord Spencer, to ask them to be examined before that committee. (Applause.) And the next thing I will do I will send a respectful invitation to the Duke of Buckingham and the Duke of Richmond, to ask them to be examined before that committee. (Applause.) And then, as all this evidence is taken down, it would be before the public in six months' time; you would hear what the best farmers in the country said about it, and what the best landlords said about it; and you would hear what the worst landlords and the worst farmers said about it; and the country would judge for themselves. (Applause.) But, if they won't grant the committee, it is very possible they will raise a dust as I predicted—a "devil's dust," it may happen—about it. (Applause and laughter.) I think we shall be able to pin them down to a discussion; for my advice to my friends in the House will be this: let the honourable member for Knaresborough make his speech when I have finished, and let all his statements, all his allegations, all his arguments pass unnoticed and unanswered (applause); let them go for just as much with the country as the country chooses to appreciate them at (loud applause); and then, I think, if nobody answers him, we shall manage to keep the discussion upon that point which is, of all others, the last point which the landlords in the House of Commons ever wish to have discussed. (Applause.) Well, when we have disposed of our motions Mr. Villiers will bring forward his motion, as he did last year, for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law. (Applause.) And he will have more supporters this time than he had last, gentlemen; and there will be some of those who voted against us last time that will be seized with a fit of prudence, and will determine to stay away. (Applause.) But what I wish to urge upon our friends is this,—that, before Mr. Villiers brings on his motion, it is advisable that the constituencies in every part of the country should memorialize their members, calling upon them to vote with Mr. Villiers; and, in every case where it is possible, I would have a majority of the constituency to sign that requisition. (Applause.) Now, I hope this labour will be especially undertaken in some of the neighbouring boroughs. Manchester, Salford, Stockport, Rochdale, and another or two, need not take the trouble of getting up any such requisitions. (Applause.) But there are Warrington, and Blackburn, and Clitheroe, and Wigan, where I should especially recommend our friends to be actively at work forthwith. (Applause.) And somebody, I think, suggests Bolton. Is there a screw loose at Bolton? (Applause, and a cry of "Oldham.") Oldham is all right. (Applause.) We've an odd kind of supporter there, to be sure; for he is always talking against us, and he always votes for us. (Applause and laughter.) Now I wish we had a majority in the House of that same sort. (Applause.) I don't care how much they abuse us, or what they say about the League, if they only vote for the total and immediate repeal. (Ap-

plause.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, your work is not done: it is just about beginning. (Applause.) I don't mean to say that there need be quite so much talking or noise in future as there has been; I don't think there will be any necessity for it. The time is now coming when we, people who make so great a show and parade of our labours, will become less important in this question, and when the real harvest must be reaped by those men who, in every borough, will content themselves to work strenuously and perseveringly, in secret and in private. (Applause.) This question must be carried in the registration courts. (Applause.) Now, let our friend there, or visitor rather,—who seems to have come here to a public meeting not with a very just notion of what a public meeting of this kind is,—let me tell him, if he has any political object to carry, he may do quite as much out of a public meeting, as by coming here and making a fool of himself in a public meeting like this. (Applause and laughter.) It is not in public meetings that this question will be carried. Why, what did Sir Robert Peel say, and what did his party do? Ten years ago, with a large majority against him, such as would have made it almost hopeless that his party would ever again get into power, he proclaimed from the Merchant Taylors' Hall, "Register, register, register!" His friends set to work; they watched the registration courts; they put men on the franchise whom they could depend upon; and they carried their cause, bad as it was, without a single public meeting or demonstration of any kind. And now, I say, let us, in a good cause,—having won our cause in meetings such as this,—let us show that we can imitate our opponents by attending to the registration courts; let us put men upon the franchise; let us extend the franchise to every man who is a Free-trader; and even where you find honest men, who want the franchise, but are not Free-traders, put every man you can upon the franchise. Teach yourselves the course by which you are to become enfranchised; learn when you must pay your rates; learn how you must defend your cause in the registration courts. Put yourselves to work in this way; and then this cause may be assuredly won, as the cause of our opponents was; and if it is not won in that way, I solemnly believe it never can be won at all. (Applause.)

The meeting was subsequently addressed by Colonel Thompson and Mr. R. R. R. Moore, in excellent speeches, and separated about a quarter after ten o'clock.

SUNDERLAND ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.—On Friday last, a meeting of this body was held at Donkin's Hotel. The following resolution was adopted on the motion of A. J. Moore, Esq., seconded by Mr. A. Phillips:—

"That this association has received, with strong feelings of regret and dissatisfaction, a letter from D. Barclay, Esq., in which he declares that he will only 'vote with Mr. Villiers, provided his motion be so shaped as to admit the consideration of the alternative of a moderate fixed duty.' And that this Association earnestly trusts that the motion of Mr. Villiers on the Corn-laws will be for their total, immediate, and unconditional repeal, without any reservation or qualification whatever; and that all protective and differential duties, especially those on coffee and sugar, will be forthwith abolished."

On Wednesday, an adjourned meeting was held, Mr. T. Hutchinson in the chair. A letter was then read from Mr. Barclay, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of the above resolution. —*Sunderland Herald.*

An Association called the Hull Free-Trade Association was organised on Wednesday last, for promoting Free-Trade principles in this locality. The society already numbers many of our most influential inhabitants. —*Hull Rockingham.*

The subscription in Kirkcaldy to the League Fund goes on prosperously. Somebody informed the *Scotsman* the other day that there was a prospect of obtaining no less than £50 from Kirkcaldy; we are happy to state that in eight days three times that amount has been collected—the amount subscribed on Tuesday evening week being £151 4s. 6d. Previous to commencing the subscription, the Kirkcaldy Anti-Corn Law Committee addressed and delivered to each of the electors of the districts of burghs, a packet of the League tracts. —*Fife Herald.*

CORN AND PROVISION LAWS.—Mr. Liddell has been lecturing during the past week in Weardale, on the Corn Laws, and distributing tracts among the people, and we are happy to say that the Free-Trade cause is making considerable progress in that district. —*Tyne Mercury.*

REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.—On Wednesday evening last, a lecture advocating the removal of all restrictions on the free importation of the people's food, was delivered at the Town Hall, Newport, by Mr. John Jenkins, A.M., a member of the Anti-Corn-Law League. J.S. Alfrey, Esq., mayor, took the chair, and introduced Mr. Jenkins to the meeting. There was a large number of the inhabitants present, among whom we observed farmers and gentlemen connected with agricultural pursuits in our neighbourhood. Mr. Jenkins addressed the meeting in a long and comprehensive speech. —*Merlin.*

TOTAL DEFEAT OF THE FIVE MONOPOLISTS.

The Pro-Corn-Law lairds of Fife (the leader of whom in the present case, Colonel Lindsay, of Balcarres, had publicly declared that he would have met Mr. Cobden at his Cupar meeting, if he had only known it was to take place!) held, or rather attempted to hold, a hole-and-corner meeting in the County Hall to-day, the result of which was only to render doubly sure the assurance afforded by the late meeting with the League deputation that the Monopolists are a miserable minority of the inhabitants of the county.

At about a quarter past twelve there were about 250 persons in the room, which was evidently more than the promoters of the meeting had calculated on, or felt disposed to make welcome. The feelings and opinions of the meeting were unequivocally exhibited even before the proceedings began. Colonel Lindsay and his friends on entering the room received no welcome but a little littering, while the appearance of J. M. M. Crichton, Esq., was the signal for a vehement burst of cheering.

On the motion of the Earl of Leven, seconded by Mr. Ainslie, factor for the Earl of Murray, Colonel Lindsay was called to the chair.

The COLONEL said that he felt it his duty to read to the meeting a letter from Captain J. E. Wemyss, of Wemyss, M.P., Lord Lieutenant of the County.

The letter objected to the holding of the meeting, inasmuch as it was convened by its promoters, not in their capacity as private landed proprietors, but officially as officers under the Land-tax Commission, which gave them no such right.

Colonel LINDSAY said, that, after the letter that had been read, he had no wish to do anything having even the appearance of disrespect towards the Lord Lieutenant; he would therefore dissolve the meeting, and —

Mr. CRICHTON rose to order amid great cheering, and maintained that the chairman could not determine the point of the

legality or illegality of the meeting, without the meeting itself being consulted.

A singular scene followed. Colonel Lindsay attempted to stop Mr. Crichton, who was loudly cheered by at least four-fifths of the meeting, while the lairds seated at the table attempted to drown his voice by beating the floor with their sticks, and several of them got into an infuriated state, at the now evident exposure and defeat of their "demonstration."

Mr. CRICHTON nevertheless managed, in the midst of the confusion, ably to demonstrate the utter irregularity, incompetency, and unfairness of the course proposed by Colonel Lindsay.

The COLONEL, however, went through the form of declaring that he dissolved the meeting, and did "hereby," in his private capacity, convene a meeting (then and there to take place of all persons favourable to the present Corn Laws, and of none else!)

Lord Leven then moved that Colonel Lindsay do take the chair of the meeting of those favourable to the Corn Laws; and the colonel forthwith made his way back to the head of the table.

Mr. CRICHTON here again objected to the competency of such a proceeding as was intended, and after proceeding for some time, and meeting with no reply but calls to order from Colonel Lindsay (who told him he could not be heard unless he was one of "those favourable to the Corn Laws"), and a weak attempt at clamour from the lairds at the table, he asked if the chairman would allow him to read a protest (intended for the first meeting), and being refused he threw a protest to the reporters and left the room, amid great cheering, along with Peter Walker, Esq., of Muirhead, and some others.

Sir GEO. CAMPBELL, of Edenwood, said he had come to the meeting as a commissioner of supply, under the terms of the conveners' summons. He had intended to ask if the discussion of the question of the Corn Laws was to be allowed, if so, he would have expressed his opinions, and if not, he would have left the room. As the present, however, was a mere private meeting, and could not go abroad as a meeting of the county, he did not intend to interfere with it, and having thus accounted for his appearance there, would leave them. Sir George then left the room.

Resolutions in favour of the Corn Laws were then moved and seconded by Sir Ralph Anstruther, Mr. Balfour of Balbirnie, Mr. White Melville, Mr. Ainslie, and several others.

As for the real meeting, that is, four-fifths of those in the room, their only part in the proceedings consisted in keeping up a running fire of jokes at the speakers, and enlivening with roars of laughter the blunders of the orators, the solemn passing of the resolutions, and various other parts of the farce. A more comical burlesque, a more disastrous rout, it is impossible to conceive. —*Second Edition of the Fife Herald, of the 8th inst.*

SIR GEORGE WARRENDER AND HIS TENANTS.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that, at the late Anti-Corn-Law meeting in Edinburgh, Mr. Cobden stated, upon the authority of Mr. Watterston, a farmer present, that his father had paid £3000 out of his capital to his landlord, Sir George Warrender. The statement having been denied by Sir George's agent, led to the following correspondence from Mr. Watterston, which we extract from the *Scotsman*. The writer is one of the most intelligent and respectable farmers in East Lothian. Would that we had more of his order in England possessing equal spirit and independence!

"Mr. John Murray, 625, Castle-hill, Edinburgh, Agent for Sir George Warrender.

"Balgonie Barns, Jan. 20, 1844, North Berwick.

"Sir,—I was not a little astonished, on reading your letter of the 17th current in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of Thursday last, regarding my father's connexion with Sir George Warrender's farms, and at the reckless boldness you have displayed in denying the accuracy of the statement made by Mr. Cobden on my authority. My duty to that gentleman, and regard for my own character, demand that the whole truth should be plainly told. How you, at the time a subordinate clerk in Mr. Hugh Warrender's office, and subsequently in Mr. Gardiner's, have been able to arrive at such correct conclusions as to enable you to pronounce such decided judgment how my father lost his money, passes my comprehension.

"My father certainly was a tenant on Sir George's property previous to making his last arrangement with him; and, what is more, he had taught Sir George his letters, and regarded him almost with the affection of a parent; but how his having been one or twenty leases on the property previous to the last affects the question I leave you to tell. I, however, thank you for the admission that Sir George was justified in forcing from a tenant, by a high rent, all that he had previously acquired by a long life of industry.

"In the winter of 1812-13, a farm of Sir George's, immediately adjoining that of my father, of which the old tenant refused to renew the lease, was offered to my father, who also declined taking it, or retaining his own. Both were then advertised to be let—the one to be entered to at separation of crop 1813, the other, of crop 1815. When I explain that at that time my father was an old man of about seventy years of age, and his only son had chosen another profession, his determination is not to be wondered at. If Sir George wishes it, I will, by publishing Lady Warrender's letters, show how my father was subsequently induced to become tenant, and bring me home from the pursuit of my medical studies to assist him.

"You say that Sir George was offered £2800 for the farm, but the person who made this offer had not funds to stock it, and that Sir George knew well, and consequently would not let it to him. With the next highest offerer Sir George could make no bargain. So much for your statements 'that the increased rent was not proposed by Sir George Warrender or accepted,' because it was the highest he could get."

"Again, you say that 'a few years afterwards this tenant complained of the rent, and it was at once converted from the money rent of £2600 to 1100 bolls of wheat.'

"Now, Sir, the real fact is, that in 1815 Sir George was applied to do what is here stated was done, but from that time, up to my father's death, in December, 1822, no such conversion had taken place, although repeatedly urged to do so or cancel the lease. Sir George, however, some time before my father's death, upon taking about 100 acres of the farm into his own hand, altered the rent from £2600 to £3200. Some months after my father's death, the latter sum was converted into 1150 bolls of wheat, but I was kicked out before I was allowed to reap any advantage from it.

"You also say that there 'was an arrear of £2000, which Sir George in the first instance allowed to lie over unpaid, and ultimately gave up altogether.' This you repeat in various parts of your letter, while the real truth is—my father granted a bill at one day's date for the amount, and of which Sir George got payment in full; first, by a sum of £600 which he was bound to pay the tenant on his removal, for outlay on buildings, and the remainder by my having made over the whole crop and stock on the farm, when he paid me a small sum then due me, after discharging all obligations. You state likewise that these arrears 'were not so much occasioned by losses on the farm as by banking and other undertakings altogether different.' Now, Sir, the real fact is, my father was unfortunately a shareholder in the East Lothian Bank, but this was the only undertaking he had any connexion with except his farms, and the failure of that concern was the only reason why Sir George released me of the remainder of the lease.

"To a committee of the managers of the bank I exhibited my father's books, and proved to their satisfaction that he had paid Sir George Warrender above £9000 in eight years—more than the farm had produced, after deducting expenses of cultivation; besides this £9000, his loss by the bank was £4000.

"Had not Sir George forced himself into notoriety just now, by his letter to the Secretary of the Agricultural Society, Mr. Cobden should have had no information from me relative to the

subject in dispute, and but for your officious interference this additional aspect might have been avoided.

"Neither I nor any other member of my father's family have ever been able to discover any cause of gratitude to Sir George, and certainly my being a tenant in the county at this time does not arise from any favour received at his hands.

"I now leave him to enjoy the satisfaction of having sent his first teacher and old tenant a ruined and broken-hearted man to his grave; and to the odium of using his and his mother's influence over an old man to inveigle him into a bargain to which he held him to his ruin, and by which his widow has been left in her old age dependent on her children for support.

"I am, &c.,

"JAS. WATTERSTON."

"To the Editor of the Scotsman."

"Balgonie Barns, Jan. 27, 1844.

"Sir,—As Mr. Murray, in the *Advertiser* of yesterday, attempted a reply to the statements contained in my letter to him, which appeared in your columns on Wednesday last, allow me to make a few remarks on the discrepancies betwixt his first and second letter.

"In his first letter he states 'that this rent at his request was at once converted from the money rent of £2600 to 1100 bolls of wheat.' He now admits that it was only after a portion of the farm was retaken by Sir George that 'it was ultimately reduced from £2900 to 1150 bolls of wheat,' while he does not deny that this 'ultimately' was not until after my father was in his grave, and that no advantage was ever reaped by the tenant from that conversion.

"In his first letter he also says that there was 'an arrear amounting to £3000, which Sir George, in the first place, allowed to lie over unpaid, and ultimately gave up altogether,' but he now admits that he got the whole stocking on the farm and part of crop 1823, as also £600 for buildings. This sum, however, he says formed no part of the original lease, but was subsequently agreed to by Sir George, and declares that all these were not sufficient to pay the obligations under the lease. I, on the contrary, affirm, that the property made over to Sir George cost my father far beyond any claims he had against him, and that he did not pay me one farthing of overplus that he was not compelled to do; and dread of the bank forced him to an immediate arrangement, by which he got payment of all claims then due; of the crop he got in the stack-yard almost nothing was thrashed out but what was sown upon the farm, the value of which, and the labour of ploughing, sowing, and harrowing it (I also having paid all expenses on the crop, and servants' wages up to Martinmas), were by both parties considered as being more than sufficient to pay all Sir George's claims, and the £400 which I subsequently got. I may mention also that the claim for £600 was cavilled at and denied by Sir George, until I produced his letter to my father agreeing to pay that sum for buildings erected on the farm. It was not likely Sir George Warrender was to put his hand in his pocket and pay the bank £200 on my account without an equivalent.

"Mr. Murray still insists that my father was a candidate, and a preferred one, for the farm, and that it was a gratuitous statement of mine that the offerer of £2800 had not funds to stock the farms. Let him name the individual who made this offer, and produce evidence of my father's having been a candidate either by a letter or offer, and the public can then judge whether he or I am to be believed. I beg to name as my authority Sir George and Lady Warrender, that Sir George would have no dealing with the individual alluded to, and Mr. Murray does not deny that the next highest offerer was off.

"Mr. Murray says he is not aware 'how I satisfied the bank that my father lost £9000 by the farm, and that I never proved this to the satisfaction of the landlord, or those acting for him.' I have again to repeat that I handed over the whole of my father's books (which were most correctly kept) to a committee of the managers of the bank, who made out the accompanying document, copies of which were sent both to Sir George and his agent at the time.

"The gentlemen of the committee being unconnected with either landlord or tenant were certainly likely to give an unbiased report: they had no interest in making it appear that my father's loss was greater than it actually was; and, if this document does not bear out my assertion as to the amount of loss by the farms, I would like to know what would satisfy Sir George and his agents.

"I beg to refer Mr. Murray to that highly respectable gentleman, Mr. Paul, who, as trustee and manager, wound up the affairs of that ruinous concern, for information as to the loss by the bank; but perhaps he will not be able to convince him of what he seems determined not to believe.

"If it had not been for the losses by the farm, and had my father been permitted by Sir George to follow his own wishes and to have retired at the end of his first lease, he would at his death have paid every farthing the bank could have demanded from him, and left his widow and family amply provided for besides.

"I do not think there is any occasion to take any farther notice of Mr. Murray's letter; but wish to confine myself simply to substantiate the truth of the statement made by Mr. Cobden, that my father actually lost £9000 on Sir George Warrender's property within eight years, and that during the blessed protection of the Corn Laws.—I am, &c., JAS. WATTERSTON.

State of the Produce and the Expenses of the Farms of Ewesford, Mireside, and Hallhill, from 1813 to 1821 inclusive. Prepared by the Committee of the East Lothian Bank.

| CROP 1814. | | | |
|--|-------|----|----|
| Expenses of management from January to August 1813 | £602 | 15 | 7 |
| Expenses from August 1813 to August 1814 | 1340 | 12 | 5 |
| Rent for 1814 | 1700 | 0 | 0 |
| | £3733 | 8 | 0 |
| Produce of grain, hay, &c. | £1905 | 14 | 2 |
| Turnips | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| Loss on crop 1814 | £1527 | 13 | 10 |
| CROP 1815. | | | |
| Expenses from August 1814 to August 1815 | £1032 | 6 | 4 |
| Rent 1815, including Mireside | 1830 | 0 | 0 |
| | £2862 | 6 | 4 |
| Pr. of grain, &c. | £2711 | 15 | 2 |
| Turnips | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| Profit on Crop | £149 | 8 | 10 |
| CROP 1816. | | | |
| Expenses from August 1815 to August 1816 | £1315 | 8 | 1 |
| Rent | 2600 | 0 | 0 |
| | £3915 | 8 | 1 |
| Pr. of grain, &c. | £1406 | 9 | 7 |
| Turnips | 290 | 0 | 0 |
| Loss on crop | £2308 | 15 | 6 |
| CROP 1817. | | | |
| Expenses from August 1816 to August 1817 | £1176 | 8 | 9 |
| Rent | 2600 | 0 | 0 |
| | £3776 | 8 | 9 |
| Pr. of grain, &c. | £2354 | 15 | 10 |
| Turnips | 327 | 10 | 0 |
| Loss on crop | £884 | 0 | 11 |
| CROP 1818. | | | |
| Expenses from August 1817 to August 1818 | £1339 | 0 | 1 |
| Rent | 2600 | 0 | 0 |
| | £3939 | 0 | 1 |
| Pr. of grain, &c. | £2949 | 8 | 4 |
| Turnips | 598 | 8 | 4 |
| Loss on crop | £291 | 3 | 5 |

| CROP 1819. | | | |
|---|-------|----|----|
| Expenses from August 1818 to August 1819 | £966 | 15 | 0 |
| Rent | 2600 | 0 | 0 |
| | £3566 | 15 | 0 |
| Pr. of grain, &c. | £1951 | 9 | 8 |
| Turnips | 289 | 2 | 0 |
| Loss on crop | £1316 | 3 | 9 |
| CROP 1820. | | | |
| Expenses from August 1819 to August 1820 | £1097 | 12 | 11 |
| Rent | 2200 | 0 | 0 |
| | £3297 | 12 | 11 |
| Pr. of grain, &c. | £2184 | 14 | 10 |
| Turnips | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| Loss on crop | £2602 | 18 | 1 |
| CROP 1821. | | | |
| Expenses from August 1820 to August 1821 | £845 | 4 | 0 |
| Rent | 2200 | 0 | 0 |
| | £3045 | 4 | 0 |
| Pr. of grain, &c. | £1526 | 2 | 7 |
| Turnips | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| Loss on crop | £1369 | 1 | 5 |
| Deduct profit on crop 1815 | £8559 | 16 | 11 |
| | 149 | 8 | 10 |
| Total loss | £8410 | 8 | 1 |
| Add paid Mr. Sawers's trustees for fallow | 560 | 0 | 0 |
| Total loss | £8970 | 8 | 1 |

The reason why expenses are calculated from January 1813 is, that possession was got at that time of a portion of the other farm, which caused them.

To the above state there should also be added the first cost of the whole stocking, all of which Mr. Murray acknowledges Sir George to have received, amounting to £1700—thus making the loss sustained nearly £11,000.

"To the Editor of the Scotsman."

"Balgonie Barns, Feb. 7, 1844.

"Sir,—I doubt not the public and you will join with me in thinking Mr. Murray's third letter, which appeared in Tuesday's *Advertiser*, requires very little notice from me; I will, therefore, take leave of him with a few very brief remarks. He says, 'Mr. Watterston's remark, that Sir George cavilled at and denied the claim of £600 for buildings is perhaps unworthy of notice; he was not himself on the spot at the time, and I suppose it was quite proper in those acting for him to require some evidence of a claim which was not in the fact.' I beg to refer him to Sir George himself (who was on the spot when the claim was cavilled at and denied) for information as to who cavilled at and denied the claim; it certainly was not his agent. The above extract, however, of itself sufficiently shows that an accurate count and reckoning took place betwixt the parties, and thus sets aside all his quibbling about words.

"His sneer against my father as a farmer, his wishing now to throw the losses from the farm to the farmer, his not applying to Mr. Paul, and his not producing any evidence that my father was a candidate for the farm, simply saying, 'But I am assured that besides his offer, viz., that of £2800, there were several offers higher than the sum at which the farm was let,' place the question in a nutshell, and as fully bear me out in all I have advanced, as if he had at once admitted it.

"His deductions from the document appended to my last are as easily set aside as the differing assertions he has made in every letter he has written, in no one of which he has stood to what he so confidently asserted in the immediately preceding one. He has been driven from position to position, and at last all but confesses the truth of my every statement.

"Can he not, in a plain matter of fact, tell the truth? What does he mean by six years' rent of the land retaken? Could he not have called them sixty or a hundred years? As he must mistake, it would have made a still greater difference, and been as true as the other. Then what must be thought of his veracity when he says the farm was, immediately after my removal, let at upwards of 1100 bolls of wheat. My successor only got 220 acres of the farm, which, at that rate, would give a rent of five bolls per acre. After this Mr. Murray may say what he pleases, but they must be very credulous indeed who believe him.

"Those who are curious in the matter, and who take an interest in the present discussion, will find some very apt illustrations of the accuracy of his agent's assertions in Sir George's parliamentary speeches in 1830.

"I now leave him, and hope that ere he again ventures before the public he will endeavour to know something more of the question he champions than he has shown he does of the present.—I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,
"JAS. WATTERSTON."

TRAVELS OF ADAM BROWN.

A Scotch Farmer in Search of an English Farm.

EIGHTH LETTER.

In this letter Mr. Brown gives some account of his first arrival in Buckinghamshire; he speaks of the Chiltern Hundreds, and the Chiltern Hills, and of the Vale of Aylesbury. As Mr. Brown's letters were not originally written for publication, we have omitted the names of certain persons mentioned in this, not wishing to give any one offence.

WENDOVER, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, Nov. 30, 1842.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—Do you remember to have heard of members of Parliament accepting the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds? You are aware that by the law of England a member of the House of Commons, if appointed to certain offices under the Crown, must be re-elected if he desires to continue a member. If, on the other hand, a member seeks to be liberated from Parliament, he applies to the Government to give him this ideal office, the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds. Whether it was always what it is now I am not able to say, but I am able to tell you that the Chiltern Hills give name to the Chiltern Hundreds; that a hundred is an ancient division of a county, consisting of ten tithings; and that a tithing was the union of ten men and their families, each being bound to the king for the good behaviour of himself and the other nine. Probably the king appointed stewards to govern the hundreds, who continued to exercise such functions until the density of population and progress of other laws infringed on their office. Be that as it may, the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds is the only stewardship of the kind now existing; and it has been preserved only for parliamentary convenience.

The hills which give name to the hundreds are a high chalky ridge extending across Buckinghamshire, from north to south; they are in many parts covered with luxuriant beeches of natural growth, which are a source of profit to the landowners; and in other parts they are covered with a soft, downy herbage indigenous to chalky soils. I am now writing in the little town of Wendover, at the bottom of those hills, and this is what has led me to speak of them and the Chiltern Hundreds. I am thirty-five miles from London, and came by coach two days ago.

This place is not properly in the celebrated Vale of Aylesbury, though just at the verge of it. The vale is a tract of fine rich soil, superior to anything you or any one else ever saw who has not been out of East Lothian. It is so rich that, according to the Agricultural Survey, which I have just been consulting, the farmers scorn the use of manure of any kind; which statement is not altogether true now, though partly so; and it is so fruitful, or so cheaply rented, or the farmers are so wedded to old customs which they will not abandon, that they can afford to yoke four and five and six horses in a plough. I have seen no part of England that I should like so well to settle in as this, if my tenure were a safe one. Oh! the glorious revolution that might be effected here! But there is the tenant-at-will custom prevalent in this county, to which the landlords suicidally adhere. Rather than resign what they believe to be a political influence they will be content to perpetuate sluggish agriculture, and poverty and vice of every kind—direct consequences of the ill-regulated employment of the rural population.

From what I read and listened to before coming here, and from what I have seen and heard since, I believe this district of country is remarkable for the propagation of certain sentiments, to the effect that the surest dependence the farmer can have is the good-will of his landlord; that no other bond is requisite but the bond of friendship. I believe there are many excellent men among the aristocracy and gentry of England—far more of them who are open, generous, and strictly honourable men than we have in Scotland. We have some very so-so gentry in our own country. But, to say nothing more of them, it is I believe characteristic of the English landed gentry, and especially the old nobility, to exercise a kind of profuse generosity in certain matters. They do not look on their tenants in the light of parties to a contract, and as such equal in the eyes of the law to themselves: they look on the tenants as dependents on their bounty; they give a farm as a favour; and would rather indulge in the most romantic benevolence than admit, by a legal covenant, that a tenant has a right to be protected from the caprice of his landlord.

Were some of those noblemen to live for ever; or if, instead of taking a lease of their farms we could secure to them a lease of their lives for the period of 21 years; or if, when they died, they were always succeeded by men as honourable as themselves; or, if none of the young heirs were spendthrifts who mortgage their estates, and leave the tenantry to the mercy of the money-lenders and the agents, we might have less objection to a farm without a lease. But there are so many varieties of landlords, and so many chances that we might fall into the hands of capricious persons, especially in Buckinghamshire, that I would not like to risk them.

In this neighbourhood, for instance, there is a gentleman who, with his lady, is variable enough to have had, in one year, nine master gardeners, their term of service being somewhat less than six weeks each. In other years they have changed three, or four, or five. In the department of other servants the same uncertainty has prevailed, save as regards females. Some of these have been changed oftener, frequently without any period of service at all. A housekeeper is engaged in London, and, on her arrival, she is introduced to her duties, but is told next day that she will not suit; and another, who has been engaged in London to be ready as a reserve, arrives next day. The female servants are rather numerous, and are so continually moving, that the lady has entered into a contract with the proprietors of the stage-coach to carry them to and from London at a lower price than the usual fare, because of their number. She does not hesitate to pay them their wages in advance on dismissing them, nor their expenses. Even the town mansion, in one of the squares at the west end of London, is open to the servants dismissed from the country house, where they may remain until they get other situations. The miscellaneous collection sometimes gathered in this house is a very curious one, I am told. The reputation of the lady for caprice is so well known, that females, who never intend to stay in her service, go to her town agents and engage themselves. They get a journey into the country; and, on being paraded before her ladyship on the day after their arrival, or the next again, as is the custom, they walk awkwardly across the hall—a fatal fault—or assume some particular kind of airs which they know by report to be displeasing to her, and they are consequently paid a month's wages, and sent off by the coach next day. They return to London well pleased by their adventure. Others, who may be the very best of women, share the same treatment. And yet there is something not altogether to be despised in the character of this variable lady: the wages paid, and the asylum offered to such servants as are without a home in London until they get another place, are some small balance to the other side of her conduct.

She is, I am sorry to say, Scotch, and more sorry still am I to say that her Scotch relatives, on their estate, have worried and vexed their tenantry until nothing but the excessive competition for land would get them tenants at all. You remember the A—'s going out of our part of the country; they went to Perthshire, and took a farm under this noble family; and by some means or other they got into litigation with the Earl, and were well nigh ruined. And yet the Earl gives his tenantry leases, while his relatives in England do not. A nice pickle we would be in to hold und—those I have just spoken of in Buckinghamshire as tenants-at-will!

As I have not as yet advanced far into the vale I cannot venture to describe it; but I shall probably go as far as the Duke of Buckingham's estate before I write my next letter. His grace's residence is Stowe, a very fine place, as I am told.

I am just about to start for Aylesbury, a market town five or six miles distant, where I shall post this letter, after adding something to it, should I have time, or should there be anything remarkable to write about.

Yours faithfully,

ADAM BROWN.

P.S. I have arrived in Aylesbury, and have only time to say it is a snug little town. But oh! what a glorious country I have passed through! I have gone several miles out of my way to see some of the farms. The young wheat is finer than I ever saw it with us at this season, and Everything indicates a rich fertility: even the weeds and indolence of fields and farmers bear testimony to the easy production of the crops. I might add that the low rents are in keeping with these; but you know it is impossible for a farmer to say that any land is let at a low rent. Still I must tell you that other your rents are high, or the rents here are very low. And so the tale.

acres are called high rents here for land of the best quality; better, I hesitate not to say, than you and I have been, many years, paying £4 and £4 10s. an acre for. Our way of working a farm is, however, very different from their way of doing it here. They are eaten up with paupers here; and yet they do not employ an adequate number of hands to cultivate the land.

Mary, who has just joined me here from London seems very much interested in the lacemaking which is carried on in every cottager's house. The females of the family of a farm servant are all lacemakers. But I must stop; more of them hereafter.

A. B.

AGRICULTURE.

THE PECULIAR EXEMPTIONS OF LAND.

"It has always been the principle of this Court to show peculiar favour to the owners of landed property."—*Mr. O. P. Cooper, Q.C., in argument, Court of Chancery, 10th Feb., 1844.*

The above sentence was not uttered in any Anti-Corn-Law or Free-Trade discussion, but it was spoken in a proceeding so prosaic as the argument of a Chancery suit, and used simply as a settled axiom of that law by which the litigated question then before the Court must be decided. Nor is the fact that our laws show extraordinary favour to landed proprietors anything new to the professional reader, however it may startle the "unlearned" one. Thus we find in one of the ordinary text-books of the real-property lawyer—*Cooté on Mortgage*—that in equity, however stringent may be the terms in which land is transferred as security for a debt, it is regarded, under all circumstances, as a pledge only. "On this principle," says the writer, "rests the doctrine of foreclosure, and in the application of which the forbearance of equity on behalf of the mortgagor [that is, the owner of land,] seems to be carried to its utmost limits, even so far as, in some instances, to work a serious detriment to the mortgagee [that is, the lender of money on land]; for equity is ready to receive the excuses of the mortgagor, not only for the purpose of giving him time to procure money previously to the foreclosure, but also for the purpose of opening the foreclosure, even after many years quiet possession by the mortgagee, under an absolute decree of foreclosure, confirmed, signed, and enrolled!" And amongst the authorities cited by the learned author in support of his proposition, is the case of *Edwards v. Cunliffe*, reported in the first volume of "Maddock's Chancery Reports," p. 287, in which the period for payment was enlarged for the fourth time!!! Nor ought this to surprise any one who recollects that the owners of land have been exclusively the makers of law in this country. Yet, in the face of these notorious facts, we find the landowners and their advocates claiming to impose a tax upon the rest of the community to countervail the "peculiar burdens" which have been imposed on land. How "jolly green," as Boz has it, these gentlemen must think the public, when they ask belief for the assertion that landowners have laid special burdens on their own property. The very reverse is the fact. The favour to landlords, which we have proved by citation from unquestioned legal authorities is shown in particular instances, runs through the whole law of real property in England; and the notions our country gentlemen may have derived from a very respectable knowledge of that law, are quite consistent with the overweening claims to have their order supported at the public charge, which we have lately seen put forward at "protection meetings." The Corn Laws form but one—though one of the greatest—symptom of the deep-seated sore which exists in our social system, as connected with landed property; and the late revival of all the most extravagant demands of the owners of the soil seem to render it certain that no cure can be effected until that sore has been probed to the bottom.

With this view we shall, from time to time, have occasion to refer to the laws by which the title to land in England is regulated, as illustrative of the cause and consequences of the Corn Laws. Previously to the fall of the Roman empire, and to that period in which feudalism originated, so significantly distinguished as the "dark ages," the owner of land had an absolute, or technically, an *allodial* possession of the soil; it was his own unconditional property, like an ox, a vestment, or a piece of money; it was held of no one. Then came the irruptions of the barbarians, the Scythians, the Normans, and the rest; and with them came feudal tenures. The chiefs everywhere took possession of the land, and granted it in fiefs by the province or the county to their principal followers, who re-granted it in smaller portions to their sub-feudatories, who again subdivided it amongst their barons and knights, and they, for their own selfish gain, permitted its ancient possessors to remain upon it as cultivators, but in the character of serfs. In each successive grant various feudal services were imposed by the person making the grant to be rendered by him to whom the grant was made. For instance, every feudatory rendered to his immediate feudal superior, service in his foreign or domestic wars with specified retinue and equipments; on the knighthood of the lord's son, or the marriage of any of his children; and on certain

other occasions the feudal tenant made to his superior indefinite money payments called *reliefs*; then the feudal superior had the wardship and marriage of his tenant's children in the event of the tenant's death during their infancy, which consisted in the appropriation to himself of the children's lands until they, by attaining to manhood, or, if females, by being married, filled up the fee with an adult male capable of bearing arms in the lord's service. Nor, when we look at the objects of this system, was it so irrational as has been sometimes supposed. The barbarians' object was war. They owed all they possessed, their rank, their lands, their means of subsistence, to plunder and violence; and they could only maintain or increase these benefits by being always prepared to commit or to resist violence. They not merely neglected the arts of peace and the cultivation of mind, but they despised them. Their business or recreation in the intervals of war was the chase, and in promoting such amusement the desolation they caused was little less than that occasioned by their wars. Cultivation of the soil was restricted to that which would supply the households and retinues of the feudal barons and knights, with a miserable pittance for the poor slaves who tilled the ground; manufactures were confined to the requirements of feudal wars, pomp, or amusements, and were carried on by the lords' menials; except the owners of land, men had no rights, they were mere beasts of burden.

From such barbarian darkness mankind was raised by commerce, and by commerce alone. Despite of all difficulties some men had surplus productions beyond their own consumption, and these they exchanged with each other. In the train of commerce followed mental elevation; the revival of letters took place immediately trade between different countries began to extend; yet at every step commerce and civilization had to contend with the discouragements of the lords of the soil, who preferred their own power to the social happiness of mankind. From that day to the present the history of Europe has been a succession of struggles by human mind and commercial enterprise against the obstructive power of the owners of the soil. Light has warred with darkness, and, though slowly, it has been certainly progressive. In some form or other, however, the owners of land, especially in this country, have retained their power over the community, and the sentiments and laws, which prevailed amongst the Norman despoilers of the Anglo-Saxon in the time of the Conqueror, exist amongst us at this day to a far greater extent than is commonly believed. Indeed, the actual law of real property originated in strictly feudal principles; the succession to, the tenure, and the forfeiture of landed property are wholly feudal. The student's first lessons in the law of real property are, that all land must be held of some one as lord; that males are preferred to females, and the eldest son to all other sons, because originally the lord required an adult male tenant to perform the feudal services with the least possible delay; that the fee cannot remain an instant in abeyance, because the lord would be without a tenant and his feudal service; and escheat, or return of the land to the lord where there is no heir, and forfeiture for crime, are founded upon the same reasoning. Until the last few years land was not subject to all the owner's debts, and even now the practical difficulties in affixing land with debts are considerable. Until a modern statute a person might have borrowed a million sterling upon his promissory note or other simple contract, and laid it out in land, which would have descended to his heir, who could not have been made to pay a shilling of his ancestor's debts.

And perhaps the prejudices, opinions, and habits of our landed proprietors bear even stronger marks of feudalism than our laws themselves. The lust of power, which in the days of the Plantagenets induced our nobles and great landowners to lead their dependents against their sovereign or their fellow-nobles, causes their successors to seek to influence elections by means of dependent tenants. The same love of selfish pleasure and disregard of the welfare of others, which caused the depopulation and destruction of seventy villages to make the New Forest for a hunting-ground, animate the game-preserving landowners at this hour.

It would be impossible to comprehend completely the recent furious demeanour of the landowners without some such considerations as we have suggested: it is an outbreak of suppressed feudalism, the last expiring effort of that anti-social system. The violent tirades against the League are not to be accounted for by mere apprehensions of falling rents, for nine out of ten of the landlord spouters show by their ridiculous exaggerations that they really do not believe their own assertions on that score. Doubtless fears on this head are felt by the most deeply-mortgaged landlords—and most of the proprietors who have their "sheepskins" at home are in the ranks of the Free-Traders—but the grand offence of the League is its unqualified assertion that every man has a right to the unrestrained and unconditional enjoyment of the fruits of his own industry. This is high treason against feudalism. Hitherto Free Trade has been advocated and ap-

plied by politicians so far only as it did not interfere with the prejudices or the power of the landowners. Huskisson was their slave, and only introduced freedom—so far as he did introduce it—into our commercial legislation after the manner of a slave, by outwitting his masters. The Whigs bow to the yoke of the oligarchy, and have always advocated "protection" to land. And Peel, after an exposition of the principles of Free Trade, which would fit him for the chair of the League Council, declares that corn is an excepted article, and that it has ever been the policy of the Legislature of this country to grant special protection to landowners.

Now, the League has shaken off these trammels; its members say, let the landowners have all the benefits which the fair enjoyment of the best kind of property can afford, but let them have no more; let them not keep up rents to pay mortgages or marriage settlements, or retain farmers in serfdom to win county elections, or desolate parishes by preserving game. Let them use their land as well as enjoy it. Let those who want full rents go the right way to get them either by improving their estates themselves, or by letting them to tenants upon such terms as will induce improvement. Nor do the Free Traders hesitate to say, that if Free Trade shall render the deeply-mortgaged landowner absolutely insolvent, let him do as better men have done before him—support himself by his own industry. On behalf of the industrious classes of this country, we say, the national industry shall be no longer taxed to support a class, though that class be successors to the power, if not the descendants from the loins, of the Norman marauders. We shall another week show how the peculiar exemptions of land, and the feudal system out of which those exemptions have grown, affect the modern relations of landlord and tenant, and the mutual sentiments, habits, and prejudices of those two classes.

THE LAIRDS OF EAST LOTHIAN AND THE LABOURERS.

An admirable exposition of the fallacies of the lairds, in their assertions that the Corn Laws benefit the labourers, has been widely circulated in East Lothian, as

"The Petition of the Hinds and other Agricultural Labourers of East Lothian to the Association recently instituted for the purpose of Keeping up Rents, but professedly for the Protection of British Agriculture and the Benefit of Agricultural Labourers."

After expressing the petitioners' thanks for the warm interest expressed by the monopolist landowners at the Haddington protection meeting, they are made to say:—

"That we are not so rewarded at present you will readily believe, when we inform you that, after taking into account every allowance made to us, and converting the same into money, our earnings do not amount on an average to more than £24 2s. a-year, or 8s. 9d. per week; and that with this small sum we have to clothe ourselves and families, consisting of, say, five individuals; to buy coals, candles, soap, shoes, household utensils, &c., and to pay for the education of our children, and for medical attendance. In addition to all this, out of the same sum of 8s. 9d. per week, we have to supply ourselves and families with food."

Again they say:—

"It appears from the speeches delivered at your meeting that you fear our circumstances would be deteriorated by the abolition of the Corn Laws, and that we might be reduced to the condition of the peasantry of Silesia and other countries, who subsist chiefly on 'black bread.' What our present condition is we beg to explain, and leave you to judge what we could lose by any change. We do not sit down, as some members of your association seem to suppose, at boards plentifully supplied with wheat bread, and, although more scantily, also supplied with butcher's meat. This is not, and cannot be, our condition; for our whole earnings would not supply a family of five persons with these costly articles of food, even if they could subsist on one meal a-day. Wheat bread is never tasted by us except in the harvest-field; and the only butcher meat we ever see is a little pork on Sundays, being the produce of a pig fed by us, and which may weigh ten stones, thus affording about three pounds of pork each Sunday to be divided amongst five persons, and none for the other six days of the week."

"What our food really is we shall now explain for your information. In the morning a little porridge—for few of us can get as much as we desire—and, in winter, often without milk; for dinner we get potato soup, or potatoes and herring; for supper a few potatoes or a little porridge. Our wives sometimes indulge themselves with a little tea of the coarsest quality, often without sugar, and in winter without milk. Along with this tea they use coarse black bread without any butter for butter is too expensive to use except upon rare occasions."

They then say the labourers of the Continent prefer the rye bread of which the lairds would make a bugbear, and add:—

"In East Lothian the bread used by your hinds and other agricultural labourers is a mixture of barley, peas, and beans, ground into meal; and you will understand its appearance when we inform you that it is very like the rape and oil cakes used for feeding cattle and manuring the fields; and it is very indigestible coarse food."

They then ask the landlords to reduce their rents so as to enable the occupiers to make wages high, and they say:—

"We no doubt enjoy the pleasure and advantages of rising at four o'clock in the morning, inhaling the fragrance of the bean-fields, as has been so poetically said, and of continuing to labour incessantly, with short intervals for meals, till seven o'clock in the evening. We likewise enjoy the bracing effects of the northern blasts while holding the plough, or, as often happens, while working at draining or ditching during frosty weather; but, notwithstanding these circumstances, we would greatly prefer the creature comforts enjoyed by the families engaged in manufactures, with their weekly earnings of 12s., 18s., 25s., and even 30s. a week, to all these advantages, real and imaginary, combined as they are with our scanty earnings of only £24 2s. a year, or 8s. 9d. a week, as detailed in the following statement, taken for a fair average of years, and which all of you know to be correct:—

| HIND'S WAGES. | | |
|--------------------------------|----|---------|
| 9 quarters of oats, worth | .. | £29 0 0 |
| 1 do. peas and beans | .. | 1 11 0 |
| 2 do. 2 bushels barley | .. | 3 16 0 |
| 5 bolls potatoes | .. | 2 0 0 |
| Cow's keep | .. | 5 0 0 |
| Lint | .. | 1 0 0 |
| Carriage of 5 carts coals, say | .. | 0 15 0 |
| Harvest meat, 30 days, say | .. | 1 0 0 |
| Average yearly value | .. | £42 2 0 |
| Average weekly value | .. | 0 8 9 |

"Much has been said by your class regarding the destitution of the labouring classes on the Continent, but, as some of us read newspapers now-a-days, we recollect to have seen official statements, by Dr. Bowring and others, which clearly prove that the labourers and peasantry in foreign states, though nominally receiving smaller wages than ours, really procure a much larger supply of the necessities of life than we do in this highly-taxed country."

And after congratulating the lairds on the "sudden and favourable changes which have taken place in their opinions," they pray:—

"May it therefore please you, the landowners of the Agricultural Protection Association, to take this, the humble petition of the lands and other agricultural labourers on your estates, into your consideration, and grant us a moderate supply of wheat bread and butcher meat as above craved."

And the document concludes thus:—

"The following noblemen and gentlemen, landowners, who took part in the formation of the association, are requested, on the part of the petitioners, to act as a committee for the promotion of the objects stated in the petition, and for the purpose of presenting the same, and supporting its prayer, at the first meeting of the association, viz.:—Lord Elcho, Sir D. Kinloch, Sir George Warrender, Sir T. B. Hepburn, M.P., Sir George G. Scobie, the Honourable Mr. Charteris, Mr. Balfour, M.P., Mr. Aitchison of Drummore, Captain Hay of Belton, Mr. Hunter of Thureston, and Sir Robert Houston."

This is bringing the absurdities of the landlords to a practical test.

LANDLORD AND TENANT—IDENTITY OF THEIR INTERESTS.

It is a favourite topic of declamation with the squires, to allude to the observations of Free Traders on the relations of landlord and tenant, and to say that the League is endeavouring to create ill blood between those classes. No doubt this is a very convenient assertion for the landed gentry; but, as the farmers happen to understand the complete diversity of interests which exists between themselves and their landlords, we doubt whether these voluble gentry impose on any but themselves. However, we will present our readers with a passage from the writings of the agriculturists themselves, which is far more severe upon the landlords than anything we recollect to have proceeded from a Free Trader. A correspondent of the *Mark-lane Express*, the weekly organ of the monopolists, whose letters are always displayed in the largest type—the writer being a violent advocate for "protection"—in reference to the Anti-League meetings, says:—

"The Marquis of Chandos's clause in the Reform Bill, which added very greatly to their numbers, by enfranchising all tenants-at-will of £50 and upwards, neither contributed to their power nor their public spirit. They were still 'tenants-at-will,' and could only use their new and important privilege, in nineteen cases out of twenty, as it might please their landlords; hence they continued to be held as entitled to little consideration—time and taxable; grumbling, it may be, at market-dinner, but perfectly powerless to resist any measures that ministers and landlords might think proper. 'A change,' however, is coming over the spirit of their dream; they are rousing themselves, and 'shaking,' we trust, 'their invincible locks;' the sluggishness engendered by ignorance or hopelessness, or indifference, is passing away; landlords are perceiving this, and condescend to advise where they used to command; nay, so obsequious are some become, that they would 'rather not interfere with the meetings, as they would wish the tenants to act for themselves.' 'Kind souls! The enemy is at the gate, thundering for permission to ruin all rents on the one side, and their darling minister and party—whom they prefer to all other considerations (save rents), with God knows how many tariffs and Canadian crochets—on the other; hence they would rather not commit themselves—they graciously condescend to permit the tenantry to act for them; they know their value in the day of battle, and—they raise their rents when it is over.'"

This is from a "Protectionist." This is from the mouth of one of your own advocates, most mighty landlords. This is no League libel, but a statement—and we believe a very just and true statement—of a most ardent monopolist. And the same writer, a little further on, thus tells the farmers "how" they must fight their own battle:—

"With Free Trade or without Free Trade, to prevent the necessity of importation or compete with it when it comes, our own country must be made to yield as much more as it is possible. How, and by whom is this to be effected? Certainly not by tenants-at-will. Few will be such fools as to expend their time and money to obtain an extraordinary crop one year, in order that their rents may be raised the next. Such follies have been, we know, but tenants are not quite such credulous fools as formerly. Late events have shaken their faith in promises and pledges of all sorts and from all men. They have found to their sorrow that neither Governments, nor county members, nor 'liberal landlords,' are to be trusted overmuch. The present meetings, if leading to permanent associations, will bring this subject frequently forward. Leases must be asked for and obtained. 'The day of the landlords' weakness is that of their strength. Let them pass resolutions that England can grow any quantity of corn that may be required, if properly cultivated, and sufficient capital be expended in such cultivation; but that in order that such increased supply be obtained by such increased expenditure, the tenant-farmer must be protected by his landlord as well as by the Legislature, long leases being as necessary as Corn Laws for larger supplies.' Give a man secure possession of a bleak rock, says a great agricultural writer, and he will convert it into a garden; give him but temporary possession of a garden and he will turn it into a desert. Give the farmers long leases say we, encourage them by every means you can to improve your property, and then, and then only, will the landlords be safe, their rents secure, their motives appreciated."

And then, we may add, Corn Laws, and similar absurd iniquities, would be left to their fate by both landlords and tenants without a murmur. But, as the agriculturists and the monopolists themselves have in substance admitted the whole case against the Corn Laws, it is somewhat cool to expect the rest of the community to wait the result of self-reformation amongst the landed class, which is everywhere a work of exceeding tediousness.

CORN-LAW CRUDITIES.

"There are men who readily understand any single isolated fact, and make it part of their stock of knowledge, but whose stock of knowledge consists entirely of such distinct facts. These men cannot lay a number of facts together so as to draw some general inference from them."—*Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*.

The above sentence is singularly expressive of the state of mind of many acute persons connected with land upon the subject of the Corn Laws. They see isolated facts and peculiar circumstances which are detrimental to agriculture, and eagerly exclaim against their continuance; but, when they are asked to apply to the larger question of protection that reasoning which they use so justly in a more limited view of the requirements of agriculture, they lose themselves amidst a crowd of fallacies and absurdities. Thus, our readers will remember a passage upon the subject of farming covenants, which we reprinted from a letter of Mr. James Dean, a land-agent, in which he ably exposed the mischievous state of the law

as applied to husbandry. This we used to illustrate our view of the evils arising from restriction. That extract has drawn from Mr. Dean a long letter, addressed to the Council of the League, and published in the *Mark-lane Express*, in which, amongst many crudities and errors, we find some useful remarks, evincing considerable acuteness in particulars, but absolute incapacity to grasp general reasoning. After stating that Sir Robert Peel ought either to declare explicitly that there shall be no further change in the Corn Laws, or that the Corn Laws should be repealed at the end of five years, with an abrogation of all contracts between landlords and tenants;—this Mr. Dean thinks would be "acting a straightforward part," and evidently seeing that the last branch of his alternative—his reversionary repeal—is the least improbable of the two modes suggested for a settlement of the question;—he says:—

"And why should he not now allow five years to the British farmers to make arrangements and otherwise regulate their affairs? The farmer would then carry on his improvements with steadiness, and at the end of five years would find himself on safe ground, unassailable by Anti-Corn-Law Leaguers or any other leaguers. Few men know more of England and the farmers of England than I do. Deal fairly with them; give them time and a fair field, and there are no difficulties they are not ready to encounter, and will as surely surmount, for their country's good. The situation of the landlords, too, would be improved beyond measure; instead of a poverty-stricken tenantry, beggared-out estates, and a starving peasantry—rents, though somewhat lower, would be equalised, leases would be granted, capital would circulate in the making of improvements, and peace and contentment would reign universal. And if to the measures herein proposed, Sir Robert Peel would add the compulsory enclosure of all open arable fields and common pastures, and the enfranchisement of copyhold lands within five years, then would full employment be found for all the labouring classes; and the increased and increasing produce of the land, by means of the improved husbandry now everywhere progressing, would render food plentiful and cheap; attended, too, with the farther advantage of not interfering with other interests to their prejudice anywhere."

Now, the natural exclamation on reading this catalogue of the benefits of Free Trade is, "Why postpone so much good for five years?" And the mere statement of such a proposition is enough to show its absurdity. But the fact is, this gentleman has experience and acuteness enough to see that, if the farmer had arrived at the haven of Free Trade, he and all those who work under him would be far better off than at present; but he has not the moral courage or the capacity for general views which are necessary for looking through the cloud of delusion and prejudice in which sinister interests and party politicians are at this moment trying to envelop the very simple question of Free Trade.

Since the above was written (and it has been several weeks in type) we have seen a subsequent letter in the *Mark-lane Express* from Mr. Dean, on "Farming Leases," which is a remarkable illustration of the views we have above stated. We shall make use of that letter on an early occasion.

A FREE-TRADE LECTURE.

We said when the Anti-League agitation first began in Essex that we hailed it as a most useful auxiliary to our own efforts in favour of Free Trade, and this has turned out to be the case in even a far greater degree than we anticipated. Whether the speakers deal in mere abuse of the League and the advocates of Free Trade, or whether, like Mr. O. Copland at Romford, they are ambitious of appearing argumentative, they alike expose the delusive system they seek to uphold. In the one case, all reasonable men are convinced that any system which requires such vituperation to be called in aid must be essentially unsound; in the other, by endeavours to grapple, or of appearing to grapple, with Free-trade arguments, the monopolists lay themselves open to detection and refutation—detection of misstatements, refutation of fallacies. The landlords were wise in their generation when they voted in silence for the maintenance of the Corn Laws, and it augurs well for the cause of commercial freedom that they are now driven to speak out upon the subject.

We have said that Mr. O. Copland is ambitious of being an argumentative advocate of monopoly, and, being a man of considerable fluency and apparently of some reading, he just contrives, by a mixture of dashing assertion and cautiously garbled quotation, having an unflinching reliance on the want of information in his audience, to make a case which might be somewhat plausible to those who never thought and never intended to inquire into the subject. The notice of a few of his recent statements at Romford, in Essex, will serve to show that the protectionists are indeed playing with edged tools, when they essay argument in favour of the Corn Laws. And, first, we must apologize to Mr. Copland for confounding him, as we did in our notice of his former speech, with the respectable solicitors of the same name resident in Chelmsford: they are men of education and intelligence, and, whatever might be supposed to be their interest as professional men in such a monopoly-ridden county as Essex, they are superior to those influences, and are Free Traders. With such men, Mr. O. Copland, the monopolist, has nothing in common; he stands out as the upholder of the greatest wrong and injury ever inflicted upon the English tenantry, and if he be an amateur advocate of the Corn Laws, and not, as we had been led to believe, an agent of the landowners, we can only say he has exhibited much perverse industry in a most unamiable and hopeless cause. But, be his motives what they may, there can be no mistake about his arguments. Take the following sample:—

"I will not, as I did at Chelmsford, go into figures to show you what the price of corn would be if a repeal of the Corn Laws were carried; but I will state one fact. I find that in the year 1826 the price of wheat at Dantzic was 15s. 11d., and oats 4s. 11d. (Hear.) Now I maintain 6s. or 7s. per quarter includes every expense of freight, insurance, and profit, if brought into the port of London; and thus at that time wheat could be sold here at 23s. Mark that, and see what you are to expect under a Free Trade."

That is the hardy assertion. Now, what is the fact? Why, that from the years 1823 to 1826, the price of wheat in Dantzic ranged between 21s. and 27s. a quarter; and it was at that low price solely because, from the state of our markets, there seemed no chance of selling it here. The wheat, which in the north of Europe is chiefly grown for exportation, had accumulated in the warehouses, and there was no expectation of an outlet. But the demand which arose for foreign wheat in this country in 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1831, had the effect of raising the price of wheat in Dantzic to the average price, during those four years, of 42s. 2d. per quarter. Now, this is more like what may be expected under a Free Trade than as

represented by Mr. Copland. Can a man who thus misstates facts be taken to be an honest reasoner? Is it not plain that he has some sinister purpose to serve? And what must be a cause which requires such advocacy? Again, the following is a barefaced assertion, which is directly contradicted by recorded facts. He said:—

"But I think if I show you that as protection has decreased the price of corn has decreased, that is a strong proof that protection has not the effect they endeavour to show, and that with a repeal of the Corn Laws prices would be lower still. I find that, under the law of 1816, the price of corn was 67s. or 68s., and one return was 60s. In 1828 there was less protection given, and under that bill the price fell nearly 10s. per quarter; the return was about 57s. Does that not show you that as protection is reduced corn falls?"

Mark the facts, and see how they contradict this man's arguments. The price of wheat was, under the law of 1815, not only 68s. and 69s., but in one year, 1817, it rose as high as 117s. a quarter; but then, on the other hand, it fell to 51s. a quarter in 1821; to 42s. and 38s. in 1822; in 1823 it varied from 40s. 8d. to 50s. 8d. per quarter; in September, 1824, it was 55s.; and in March, 1826, it was again 55s. 6d. a quarter. And this while the Corn Law practically prohibited all importation. Now, under the law of 1828, though the protecting duty was nominally lowered, in November of that year the average price reached 75s. 3d.; and in 1829 and 1830 the small portion of dry wheat brought to market sold for from 70s. to 80s. a quarter; in August, 1830, the average was 72s.; in March, 1831, 73s. 5d.; and in August, 1832, it was 63s. a quarter. So, again, in August, 1838, the average was 72s. 11d. a quarter; in January and February, 1839, it was 79s. 8d.; in September, 1840, 72s. 8d.; and in September, 1841, 73s. 2d. What a complete refutation of Mr. Copland's argumentation do these figures present! The truth is, that any protection, be it nominally higher or lower, has no other effect upon the farmer than to aggravate the fluctuations of the seasons, and to delude him into following a will-o'-the-wisp, in the shape of imaginary high prices. Then he ventures to state taxation as a ground for monopoly; saying:—

"But it is an insult to say the English farmer can compete with the foreigner. Put them on equal terms, and I fear not the result; but, encumbered as you are with taxation, to put you in the race with the foreigner is a gross delusion and a gross injustice. It is impossible that you can compete with him, because you have around you a weight of taxation that the foreigner has not. There is the point of highway-rates. It is said the highway-rates are not a burden on the farmers. Now, if you came on the highway—if you came here—there is a toll-gate, and if you say, 'I pay highway-rates in my parish and ought not to pay this,' the answer is, 'You must pay or not pass;' but when the inhabitants of towns and of the manufacturing districts come upon our highways and byways, we have no toll-gates—we keep our roads in order, and we say they ought to keep the highways in repair for us. I admit the keeping up our roads improves the value of our land; BUT WHAT OF THAT? Are we fairly treated in having to keep our own ways and also the highways of the kingdom? I contend that the farmer always will have cause of complaint if we have Free Trade, till all these imposts, together with tithes, are made a national and not a parochial burden."

Now, this is one of the most impudent assertions of the landlord claim to plunder the public we ever met with. The farmer, of course, calculates all these rates, tithes, and so forth, and bids for his farm accordingly; therefore they form no burthen on him; and as the landlord bought or inherited his estate subject to these outgoings, the claim to have his outgoings paid by the public is really most audacious. Yet this is, in fact, what is always meant by special burdens. The landlords wish, like the old French aristocracy, to be exempted from all taxation. They do contrive to shift off a large share of the burdens they ought to bear, but they think the community should allow them to eat up their unearned rents undiminished by any taxation whatever. Then he said:—

"But it is ruinous to say that Englishmen, English labourers in particular, are to be placed in competition with those abroad, seeing that we have 38 millions of customs a year, and there is not an ounce of tea, or a bit of tobacco, or a pound of sugar, or scarcely any article that the labourer requires, but in some way he pays a portion of taxation to the country on it. Therefore your labourers cannot afford to live on such low wages as they could do if there were no taxation. I do not say there is no taxation on the Continent—I know that Mr. Cobden says they are all taxed as high as they possibly can be. But what I say is this—I admit that they are taxed, but I deny that they are taxed in an equal amount. With respect to Poland, I find that Mr. Porter, in Mr. McCulloch's great work, gives the gross taxation of that country at 25 per cent. on the value of the land, and as the land varies there from 3d. to 8d., that is about 14d. an acre. Would you call that taxation in this country?—would you not be glad to get yours reduced to that?"

What a funny reasoner this Mr. Copland is; his question really is, how would the landlords of England like to be taxed 25 per cent. on the value of their land?

Let us put this passage in contrast with another which seems to refute it entirely:—

"But does cheap corn produce happiness? I doubt it. If it did, where corn is cheapest the people would be the happiest; but we find that in Poland, where it is the lowest in Europe, there the labourers are in the lowest state of misery and want. Cheap and dear corn, in fact, are relative terms. If I have 6d., and the loaf is 4d., then I can buy it and have 2d. to spare; but if the loaf is 6d., and I have only 4d., then I cannot, because I want 2d. to enable me to do so, when before I had 3d. to spare."

Does not Mr. Copland suspect that he has here hit upon the cause of the lower wages of the ruder countries of the Continent? Does he not see that it is because there is no profitable employment for the people that wages are thus low? Then, to show that Corn Laws do not cause or increase fluctuations in the price of corn, he goes back some five or six centuries, "when there were no Corn Laws."

"But if I can show you that before any Corn Laws existed greater fluctuations took place than have done since, I think that is pretty good evidence that the Corn Laws do not produce them. Now, in 1288 the price of corn was 2s. per quarter; in 1291, only three years after, it was 48s. Does not this show a greater amount of fluctuation than any that takes place now? In 1299 the price was 6s. 2d., in 1339 it was 63s. per quarter. And, then, with the argument that fluctuations are produced by the Corn Laws, because if they existed when there were no Corn Laws, could they be attributable to them?"

This is inconceivably ridiculous. At the time he speaks of, half the country was wood and morass, and the imperfect tillage of the strong lands, the only land then in tillage, rendered the population entirely dependent on the seasons whether there was famine or abundance. Again, he says:—

"I find in the letter of a 'Hertfordshire Farmer,' who I think I am not far out in saying is Mr. Lattimore, a Free Trader, this passage on the result of the repeal:— 'We should become, one and all of us, convinced of the

necessity of looking to the quantity rather than the high price of our grain, for profit."

"You are to look to the quantity rather than the price, and they think you have never yet produced one-half the quantity of corn you can grow, but repeal is to compel you to do it. He then says:—

"We should become less eager to grow wheat, and should, therefore, be certain to grow it more successfully, because the land would be better prepared for it."

"Thus, first, you are to get a less price; and secondly, you are to grow fewer acres of wheat—there is to be a reduction in price, and a reduction in quantity, and with that I should like to know how you are to get on."

This is not the argument of the writer referred to. He says, and says truly, that if prices were steady farmers would grow a greater quantity per acre. With a less price and fewer acres of wheat, farmers might and would have an increased quantity to sell, and would certainly, in a series of years, average larger receipts in money from their wheat crop than they do at present. But Mr. Copland found it convenient not to state the whole argument. Then he said:—

"But we are told that science is to do much for us as farmers—that is the great hobby on which the League trot. What science may eventually do for the advancement of agriculture, I do not know. What she may do, futurity has not unfolded; and no one would rejoice more than I should, if it should prove that by this aid we could produce two quarters for one; but I do say that science has been unwarrantably misused and insulted, when persons maintain that she has taught us this already. Let a farmer become acquainted with all the pleasing facts which agricultural chemistry reveals—let him study the nature and properties of the elemental bodies—let him learn the theories of chemical equivalents and combinations—let him investigate the nature of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and the other gases—let him acquire a knowledge of nitre; sulphuric, muriatic, and the rest of the acids—let him become acquainted with the nitrates, sulphates, and all the other salts—let him inquire into the properties of soda, potash, ammonia, and all other alkalies—let him make himself familiar with chemical analysis—let him comprehend the theories of fermentation, putrefaction, and germination—let him know that carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and in some cases nitrogen, constitute the ultimate elements of most of the articles he produces. Let him search out all that the science of botany can unfold—let him know the difference between endogens and exogens—let him inquire how the roots of trees and vegetables derive through their spongioles nourishment for the plant—let him understand all the processes of nutrition, vegetable respiration, flowering, and fructification—let him learn that plants of the same kind will not grow well for succeeding years on the same land, owing to the excrementitious matter thrown off from their roots, which is injurious to a similar plant the following year—let him search far and deep into the revelation of these sciences, and when he has accomplished the object as a farmer, he will not be five pounds the richer man at the end of the year than he was at the beginning."

This is mere evasion or mystification. No one says farmers need to be or should be scientific chemists or botanists, but there are means within the reach of the plainest and most uneducated farmer, which will enable him to grow in many cases "two quarters of grain for one." They can understand the value of a lease; they could destroy the game; they could keep more stock; they could farm with a certainty of reaping the fruits of their industry or their outlay; but the Corn Law, and the system which it upholds, offer at present an insuperable bar to such beneficial alterations. He adds:—

"Now, if you have done all these things they recommend to others, how can you improve so that you can compete with the foreigners, because you have farmed well, and I do not think there is a single thing I can mention to the farmers by which they can get more money by their cultivation than they do now."

The very reverse of this is the truth. Even in Essex, which is comparatively a well cultivated county, one-half of the land is not half farmed, and the best farmers would be none the worse for steady prices.

HINTS FOR LANDLORDS.

UTILITY OF PIECE-WORK.—The following passage of the letter of Mr. Johnson Daniell, a Dorsetshire landowner, from which we extracted largely in a former number, shows the importance of enabling the agricultural labourer to work for himself, by giving him piece-work as much as possible:—

"For almost all these jobs are done 'by the piece'; this is best for both parties, the payer and the paid. No words need be wasted to prove this: all I would observe is, that it lightens at once the task to the labourer. Like the armour of the hero it gives him wings. He has a daily interest in his daily task. And it is quite a mistake to suppose that there is (among good labourers) anything like a general disposition to 'slight' their work. The agricultural labourer has, usually, a pride in his honest task. An awkward bank or a badly 'pushed' hedge is felt by him as a reflection. The zeal of art is not confined to the artist who arrogates to himself that exclusive name. The labourer is not thus and sinews only; he has the ambition suited to his sphere; he will put up your bank better than you can direct him yourself, and will criticise his own performance as if it were his memorial. In the homely seclusion of his own green valley or hamlet in fact it is so. 'Such an one put up this bank.'—I have heard with comments of praise or blame, long after the workman's body had reposed under its own green nameless heap in the village churchyard. 'Let not Ambition mock his useful toil!'"

And the same letter contains the following discriminating observation on the only real charity to the poor, namely, providing them with employment which is profitable to the employer:—

"For there is no charity like this. Cases of accidental or sudden distress, or grievous sickness, may be well met by the ready hand, and will be sought out by the willing eye; but we want something more systematic, which may benefit the poor always, without leaving them to their own resource (and in spite of the general outcry I maintain that the resource is invaluable) the workhouse. This charity benefits and degrades not; nourishes and does not oppress; nay, it has the effect appertaining to the wise laws of the creation in the system of life and nutriment—of providing means for its own continuance and extension."

The following letter was addressed by Sir George S. Mackenzie, Bart., of Coull, to the Secretary of a late meeting of the West Ross Farmers' Society:—

Edinburgh, Jan. 29, 1844.
"Sir,—Observing an advertisement in the Dingwall paper, calling a meeting of the West Ross Farmers' Society, for the purpose of supporting the Corn Law, I beg to express my regret that it is not in my power to be present. I wish also to make known to the meeting, that I shall be very sorry to find that the farmers of Ross give any support to a cause, which is purely a landlord's cause, and opposed to the true interests of the farmers. The cause is nothing else but that of high rents, in disregard of the farmer's prosperity and of the comfort of the labourer. Reason, common sense, and fact, are all against the present Corn Law; and it is vain for landlords to think that intelligent farmers will be much longer blind to their real interests. I lament I should stand opposed, on this question, to many highly valued friends; but having already submitted to a reduction of rent, and taken chance with my tenants of what

might befall, and felt nothing the worse, while they were thriving, I am ready to submit, with perfect resignation and composure, to any further reduction which the abolition of the Corn Law may require; because I rely on drawing quite enough from my property to enable me to live comfortably. Whatever be the opinion of my own tenants on the Corn Question, they will give me credit for my sincerity in believing the Corn Law to be injurious to them, directly and indirectly; and that my opposition does not arise from any desire to serve myself at their expense, they will certainly believe."

"I am, Sir,
Your very obedient servant,
G. S. MACKENZIE."

"Mr. John Munro,
Secretary to the West Ross Farmers' Society."

Sir George Mackenzie is one of the most enlightened and amiable landlords in Scotland, and is the author of some valuable treatises on agriculture.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"L. D.'s" verses have great merit, but the point in some stanzas is not sufficiently apparent.
"Vox Populi."—Mr. Feargus O'Connor is so busily engaged in damaging himself, that we are unwilling to disturb him in so useful an occupation.

"J. A., of the rectory A. B."—We doubt whether the English people would pay the price of starvation for the luxury of Irish oppression, and their consent is necessary to the validity of the bargain he describes.

"A Rutland Farmer."—We are glad to welcome such a convert. "An Elector of Durham" states, in reply to Colonel Sibthorpe's assertion, that "there is not an agricultural labourer in Lincolnshire unemployed," the decisive fact that there are twenty-five labourers destitute for want of employment in the single parish of Bardney, within seven miles of the colonel's residence.

"K. M."—The Brazilian tariff is not prohibitory as yet.
"G. H."—The Free-Traders of Sunderland know well how they ought to deal with Mr. Barclay.

"G. H., of D."—It would be an endless task to expose the trickery of the pretended meetings of farmers held by the Rent League. His account of the assemblage at Doncaster is confirmed by many other correspondents, but we deem the hollowiness of the pretended movement so transparent as to require no further comment.

"A Free Trader."—Would any preacher of "Free Trade in the abstract" be satisfied with "a dinner in the abstract?"

"P. L.'s" lines are very spirited, but are liable to be misinterpreted.

"E. M."—The verses are good, but not quite up to the mark.

"A Man of Kent."—The question to be asked the farmer is:—Are they satisfied with their present condition, and do they find their pursuit under the existing laws as profitable as trades and manufactures?

"The Essex Letters" ought to be published in a local paper.

"J. H."—The utter folly of the pretext set forth by the advocates of reciprocity has been sufficiently demonstrated.

"A. M."—The subject of his letter is one which could not be discussed without needlessly exposing the League to misrepresentation.

"Y. N." will see a reason why his verses are respectfully declined in this day's paper.

"A Subscriber."—The truck system runs in the family; but, though Sir Robert Peel's brother has been fined for it, we fear that no law will reach the Premier's truck of the people's food for the landlords' votes.

"A Lady of Hendon."—We are reluctant to insert merely personal attacks; and, besides, the subject of her invective is really beneath notice.

"Vindex."—The persons who bring the Government into contempt are the Duke of Richmond and the other landlords who issue orders to the Ministers in the tone of masters, and enforce obedience with the rigour of Russian nobles directing their serfs.

"Bibliophile."—Mr. G. B. Whittaker's speech is not reported, and was probably passed over for sufficiently good reasons. Poor Mr. Baring's exhibition was so melancholy that we have not sufficient cruelty to notice it. His friends are much to blame for not keeping him under more restraint.

Buba.—Caducous.—A Leaguer.—J. G.—J. C.—A Nottinghamshire Farmer.—A Cornish Free Trader.—A Friend at Raigate.—J. S., Jun.—A Liverpool Subscriber to Fund and Paper.—A Member in Leith.—G. W. W.—A B.—A Tenant-farmer of Fife.—E. F. of Cambridge.—S. S., Jun.—and W. M.—are respectfully thanked for their communications, and their several hints shall receive due consideration.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

We this week present our readers with a sheet embracing twelve additional columns, in order to make room for a quantity of interesting matter, which, for want of space, has lain over for several weeks.

GREAT LEAGUE MEETING.—The Weekly Meetings of the League will, in future, be held on the Wednesday in place of the Thursday Evenings as heretofore. The next WEEKLY MEETING of the LEAGUE will take place in COVENT GARDEN THEATRE, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, Feb. 21st.

GEORGE WILSON, Esq., will take the Chair at Seven o'clock. The meeting will be addressed by Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P., James Wilson, Esq., and other gentlemen.

Cards of admission to the Stage and UPPER ORCHES of BOXES may be had on personal application at the Central Office of the League, 67, Fleet-street, during Monday and Tuesday; no application by letter can be attended to.

To prevent inconvenience from the great pressure at the front entrances of the Theatre, the Council has resolved to limit the issue of Tickets of admission to the dress circle to the precise number that can be conveniently accommodated.

Each ticket will be numbered, and each number represent and secure the seat in each box to be occupied by the bearer of the ticket.

The Entrance to the Dress Circle will, in future, be at the Private Box-door on the Queen's Side, in Hart-street.

The Cards of Registered Members only, will, as heretofore, admit to the Pit and Galleries of the Theatre.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, February 17, 1844.

Mr. Alexander Cochrane, the "compromised" member for Bridport, and a leader in that anomalous party known by the name of "Young England," has made a most wonderful discovery, and announced it to an astonished Parliament and people, with all the pomp befitting one who has risen beyond reason and common sense to the sphere of imaginary revelation. He has declared that the League

has begun to decline ever since Sir Robert Peel declared his determination to adhere to the sliding scale, but with true prophetic pride he omitted to state what were the evidences of this decline—an omission the more to be regretted as we are utterly unable to discover any symptom of decay, but, on the contrary, find every where increased energy, increased enthusiasm, increased exertions, and increased subscriptions. St. Pierre, in one of his tales, relates an anecdote of a blind Brahmin who denied the existence of the sun; this is but a faint type of the moral blindness which fails to discover the fresh accessions of moral influence daily added to the cause of Free Trade, and the rapid spreading of a resolute determination to resist the tyrant force and fraudulent rapacity of the monopolists. Mr. Cochrane's strange announcement was received by the House in mute surprise. During the last session of Parliament the party described as "Young England" exhibited signs of a mutinous disposition, and frequently teased the Premier, by demanding the same indulgence for their whims and crotchets that is usually conceded to spoiled and naughty children. There was a regular rebellion of the nursery, and Sir Robert Peel was sorely vexed and puzzled by the refractory children. His declaration in favour of the Corn Laws was the cake to soothe these querulous saplings of aristocratic stems; and Mr. Cochrane being the easiest pacified, has been engaged to soothe the rest, by dwelling on the size and value of the cake offered by the despised tutor.

We know not how the other boys will act; the Hon. Mr. Smythe is said to have bitter remembrance of a flogging given him for one of his naughty freaks, and Lord John Manners is supposed not to have forgotten that he was snubbed by his imperious teacher. "Young England," in fact, is not yet lulled into acquiescence with its pupillage. It is something, however, to find that one of these refractory youths has consented to go into training, and has already got over that squeamishness of conscience with which Doctors Pusey and Newman are supposed to have inoculated "Young England." Already he has shown that in hardihood of assertion he is a rival to the most veteran hack that sits on the Treasury bench; but he has one great defect—he has run into the opposite extreme of his former caution, and in his assertions shows a disregard not only of facts but of appearances. We suspect that his tutor would echo the advice which we respectfully offer, that is "that he should eat his pudding and hold his tongue."

THE PRESTON GUARDIAN.—We hail with great pleasure the appearance of a new ally in the cause of commercial freedom, under the title of the *Preston Guardian*. This paper has been established by Mr. Joseph Livesey, of Preston, whose name is a sufficient guarantee for the perfect integrity of principle which this new organ is especially pledged to maintain. The first number of the paper is before us; and the ability and precision with which its objects are enunciated, commend it to the warm support of every earnest friend of commercial freedom and political progress throughout the northern division of Lancashire. We believe an organ of this description is much needed there. Free from the bias of party, and pledged to the unflinching advocacy of the civil and commercial rights of all classes, we trust that it will speedily command a circulation befitting its promised usefulness and character, and become at once the reflex and guide of public opinion throughout the county and borough constituencies of North Lancashire.

PLYMOUTH FREE-TRADE ASSOCIATION.—There was a strong gathering of the friends of Free Trade at the Mechanics' Institute on Friday, the 10th inst., on which occasion Mr. Isaac Nicholls delivered an able and interesting lecture on "The Employment of Machinery, its effects on Wages and the Labour Market." G. W. Soltau, Esq., presided. Some discussion took place after the lecturer had concluded. Thanks were voted to the lecturer and the chairman, after which the meeting separated.—*Plymouth Journal*.

EARL SPENCER AND THE MONOPOLISTS.—It has been suggested that the noisy monopolists, who threaten to withdraw from the Royal Agricultural Society because the Noble President has declared himself a Free-Trader, are possibly amongst the defaulters from whom the £5000 of arrears are due. If so, we can understand their making use of such a pretence to avoid the payment of 20s. a year. And what makes the monopolists' outcry about Lord Spencer's declaration against the Corn Laws the more absurd is, that his lordship made the same declaration, almost in the same words, in his place in the House of Lords, in 1841. This is a sufficient mark of the fraudulent objects with which the squires have got up their present movement.

The introduction and establishment of extensive manufactures and commerce have every where been the era of public freedom, and of an improved system of government.—*Mr. Cullloch*.

For richer and for poorer, for better and for worse, trade and agriculture are joined together, and cannot be put asunder. The life of the one is life to the other; and the death of the one would be the death of the other.—*The Rev. James Aspinall*.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, February 14, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|----|
| A Few Friends, per Charles Pope, Weymouth | £2 | 0 | 0 |
| William Hill, Hollingworth, Cheshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Hampshire, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Tweedale, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Whowell, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Higinbottom, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Bond, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Echells, Woolley Bridge, Glossop | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Taylor, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| David Lockhart, 184, High-street, Ayr, N.B. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Haddfield, Lancashire | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Joseph Fowles, Garmond, N.B. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| George Byres, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alexander Thomson, Cairncake, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alexander Mitchell, Greens, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 | 8 | 10 |
| J. Burnley, Hackmondwike, near Dewsbury, Yorksh. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Michael Hallow, do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Armitage and Sons, Smithies, do. | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Sykes, worsted spinner, Hackmondwike, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Kelly, woolstapler, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Fairfax Kelly, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Armitage, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| W. H. Carr, Dewsbury Moor, near do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Cardwell, Walkman-yard, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Cook, Hush, do. | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| George Scott, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Sykes, Green, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| G. Wharton, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Crawshaw, Smithies, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Barry, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Daniel Barry, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Ainley, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Wharton, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Benj. Porritt, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Matthew Firth, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Armitage, grocer, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Halliday, do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| George Rhodes, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Peter Hartley, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Bond, Smithies, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Liveredge, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Morton, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Newcome, top of do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Watts, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Edwd. Walker, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Tattersfield, Dewsbury-moor, nr. do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Matthew Morton, do. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Haml. Atkinson, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| R. Robertson, draper, Bridge-st., Dunfermline, N.B. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Inglis, grocer, High-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. C., an Keweenaw Monopoly, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Sanderson, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Authie, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Alexr. Roy, jun., Bridge-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| D. Dawar and Co., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robt. Lowe, Kigin-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Held and Davis, Bridge-street, do. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| J. D. and Co., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Rutherford and Co., Bridge-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| David Inglis and Sons, do. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Charles Drysdale, High-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Blair, Inglis-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Sanderson, Holland-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. Heveridge, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| H. Turnbull, Bruce-street, do. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Henry Kidd, banker, do. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Rev. James Young, Queen Ann-street, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A. Warton, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Reed, Kigin-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robert Brand, School End-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Alexander Pearson, St. Margaret-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Rev. Charles Marshall, Woodhead-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Kinnis, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| For Mr. John Wilson, Bridge-street, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| James Gibson, Priory-lane, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Aitken, Reid-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Ralph Walker, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Alexander Roy, James-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Henry Crombie, Bruce-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| David Elder, High-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| David Williamson, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| K. Graham, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alexander Shaw, Bruce-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Thomson, James-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robt. Carmichael, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| Dr. Brabant, Northgate-street, Devizes, Wiltshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Paul Anstie, Market-place, do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Peter Walker, Silk Mills, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Frederick Walker, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. J. B. Bruce, Hillworth, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Richard Biggs, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Bawell, New Park-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Cunningham, Southgate House, do. | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| W. Cunningham, jun., do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William M. Stewart, Long-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Chandler, Bath-road, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Ozias Day, Northgate-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Ball, Brittox-street } 5s. do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward Sedgfield } 10s. do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas. Smith, Brittox-street } 5s. do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Josh. Burgess, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Ditto, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Ditto, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Ditto, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Whitchelaw, Leighton Buzzard | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Free Trader, Dunstable | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Campbell, Cunnock, Ayr, N.B. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Wilson & Co., Eagle Mill, Garratt-road, Manchester | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thos. Barker, shoe manufacturer, Nantwich, Chesh. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| John Hampson, solicitor, Norfolk-street, Manchester | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| George Young, High street, Belford | 0 | 15 | 6 |
| A Free Trader | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Ashton | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Johnstone Huntingdon, Lauder, nr. Dalkeith, N.B. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| David Lockhart, 184, High-street, Ayr, N.B. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Alnacow, 17, Prospect-st., Boundary-lane, Manchester | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Smith, 15, Mosley-street, do. | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| James Hertz, at 57, do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| James Edwards, at 57, do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| James Greaves, 1, Wilton-terrace, Chesham, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Wignall, 3, John-street, Hulme, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Harding, Balford, do. | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Martin Murphy, 4, Snow-hill, Shude-hill, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William King, 10, Palace-square, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Horsfall, 9, Green-street, Dawson-st., do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| H. A. Butterworth, 47, High-street, do. | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Isaac Gleave, 7, Liverpool-road, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Ingham, Droylsden, near do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Isaac Crowdon, Ardwick Green, do. | 20 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| John Rawson, Ardwick-green, Manchester | £50 | 0 | 0 |
| J. N. Rawson, Fountain-street, do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Haddfield, 44, Great Bridgewater-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Shorrocks, 44, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Marsden, St. Mary's-street, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Maltravers, Edward-street, Westbury, Wiltshire | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Nathaniel Overbury, Alfred-street, do. | do. | do. | do. |
| John Wilkins, Edward-street, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Rev. J. B. Watson, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Zeal, Church-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Seagram, M.D., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Jesse Gouldsmith, Parade, Trowbridge, do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| A Free Trader, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Curtis, Warminster-road, Westbury, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Lonsdale, Church-street, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Edward Gough, Alfred-street, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Richard Durand, Edward-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joseph Martin, Church-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Maizey, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joseph Hexton, Edward-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Neat, Warminster-road, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Wilkins, Edward-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Zenas Clift, Westbury Leigh, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Saml. Tacker, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Rev. W. R. Baxter, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Jones, Church-street, do. | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| John Taylor, Warminster-road, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Michael, Edward-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Reeves, Maristow-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Neat, Bratton-road, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Joseph Daniels, Alfred-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Benjn. Lane, Bratton-road, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Joseph Sims, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Reeves, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Haml. Dowling, Churchyard, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Richd. Clift, Westbury Leigh, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robt. Byres, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robt. Byres, jun., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Rev. R. Harris, Warminster-road, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Stephen Taylor, Market-place, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Wheatland, Edward-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Hardy, Market-place, South Shields, Durham | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward Snowden, King-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Archibald Mitchellson, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Harper, Lowe-buildings, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Hewison, Thrift-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Matthew Alsitt, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| T. G. Jefferson, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| J. L. Hall, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Alfred Johnson, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Chas. N. Waver, Albion-terrace, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Matthew Hutchinson, Long-row, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| George Lawson, Shadwell-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Ray, Stanhope-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Henry Robson, Lowe-buildings, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Shepherd Skec, Winchester-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Vint, Saville-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Sept. Oliver, Albion-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alexander Allen, Thrift-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Hodgson, Laygate-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Hudson, Shadwell-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Wright, Oxle-terrace, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Jon. Keaveley, West Holborn, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Scott, King-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Stephenson Fletcher, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| William Robertson, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| James Williamson, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| M. Tweedell, Wellington-street, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Eden, Wapping-street, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Lister, King-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Snowden, Long-row, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Wake, Wapping-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| T. S. Dale, Shadwell-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Carr, King-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Hogarth, West Holborn, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Turner, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Holliday, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Fraser, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Row, East Holborn, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Wardale, West Holborn, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Lackland, East Holborn, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Peter Webster, West Holborn, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Jarrow Chemical Comp., Temple Town, do. | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Bell, Don Alkali Works, do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| South Shields Anti-Corn-Law Association, being balance of weekly subscriptions after paying local expenses | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Allon, Albion-terrace, South Shields, Durham | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas. Bell, Cornwallia-street, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Imeary, Lake Alkali Works, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Briggs, King-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. F. Kennedy, sen., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Best, Market-place, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Jackson, Ocean-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Jos. J. Ayton, King-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. B. Oyston, Westco., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Alderson, Ocean-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Ekless, Green's-place, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. J. J. Mays, Market-place, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Dr. Emmery, King-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Scott, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Dr. Coward, Dean-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Matthew Markey, King-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| R. Campbell, Market-place, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Shaw, King-street, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| James Rennoldson, Thames-st., do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Peveril Guest, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John C. Thompson, Market-pla., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| T. D. Usher, Long-row, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 | 14 | 0 |
| Joseph Hallwood, 50, Spear-street, Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Taylor, 6, Hume-street, Arbroath, N.B. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Findlater and Mackie, 5, Ducle-place, Manchester | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| James Aitken, 8, Exchange-arcade, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Ben. Platt and Sons, near Hebbden-bridge, Yorkshire | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| John Farrar, spindle maker, near do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Swallow, 91, Market-street, Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Knowles, Old Oak, Presteign, Radnorshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Broom, butcher, Tenbury, Worcestershire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend to the Cause, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Gwynn, builder, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Carter, Teine-street, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A few Friends at Crow Inn, collected by Wm. Powell | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Geo. Stephenson, Mount-terrace, Taunton | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. R. M. Montgomery, High-street, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Beaton, Crescent, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Ham, Castle-green, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| E. Gower, Shuttern, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Matthew Haviland, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Rev. John Jackson, Barrack-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Hendonwick, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Benjn. Cornish, High street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Henry Stone, Tone House, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. John Fanning, Upper Crescent, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Shaw Brooks, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Warren, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Samuel Clarke, Eastgate, Taunton | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Robert Nimes, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Lovell, Toneybridge, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| W. C. Cox, Tangier, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| W. A. Woodley, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Isaac Farmery, St. James's-street, do. | 0 | 7 | 6 |

| | | | | |
|---|-----------------|-----|----|----|
| A Friend, | Taunton | £20 | 5 | 0 |
| Ditto, | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Young, North Town, | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Dummett, Shuteen, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Stephen Mockeridge, Middle-street, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Hodges, North-street, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Ellis Oram, Hunt's-court, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Ditto, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Ditto, | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Robert Hillard, North-street, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Jacobs, East-street, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Orchard, East-reach, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Barrett, High-street, | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Robert Bond, St. James's-street, | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Aaron Priest, East-reach, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Edwin Brap, East-street, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Andrews, North Currie, Somerset | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Plowman, do., do. | .. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Henry Crease, do., do. | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Bobbett, do., do. | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Roberts, 85, Market-street, | Manchester | 2 | 7 | 0 |
| John Powers, 30, do., | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Watson, 45, do., | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Liddall, 16, do., | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| William Hulme, 25, do., | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Handley, Shude-hill, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Jonathan Gent, 8, Prospect-street, C-on-M., | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robt. Eastwood, 25, Bridge-street, do., | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Jackson, 32, do., | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thos. Johnson Spetch, 20, Beech-st., Hulme, | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Jane Horsman, Ducle-street, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Jos. Herald, 24, New Richmond, Pendleton, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Nellid Bannatyne, 16, Bond-street, | do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| F. R. Atkinson, Norfolk-street, | do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| M. Frank, at Messrs. Nathan's, Loyd-street, | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A. Philip, do., do., | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thos. Forrest, 79, Market-street, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Leigh, 37, do., | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joshua Rouchetti, 43, do., | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Robinson and Cook, 65, do., | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Deeming, Saville-street, Oxford-st., | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| W. H., per A. Nodal, | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Oram, Lower Broughton, near | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Edwd. Corbett, Pall Mall, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| S. T., per J. E. Royle, 16, King-street, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| C. W., | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Albert Hanck, 68, do., | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Nield, Cross-street, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Septimus Fletcher, do., | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| S. Barker, 27, do., | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Keith, 20, do., | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Small sums, | do. | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| Wm. Meldrum, Westfields, Blair Gowrie, N.B. | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Jer. Monkhouse, Galgate, Barnard Castle, Durham | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Workmen at { Mich. Sanderson and Friends, Bank | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| at Messrs. { Hugh McKay and Friends, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| Monkhouse { T. McDowell and Friends, Thorngate | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| and Co.'s { Mark Keighley and Friends, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| factory, Bur- { Wm. Hopkin and Friends, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| nard Castle, { George Wigham, sen., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| Durham. { Wm. Geldert and Friends, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| { Wm. Herriott and Friends, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| J. Knaption & Friends, Bridge-end, nr. Barnard Castle | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| John Gibbon and Friends, Thorngate, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Parkin, Bridgegate, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Dowson, Newgate-street, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Henry Raine, Bridgegate, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Blackett, Thorngate, | do. | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Bayles, Bank, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wetherill and Marshall, Bank, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Jacob Allison, Cotherstone, near | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Middleton, | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Butterfield, jnn., Hall-street, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Small sums, | do. | 1 | 6 | 4 |
| G. and F. Loosley, 10, Long-alley | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| S. Nevill, 31, Grosvenor-street | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. H. West, brewer, Hackney-road | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Sadgrove, 2, Sidney-square, Mile-end | .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Harris Heal, 196, Tottenham-court-road | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Honourable Edward Bouverie | .. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| John Powle, Deptford | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Δολοφωκία | .. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| John Trap, 31, Budge-row | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. R. Shick, Suffolk-place, Hackney-road | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Hill, 35, Lansdowne-terrace, Lambeth | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Maughan, Stamford-hill | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Francis Homan, Lordship-road, Stoke Newington | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| D. Roberts, 7, Fitzroy-street, Fitzroy-square.. | .. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| J. S. Lendles, Honey-lane Market | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. Davies and Friends, 36, Appleby-st., Kingsland-rd. | .. | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Miss Tapp, Back-road, Hounslow | .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss M. A. Tapp, do. | .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Clay, 23, Skinner-street | .. | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Hooper, Eastington Mills, Gloucestershire.. | .. | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Dixon, engineer, Gas Works, Chichester | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. W. Watson, Side, Newcastle-upon-Tyne | .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mr. Johnson, at Mr. White's, confectioner, Devizes | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Haughton, 34, Eccles-street, Dublin | .. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Dewsbury, 4th Remit. { Richard Clarkson, Moor End, second subscrip- | .. | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| per Richd. Clarkson. { tion, to make up £25 | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| { R. and I. Clarkson | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| { A Young Lady who is against Sugar Monopoly | .. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| { From a hard-working Man | .. | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| { W. T., a Friend to the Cause | .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| { Mrs. A. Hemingway | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| { A Young Lady | .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| { Thomas Robinson | .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| { Thomas Fisher | .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| { Labouring Men on the Moor | .. | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| { Rev. James Jarvie | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| { John Jack, baker | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| { Thomas Crosby, Kelso Mill | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wappenshall, { John Morris | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| near Wellington, { J. Tomlinson | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Salop. { H. Rimmer | Per C. C. Jones | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| { J. Mantle | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Smead, Godalming, Surrey | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Gamble, St. Helen's, Lancashire | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Sanford, jun., Upper Tooting | .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A. G. Graves, 41, Dowgate Hill | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Hamond, 12, Grange-road, Bermondsey | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| An Old Guinea from a Lady | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| H. S. Fairfoot, 25, Lloyd-square.. | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Lieut. Col. G. P. Baker, 8, Grosvenor-place, Bath | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Olney and Son, Borough | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Jones, High-street, Wapping | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Bell, 22, Sandhill, Newcastle-upon-Tyne | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Penny Weekly Subscriptions from the Workmen in the employ of Messrs. Maudslay and Field, engi- neers, Lambeth (fourth remittance) | .. | 3 | 3 | 8 |
| Mrs. Thomas Hodgkin, 16, Claremont-row, Islington | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Price, Baches-row, Hoxton | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| February and March Subscription from the Frequent- ers of Prosser's Barley Mow Brewery, King's-place, Commercial-road East | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Watson, Kidderminster | .. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| A Free Trader, "God speed the good Cause" | .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| R. Scott and Sons | .. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend to a moderate Fixed Duty | .. | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend to a Total Repeal | .. | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| D. Armstrong, writer | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Geo. Dunbar, cabinetmaker | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Samuel Affleck, cooper | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |

Dumfries—continued.

| | | | |
|--|---|----|---|
| Walter Duncan, druggist | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Dinwiddie, painter | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Two Commercial Gentlemen | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Payne, fisher | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Alex. Lookup, tanner | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Balfour, hatter | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Miles Leighton, merchant | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. McGowan, writer | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| R. M'Adam, jun., watchmaker | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Wightman, of Nunwood | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. M'Adam, of Kirkland | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John M'Fie, of Boreland | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. M'Kinnell, of Cloudeen | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Fra. Murray, baker | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James M'Colloch, M.D. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Geddes, joiner, Maxwelltown | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Brown, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Clerk, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Alex. M'Gubbin, joiner, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Little, of Maryfield | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Fra. Nicholson, grocer | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Goodall, writer | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Walter Greirson, draper | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Swan, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Bell, Irish-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| David Beridge, baker, Maxwelltown | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hugh M'Gregor, confectioner | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hugh Montgomery, draper | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Dickie, spirit merchant | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend to Farmers | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| H. R. Douglas, clothier | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Halliday, ironmonger | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Jas. Turner, baker | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Joseph Hammond | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Sinclair | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Peter Murray, Portland-place, Maxwelltown | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. D. Dickson, grocer | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. McGavin, 3, Bank-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Hogg, draper | 0 | 19 | 4 |
| Millican and Dinwiddie, hosiers | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Christ. Harkness, writer | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| The workmen of Jas. Affleck, shoemaker | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mr. Fraser and Friend | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Jas. Shaw | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thos. Moffat | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| David Dickson, Maxwelltown | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Jas. Gibson, hosier | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Affleck, shoemaker | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend (T. D.) | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Bell, ironmonger | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Geo. Thomson, tailor | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Coupland, hairdresser | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Geo. Bell, Edinburgh and Leith Bank | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Balance collected at the door of the meeting receiving Mr. Bright, after paying all expenses | 5 | 9 | 0 |
| Peter Mundell | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Turner, shipowner, English-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |

Carlisle, Second Remittance.

| | | | |
|--|---|----|---|
| Working Men at Mr. J. Dixon's Flour Mill, Caldowgate (being second contribution from this establishment) | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| Mr. Proctor, brazier, English-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Edward Castle, druggist | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A few Friends of Mr. Thos. Stubbs, Bonnell's-lane | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| Joseph Clark, Warwick-bridge | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Taylor, Willow Holme Mill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Ivedale, brewer | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| George Ralph, draper | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Gilkerson, spirit merchant | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Ross, draper | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Weir, iron merchant | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Hope and Sons, spirit merchants | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Balman, Grey Goat Inn | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Jackson, solicitor | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Operatives at Warwick Works, per E. Calvert | 5 | 12 | 3 |

Small subscriptions

| | | | |
|--|-----|----|---|
| Wm. Gemmell, 54, St. Vincent-street | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per Alexander Couper | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| S. D. M'Dowall Stewart, 31, Buchanan-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William M'Kewen, Royal Exchange | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Smith, 119, Main-street, Bridgeton | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Craik, 21, Renfield-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| John Douglas, 14, Bedford-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Barclay, 66, Argyle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A. B. Mills, at Mr. Campbell's, 162, New City-rid. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Robertson, 38, Gallowgate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Arthur Connell and Co., 11, West Nile-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. John Black, Charlotte-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Stephen Mitchell and Son, St. Andrew-square | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| James Hamilton, 101, Brunswick-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Gemmell, 115, Candleriggs | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Beaton, 114, Tron-gate | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert Goodwin, 40, George-street | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Dr. Thomas Lightbody, Bridge-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Turner, Thruval-grove | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Russell, 23, South Portland-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| A Hard-working Man, with Five Children | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Dalziel, 62, Queen-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Stirling and Son, do. | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| George Smith and Sons, London-street | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Wilson, of Auchincled, St. Vincent-place | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| William Falconer, Montrose-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Richard, Virginia-street | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Peter B. Henderson, Queen-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Ovington, Warwick, and Co., do. | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| A. G. Hunter, 32, Buchanan-street | 5 | 10 | 0 |
| Alexander Coghill, 24, Rope-work-lane | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Benjamin Mackay, 33, Canon-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Ross, 64, South Wellington-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. and A. Dennistoun, George-square | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| J. and W. Cruin and Co., 4, Corbrane-street | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| Sam. R. and Thos. Brown, Queen-street | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Alex. Graham, Miller-street | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| D. and J. Anderson, South Hanover-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| James Davidson, jun., South Frederick-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| James Couper, Royal Exchange-buildings | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Ker, West Nile-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Wilson and Co., 2, Candleriggs | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| William Blackwood, Candleriggs | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Ewing, Paul, and Co., Ingram-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| William Barr, 100, Queen-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Mackay, 123, Candleriggs | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| Edward MacCallum, 191, Albert-terrace | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Turner and MacLellan, 67, Argyle-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| W. C. Shaw, 64, Argyle-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Hunter, 4, Royal Bank-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Peter MacLeod, 65, Buchanan-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William MacGeoch, 113, Argyle-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Armstrong, 33, Tron-gate | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Lemon, 18, Saltmarket | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| D. MacAde, 93, Argyle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Rankine, 89, Argyle-street | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Andrew Allison, 46, Clyde-street, Anderston | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| H. and W. Drummond, 131, Argyle-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| John Jameson, Queen-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Watson, 16, St. Vincent-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William White, 73, Queen-street | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Lewis H. Middleton, 74, Buchanan-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Robertson and Sons, Queen-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| William Robertson, Edwin-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. P. Paton, Virginia-buildings | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| The Rev. G. Rose, Veteran Chapel | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Smith and Sharp, 75, Argyle-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Joseph Jameson, 52, Clyde-street, Anderston | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Smith, 41, London-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |

Glasgow.

Glasgow—continued.

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|---|
| Dunlop, Wilson, and Co., St. Vincent-street | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| Buchanan, Hamilton, and Co., do. | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Tennant and Co., Cochran-street | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Bartholomew, Ingram-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Findlay, Prince's-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Brown and Downes, Gallowgate | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| Robert Bryson, Wilson-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Kettle, Virginia-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Clark and Drummond, Queen-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| John Loudon, St. Vincent-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| John Bogie, Renfield-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| John Laurie and Co., Montrose-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| James Paterson and Co., Virginia-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| John Watt, 163, Ingram-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Macgregor and Sons, Old Wynd | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Dr. Wm. Young, Kirk-street, Calton | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. and P. Wilson, 40, Brunswick-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Galt, 193, Tron-gate | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Alexander Miller, Croy-place | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| Robert Smith, North Albion-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Crawford, Glassford-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. McEwan, Sons, and Co., Tron-gate | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| John Mair, 82, do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Melvin, 117, Union-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Samuel Higginbotham, Queen-street | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Stevenson and Sons, Virginia-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| John Whitehead, Ingram-street | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Stewart, Buchanan-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| George Ord, Virginia-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Ingles and Wakefield, do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Alexander Fleck, do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Kelly and Co., do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Harper, M'Farlan, and Glens, do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Duncan Hunter, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Two Friends | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Salmon, Wilson-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| John Strathern, 15, John-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Orr, 18, South Frederick-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| D. and T. Bain, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. L. M'Phun, St. Vincent-street | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Edward Collins, 48, Virginia-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Laurie and Pauls, 89, Ingram-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| James M'Arthur, 82, Glassford-street | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Crailsheim and Herrmann, 93, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Rankine, 93, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. and D. Black, 21, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| James Biggart, Dalry, Ayrshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| David Dreggorn, St. Enoch-square | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Bell and Bain, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Paterson, Howard-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Bell, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend, St. Enoch-square | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Andrew Paton, Moodie's-court | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| David Black, 28, Gallowgate | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert M'Luckey, plasterer, Larga | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robert Harvey, 48, Stockwell | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Nisbet, 144, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Campbell, 13, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alex. Macdonald, 19, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robt. Proudfoot, 73, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James MacLaren, 76, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. and D. Anderson, 88, do. | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Thomas Anderson, 77, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert Kennedy, 59, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| David Graham, 8, Stockwell-place | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Peter Robin, 464, Gallowgate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Couper, 35, Virginia-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Hall and Crawford, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Martin and Co., 104, do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| William M'Kean, 11, Miller-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A. McD. Houston, Garngad-hill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| James Aitken, Hill-street, Gallowgate | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Horland | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Farquhar and Co., Gallowgate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Steinhous | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Peter W. Clark, John-street | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Thomas Steel, Green-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| John Hattrick | 0 | 4 | 6 |
| George Gunniss, 7, Monteith-row | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Robb, merchant, Milngavie, Stirlingshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Templeton, 131, West Nile-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| E. Wilson, Long-row, Campbellton, Argylesh. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Kerr, South Frederick-street | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Dr. William Easton, Green-street, Calton | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert Dalgligh, jun., North Exchange-court | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| W. R. W. Smith, 11, South Frederick-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Buchanan, Blairbeth, Rutherglen | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Hall, 28, Main-street, Anderston | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John and Robert Tennent, Wellpark | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Miller, 45, London-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Cairns, 37, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Mitchell, 31, King-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Archd. Livingstone, 24, St. Enoch-square | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Murchie, Howard-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| David Tweedie, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Neil McKinnon, Hyde Park-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Malcolm McLellan, 32, Hill-street, Garngad-hill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A. H. McLellan, 32, do. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Wm. Govan and Son, Buchanan-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Andrew MacLure, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Paton, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Wright, do. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Wm. Macdonald, do. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Andrew Skirving, do. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| J. G. Crawford, do. | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| Matthew Gilmore, Glassford-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| George Turner, Ingram-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Clapperton, 58, Miller-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Alexander Nalmsmith, 5, St. Andrew-square | 6 | 5 | 0 |
| J. and J. Morrison, curriers, 51, Great Hamilton-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Samuel Blackwell, 244, Gallowgate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Cowan, 38, Kirk-street, Calton | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss M. Browning, 22, Great Hamilton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Three Friends to the Cause | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Wm. Johnston, 14, Great Hamilton-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Service, sen., 34, London-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Lewis and Charles Park, Buchanan-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| J. L. Lancaster, 10, Queen's crescent | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Steel, farmer, Bank-end, Levenshaw | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Bowman, 44, South Portland-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James McLean, South Frederick-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Couper, Gamkirk Works, 8, Argyle-st. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Robb, at Robt. Knox's, St. Vincent-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Charles Walsh, 53, St. Vincent-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alex. Mitchell and Co., 127, Brunswick-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert French, 86, Tron-gate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Moncur, 17, Park-lane, Mile-end | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Kaye, 34, Candleriggs | 8 | 3 | 0 |
| Daniel McDonald, 18, Glassford-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Muir and Co., 38, Queen-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| H. Bateson, 8, St. James's-street, Paisley-rid. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Child, 182, Tron-gate | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hugh Dunlop, 150, Tron-gate | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Corran, 41, Bridge-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Brown, 180, West Regent-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Fleming, Watson, and Nairn, 32, Ingram-st. | 15 | 15 | 0 |
| James Marshall, Rothsay, Buteshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Finlay, 78, Hutcheson-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| John Spiers, 90, Argyle-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| M. Adam, 46, Buchanan-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| E. Adam, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Ingleton, St. Vincent-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Freckleton, 185, Tron-gate | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. Campbell, 21, Argyle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Taylor Tertius, 4, Alston-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Peter Sinclair, baker, Maybole, Ayrshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Crawford, West George-street | 3 | 3 | 0 |

Glasgow—continued.

| | | | |
|--|----|----|---|
| Matthew Blackwood, Arthurle, 55, Ingram-st. | 51 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Gilbert, of Liverpool | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Thallon, Gallowgate | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Alex. Matheson, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robt. Thom, 235, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Craig, 5, Duke-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Mackinlay, 217, Gallowgate | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| David Turner, 217, Gallowgate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend to the League | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Ditto | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Ditto | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Robert Miller, 215, Gallowgate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Workers with George Anderson and Co. | 2 | 1 | 6 |
| Geo. Anderson and Co., Hill-st., Gallowgate | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| John Brown, West Bay, Helensburgh | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Hugh Kennedy, 52, Ingram-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Ross, 119, George-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. M'Clucky, Lennoxtown, Campsie | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. M'Math, 18, Norfolk-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Rev. James McTear, Argyle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Marshall, 44, Kirk-street, Calton | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thos. Binnie, Pratt's-court | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robt. Buchanan, 71, Argyle-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Michael Thomas, Chronicle Office | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Entwistle, Turner's-court | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Wm. Hunter, 77, Argyle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Hemple and Co., Turner's-court | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Robt. King Service, 84, London-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Service, jun., 84, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Poynter, Low Green-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| W. and J. Fleming and Co., Stirling-square | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Peter Smith and Son, Blackfriars-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Andrew Oswald, Stirling-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| David McMichael and Co., Stirling-square | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| J.H.R. Callender, 14, do | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Geo. Callender, 14, do | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Hedderwick and Co., Stirling-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Finlay and Neilson, Mitchell-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thos. Watson, Regent-terrace | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| H. L. Schwabe, Buchanan-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Towers, Glassford-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A. and J. Duncan, St. Vincent-place | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| William Steel, jun., South Hanover-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A. and D. J. Bannatyne, Gordon-street | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| Andw. Mitchell, Miller-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas. Mitchell, do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. McLaren, Sons, and Co., Candleriggs | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Wm. and James Murray, Maxwell-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| J. and A. Anderson, Candleriggs | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| John Young, jun., Ingram-street | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| "From Carlisle, for the League," per R. Kettle | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| James Pollock, Queen Arcade | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Campbell, 89, West Nile-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Craig, 164, Argyle-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A. Cree, 77, Buchanan-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomson Aikman, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Geo. Brown (at Johnston, Galbraith, and Co.'s) | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Ure (at Inglis and Wakefield's) | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Brown, jun., 75, Virginia-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Kadie (at J. and W. Wright's), Virginia-bdgs. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A. M'Kerracher, Virginia-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Andrew Gow, 35, Miller-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Martin, 37, Gallowgate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James More and Co., East Nile-street | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| C. and R. White, Gallowgate | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| R. Aitken, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Hamilton, do. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Thornburn | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Steel | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| James Macfarlane, Gallowgate | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Miller, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Mason, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Parker, 117, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| K. and M. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Allan, East Nile-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Allan and Sons, 109, Eglinton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Anderson, 79, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Barron, 61, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Cuthbertson, 12, Buchanan-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Gibson, Service, and Co., Virginia-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Duncan Morrison, Glassford-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hugh M'Coll, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Daniel Stark, Tontine buildings | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Allan, Garthland-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Hannah, Gordon-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. H. Kippes and Co., Chronicle Office | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| M. Hamilton and Co., 85, Candleriggs | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Archibald Riggs, 59, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Cochran, 65, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Gould, 117, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Andrew Baird, 1, Ingram-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| P. M'Laren, 95, Candlerig | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Graham, Montrose-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Paterson, 1, Ingram-street | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| James Muter, 55, Aboltsford-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Clark, 120, Brunswick-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| And. Miller and Co., 109, Candleriggs | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas White, 120, Brunswick-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Brown and Son, 120, do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| John Anderson, 1, Ingram-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Alexander White, 95, Candleriggs | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| David Sutherland, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Neil Murphy, 53, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. and F. Bell, 49, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| James M'Grigor, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| David M'Keigh, 11, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| W. Fulton, 91, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Grant, 81, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Hugh Morton, 105, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Macfarlane, 13, Miller-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Yule, 40, do. | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| David Yule, 40, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Pollock Yule, 40, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Francis Orr and Son, Brunswick-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| P. S. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A. H. Young, 54, St. George's-place | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Macfarlane, 115, Hope-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Panton, 98, West George-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Cairns, Wilson-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Hugh Macfarlane, 45, Stockwell | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Anderson, 62, Queen-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Archibald Brown and Co., 102, Virginia-place | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Alexander M'Grigor, George-square | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Blahop, 6, Clyde-place | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Alexander M'Arthur, 12, Bridge-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| George Caldwell, 38, Eglintown-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Torbet, 15, Nelson-street, Tradeston | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Alexander Dobbie, 20, Clyde-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Buchanan, 3, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Campbell, 9, Adelphi-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| M'Killop and Nicol, 54, Argyle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Morrison, jun, 78, Miller-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Laird and Thomson, 69, Ingram-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Burns, 29, St. Vincent-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Pollock, 12, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Hastie, Ingram-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| James Young, 20, St. Vincent-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| William Cameron, 27, St. Enoch-square | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Andrew Buchanan, Hairbeth (2nd subscription) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Archibald Ayrill, Stockwell | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alex. Corbett, 7, Montrose-street | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| David Robertson, 72, Buchanan-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Gallacher, St. Rollox, per Geo. Brown | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Foulds, jun., Parson-street, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John M'Clymond, St. Rollox, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |

| per Geo. Brown | | £ | s | d |
|--|-------|----|----|----|
| A Friend | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A. and G. Paterson, St. Rollox, | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Nell M'Kinlay, St. Rollox, | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Lauder, do. | do. | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| John Lamont, do. | do. | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Alex. Frame, do. | do. | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| William Kerr, do. | do. | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| D. M'Alister, do. | do. | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| James Young, do. | do. | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Peter M'Donald, do. | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Robert Muirhead, do. | do. | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| John Scott and Sons, Duke-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. and T. Duff, Pettigrew-lane, | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James B. Gemmell, Barony-place, | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Adams, Duke-street, | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Hoggan, St. Rollox, | do. | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| P. Latham, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| G. Hamilton, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Anderson, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Martin, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Anderson, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Hair, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small sums, | do. | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| A Friend, per James Couper | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Andrew Harvie, 153, Queen-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hugh Crawford, Dunthorpe, by | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. W. Mitchell, Catherine-street, Calton | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Workers of John Salmon, Canning-street | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Gould, 91, High-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Service and Workman, 129, Ingram-street | do. | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Workers of J. Dennistoun and Co., Bridgeton | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Taylor, 4, Fraterick-lane | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| David Melvin, 57, Buchanan-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John McNaught, 100, Centre-street, Tradeston | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thos. Wingate and Co., engineers, Springfield | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Anonymous | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alex. Chalmers, Paisley-road | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Andrew Dewar, Rosebank Cottage, Paisley-road | do. | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Andrew Paterson, 10, St. Vincent-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Inglis, 649, Gallowgate | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Steel, Camlachie | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Thomson, Annfield Pottery, Gallowgate | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Atken, Camlachie | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Addie, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robt. Wilson, 75, Whitevale | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Neilson, 95, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Neilson | do. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Matthew White | do. | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Robt. Menzies | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robt. Russell | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Professor Thos. Thomson, 100, St. Vincent-st. | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Knox, 10, St. Vincent-place | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| George Comrie, Royal Hotel | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Gray, Carlton-place | do. | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Boyd, 67, Buchanan-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, not rich | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Turnbull, Maxwell, and Co., Exchange-square | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| James Dunn and Co., 12, South Hanover-st. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Kerr, 7, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Stewart and Co., 11, South Frederick-st. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Scott, 28, Cochrane-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Renfrew and Sinclair, 5, Montrose-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Andrew Renfrew, 5, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend, R. B. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Ure, Crawford, and Easton, Montrose-street | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| James Anderson, 16, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Hamilton, 14, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| M. Cassells | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Bennetyn and Ferguson, 46, Renfield-street | do. | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| Hugh Ferguson, of Leghorn | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Auchinclo, 4, Montrose-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. D. Marshall and Co., do. | do. | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| John Taylor and Son, Cochrane-street | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| James Walker and Co., 51, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Patrick, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John and Charles Risk, do. | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Walter McNea and Son, 51, do. | do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Peter Hamilton, 101, Stirling-road | do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| James Anderson and Co., 32, S. Hanover-st. | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| John Millen, teacher, George square | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| W. Forsyth | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Finlayson, 9, Cochrane-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Henry Leck, 26, George-street | do. | 1 | 3 | 6 |
| Archibald Grieve, 10, Ure-place | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Graham, Hornbank, Govan-road | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Cameron, West Nile-street | do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| William Couper, St. Vincent-place | do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| William G. Mitchell, Virginia-street | do. | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| James Oswald, Rm., M.P. | do. | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| William Swanson, 57, North Hanover-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Robert Fisher, 6, Frederick-lane | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Boyd, 8, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Houston, 13, Little Hamilton-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Peter M'Farlane, 10, Margaret-street | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Abston, 103, John-street | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alex. Donaldson, 84, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Peter Smith, 55, North Hanover-street | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robert Paterson, 58, Ingram-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Paterson, 121, Brunswick-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Alex. M'Nab, 75, High John-street | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Alexander Henry | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Gibson, 37, Dundas-street | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robert Cochran, 34, do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Stewart, 35, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Archibald Johnston, 17, Cathcart-street | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Andrew Dodd, 36, Glassford-street | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robert Lang, Hanover-street | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Allan Glen, 63, North Frederick-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Robert Donaldson, 81, John-street | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Lawson, Dundas-street | do. | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Adam Bridges, 58, North Hanover-street | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. L. Mackenzie, 79, North Frederick-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Alex. Dalrymple, 68, North Hanover-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Randolph Elliott & Co., engineers, Centre-st. | do. | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Newton, Rennie, & Co., Caledonian Foundry, | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| West street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Robb, Scotland-street Saw-mill | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wylie and Lockhead, Trongate | do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Alex. Tennant, Wilson street | do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Blyth, 60, Argyle-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Joseph Kay, Campsie, collected by | do. | 3 | 7 | 9 |
| Harvey Hilliard, Buchanan-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. McG. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Banker and Mackenzie, 101, Argyle-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Field, 63, Argyle-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| McLean and Roy, 83, Virginia street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Alexander, Hutcheson street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Knox, 77, Brunswick-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. and J. Knox, Kilburnie, Ayrshire | do. | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Peter Brown, 34, Candleriggs | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Andrew Ferguson, 135, Broomielaw | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Mein, Trongate | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| David Macdonald, 134, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. R. Finlay, 71, Queen-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Small sums | do. | 2 | 16 | 6 |
| J. Graham and Co., Brunswick-street | do. | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| William Drysdale, 33, Monteth-row | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| H. Gourlay, 11, Union-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James McKean, Annfield-place, Gallowgate | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| A. S. Young, George's place | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Muirhead, 80, Argyle-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Logan, Bell-street | do. | 20 | 5 | 0 |
| Matthew Wilson and Co., do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Robert Miller, spirit merchant, Nelson-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Carlaw and Henderson, Bell-street | do. | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Michael Fletcher, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| D. McKenzie, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| David Wilson, Cathcart | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Free-Trade | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Stevens, 35, Union-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Allan and Sons, 79, Candleriggs | do. | 6 | 6 | 0 |
| Richard Griffin and Co., publishers | do. | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| William Brodie, Cochran-street | do. | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| David Croll, 172, Buchanan-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Archibald M'Connell, Jamaica-street | do. | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| David Chapman, do. | do. | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Alex. Kay, jun. (Wilson, James, and Kay, | do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Exchange-square) | do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| John Duncan, 36, Miller-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | do. | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Muirhead, 38, Candleriggs | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Wardrop, 256, George-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Gavin Wilson, 59, King-street, Tradeston | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Gray, 34, Clyde-street, Anderson | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert Paterson, 113, Ingram-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. J. H. Robertson, 69, West Nile-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alex. Kerr, Robertson (J. and J. Wright, | do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Virginia-street) | do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Gow, 15, Abbotsford-place | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Workers in Tod and Higginbotham's spin- | do. | 6 | 4 | 8 |
| ning factory | do. | 6 | 4 | 8 |
| Glen and M'Indoc, 14, Gordon-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Pat. Jas. Mills, Sandyford-place | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Aitken Porteous, 78, Queen-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| E. B. Primrose, 2, N. Exchange-court | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| E. Henry, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Matthew Henry, do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Jas. Couper, Caledonian Pottery | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Murray, jun., do. | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Hamilton, Dalnair Works | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A. Fullerton and Co., Brunswick-street | do. | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| John Drummond, Jamaica-street | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Ralph Drummond, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Macnair, 13, Brown-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Neill, Anderson Printfield | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Poor Friend of Sir Robert's | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Stuart and Son, 9, Exchange-place | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Steele, 45, Argyle-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Brown, jun., Lanfine | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| James Alexander, 65, Bridgegate | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| John M'Kinlay, at A. and J. Walker's, Mille- | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| end | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Wm. Stephens, engraver, 88, Duke-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| David Stirling, Hogganfield, at 108, Trongate | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Laing, Gargathill | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. G. Finlay and Brothers, Montrose-street | do. | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| David Boyd and Co., Ingram-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Bain, 121, Argyle-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Ralph Wardlaw, jun., Five-place | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| David Cadenhead, 193, Argyle-street | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Bayne, 99, Hutcheson-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Lewis Ferguson, 122, Argyle-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Young and Son | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Alexander Robb, 24, Russell-street East | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Alexander, Duke-street | do. | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| J. B. Kildston, 17, South Portland-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Kildston, 47, Bellgrove-place | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Gray, 3, Argyle-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Walker, jun., 31, St. Vincent-place | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Malcolm, 22, Royal Exchange-square | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Gray, 155, Trongate | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. and W. Clark, 77, Glassford-street | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Douglas and Co., 113, Brunswick-street | do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Jeppha Dunn, Glenpark, Duke-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George C. Dick, 9, Cochran-street | do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Workers in Tod and Higginbotham's Print- | do. | 5 | 19 | 1 |
| field | do. | 5 | 19 | 1 |
| John Fyfe, 63, Miller-street | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| James Jameson, 63, do. | do. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| A. and J. M'Kean, 12, Trongate | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto, (Young Men with) | do. | 2 | 7 | 0 |
| Wm. Davidson, 69, Hutcheson-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Macleod, 59, do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| George Thorburn, 120, Crown-street | do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Charles Boyd and Son, 20, Hutcheson-street | do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Dr. Lindsay, 23, do. | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Milroy, 48, do. | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend—B. L. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Thomson | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John M'Gibbon | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Bryson, 16, St. Enoch-square | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Daniel M'Ewan, 6, Union-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Hay and Co., 88, Queen-street | do. | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Mossman, 172, W. Nile-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Scott, 10, Jamaica-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Jas. White, 31, Union-street | do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Parkhill, 18, North Albion-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Howie, 54, Gallowgate | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Darling, 111, Trongate | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| M'Leod and Davidson, Candleriggs | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| M'Nab and Co., 106, Hutcheson-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| M'Gavin and Thomson, Glassford-street | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Lethem, Blyth, and Lethem, Virginia-street | do. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| James M'Lure, Royal Bank-place | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Gowland, Springfield-court | do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Small sums | do. | 0 | 6 | 10 |
| Samuel Haworth, Pike's lane | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Berry, Fold's-road, Little Bolton | do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Samuel Hough, Folds, do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Crook, Hulme-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Ellis Bury, Lever-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Ralph Fryer, Barn-street | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Horrocks, do. | do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Hudson, Mill-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Kittle, Green-street (2nd subscription) | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Benjamin Scholes, Little Lever | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Lomax, Powell and Lomax, Old Acres | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Winder, Moor-lane | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Haslam, Falcon-street, Little Bolton | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Nelson, Hulme-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Abraham Lomax, Fold's road | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Farmer's Daughter, per A. Lomax | do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Entwistle, Barn-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Hamer, Back Turton-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| David Morris, Mill-street | do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Vickers, Lower Bridgeman-street | do.</ | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------|
| Bradford, Yorkshire. North Remittance. | Samuel Smith, Brothers, and Co., Horton, near | £100 0 0 | Bradford, Yorkshire. South Remittance. | Joseph Sykes and Sons | £100 0 0 | Aberdeen. | Sir Thos. Burnett, of Ormesby, near | £25 0 0 |
| | A Friend | 2 0 0 | | Joseph Jones | 25 0 0 | | Captain Fordyce, of Bradford | 25 0 0 |
| | Subscriptions raised by the Members of the News Room, held at Mr. John Fielding's, Stag's Head, Back-lane, Bowling, near | 1 3 2 | | Samuel Lightfoot | 10 0 0 | | Geo. Thomson, jun., shipowner | 20 0 0 |
| | Thomas Haigh, Savings Bank | 1 1 0 | | "The Whig Fixed Duty," Free Trade-street | 5 0 0 | | John Stewart, combmaker | 20 0 0 |
| | Christopher Wilson, Low Moor, near | 1 0 0 | | John Lovitt | 5 0 0 | | Joseph Rowell, do. | 10 10 0 |
| | James Wilson, Victoria Inn, Low Moor, do. | 1 0 0 | | John Foster | 5 0 0 | | Baillie Forbes | 10 0 0 |
| | J. Priestley, ironmonger, Market-street | 1 0 0 | | Wm. Battison | 5 0 0 | | Wm. White, grain merchant | 10 0 0 |
| | | | | Herbert Heaton | 5 0 0 | | Henry Adamson, shipowner | 10 0 0 |
| | | | | John A. Wimson | 5 0 0 | | A Friend | 5 5 0 |
| | | | | T. A. Wilkinson | 5 0 0 | | Principal Jack, King's College | 5 0 0 |
| Halifax, Seventh Remittance. | Jas. Akroyd and Son | 300 0 0 | Halifax, Seventh Remittance. | John and R. Liddell | 5 0 0 | Aberdeen. | Alex. Nicoll, shipowner | 5 0 0 |
| | John Crossley and Sons | 100 0 0 | | E. and G. Vickers | 2 0 0 | | John Proctor, Bradford-works | 5 0 0 |
| | W. and J. Dewhurst, Ovenden, near | 60 0 0 | | Editor, Advertiser | 2 0 0 | | Andw. Sutherland, manufacturer | 5 0 0 |
| | Henry Ambler, do. | 55 0 0 | | A Friend | 2 0 0 | | Robt. Anderson, shipmaster | 5 0 0 |
| | Lister and Morris | 40 0 0 | | George Cade, 5, Paradise-row | 2 0 0 | | Anthony Wigham | 3 3 0 |
| | S. Townsend, Thornton Mills, near | 20 0 0 | | Dr. Gordon | 2 0 0 | | John McPherson, combmaker | 3 0 0 |
| | John Ambler, Peel House Mill, Warley, near | 10 0 0 | | Dr. Firth, English-street | 2 0 0 | | Professor Clark, Marischal College | 2 2 0 |
| | M. Isles, Nether-ton Mill, Northowram | 10 0 0 | | Wm. Sislesson, Linneus-street | 2 2 0 | | Robt. Campbell, timber merchant | 2 2 0 |
| | John Ingham, North-parade | 5 0 0 | | Thomas Meggitt | 1 0 0 | | Alex. Black, wine merchant | 2 0 0 |
| | Jonas Robertshaw | 5 0 0 | | Wm. Hird, Silver-street | 1 0 0 | | John Glennie, Leithenty | 2 0 0 |
| Sand-rhead. | A Free Trader | 3 3 0 | Halifax, Seventh Remittance. | A Lincolnshire Tradesman | 1 0 0 | Aberdeen. | Jas. Paterson, leather merchant | 1 1 0 |
| | Robert Midgley, Bottom's Mill, Ovenden, nr. | 3 3 0 | | A Friend to Freedom | 1 1 0 | | Wm. French, baker | 1 1 0 |
| | William Aked Metcalfe | 2 0 0 | | J. Kilvington, Walton, near | 1 0 0 | | Hugh Macgawin, pawnbroker | 1 1 0 |
| | Wm. Smith, New Bank | 1 1 0 | | Joseph Constable, English-street | 1 0 0 | | Rev. Robt. Forbes, Woodside | 1 1 0 |
| | For self and wife, from a Corn Miller | 1 0 0 | | John Davy, Overby, near Market Raisen | 1 0 0 | | Alex. Taylor, merchant | 1 1 0 |
| | Clarke Turner, Union Cross Inn | 1 1 0 | | Captain John Meggitt, Pepple-street | 1 0 0 | | Rev. Gavin Parker | 1 1 0 |
| | John Mills, New Bank | 1 0 0 | | A Friend, by do. | 1 0 0 | | Patrick Whyte, tobacconist | 1 1 0 |
| | Wm. Birtwhistle | 0 10 6 | | John Petchell | 1 0 0 | | Wm. Birnie, painter | 1 0 0 |
| | | | | Wm. M. Stears, Myton-gate | 1 0 0 | | Al. Watson, with Stewart and Rowell | 1 0 0 |
| | | | | Francis Stamp | 1 0 0 | | Robt. Forsyth, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Hull. | J. Weighill, house decorator, High-street | 1 0 0 | Hull. | Thomas Watson, brewer | 1 1 0 | Aberdeen. | Jas. Stormont, baker | 1 0 0 |
| | J. Culliford, blockmaker, Low-street | 0 5 0 | | Wm. Hodgson, tanner, Beverley | 5 0 0 | | Geo. Brown, auctioneer | 1 0 0 |
| | H. Cranston, High-street | 0 2 6 | | P. Tigar, do. | 5 0 0 | | Nicolas Cuddle, brewer | 1 0 0 |
| | Geo. Brantingham, do. | 0 10 0 | | Joseph Major | 1 0 0 | | John Duncan, 4, St. Nicholas-street | 1 0 0 |
| | M. McDonald, do. | 0 5 0 | | Edward Brady, Caroline-street | 1 0 0 | | Wm. Russell, bookeller | 1 0 0 |
| | Henry Taylor and Friend, High-street | 1 0 0 | | E. Thorp, White Hart Inn | 1 0 0 | | Robt. Collie, 37, Green | 1 0 0 |
| | Ralph Danson, do. | 1 0 0 | | J. H. Vallance | 1 0 0 | | Rev. David Simpson | 1 0 0 |
| | John Cropton, jun., do. | 1 0 0 | | Thomas Petchell, against Bribery at Elections | 1 1 0 | | Rev. John H. Hope | 0 10 6 |
| | Wm. Crozier, do. | 1 1 0 | | Mrs. Jones, Willerby | 1 0 0 | | Two Friends | 2 0 6 |
| | James Sharer, do. | 1 0 0 | | Wm. Collinson, share broker | 1 0 0 | | | |
| Hawick, N.B. | George Nesbitt, Lawrence-street | 1 1 0 | Hawick, N.B. | C. S. Todd, attorney | 1 0 0 | Hawick, N.B. | Joseph Fowle, Garmond | 0 10 6 |
| | Henry Dodsworth, West-street | 0 2 6 | | R. D. Morehead, paper hanger | 1 0 0 | | George Byres, do. | 0 2 6 |
| | John Dennison, Woodbine-street | 0 2 6 | | J. Jones, jun. | 1 0 0 | | Alex. Thomson, farmer, Cairncalze | 0 2 6 |
| | J. Young, High-street | 0 5 0 | | John Richardson, Saville-street | 1 0 0 | | Alex. Mitchell, do., Greens | 0 5 0 |
| | Richard Booth, do. | 0 5 0 | | William Armstrong, Lowgate | 1 0 0 | | A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| | John Clay, do. | 2 2 0 | | C. H. Andrews, Hull Banking Company | 1 0 0 | | Small sums | 0 8 10 |
| | J. Cropton, Fawcett-st., Bishop Warrmouth | 2 0 0 | | William Thompson, Cogan-street | 1 1 0 | | | |
| | J. M'Farlane Chalmers, Vine-lodge, do. | 1 1 0 | | Phineas Lowther | 1 0 0 | | Hon. J. E. Elliot, Leathill | 10 0 0 |
| | A Friend to the Cause | 0 10 0 | | Rev. George Lee | 1 0 0 | | Walter Wilson, Orchard | 10 0 0 |
| | | | | Robert Martin, 23, Sykes-street | 1 0 0 | | A. B. | 10 0 0 |
| Kilnburgh, Fourth Remittance. | A "Bright" Youth | 0 6 0 | Kilnburgh, Fourth Remittance. | John Petchell, 50, Lowgate | 1 0 0 | Kilnburgh, Fourth Remittance. | R. Fraser | 10 0 0 |
| | A Friend, per T. Calder | 1 1 0 | | Samuel Birch, Cogan-street | 1 0 0 | | John Wilson, manufacturer | 10 0 0 |
| | A Friend | 0 2 6 | | George Worsdell, 13, English-street | 1 0 0 | | Alex. Laing, do. | 5 0 0 |
| | A Kick at "Drummore's" Twaddle | 1 1 0 | | Do., do. | 0 5 0 | | Geo. Wilson, do. | 5 0 0 |
| | Rev. W. L. Alexander, Rankellor-street | 0 10 0 | | A Friend, by do. | 0 5 0 | | Henry Ewen, tanner | 5 0 0 |
| | A Voice from the North to the Nobles (See Job, chap. xviii., ver. 2 and 6) | 0 5 0 | | X. Y. Z. | 0 10 0 | | John Turnbull, dyer | 5 0 0 |
| | Job, chap. xviii., ver. 2 and 6) | 0 5 0 | | Robert Thorp | 0 10 0 | | M. Wilson and Sons, skinnors | 3 0 0 |
| | An East Lothian Farmer | 2 0 0 | | G. C. Cade | 0 5 0 | | Geo. Watson and Sons, do. | 3 0 0 |
| | A Friend in Inverness | 1 0 0 | | A Captain Wanting Freights | 0 10 0 | | Wm. Turnbull, draper | 3 0 0 |
| | A Lady, left with J. R. | 0 5 0 | | Henry Kennor | 0 10 0 | | Walter Armstrong, do. | 3 0 0 |
| Oldham, Third Remittance. | James Brown, 8, Smith's-place | 1 0 0 | Oldham, Third Remittance. | Sundry Workmen, collected at tea meeting | 0 10 0 | Oldham, Third Remittance. | John Laing, manufacturer | 2 10 0 |
| | Andrew Drybrough, 14, Regent-terrace | 1 0 0 | | Thomas Johnson | 0 5 0 | | Walter Laing, do. | 2 10 0 |
| | Robert Grieve, 77, South-bridge | 10 0 0 | | Frederick Lowther | 0 5 0 | | Wm. Watson, do. | 2 0 0 |
| | John Gregory, Canaan-lodge | 5 5 0 | | Anonymous | 0 5 0 | | James Melrose and Son, millwrights | 2 0 0 |
| | R. P. Greig, London-street | 2 0 0 | | John Wilkinson | 0 10 0 | | Wm. Kedie, draper | 1 0 0 |
| | John Greig, 38, Leith-street | 1 0 0 | | Charles Morehead | 0 5 0 | | Wm. Inglis, grocer | 1 5 0 |
| | Thomas Henderson, Lasswade | 1 0 0 | | John Buchanan | 0 10 0 | | Rev. Adam Thomson | 1 1 0 |
| | George Harvey, Brunswick-street | 1 0 0 | | Rev. Edward Higginson | 5 0 0 | | Wm. Irvine | 1 1 0 |
| | George Hay, 166, Fountain-bridge | 0 2 6 | | Geo. Cobb, jun. | 2 2 0 | | John Sloan, Millbank | 1 1 0 |
| | A. Hay, 28, Greenside-street | 1 1 0 | | F. Langsdorf, Spring-street | 1 0 0 | | James Wilson, banker | 1 1 0 |
| Wakefield, Second Remittance. | David Johnston, 8, St. John's-street | 1 1 0 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | Mr. Frankish | 0 10 0 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | Geo. Scott, gunsmith | 1 0 0 |
| | R. W. Jamieson, North-bridge | 2 2 0 | | Wm. Stephenson, Herald Office | 1 0 0 | | Wm. Cathrae | 1 0 0 |
| | J. Johnston, 12, Comely-bank | 1 1 0 | | Wm. Ayre, Lansdown-terrace | 3 0 0 | | Thos. Hay, Crown Inn | 1 0 0 |
| | J. J. for a Lady | 1 1 0 | | A Friend | 2 2 0 | | Andrew Graham, draper | 1 0 0 |
| | William Knight, 88, Canongate | 0 2 6 | | B. Boulter | 1 0 0 | | John Briggs, clothier | 1 0 0 |
| | John Lees, 3, Brown-square | 2 0 0 | | Geo. Cookman | 5 0 0 | | Held and Michie, masons | 1 0 0 |
| | George Laing, 70, Potter-row | 0 10 6 | | Wm. Hulme | 0 5 0 | | Robert Pringle, manufacturer | 1 0 0 |
| | James Moncrieff, Great Stewart-street | 2 2 0 | | A Friend | 0 1 0 | | James Kyle, do. | 1 0 0 |
| | Megget and Symington, Blair-street | 1 1 0 | | J. H. Midgley, Rochdale | 5 0 0 | | Charles Heasell, whiplmaker | 1 0 0 |
| | William M'Murray, Stead's-place | 50 0 0 | | Edward Thompson, 58, Whitfriar-gate | 1 0 0 | | Rebecezer Robison, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wakefield, Second Remittance. | John Melville, Loanhead, for self and other eleven subscribers | 1 0 0 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | Richard Sykes, West Ella | 50 0 0 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | John Stenhouse, grocer | 1 0 0 |
| | John Macquenn, 54, North-bridge | 1 1 0 | | Mr. Pembroke, Fore-street | 0 2 6 | | Scott and Wight, joiners | 1 0 0 |
| | D. M'Farlane, 8, Ainslie-place | 2 0 0 | | George Ferris, do. | 0 10 0 | | James Scott, foreman | 1 0 0 |
| | Andrew Nicol, 11, Hill-place | 0 3 0 | | Mr. Davey, Fore-street-hill | 0 2 6 | | C. D. | 1 0 0 |
| | One who fears the Jews | 1 1 0 | | George Maunder, Island | 1 0 0 | | William Scott, Esq., magistrato. | 1 0 0 |
| | Charles Peter, Grassmarket | 0 10 0 | | Mr. Bulpin, Heavitree | 0 2 6 | | Andrew Haddon, Esq., do. | 1 0 0 |
| | John Purvis, New Mills, Dalkeith | 0 5 0 | | T. Burrington, High-street | 0 10 0 | | Walter Wilson, cabinetmaker | 1 0 0 |
| | William Trotter, Lasswade | 0 2 6 | | A Friend | 0 2 6 | | Thomas Brown, shoemaker | 1 0 0 |
| | | | | W. H. | 0 5 0 | | William Rutherford, watchmaker | 1 0 0 |
| | | | | Mr. Toswill, High-street | 0 2 6 | | Thomas Tudhope, tobacconist | 1 0 0 |
| Wakefield, Second Remittance. | Thomas Tait, Gilmerton | 0 5 0 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | Walter Tucker, do. | 0 2 6 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | James Hallyburton, farmer, Hopehouse | 1 0 0 |
| | N. Taylor, 4, Reid's-court, Canongate | 0 2 6 | | Mr. Labdon, do. | 0 2 6 | | John White, jun., farmer, Midshields | 1 0 0 |
| | T. T. | 0 5 0 | | Mr. Murch, South-street | 0 5 0 | | R. F. | 1 0 0 |
| | John Wood, Castle-street | 1 0 0 | | Mr. Trehane, Fore-street | 0 10 0 | | Douglas Laidlaw, grocer | 1 0 0 |
| | John Wright, 44, Nicolson-street | 0 10 6 | | G. Burrington, do. | 0 2 6 | | John Scott, fisher | 1 0 0 |
| | James Walker, Morton-street, Leith | 2 0 0 | | Mr. Evans, do. | 0 5 0 | | George Heaslie, saddler | 1 0 0 |
| | Robert Wilkie, 67, Great King-street | 1 1 0 | | Mr. Marks, do. | 0 2 6 | | A. Knaton, farmer, Alemuir | 1 0 0 |
| | W. W., Leith-walk | 0 5 0 | | Mr. Moggridge, Bridge | 0 2 6 | | Thomas Young, draper | 1 0 0 |
| | W. B. | 1 1 0 | | Mr. Nichols, do. | 0 5 0 | | Robert Burnett, shoemaker | 1 0 0 |
| | John Wilkie, Seaford | 0 7 6 | | S. Davies, High-street | 0 10 0 | | G. H. | 1 0 0 |
| Wakefield, Second Remittance. | Archibald Young, 10, Windmill-street | 1 1 0 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | Mr. Westlake, Bridge-street | 1 0 0 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | Thomas Wilson, manufacturer | 1 0 0 |
| | Francis Umpherson, Loanhead, for self and other ten subscribers | 1 0 0 | | Mr. Treffry, Fore-street | 0 4 0 | | Peter Grant Wilson, do. | 1 0 0 |
| | John Ritchie, 48, George-square | 5 5 0 | | Per post | 0 10 0 | | Peter Wilson, do. | 1 0 0 |
| | Small sums | 0 17 8 | | Thomas Sparkes, Magdalen-road | 0 2 6 | | E. Selby, Minto | 1 0 0 |
| | Geo. Allan, Prestonpans, for self and other ten subscribers | 1 0 0 | | T. Sercombe, Bridge | 0 5 0 | | G. T., Lynwood-mill | 1 0 0 |
| | Mrs. A. Alexander, Prestonpans, for self and other ten subscribers | 1 0 0 | | J. Hew, Castle-street | 0 5 0 | | William Miller, Damside | 1 0 0 |
| | Boness Alexia | 0 2 6 | | Henry Dorville, Alpbington, Devon | 1 0 0 | | Andrew Scott, signor | 1 0 0 |
| | Mrs. Chas. Belfield, sen., Prestonpans, for self and other three subscribers | 1 0 0 | | Mr. Curtis, Teignmouth, do. | 0 10 0 | | J. Richardson, warehouseman | 1 0 0 |
| | Richard Clark, Prestonpans, for self and other ten subscribers | 1 0 0 | | Mr. Cross, Mount Radford | 0 10 0 | | J. G. Cockell, Millbank | 1 0 0 |
| | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | A. Cochran, 329, High-street | | 0 5 0 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | | Mr. Haydon, do. | 0 2 6 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | William Scott, Weensland | 1 0 0 |
| Robt. Clark, 1, London-street | | 0 10 6 | R. Bastard, Colleton-crescent | 0 5 0 | | John Michie, High-street | 1 0 0 | |
| Jos. Drysdale, Prestonpans, for the self and other ten subscribers | | 1 0 0 | Mr. Korstmann, do. | 0 5 0 | | Small sums | 0 12 6 | |
| John Ferguson, Prestonpans, for self and other ten subscribers | | 1 0 0 | A Friend, South-street | 0 5 0 | | John Patterson, foreman | 1 0 0 | |
| From 64, Frederick-street | | 0 2 6 | H. Crofts, The Close | 0 2 6 | | George Hogg, Dovemount | 1 0 0 | |
| R. F. | | 0 5 0 | Small sums | 1 4 6 | | William Notman, clerk | 1 0 0 | |
| John Pyfe, St. Patrick-square | | 0 7 6 | James Newton, Scant-head, Austerlands Lees | 1 0 0 | | Walter Kerr, Wilton Dean | 1 0 0 | |
| Father of Ten Children, 78, Prince's-street | | 0 2 6 | Adam Whitworth, Hope & Anchor, Royton, nr. | 1 0 0 | | Joseph Scott, smith | 1 0 0 | |
| Mr. Hill, grocer, Leith, Kirkgate | | 0 2 6 | Emanl. Whittaker, joiner, North-moor | 1 0 0 | | J. D. Kennedy, bookseller | 1 0 0 | |
| Geo. Horne, 329, High-street | | 0 5 0 | Geo. Greenwood cotton and waste dealer, Greenacres, near Manchester | 4 0 0 | | Thomas Scott, clerk | 1 0 0 | |
| Wakefield, Second Remittance. | Thomas Heatley, Thistle-street | 0 5 0 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | James Wild, spinner, Greenacres, near do. | 10 0 0 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | F. W. Diener | 1 0 0 |
| | G. S. T. | 1 0 0 | | Geo. Emmott | 5 0 0 | | Adam Scott, grocer | 1 0 0 |
| | Mr. Jamieson, 99, Prince's-street | 0 6 0 | | Robt. Thatcher | 1 0 0 | | Wm. Turnbull, tobacconist | 1 0 0 |
| | George Lorrimer, 2, Keil-street | 2 0 0 | | J. Platt, machine maker, Greenacres, nr. Manch. | 10 0 0 | | James Miller, painter | 1 0 0 |
| | James Milne, Chalmers-close | 3 8 0 | | Seville and Wolstenholme, do., do. | 20 0 0 | | Robert Grieve, clerk | 1 0 0 |
| | R. C. | 0 2 6 | | James Brooks, Broadway-lane | 1 0 0 | | Thos. Hill, saddler | 0 2 6 |
| | J. Ritchie, 329, High-street | 0 2 6 | | Thos. Armstrong, joiner, Post Office, Greenacres, near Manchester | 1 1 0 | | George Oliver | 0 2 6 |
| | Small sums subscribed at Prestonpans | 0 16 8 | | Jas. Wild, grocer, Lees-rd., Greenacres, nr. do. | 1 1 0 | | Thomas Brunton, joiner | 0 2 6 |
| | D. and J. Syme, 27, South Bridge | 2 2 0 | | Miss Chadwick, Rhodes, do., do. | 1 0 0 | | Walter Patton, baker | 0 2 6 |
| | R. Shand, 41, Dundas | 1 1 0 | | Andw. Schofield, timber merchant, do., do. | 10 0 0 | | Wm. Laidlaw, Loan | 0 2 6 |
| Wakefield, Second Remittance. | James Slater, 7, Union-street | 0 2 6 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | John Taylor, mechanic, Gladwick-lane, do., do. | 0 5 0 | Wakefield, Second Remittance. | John Douglas, shoemaker | 0 2 6 |
| | Two hearty Friends to the cause | 5 5 0 | | Wm. Grainger, bootmaker, do., do. | 0 7 6 | | Alexander Mackintosh, druggist | 0 2 6 |
| | P. Thomson, 151, Rose | 0 5 0 | | Henry Brown, Lower-moor, do., do. | 0 5 0 | | George Easton, Towerknow | 0 2 6 |
| | William Wright, farmer, Prestonpans | 1 0 0 | | John Mills, Lord-street | 0 2 6 | | James Little, baker | 0 3 0 |
| | M. Wilsbore, Waterloo-place | 2 2 0 | | Thos. Hanson, bookkeeper, Chat-moss, Greenacres, near Manchester | 0 2 6 | | Robert Michie, carrier | 0 2 6 |
| | David Archibald, 2, North-street, Andrew-st. | 0 7 6 | | Jas. Potter, draper, Cheapside | 0 5 0 | | George Barclay, baker | 0 2 6 |
| | A. Black, 10, George-street | 0 5 0 | | Jas. Buckley, innkeeper, Lamb Inn | 2 2 0 | | Peter Farquhar | 0 2 6 |
| | James Bayne, 7, South Hanover-street | 0 7 6 | | John Barlow, hatter, Coldhurst | 1 0 0 | | Alexander Smart, baker | 0 2 6 |
| | James Boay, 93, George-street | 3 8 0 | | Edwin Jackson, hatter | 10 0 0 | | Walter Purdon, tobacconist | 0 2 6 |
| | Small sums | 0 6 1 | | Saml. Lees, waste dealer, Ratcliffe-street | 1 0 0 | | James Scott, skinner | 0 2 6 |
| | | Jas. Barker, spinner, Horsedge Mill | 1 0 0 | John Goodfellow, grocer | 0 10 0 | | | |
| | | Jas. Millor, do., do. | 1 0 0 | James Guthrie, slater | 0 2 6 | | | |
| | | Saml. Hargre, do., do. | 1 0 0 | James Forgrieve, tinemith | 0 2 6 | | | |
| | | Henry Ratcliffe, B.A., Bank | 5 0 0 | Francis Deane | 0 2 6 | | | |
| | | Wakefield, Second Remittance. (A Conservative, Westgate) | 1 0 0 | James and A. Watson, Galaahills, N.B. | 1 0 0 | | | |
| | | John Flatman, do. | 2 0 0 | W. Ainslie, warehouseman, Damside | 1 0 0 | | | |
| | | | | Walter Scott, Damside | 1 0 0 | | | |
| </ | | | | | | | | |

| Street. | | Burton-on-Trent. | | Leeds, Sixth Remittance. | | Hebden Bridge, near Halifax, Second Remittance. | | Liverpool, Tenth Remittance. | | Huddersfield, Eighth Remittance. | | Stockton-on-Tees, Second Remittance. | | Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire. | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|---|--|---|--|---|--|--|--|
| George Fowler, Barrow, Esq., M.P. for Stroud | | John Mussen, brewer | | James Shaw, Water-lane | | Water and Gunkroger, Hebble-end | | Christopher Benthams, 3, Derby-square | | Stephen Arlson, Jackroyd, near | | John Hutchinson, High-street | | John Fergus | |
| Joseph Watts, Stratford-house | | John Peace, Holly Bank, near Lichfield | | W. W. Hewitson, Hunslet | | Mrs. Slater | | Sampson Gell, do. | | George Arlson, do. | | J. B. Clephan, Silver-street | | P. D. Swan, Esq., Provost of Kirkcaldy | |
| Joseph Partridge, Bowbridge | | Henry Willers, brewer | | Kitson, Thompson, and Hewitson, do. | | Mrs. James Gunkroger | | Wm. Clare and Son, 11, Exchange-buildings | | Wm. Woffenden, do. | | Thomas Atkinson, Park-terrace | | Geo. Anderson | |
| William Fluck, Vatch Mills | | James Riley, Griffin Tap, West-bar | | Joseph Riley, Griffin Tap, West-bar | | Wm. Sutcliffe, Heptonstall Black | | Howard Horley, 21, Chapel-walk | | Joseph Bannister and Co., Rashcliffe | | George Rand, 24, Smithfield | | James Aytoun | |
| Richard Lacey, Middle-street | | William Frankland, Long Preston | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Wm. Robertshaw, do. | | A. Conservative Sugar dealer, disgusted with | | Henry Brown, Lockwood | | A. Harris, Middlesbro' | | David Landale | |
| Smith and Oyde, Arundels Mill | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend, do. | | Horsfall, Slater, and Co., Bank-street | | Monopoly | | Thomas Nicholson, do. | | Three individuals, who don't like their names | | N. Lockhart and Sons, manufacturers | |
| One who insists that the industrious have | | Matthew Gaunt, Bond-street | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | Miss Horsfall, do. | | Miss Rawlins, 4, Blackburn-terrace | | Foster Shaw | | John Backley, at Foster Shaw's | | A. Russell and Son, ironfounders | |
| their rights as well as their duties | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | Anonymous | | Miss Eliza Jemima Horsfall, do. | | Wm. Bower, 21, Exchange-buildings | | John Backley, at Foster Shaw's | | Joseph Burton, at do. | | James Wotherpoon, merchant | |
| One who thoroughly detests the Corn Laws | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | A Friend to Reform | | Henry Wm. Horsfall, do. | | Launcelot Graham, 13, Rumford-place | | David Burton, at do. | | Robert Skilbeck, at do. | | George Elder, do. | |
| James Peglar, Middle-street | | George Brammer, at Maclea and March's | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Miss Jane Gunkroger, do. | | John Yates, do. | | Robert Skilbeck, at do. | | Godfrey Berry, jun., Lockwood | | Abraham Graham, stone mason | |
| Edward Cockrell, Brimscombe | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | John Gunkroger, do. | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | Godfrey Berry, jun., Lockwood | | Abraham Graham, stone mason | | Thomas Haigh, Royd's Hall, near | |
| J. Merret and Friends, Bowbridge | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | Miss Mary Gunkroger, do. | | subscribed | | D. Midgley, Queen-street | | William Cookson | | Henry Charlesworth, Buxton-road | |
| J. B. Adam, Tower-house, Woodchester, near | | George Brammer, at Maclea and March's | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | John Gunkroger, do. | | J. Clann | | John Trumble, Ramsden-street | | Small sums | | Titus Thewlis, warp manufacturer | |
| Oliver Bird, Southfields, near | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | William Shackleton | | Arrears of last subscription | | Francis Yates, Ironbridge | | John Yates, do. | | John Fergus | |
| A. M. Flint, Frogmarsh, near | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | Miss Mary Slater, Hebble-end | | John Hutchinson, High-street | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | P. D. Swan, Esq., Provost of Kirkcaldy | |
| Solomon Leonard, Atcombe house, near | | John Hargreaves, do. | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | John Slater, do. | | Wm. Clare and Son, 11, Exchange-buildings | | subscribed | | subscribed | | Geo. Anderson | |
| Frederick Nurse, Duddridge, near | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | Miss Jane Gunkroger, do. | | Howard Horley, 21, Chapel-walk | | J. Clann | | William Cookson | | James Aytoun | |
| Samuel Luker, Duddridge Wharf | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | John Gunkroger, do. | | A. Conservative Sugar dealer, disgusted with | | John Backley, at Foster Shaw's | | Robert Skilbeck, at do. | | David Landale | |
| Nathaniel H. Marling, Stanley Mills | | John Hargreaves, do. | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | Miss Mary Gunkroger, do. | | Monopoly | | David Burton, at do. | | Godfrey Berry, jun., Lockwood | | N. Lockhart and Sons, manufacturers | |
| Samuel H. Marling, Ebley Mills | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | John Gunkroger, do. | | Miss Rawlins, 4, Blackburn-terrace | | Robert Skilbeck, at do. | | Abraham Graham, stone mason | | A. Russell and Son, ironfounders | |
| Henry Lewis, Ebley, near | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | William Shackleton | | Wm. Bower, 21, Exchange-buildings | | Godfrey Berry, jun., Lockwood | | William Cookson | | James Wotherpoon, merchant | |
| Samuel Phillimore, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | John Slater, do. | | Launcelot Graham, 13, Rumford-place | | D. Midgley, Queen-street | | Small sums | | George Elder, do. | |
| Rev. Ben. Parsons, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | Miss Mary Slater, Hebble-end | | John Yates, do. | | John Trumble, Ramsden-street | | John Yates, do. | | Thomas Haigh, Royd's Hall, near | |
| Id. Miles and Friends, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | John Gunkroger, do. | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | Francis Yates, Ironbridge | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | John Fergus | |
| The Working Men and Women at Nailsworth | | John Hargreaves, do. | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | William Shackleton | | subscribed | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | subscribed | | P. D. Swan, Esq., Provost of Kirkcaldy | |
| and Holcombe Mills, by John Roberts | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | Miss Jane Gunkroger, do. | | Arrears of last subscription | | subscribed | | Arrears of last subscription | | Geo. Anderson | |
| Edward Barnard, High-beeches, Nailsworth | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | John Gunkroger, do. | | John Yates, do. | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | John Yates, do. | | James Aytoun | |
| No Compromise | | John Hargreaves, do. | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | William Shackleton | | Wm. Clare and Son, 11, Exchange-buildings | | subscribed | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | David Landale | |
| Bundry small sums from the Box | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | Miss Mary Gunkroger, do. | | Howard Horley, 21, Chapel-walk | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | subscribed | | N. Lockhart and Sons, manufacturers | |
| J. Norton, Nailsworth | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | John Gunkroger, do. | | A. Conservative Sugar dealer, disgusted with | | subscribed | | Arrears of last subscription | | A. Russell and Son, ironfounders | |
| T. and J. Hunt, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | William Shackleton | | Monopoly | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | John Yates, do. | | James Wotherpoon, merchant | |
| Friends, by Norton and Hunt, Nailsworth | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | Miss Mary Slater, Hebble-end | | Miss Rawlins, 4, Blackburn-terrace | | subscribed | | John Yates, do. | | George Elder, do. | |
| Friends, by H. Roberts, Nailsworth | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | John Gunkroger, do. | | Wm. Bower, 21, Exchange-buildings | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | Thomas Haigh, Royd's Hall, near | |
| Friends, by Anthony Sims, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | William Shackleton | | Launcelot Graham, 13, Rumford-place | | subscribed | | Arrears of last subscription | | John Fergus | |
| Jos. Blackwell, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | Miss Jane Gunkroger, do. | | John Yates, do. | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | John Yates, do. | | P. D. Swan, Esq., Provost of Kirkcaldy | |
| J. Hillier, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | John Gunkroger, do. | | Howard Horley, 21, Chapel-walk | | subscribed | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | Geo. Anderson | |
| Wm. Smith and Friends, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | William Shackleton | | A. Conservative Sugar dealer, disgusted with | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | subscribed | | James Aytoun | |
| Rev. T. F. Newman, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | Miss Mary Gunkroger, do. | | Monopoly | | subscribed | | Arrears of last subscription | | David Landale | |
| Anthony Fawcett, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | John Gunkroger, do. | | Miss Rawlins, 4, Blackburn-terrace | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | John Yates, do. | | N. Lockhart and Sons, manufacturers | |
| Mr. Underhill, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | William Shackleton | | Wm. Bower, 21, Exchange-buildings | | subscribed | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | A. Russell and Son, ironfounders | |
| Joseph Chasold, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | Miss Mary Slater, Hebble-end | | Launcelot Graham, 13, Rumford-place | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | John Yates, do. | | James Wotherpoon, merchant | |
| Wm. Thomas, do. | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | John Gunkroger, do. | | John Yates, do. | | subscribed | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | George Elder, do. | |
| Jos. Baldwin and Fellow-workmen, Nailsworth | | John Hargreaves, do. | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | William Shackleton | | Howard Horley, 21, Chapel-walk | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | Thomas Haigh, Royd's Hall, near | |
| John Stanton, Stonehouse, near | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | Miss Jane Gunkroger, do. | | A. Conservative Sugar dealer, disgusted with | | subscribed | | Arrears of last subscription | | John Fergus | |
| Christopher Dibb | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | John Gunkroger, do. | | Monopoly | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | John Yates, do. | | P. D. Swan, Esq., Provost of Kirkcaldy | |
| William Craven, Buck Mill | | John Hargreaves, do. | | John Harrison, 6, Meadow-lane | | William Shackleton | | Miss Rawlins, 4, Blackburn-terrace | | subscribed | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | Geo. Anderson | |
| Benj. Rycroft, Shaw House | | John Hargreaves, do. | | A Friend to Reform | | Miss Mary Gunkroger, do. | | Wm. Bower, 21, Exchange-buildings | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | John Yates, do. | | James Aytoun | |
| Jonathan Hodgson, manufacturer | | John Hargreaves, do. | | Thomas George and Sons, Spring-gardens | | John Gunkroger, do. | | Launcelot Graham, 13, Rumford-place | | subscribed | | J. G. Glazebrook, do., in addition to lbs. before | | David Landale | |

Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire—continued.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|----|---|
| John Tod | 20 | 5 | 0 |
| John Williamson | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Alexander Gorrie | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Robert Wylie | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Robert Bryson | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Martin Rigney | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| J. F. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Skinner | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Black | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Robert Fair | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Muir | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| William Williamson | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| James Birrell | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Andrew Miller | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Richd. Henderson | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Thomson | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Wells | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Alex. Malcolm, jun. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Balderston | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| David Forrester | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Anderson | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Wm. Robertson | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Robt. Dalrymple | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| W. A. Pettigrew | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Wm. Walker | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| Jas. Robertson, jun. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Dow | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Tod | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Jas. Barclay | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Anderson | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| J. Jeffers Wilson | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| George Henderson | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| John Williams | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Ednie | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| David Lockhart | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Henry Glass | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| William Young | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| S. W. Macknight | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Dr. Reid | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Alexander Rowan | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| James Morton | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Goodair | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Spence Greig | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| John Grubb | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| George Methven | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| William Oliphant | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| John Bendelow | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Archibald Beveridge | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Archibald Dowie | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Boak and Greig | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| James Barrowman | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| George Herrell | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| James Herrell | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Andrew Leath | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| William Scott | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| William Rodger | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Seton | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| James Whyte | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| William Short | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Margaret Wotherpoon | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Anna Wotherpoon | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| James Galloway | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Samuel Barnett | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| David Page | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Muckersey | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| David Nelson | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Workmen at Gas Works | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Mechie | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Taylor | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Jas. Hamilton | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Baxter | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| David Ireland, sen. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Ralph Carae | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| James Galloway | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| David Bogle | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| James Ireland | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| David Ryles | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Andrew Melville | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Beveridge | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Fair | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thos. Adamson | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Dott | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Andrew Oliphant | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| David Goodair | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| David Inglis | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| William Crichton | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Turner | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Charles Stewart | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| William Souler | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| William Honthron | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Andrew Bird | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Henry Horn | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Martin | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Crawford | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| James Stenhouse | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Forrester | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| William Harkness | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| A Few Workmen at Mr. Aytoun's Mill | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| Alexander Nicholson | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| David Greig | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| R. B. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Small sums | 5 | 5 | 7 |

FREE TRADE LESSON FROM CHINA.

To our shame be it said, the Chinese are getting the start of us both in sound principle and liberal practice. The new Chinese tariff is more liberal and more consistent than that of England; and the Imperial Commissioner, Keying, at Taoukwang, has addressed a lecture to the British Consul at Canton, which is the most absolute sense on commercial policy we ever read. That our fellow-countrymen may learn wisdom from this member of the Imperial family of China, we copy the passage, and entreat our readers to let the simple and important lesson it teaches be engraven on their memories:—

"FORASMUCH I, the Imperial Commissioner, now reply to the honourable Consul, that he may act in conformity, and at the same time impress upon the English merchants, that the principle of trading depends entirely upon a mutual willingness. If a field of profit is to be reaped, there is no occasion to beg people to reap it; they will certainly reap it of their own accord. The English merchants and others must carry on their business with our native merchants in a spirit and according to a sense of justice, laying their plans for a long continuance of beneficial intercourse; and thus, it is to be hoped, that day by day the aspect of affairs may brighten, and all kinds of goods expand in their consumption. Although I have no means of looking after such matters in behalf of the foreign merchants, yet I, the Imperial Commissioner, do really night and day indulge in the fervent hope of an improved commercial intercourse, beneficial to all parties. An important official reply."

Yea, truly, and it is "an important official reply." Such "official replies" are rare. Would that the plain dictate of common sense and of justice, taught by this profound Mandarin, were always before our eye, and always acted upon in England! Legislatures need learn no other lesson in political economy than this—"that if a field of profit is to be reaped, there is no occasion to beg people to reap it; they will certainly

reap it of their own accord." Acting on that maxim, what a world of impertinent legislation should we be saved! What numberless absurd restrictions and regulations, dictating what field people should reap, who should reap it, and what field they had better not reap, should we avoid, if legislators would just remember that their subjects have heads on their shoulders, and a pair of eyes in each! The *laissez faire* doctrine is not new, but it has been so abominably neglected in Europe, that it is delightful to find it coming to us from the extremity of Asia. Nor must we, in our admiration of Keying's political economy, overlook the equally admirable wisdom and morality of his exhortation:—

"The English merchants and others must carry on their business with our native merchants in a spirit and according to a sense of justice, laying their plans for a long continuance of beneficial intercourse; and thus it is to be hoped that, day by day, the aspect of affairs may brighten, and all kinds of goods expand in their consumption."

Beautiful precept! When merchants and when governors learn it, we shall be near the millennium.—*Leeds Mercury*.

REVIEW.

The Natural History of Society. By W. Cooke Taylor, LL.D. London: Longman and Co.

What is there of the things that have been, are, or will be, that has not at some time exercised the busy curiosity of man? Even existences, past, present, and future, have not sufficed; he has sought for food to satiate this craving appetite from what has no existence save in his own creative mind. Every day exhibits to us more and more strikingly the endless variety of our desires for intellectual and material acquisitions, as well as the exhaustless fertility of the sources from which both are supplied; and we feel proportionably impressed with the importance of studying that condition of our existence, which at the same time gives birth to those manifold desires and furnishes the means of their gratification. That condition is "the social state;" for in the savage or isolated state our desires are few, and the power of gratifying them is limited. Yet, in all man's disquisitions, "*de omni scibili*," it is remarkable that the investigation of the social system has occupied a far smaller space than its importance entitles it to. Perhaps this may be partly from our propensity to trouble ourselves more about what is distant than what lies at our own door; but we are persuaded it has a deeper origin, and is to be attributed in a great degree to fear. Many good men shrink back from meddling with the subject, because they have no faith in the soundness of the principles on which society is based; they have been accustomed to look upon it as the result of some mere human compact; and it presents to the superficial observer so many characteristics of unfairness and positive injustice, that they have feared to direct attention to it at all, lest the result might be the overthrow of the entire fabric. One of the main objects of the book whose name heads this article is, to establish that society is the natural state of man, the state in which his Creator designed him to live, and the state alone in which his faculties can be developed. Let our author give a short outline of the argument:—

"Civilization is progressive and barbarism stationary. Hence many have been led to infer that the latter is the state of nature, or natural condition of man—an inference which, perhaps, may be traced to the vulgar notions of motion and rest; for even philosophers find it difficult to divest themselves of the habit of regarding the *vis inertia* of matter as more naturally displayed in rest than in motion. Before investigating the question whether civilization or barbarism be the more natural, we should inquire what is the true state of nature of any person or thing? A simple instance will suffice to show that this is not so easy a matter as is generally imagined. Pine-trees are found in the high Alps near the confines of perpetual snow; but they are stunted in their growth, they scarce put forth any branches, and their leaves are not fully developed. Pine-trees are also found in too luxuriant soils, which gives them a precocious exuberance, leading to a deranged organism and early decay. In either case, can the trees be said to be in their natural state? Assuredly not: we know that there are fundamental laws of the life and being of the tree, and that the state most natural to it is that in which it fulfils most completely the end and object for which it is made, according to its organization and the principles of its vitality. Man in a state of nature must, therefore, be man in the state for which nature has fitted him. Is there a definite mould and form to which his faculties are irrevocably predestined and pre-determined? There nature has designed him to remain stationary, and the natural man is the savage. On the other hand, are his faculties expansive, his capacities progressive, and his moral endowments susceptible of cultivation? If so, nature has organized him for progress; civilization is the natural state and barbarism the artificial."—Vol. I., p. 5.

The argument, whose germ is contained in the passage we have quoted, is pursued throughout the book, and enforced by a vast variety of proofs and illustrations drawn from almost every source, and by analogies the most striking and beautiful with which every page teems. This branch of the argument he thus sums up:—

"Having shown that a capacity for improvement was the essential characteristic of man, we then, from all the analogies which the universe affords, inferred that the natural state or condition of man must be that in which there are means and opportunities for the development of his improvable capacity. An extended examination of

humanity in the savage and barbarous form of life convinced us that such a state, so far from developing and improving his intellectual and moral powers, blighted and destroyed both; consequently we concluded that society was the natural condition for which man, both by his physical conformation and his moral endowments, was predestined and predetermined. A being so moulded, formed, and gifted would be as unnaturally posited in a desert or a forest, as an oyster on a mountain or a gazelle in the sea. When so placed he degenerates, dwindles, and declines, like exotic plants in our gardens or foreign beasts in our menageries."—Vol. II., p. 341.

Society, then, being established to be an ordinance of God, not of man, we should not be deterred from inquiring into its constitution by the fears we have alluded to. We may rest satisfied that the deeper our researches go, the more will we discover of admirable contrivance and wise management; and when we reach the foundations we shall find them laid in truth, reason, and justice: those defects which superficial observers would consider inherent in its nature, and sufficient to justify its entire condemnation, will by the calm inquirer be often traced to the pernicious influence of man himself marring those designs of his Creator which would be pregnant with blessing to him, as, to give one instance out of many, on that class of cases where perverse ingenuity has fettered industry by its restrictions, and choked up those channels through which wealth would naturally flow through the land; and he, therefore, will no more feel tempted to destroy society because of those defects, than he would to destroy himself because he had some illness which proper medical treatment would cure. Nay, more, he only, we unhesitatingly aver, is the true champion of social order, who has made this examination and arrived at this conviction; and very different indeed will his defence of it be when the hour of trial comes, from the blind and irrational reverence of him who would have things so *merely* because he finds them so, just as he is the true believer in religion who has fathomed its depths and brought to light for himself arguments to silence all his "saucy doubts and fears." But to pursue this train of thought would lead us too far from the review of the work which has suggested it, and which is so well calculated to impress it deeply upon us. Indeed, one of the great practical merits of this work is, that it develops what the author calls "*The Conservative Principles of Society*," illustrated in the efforts made for the relief and improvement of humanity, by public and private benevolence; and his observations on this subject, while they must instruct and interest all, claim peculiarly the attention of the philanthropist, whose efforts are directed to promote education and the general amelioration of the condition of the humbler classes. Of education he says:—

"Education is a truly Conservative principle: it is not good that nations should linger behind their destiny, for when they do, they must inevitably lose all the advantages derived from nature and events. The moral and intellectual improvement of the country must keep pace with its physical advancement, or the latter may, we should rather say, inevitably will, sow the seeds of deterioration. New events create new wants; and when they are not watched, from servants they become masters. The very circumstances that give strength and dignity to the national character, unless subjected to the wholesome restraints of principle and knowledge, may become the source of ruin, if left to run their course of unregulated wildness."—Vol. II., p. 301.

We would fain extract some other passages from this chapter which relate to the working classes, but want of space forbids it. We can promise our readers that, if they examine the chapter for themselves, they will be amply rewarded.

We pronounce this work to be indeed CONSERVATIVE—Conservative not in the cant meaning attached to the word, but in its true sense—not Conservative of party, but Conservative of principles: its tendency is to draw closer all those bands which unite men in brotherly kindness, and in defence of that social system which has afforded scope for the development of public and private virtue. Nor can religion despise the support which the truths established here lend her. Our author has established, by a wide induction, that man in a barbarous state cannot rise out of it; we find him civilized, and he cannot civilize himself; therefore civilization must have come from some other source; and the conclusion that it came from the Author of every good and perfect gift is inevitable:—

"Then, but not till then, we examined how far the conclusions to which we had been led by reasoning and analysis were in accordance with the narrative of the early history of our race contained in the Holy Scriptures. We found reason and revelation in complete accordance; they perfectly harmonized together, and thus enforced conviction that both were derived from the same God."

Besides, this is "*a natural*" history of society; most others that we have met with are unnatural, for they speak of compacts as the foundation of society, which were never entered into save by the authors with their own imaginations. This author refers back the rights of property and persons to their true source, instead of to ideal agreements. We could not give any short extract that would adequately convey his views on this point; our readers will find them in the 5th and 6th chapters.

In fine, we heartily commend this book to all our

readers; for, though it contains instruction for the learned, it is suited to the comprehension of all. The style is very nervous, and free from affectation, while a strain of humour runs through it, reminding one of Horace's

"Quid vult ridentem dicere verum."

[This article has been sent us by an esteemed correspondent. We should not ourselves have noticed the book at *quiddam notum propriumque*, but the importance of the subject induces us to lay aside all scruples of delicacy.]

Studies of Sensation and Event. By Ebenezer Jones. London: Fox.

These poems belong to a peculiar school of literature, which professes to discard all rhetorical artifices of expression, and rest its claims solely on thought and sentiment. It is the opposite extreme to the artificial poetry of Pope and his followers, and we incline to believe that many of the new school have mistaken the reverse of wrong for right. Ebenezer Jones has not always borne his present name: there are indications in his poems which give strong evidence of his identity with a writer who has given decisive proof of intellectual vigour in other walks of literature; and we admire the variety of his powers without becoming quite reconciled to their present manifestation. Were we, however, to bring him to trial before Aristotle on the ancient statutes of the Poetics, he would demur to the jurisdiction of the court, and the pleadings thence arising would rival the length and interest of a Chancery suit. We, therefore, think it better "to take the good the gods provide us," and extract some of these poems, which are at once full of fervid thought and suggestive of much valuable reflection. The following powerful lines are an answer to those who vituperate the violence of insurrection, forgetful of the wrongs by which the terrible retribution was provoked.

"A SLAVE'S TRIUMPH.

"Death to the aristocrats!" the people roared,—
Death to my master, each man fiercely thought,
As through the capital of France they poured,
A revolution's mob, with madness fraught:—
Before a stately building paused one band;
Awhile its leader bade them there abide;
And, where his Lord and his Lord's kindred stand,
He sprang and cried—

"Where is your scorn! where is the insolent eye,
Narrowing its lids to look at me; where, where,
The averted face that seemed wrenched away,
Sick at my presence, that ye yet did bear,
Even to enslave me! seem thus sick once more!
With narrowing eyes now speak me your decree!
For beneath your palace human tigers roar!
I hold the key!"

"You merciless wretches! what! you kneel, you whine,
To smile to me, you dare! one smile again,
And the mob is rending ye:—rise, masters mine!
I'll give you a boon to see your old disdain;
To hear your words, slow, insolent, as of yore
Chuckled at the shame they knew they burned through
me!
For beneath your palace human tigers roar!
I hold the key!"

The comment on the declaration of a minister in favour of Free Trade, while his measures were all directed to the support of monopoly, provokes the following comment, which appears to us a specimen of poetic and indignant scorn worthy of Juvenal himself:—

"SONG OF THE GOLD-GETTERS.

"The essence of trade is to buy cheap, and sell dear."—*House of Commons*
England, 1843.

"Oh! truth may have suited the knights of old,
And have royally crowned the barbarian's brow;
And the Hottentot's mother his grave may have scolded
With 'He never once lied'; but Utopia now,
In our civilized world, is the only land
Where truth could be worshipped, where truth could
live;

For, from statesman to tradesman, all utterance is
planned,
Any meanings but true ones to hint at or give.

Lie! let us lie! make the lies fit;
It's the only way mortals their fortunes can knit.

"If the minister orders war-ships at a foe,
He pretends they are bound quite a different way;
And where is the man that shall dare to throw
Disdain on the lie, or the truth to say?

The traveller, hearing the lion's roar,
Lies to the lion by feigning death,
And lives by the lie; and what can there be more
In the minister's lie to the enemy's teeth!

Lie! let us lie! make the lies fit;
It's the only way mortals their fortunes can knit.

"The best policy's honesty," horn-books tell,
Though we know who lies best gets the best of the
pelf;—

"The sire for his children the axiom likes well,
For the lie 'a an advantage he wants all himself;
For the same cunning reason, your pulpits, your thrones,
Your senates, your judges, the axiom repeat;
Each wants to monopolise lying, and moans
That he can't, with this lie, truth from other mean cheat.
Lie! let us lie! make the lies fit;
It's the only way mortals their fortunes can knit.

"Truth now starves in garrets, or rots in a gaol,
Whate'er may have been in the times gone by;
And supremacy national, 'cakes and ale,'
Honour, and station, reward the lie;
Let us lie then like statesmen, like fathers, and gold
We shall heap and keep;—the world is war
And out of war's articles, none will uphold
The virtue of truth when a falsehood gains more.

(Chorus.)

Lie! let us lie! Oh! we'll make the lies fit;
It's the only way mortals their fortunes can knit."

There is a startling energy in the following stanzas which form part of a poem entitled "The Coming Cry":—

"We'll all go building workhouses,—million, million hands,
So jointed wondrously by God, to work love's wise com-
mands;
We'll all go building workhouses,—million, million minds,

By great God chartered to condemn whatever harms or
binds;
The God-given mind shall image, the God-given hand
shall build

The prisons for God's children by the earth-lords willed;
Perhaps it's better than starvation, once we'll pray, and
then

We'll all go building workhouses,—million, million men.
"What'll we do with the workhouses? million, million men!

Shall we all lie down, and madden, each in his lonely den?
What! we whose sires made Cressy! we, men of Nelson's
mould!

We, of the Russells' country,—God's Englishmen the
bold!
Will we, at earth's lords' bidding, build ourselves disho-
noured graves?

Will we, who've made this England, endure to be its
slaves?
Thrones totter before the answer!—once we'll pray, and
then

We'll all go building workhouses,—million, million men."

While no one can deny the vivid force of these poems, there are few who will not feel that the ruggedness of form with which they are designedly invested has a smack of affectation, by no means calculated to improve their effect. Whether we are right or not in our conjecture respecting the author, the person who produced the lines we have quoted is capable of much better things than "Studies of Sensation and Event."

Wanderings of a Journeyman Tailor through Europe and the East, from 1824 to 1840. By P. D. Holthaus. Translated by W. Howitt, Esq. London, Longman and Co.

If this work had no other merit it would deserve notice as a literary curiosity. Its author, a journeyman tailor, has recorded his travels through Germany, Poland, Turkey, Greece, Syria, Egypt, Italy, and France. He set out equipped only with staff and knapsack, as every German mechanic is bound to do at the expiration of his apprenticeship; and his curiosity, increasing with what it fed upon, has led him through the most interesting parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. He literally *stitched* his way through these vast and various lands. When his purse runs low he seeks some master tailor, and merrily works away until his travelling funds are replenished, and then resumes his wanderings again. At Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, he found a curious substitute for bells in the churches:—

"It was to me very striking that you heard so little ringing of bells. The Turks have very much restricted the use of them. Instead of the tolling of a bell, they have a singular bell-ringing, or rather puppet-play. Aloft on the tower are set up a couple of boards, and are struck with a hammer, as a drum is beaten: that is the daily call to church. Is it Sunday or a festival, they hammer on an iron or other metallic plate; after this knocking, the bells are sometimes also rung."

The barbarism of the Wallachians is shown in the way by which their metropolis is supplied with water; but, before too severe a sentence is passed upon them by Londoners, they should think of the countless and nameless abominations by which the Thames is polluted:—

"Bucharest is a great city, with many suburbs, and nearly nine miles long. The Kelle flows nearly through the middle of it, and supplies the city with its water. A cask is drawn about in a little cart, and you hear on all sides the cries—'Appa hop!' that is, 'Buy water!' Every family has a similar cask, into which the water is poured. They then put a little alum into it, and after it has been well stirred about, and has stood an hour, it is clear and drinkable; but as it comes direct from the river it is in the highest degree impure. A cask of water costs commonly twenty, in winter even as much as forty parah, or from one to two silver groschen.

All dead cattle, cats and dogs, are flung into the Kelle, of the latter an incalculable number. On the banks of the Kelle, wild dogs take up their abode, which are called Kelle-dogs, and which find the inhabitants enough to do; but they have now found a good means of reducing those troublesome animals, in the Gipsies, who, here constituting the especial outcasts of society, are employed for their annihilation. They drive round the city in waggons, and strike the dogs dead. You often see from forty to fifty dead dogs on their waggons."

During his visit to Warsaw our worthy tailor had an opportunity of discovering much of the true condition of Poland under Russian despotism, and the following extract contains much that will furnish food for reflection:—

"More than the city itself, the life and proceedings in it showed you that the Russians were masters there. Everywhere watchhouses were erected in the streets, in which Russians and Polish invalids were posted, to prevent any unquiet movements in the streets. The Polish population was somewhat shrunk up, but fifty thousand Russians lay in garrison, and gave a peculiarly martial life to the place. There were infantry, cavalry, Cossacks, Ciro-

sians, and Tartars. Many of these troops, thus brought hither out of distant regions, had a foreign aspect; and the Cossacks were especially remarkable for their rich costume and fine figures. Their costume consists of round blue and yellow caps, encircled with a strip of fur, a brown smooth coat descending to the knee, and cut wide open around the neck. Round the waist they have a narrow leathern belt, to which the sabre hangs. Their carbines are generally in their case, and hung slanting across the back. In front, on the breast, they have on each side seven cartridge pockets. They wear nearly all beards. They are mounted, and are very skilful and bold riders. This was the body-guard of Pas-kewitch; I saw a similar one afterwards at Constantinople.

"The Tartars wear high caps, pointed at top, of untanned black lamb-skin. The head is completely shaved, and from each ear hang twisted patent curls. Under the nose they have monstrous moustaches. Their uniforms consist of long straight dresses, after the eastern fashion; and their firearms and sabres are eastern. The cartridge pouches hang on the breast. I saw, too, some officers armed with bows and arrows. They, too, are mounted. Their horses have very short shovel-like stirrups. They came in one march from the Caspian Sea to Warsaw. Their horses travel day after day, from six-and-thirty to forty-two miles, without pause or baiting.

"Amongst the Poles I heard occasional expressions of hate and hostility to the Russians. They dared not, it is true, speak this out aloud, because everywhere in public were Russian spies, who constitute a secret and lurking police; but, in his soul, the Pole hates the Russian like death. At the same time the common Pole is generally content when he has sufficient wutka or brandy. With this he goes very radically to work; for he does not begin without making an end of it; be the glasses great or small, he drains them at a draught. Give him a glass of brandy or a bit of tobacco, and he is the best fellow in the world.

"The Polish nobles were for the time much abridged of their liberties. They were not allowed to carry arms, nor even to hunt without permission from the Government. They live in great luxury; their costume is chiefly German, and splendid. On the contrary, the peasantry wear linen trousers, and over them a white shirt and a broad belt, and a large hat, with huge, unbound brim. In summer and winter they wear sheepskin, which commonly is thickly populated with all sorts of vermin. The common Poles are, moreover, very filthy; and you find amongst them very frequently a disease called the weichselzopf, or Vistula pigtail (*trica polonica*), in which the hair all mats together, and is filled with a pestiferous ooze. But all have a certain pride.

"I saw many Polish recruits marching off for the interior of Russia. Every Pole had two Russians to accompany him; afterwards two Poles had but one Russian."

Much as the Poles suffer from the Russians, they endure infinitely more from the monopolies rigidly enforced by their own aristocracy. Let one example serve as a specimen:—

"In one small town I lost my faithful travelling flask in a singular manner. I carried it on a string hung from the neck; the officers of the customs inquired after its contents, and as they found some little brandy yet in it, they tore it, by authority of their office, from my neck, and spite of all persuasions and representations I could not get it again. The Polish nobleman to whom the city belonged had the sole right to manufacture and sell brandy in the place; no one was allowed to bring any of this liquor in. I was even menaced with legal punishment."

We have read innumerable descriptions of the dogs of Constantinople, and yet the account given of them by our friend the tailor is not destitute of novelty and interest:—

"But the Turks maintain a sort of police who take care that the streets are cleared. Throughout Constantinople nothing is more striking than the amazing number of dogs which everywhere abound. They belong to nobody, and live on the garbage, and whatever lies in the streets. In the middle of the way, in the midst of the thickest stir of men, they lie sleeping about, and stop your way. They will turn out for no one, but you must go out of their way. At times they are dreadfully trodden on and mangled by the horses. They are all of one race, a sort of great wolf-hound, but for the rest not very savage nor apt to bite. The Turks do not injure them, and towards the Franks they are more hostile. In the night they set up a horrible howling. They make a regular republic, and divide themselves into certain quarters and districts of the city. If one comes to seek food in the range of another, all that are near fall upon him, drive him out, and frequently tear his jacket well for him. Such a culprit remains often lying on the spot, and you may sometimes see his intestines hang out. In their houses and mosques the Turks endure no dogs; they despise them, and consider them unclean; but in the streets they leave them undisturbed. They believe that it brings the especial blessings of God upon them, if they are kind and merciful to the animals which they do not eat for food. Wealthy and pious Turks frequently purchase bread and meat and throw them to the dogs. Bakers and fishermen let them have their crumbs and offal, as heads, liver, lungs, and intestines of sheep, which here are purchased and cooked by the Greeks and Armenians.

"It is equally horrible with the quantities of cats which are lodged everywhere in Constantinople; there are regular cats' hospitals; to the birds they are equally attentive—so far from hurting them, they rather feed them, leave them in all their freedom, and even build nests for them. You see about the mosques whole flocks of lovely dark-blue pigeons.

"At times there is issued an order that the streets shall be cleansed, and it is done, but it does not continue long so; the old nuisances soon are scattered over them."

At the Feast of Beiram our traveller had an opportunity of seeing the reigning Sultan going in state to the mosque:—

"Immediately on this follows the feast of Beiram; it is joyously celebrated. From the ships resounds the thunder of cannon, and the Sultan makes a grand gala procession of the whole Serail to the Twelve-Apostle Mosque. The street for the three-mile length of way is

crowded with spectators of all nations. A line of Turkish soldiers is posted on each side. Many splendid horses richly caparisoned, with numerous blue and red feathers on their heads, and covered with gold-embroidered saddle-cloths, are led by negroes; next rides a very short mannikin, with an old face and a tremendous beard, who is a counsellor (the court-fool) of the Sultan; then comes the officers and great Pachas, all mounted on horses, with clothes blazing with gold and diamonds; now approaches the Sultan himself, riding in the midst of his foot-guard. On this occasion he was dressed in the European style: wore dark-blue trousers with a red stripe, a dark-blue coat, such as is worn by the Prussian officers, with a red, gold-embroidered collar, and facings of the same, and a cloak of moorish-grey, with a rich upright embroidered collar; the red fess stood on high with a blue tassel, and upon it a costly feather with a large diamond. The Pachas are clad in the same manner, but without the cloak and feather. The Sultan wore a black, elegant beard; he rode a white Arabian horse; the guard was followed by foot and horse, with European music. The train returned in the same routine. The second Beiram, a New-year's feast, falls generally in spring, and is quite as joyfully celebrated."

Holthaus records the ill success of several attempts which he made to penetrate into the Russian territory; but we learn from the publisher's advertisement that he has now gone to that country, and we trust that on his return he will publish a full account of what he has seen, for few travellers in Russia have had an opportunity of examining the real character of the social life of the operative classes in that empire.

Impressions, Thoughts, and Sketches during Two Years in France and Switzerland. By Martha Macdonald Lamont. London, Moxon.

Many as are the demands made on our time and space, we cannot pass over this delightful and unpretending volume without recommending it to our readers, not merely as a faithful delineation of the best Parisian society, but as a most interesting example of the unfolding of female mind when allowed to have full scope and free exercise. To all the grace and softness becoming a lady Miss Lamont unites the vigour of an independent judgment and the aspirations of a noble heart; she has thought, and, what is still more rare, she has felt, for herself. She has not allowed any conventional distinctions of race, creed, or colour to limit the range of her sympathies; her moral standard is exclusively based on revelation and reason, on what God has said and man should do. That some of her opinions are immature and will be corrected by a ripper judgment may be safely conceded; but, such as they are, they all bear the healthy marks of natural growth; they have not been grafted on by prejudice, nor stunted in their growth by fashion. We should gladly have made some extracts, but other demands on our columns are too numerous and too pressing: we, however, earnestly commend the work to our readers as an admirable and practical illustration of the value of Lessing's precepts, "Think in what way you please, but think for yourself."

Jack of the Mill, commonly called Lord Othmill. By William Howitt, Esq. London, Longman and Co.

Though obviously an attempt to rationalize "Jack, the Giant Killer," there runs through this tale a vein of such genuine feeling, and hearty sympathy with the imaginings of youthful ambition, that it is sure to hold a permanent and conspicuous place in every youthful library. Extravagant as some of the adventures are—the exploits of the hero rivaling those of the most doughty Paladins in the romances of chivalry—they are related with so much spirit and humour that the reader is compelled to forget their improbability, particularly as they are accompanied with such vivid delineations of English scenery, and our attention is led away from any defect in the drawing of the figures by the exquisite beauty of the surrounding landscape.

The defect of the book is the prominence given to the military qualities of the hero. Howitt treats him as an Indian chief, and seems to believe that he should be honoured in proportion to the number of scalps which he can display as trophies. We did not expect to find William Howitt thus revelling in slaughter; and we think that his work would have been all the better had it exhibited a little less of mock chivalry and a little more of pure Christianity.

David Barclay, Esq., M.P. for Sunderland, has addressed a letter to the editor of the *Newcastle Advertiser*, stating his intention to vote for Mr. Villiers's motion, provided it is so shaped as to admit the consideration of a moderate fixed duty as an alternative.

KIRKALDY—FREE-TRADE AGITATION.—The committee of the Anti-Corn-Law Association of this place have received some 600 packages of tracts, pamphlets, prize essays, &c., illustrative of the principles of Free Trade, which are being distributed to every elector within the Kirkaldy Parliamentary district of burghs. We hope they will not be without effect in producing a sound conversion in many upon the important subject to which they relate. The committee have also set a-going a subscription in aid of the League Fund, and they hope that Kirkaldy will show itself not to be behind other places either in zeal or liberality.—*Fife Herald.*

THE LAY OF THE LAND.

A CONTRAST TO THE "SONG OF THE SHIRT." (See No. 13, p. 207.)

"For what were all our country patriots born?
To hunt and vote, and raise the price of corn;
Their good, ill, health, wealth, joy, or discontent,
Being, end, aim, religion—Rent, rent, rent!"—BYRON.

With foreign wines on his board,
A Swiss valet behind his back,
The "Protector of British Industry" sat,
And laughed as his sides would crack.
He laughed at his tenants who placed
Their voices and votes in his hand,
And in fancied triumph over the League
He sung "the Lay of the Land!"

"Rent—rent—rent!
Whether corn be high or low;
And rent—rent—rent!
Whether markets be quick or slow;
Let the farmers be kept like slaves,
Or rayals of Turkish bashaw,
Let labourers sink to their graves,
But uphold the landlord's law.

"Rent—rent—rent!
Though famishing infants cry;
And rent—rent—rent!
Though thousands of hunger die;
Ay, perish ship, commerce, and trade,
Perish trade, commerce, and ship:
Let all other interests fade,
Ere what we hold we let slip.

"For sisters we've portions to find,
And pinmoney for our wives;
It will not cause a pang to the mind,
To draw them from human lives.
Rent—rent—rent!
Is our first and our latest breath;
And we care not a jot that it must be drawn
From misery, famine, and death.

"Rent—rent—rent!
From labour that never flags,
And to which we grudge its bed of straw—
Its scanty meal and its rags;
Its hovel unfit for my dogs—
Its workhouse—a new Bastille;
They grumble; but who for their grumbling cares?
What right have the poor to feel?

"Rent—rent—rent!
If prospects be dark or bright;
And rent—rent—rent!
Comes plenteous season or blight;
While the farmers cling to the law
Which affords me pretence to exact,
And none of them muster up courage to speak
And twit me with the fact.

"Oh! still let the farmers toil—
Let labourers shiver and pine—
Let them starve from the want of imported corn,
While I drink imported wine.
While from every foreign clime
Our tables with luxuries groan,
The food supplied by a foreign land
We deny to the poor alone.

"For we are the makers of law,
And its ministration is ours,
And very well all our families know
The use that we make of our powers;
For Corn Laws we still maintain,
And rents we still keep high,
And if ever a tenant should dare to complain,
He's ejected to wither and die."

Even thus at his lordly board,
With foreign dainties spread,
A protector of native industry sat,
With no thought in his head,
But rent—rent—rent!
In spite of the Free-Trade band;
And treating the farmers with insolent jeers
(Oh, would that the words would ring in their ears),
He sung "the Lay of the Land."

REPRESENTATION OF MORPETH.—We stated upon the best authority, that Captain Howard will accept the Chiltern Hundreds, and that Lord Morpeth will, in a day or two, issue an address to the electors of Morpeth, as a candidate for their suffrages.—*Gatehead Observer.*

TRUTH PREDOMINATES.—He knows nothing of men who expects to convince a determined party man; and he nothing of the world who despairs of the final impartiality of the public.—*Lavater.*

FRUITS OF FREE TRADE.—A letter has been received in Newcastle, within these few days, from the captain of a vessel at Hong-Kong, in which the writer states that the charges on his vessel will be £200 less than they would have been previous to the commercial treaty. The vessel is about 20 keels. So much for Free Trade.—*Gatehead Observer.*

THE SHIPPING "INTEREST," AND PEELE'S SLIDING SCALE.—At a late meeting of the Sunderland Free-Trade Association, it was mentioned by one of the members, that, since the 21st of September last, ten cargoes of foreign grain had entered the port of Sunderland, of which seven had been imported in foreign bottoms, and three only in British ships. Such is the operation of Pele's sliding scale (combined with his new coal-trade laws), that more than two-thirds of our foreign grain traffic falls to the share of foreigners! No wonder the British shipowners are beginning to heap *inverted blessings* on the day they helped to place so injurious a "friend" as Pele in the premiership. They now see, that the more there is to be carried, and the more regular the carrying trade can be made, the better for themselves, the carriers; and that their own permanent prosperity can be secured only by a full adoption of the great principle of Free Trade, and not by the paltry, peddling impolicy of "unsettling everything, and settling nothing."—*Durham Chronicle.*

THE FUNDS.

| | Jan. 10 | Feb. 10 | Jan. 11 | Feb. 11 | Jan. 12 | Feb. 12 |
|---------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Bank Stock | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 |
| Long An. R. 1850 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 |
| Cons. for Acc. | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 |
| Ex. Bills | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| Ind. Ed. und. 1000 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 |
| India Stock | 277 | 277 | 277 | 277 | 277 | 277 |
| Belgian | 106 | 106 | 106 | 106 | 106 | 106 |
| Brassilian | 79 | 79 | 79 | 79 | 79 | 79 |
| Chilian | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 |
| Columb. ex. Venes. | 123 | 123 | 123 | 123 | 123 | 123 |
| Danish | 89 | 89 | 89 | 89 | 89 | 89 |
| Dutch 3 per Ct. | 101 1/2 | 101 1/2 | 101 1/2 | 101 1/2 | 101 1/2 | 101 1/2 |
| Dutch 2 1/2 per Ct. | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Mexican, 1857 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 |
| Portuguese, conv. | 47 1/2 | 47 1/2 | 47 1/2 | 47 1/2 | 47 1/2 | 47 1/2 |
| Buenos Ayres | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 |
| Spanish 3 per Ct. | 33 1/2 | 33 1/2 | 33 1/2 | 33 1/2 | 33 1/2 | 33 1/2 |
| Do. 2 per Ct. | 32 1/2 | 32 1/2 | 32 1/2 | 32 1/2 | 32 1/2 | 32 1/2 |
| Peruvian | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 |

GALASHIELS.—Why are the manufacturing classes of this thriving place resting on their oars in the great national movement for subscriptions to the League? This is surely not the time for sleeping at our post. If you wish to wage the battle of Free Trade with the land-ocracy, who are undermining your trade and industry by a Bread Tax, contribute of your substance to the great League fund—follow the bright example of your neighbour manufacturers at Hawick, who have contributed upwards of £150 for the glorious cause. Scotland expects that every man will do his duty; nay, more, England and the world expect the same thing. Let operatives unite with their masters. The poorer the workmen the greater the need of cheap food and liberal wages; therefore let the weaver at the loom, the cobbler at the stall, and the tailor at the board, &c., give a something, otherwise they have no reason to complain of want of work and low wages. We have no fears of our fellow-townsmen, who only require a hint to do their duty.—*Kelso Chronicle.*

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, Feb. 12.—There was a moderate supply of Kentish Wheat this morning, but very short of Essex and Suffolk. There was an improved demand for all kinds, and 1s. to 2s. advance was readily obtained on both English and free foreign. There was more inquiry for Wheat in bond; but the transactions were not extensive, owing to the high rates at which it was held. Fine Malting barley was scarce, and sold at fully last week's rates; but Distilling and Grinding qualities were taken off slowly at scarcely so good prices. No alteration in the value of Beans and Peas. There was a fair supply of Oats fresh up this morning from Ireland and coastways. The trade was very inactive, but last week's prices were fully supported. B. H. LUCAS and SON.

Currency per imperial measure.

| | | | |
|---------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
| Wheat, English, Red | 45s to 55s | Peas, Maple | 28s to 30s |
| New, do. | 45s to 55s | Malt, Pale Suffolk and | |
| Do., do., Old | 52s to 61s | Norfolk | 54s to 58s |
| New, do., White | 48s to 60s | Chevalier | 60s to 63s |
| Old, do., do. | 60s to 64s | Brown | 53s to 56s |
| Dantzic | 57s to 63s | Oats, English Feed | 20s to 22s |
| Stettin | 50s to 57s | Do. Short | 21s to 23s |
| Malting | 84s to 88s | Scotch Feed | 21s to 23s |
| Distilling | 32s to 34s | Do. Potato | 23s to 25s |
| Grinding | 28s to 32s | Irish Feed | 19s to 20s |
| Beans, Tick | 26s to 27s | Do. Short | 20s to 22s |
| Harrow | 28s to 30s | Do. Black | 19s to 20s |
| Pigeon | 32s to 34s | Do. Galway | 17s to 19s |
| Old Harrow | 33s to 34s | Flour, town made and | |
| Peas, White | 28s to 30s | best country marks | 45s to 50s |
| Do., Bollers | 31s to 33s | Norfolk and Suff. | |
| Grey | 26s to 28s | folk | 40s to 44s |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 5th to the 10th of Feb. 1844, both days inclusive:

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 3023 | 6801 | 1102 | 1130 | 950 |
| Scotch | — | 900 | 1869 | 27 | — |
| Irish | — | 803 | 4050 | — | — |
| Foreign | — | — | — | — | — |

Flour, 4817 sacks, 1307 bls. Malt, 5854 qrs.
MARK-LANE, Friday, Feb. 16.—The arrivals of Wheat and Barley since Monday are moderate; there are good supplies of English, Scotch, and Irish Oats. There is scarcely so much activity in the Wheat trade as on Monday. The trade in Barley and Oats is not brisk; but the prices of all grain are firmly maintained. In one or two instances a trifling advance has been obtained on Monday's prices for Wheat in bond.

B. H. LUCAS and SON.
Account of Corn, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 9th of Feb. to the 16th of Feb., both days inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 4640 | — | 4220 |
| Barley | 8110 | 890 | 1280 |
| Oats | 4650 | 19,080 | — |

Flour 5580 sacks.
A WEEKLY REPORT OF THE NUMBER OF QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|----------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. |
| Weekly Averages.. | 108,876 52 | 111,002 33 | 53,349 19 | 11,000 20 |
| Aggregate Averages.. | 51 7 | 33 2 | 18 10 | 20 7 |
| Duty..... | 19 0 | 5 0 | 8 0 | 11 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 13.

CROWN OFFICE, FEBRUARY 13.
MEMBERS RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

Borough of Devises.—William Heald Ludlow Bruges, of Beend, in the county of Wilts, Esq., in the room of Thomas Henry Sutton Botheron, Esq., who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

County of Wilts.—Northern Division.—Thomas Henry Sutton Botheron, of Bowden Park, in the said county of Wilts, Esq., in the room of Sir Francis Burdett, Bart., deceased.

BANKRUPTCY SUPPLEMENTED.

J. RHODES, Leeds, woolstapler.

BANKRUPT.

J. FAULKNER, Danvers-street, Chelsea, builder. [Ward, Lincoln's-inn-fields.
J. MILNER, Brook-street, New-road, engine manufacturer. [Mivington, Fenchurch-buildings.

T. AMOS, Kingland-road, builder. [Sheffield, Lendenhall-street.]
 E. M. MARKS, Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square, upholsterer. [Livings, Chancery-lane.]
 G. FIELD, Bond court, Walbrook, packer and merchant. [Cottrell, Throgmorton-street.]
 H. TURNER, Whodsome Lane, Yorkshire, fancy cloth manufacturer. [Clark and Co., Lincoln's-inn-fields; Robinson, Huddersfield; Bond, Leeds.]
 T. HIGGINS, Liverpool, pawnbroker. [Thompson, Liverpool; Norris and Co., Bartlett's-buildings, Holborn.]
 J. H. BARRY, Liverpool, merchant. [Sharp and Jackson, Bedford-row; Miller and Peel, Liverpool.]
 T. LAY, Dudley, grocer. [Collis, Stourbridge; Smith, Birmingham.]
 R. LANG, Mill-bridge, Bristol, Yorkshire, tallow chandler. [Jaques and Edwards, Ely-place; Watte, Dewsbury.]

DIVIDENDS.

March 7. G. Nettleton, Brompton, Kent, tailor—March 7. J. Harrison, Brighton, coach builder—March 7. C. Marshall, Old Castle-street, Whitechapel—March 7. G. Bishop, St. Mary's, City, merchant—March 6. F. W. K. Haradon, Philpott-lane, City, merchant—March 6. A. Mason, Bury St. Edmund's, coach proprietor—March 6. A. Duncan and C. Duncan, Token-house-yard, City, merchants—March 6. J. Brown, Sheffield, merchant—March 6. G. Boyd and W. Boyd, Kingston-upon-Hull, engineers—March 6. St. J. Cartwright, Workop, Nottinghamshire, grocer—March 9. R. Ferris and Co., Liverpool, merchants—March 6. W. Jacks, Bristol, merchant—March 6. G. Holdsworth, Halifax, Yorkshire, worsted spinner—March 7. R. Hansford, Weymouth, Dorsetshire, grocer—March 7. W. P. Georges, Devonport, wine merchant—March 7. J. R. Munden, Warwick, Somersetshire, flax and tow spinner—March 6. A. Webb, Liverpool, carpet seller—March 6. G. Hood, Brownhills, Staffordshire, earthenware manufacturer—March 9. J. Hete, Dudley, Worcestershire, ironmonger—March 7. T. W. Jones, Wellington, Shropshire, mercer—March 9. G. Wheldon, Dudley, Worcestershire, clothier.

CERTIFICATES.

March 7. A. Wells, Wickford, Essex, surgeon—March 7. J. M'Lean, Sun-street, Bishopgate-street Without, statutory and mason—March 7. J. Dobson, Old Gravel-lane, Ratcliffe-high-way, ship carpenter—March 7. P. and B. Bayfus, Houndsditch, importers of French goods—March 6. J. Guntton, Cambridge, butcher—March 6. F. Thompson, Southampton, tailor—March 6. J. Andrews, Lad-lane, City, licensed victualler—March 7. C. Willmer, Tillingham, Essex, draper—March 6. A. G. Roussac, Austin-frars, City, merchant—March 6. W. Read, King street, Covent-garden, printer—March 6. H. Cotman, Norwich, draper—March 6. A. W. and T. B. Lowman, Eastcheap, cheesemongers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTERATIONS.

D. STOCKS, Cameron Bridge, Fifeshire, farmer.

A CUP OF COFFEE IN ONE MINUTE!

DUNN'S ESSENCE OF COFFEE, warranted to keep good in any climate. This Essence of the finest Mocha Coffee, improved by a process of thirty years' experience, contains all the fragrant and exhilarating properties of the Coffee in the highest perfection. It is admirably adapted to persons travelling, Officers in the Army and Navy, and Families visiting watering-places. Manufactured by D. DUNN, Pentonville, London, Manufacturer of Chocolate Powder, Essence of Ginger, and other Spices, Herbs, &c. Sold in Bottles from 1s. to 4s. each; and may be ordered of any respectable Grocer in the United Kingdom. Directions.—Put about a teaspoonful of the Essence into a coffee-cup, add sugar and cream or milk, then fill it up with boiling water, and a cup of Coffee, of superior flavour, is instantly made.

LOWDEN'S CELEBRATED COUGH PILLS, a safe and effectual cure for Coughs, Colds, Shortness of Breath, Asthma, &c. They promote free expiration, and hence prevent that accumulation of phlegm which causes a sense of choking; allay irritability, tickle in the throat, and relieve that sense of oppression, fullness, and difficulty of breathing, which nightly deprives the patient of rest. In Asthma and Coughs of long standing they are invaluable, and universally admitted to be the best known Medicine, in any case where they do not effect a perfect cure they afford such relief to the sufferer during the paroxysms of fits as to induce him heretofore never to be without them. Sold by Mr. Lowden, Chemist, 204, Fleet-street, London, in boxes at 1s. 1d., 2s. 6d., and 4s. 6d. also by one or more respectable Medicine Vendors in each town in the United Kingdom.

PATENTED AND MANUFACTURED BY HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, H. R. H. PRINCE ALBERT, THE ROYAL FAMILY, AND THE SEVERAL COURTS OF EUROPE.

ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL, for the Growth and for Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair. Price 3s. 6d. Family Bottle (equal to small) 10s. 6d., and double that size, 21s. CAUTION.—SPURIOUS IMITATIONS are frequently offered for sale under the FICTITIOUS name of the word "GENUINE." It is therefore imperative on purchasers to see that the words "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" are on the Wrapper of each bottle, and on the back of the wrapper nearly 1000 times, containing 20,000 letters. All others are FRAUDULENT COUNTERFEITS. The principle on which "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" is prepared, is confined solely to the knowledge and practice of A. ROWLAND and SON, who are still at an immense expense in completing its preparation, and the amalgamation of its PURELY VEGETABLE MATERIALS renders abortive any attempt to discover its secret parts.

ROWLAND'S KALYDOR, for Improving and Beautifying the Skin and Complexion. Price 3s. 6d. and 5s. 6d. per bottle, duty included. ROWLAND'S OIL, or PEARL DENTIFRICE, renders the Teeth beautifully White and preserves the Gums. Price 2s. 6d. per box, duty included.

CAUTION.—It is imperative on purchasers to see that the word "ROWLAND'S" is on the Wrapper of each article. For the protection of the Public from fraud and imposition, the Honourable Commissioners of Her Majesty's Stamps have authorized the Proprietors' Signature to be engraved on the Government Stamp, thus, A. ROWLAND and SON, 70, Hatton-garden, which is affixed to the Kalydor and Oil. Sold by Chemists and Perfumers. * * All others are SPURIOUS IMITATIONS!!!

BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS.—Further testimonials of the efficacy of this medicine.

TO MR. PRUIT, 229, Strand, London.

Pringle, near Bagshot, Surrey, April 23, 1813.

Sir,—I enclose three cases, in which the parties thereto named have received great benefit from using BLAIR'S PILLS, and the truth of which I am at any time ready to make affidavit of if required. You are at perfect liberty to publish them if you think proper. Hoping this may induce the credulous to make a trial of the Pills, which will speedily convince them of their value.

I am, Sir, yours truly, JOHN J. GILES.

Pringle, April 23, 1813.

Dear Sir, Upon your recommendation I sent for a box of BLAIR'S RHEUMATIC PILLS, and to my astonishment a few days entirely relieved the numerous pains my wife had suffered as long, but having caught a severe cold the inflammation again returned, when, having recourse to a few more Pills, it again fled, and has not since returned. The public are not generally aware of the efficacy of this truly valuable medicine, or few would suffer from rheumatism.

In consequence of witnessing the effects of the above medicine in my own family, I recommended Edward Bridger, now sixty-seven years of age, a labouring and shilling gardener, to apply to you, he being much afflicted with rheumatism for twenty years, he could scarcely get any sleep, being always worse when in bed, and was to walk without the assistance of a stick. You gave him some Pills. I saw him yesterday. He told me he could now get rest which he had been unable to do for a very long time, he is still lame from the length of time he has been afflicted, but can now walk, without much inconvenience, ten or twelve miles in the day, and can, so he says, do any light work; he has applied to me for a job at hoeing. It is distressing to see a fellow creature suffering such excruciating pain, when relief may be obtained by taking BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS. I shall, for the benefit of those who may suffer, continue to recommend them.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly, THOMAS INWOOD.

To John J. Giles, Esq., Pringle, Surrey.

Dear Sir, The effect of BLAIR'S PILLS has been everything I could wish for. I had symptoms of the gout during Wednesday night I took two Pills during the night, and two in the morning, which quite removed the pain, and I was enabled to give a lecture at Hatfield-row on Thursday evening, although I was in fear that morning I should not have been enabled to leave home.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly, EDW. J. LANE.

To the above gratifying communication the proprietor of BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS considers any comment from him would be superfluous. Sold by Messrs. Pruit, 229, Strand, London; and by the vendors of medicine throughout the United Kingdom.

THE CORN LAWS.—The sentiments of every member of Parliament respecting the CORN LAWS will be found in Mr. DODD'S "PARLIAMENTARY COMPANION" for 1844, which contains a full Biographical Dictionary of both Houses, a Statement of the Polls, Population, &c., with Explanations of Parliamentary Terms and Proceedings. Royal 32mo, price 4s. 6d., morocco gilt. Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria-lane.

THE REWARD UNCLAIMED; or the State Church Mortally Wounded: showing the immediate separation of Church and State to be inevitable; and that all compulsory contributions for the purposes of the Church must forthwith be abolished. Second Edition, with enlargements. The above will be published by Dennis, Paternoster-row, on Thursday next, the 22nd instant, price Sixpence.

Just published, in demy 12mo, pp. 258, price 3s. 6d. sewed, or 5s. 6d. **THE ARISTOCRACY OF BRITAIN** and the **LAW OF BIRTH AND PRIMOGENITURE**, judged by recent French writers: being Selections from the Works of Fanny, Beaumont, O'Connor, Mounod, Barot, Gaisot, Constant, Dupin, Bay, Blanqui, and Mignet: showing the advantage of the Law of Equal Succession. With Explanatory and Statistical Notes. Glasgow: G. and J. Dyer, 24, Paternoster-row. Edinburgh: W. Tait. Glasgow: Andrew Guthrie. Cupar-Pfife: G. S. Tullis.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.—The political interest excited by the last number of the "Westminster" is an encouraging evidence that the time has arrived when, by judicious exertions, the influence of this old-established periodical, which has now been twenty years before the public, may be rendered equal or superior to that of any similar quarterly publication of the United Kingdom. No pains or expense will be spared to effect this object, and its contents will be numerous and diversified. Among them will be found a paper on "Shakespearean Criticism," by the author of the articles "Abelard and Heloise," "Robin Hood," and "Hampton Court," with several papers on Art and Architectural Works, illustrated by lithographic prints and numerous woodcuts. The political papers will be entitled "The British Embassy to Shoo," and "Earl Spencer."—Advertisements and Bills should be sent to the publisher's on or before the 20th instant.

London: Samuel Clarke, 13, Pall-mall East.

Now ready, Second Edition, price 4s. 6d. **THE PAPAL AND HIERARCHICAL SYSTEM** compared with the Religion of the New Testament. "A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so, and what will ye do in the end thereof?"—Jer. v. 30, 31. "So clear and scriptural are the views put forth, and so truly Protestant, that the Author in writing and publishing the work has conferred an inestimable benefit, and at a most seasonable time, upon the Christian church."—Evangelical Register, Aug. 1843. "A sensible and able discussion of a subject which will, ere long, command the rapid attention of the civilized world."—Nonconformist, Sept. 1843. Just published, price One Shilling.

HYDROPATHY DEFENDED BY FACTS; or, the GOLD WATER CURE shown to be as safe in Practice as it is rational in Theory. By A. COWAN, surgeon, R.N., Ramsgate. CHEAP EDITIONS OF DYMOND'S ESSAYS. Complete in 1 vol. at 3s. 6d., originally published in 2 vols. at 21s. The Seventh Thousand of this Edition.

ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY, and on the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind. By JONATHAN DYMOND, Author of "An Enquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity," &c. In this work will be found some clear views on the popular questions of the day—the Education of the People, and the Connection between Church and State. Price 1s.

ESSAY ON THE ACCORDANCY OF WAR with the PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY. By JONATHAN DYMOND. "No one can hope to overthrow the reasoning of Dymond without denying the truth of the book (the Bible) from which he deduces his arguments."—Second Edition, with Additions and Corrections, price 4s. 6d.

THE WATER CURE. By E. S. ABDEY, A.M., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambr. Edge, and Author of "A Journal, &c., in the United States."

"Mr. Abdey is already favourably known to the public as an author, and his present able work may be safely recommended as containing the best exposition of the principles of Hydropathy, as well as an interesting and convincing statement of facts."—London: Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate Without.

CAUSES OF, AND REMEDIES FOR, THE EXISTING DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY. BY JOHN WADE, AUTHOR OF "BRITISH HISTORY CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED;" THE "HISTORY OF THE MODERN CLASSES," &c.

THE WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF FEBRUARY the 24th instant will contain the First Sections of the above interesting and important Work, now first published, and which will be continued Weekly until completed.

The following is a Synopsis of the Contents:—PART I.—On the Causes of the Existing Distress.—Plan of Investigation.—Section I. Industrial Development of the Kingdom; 2. Estimate of the Productive Power of the Country; 3. Principles of Commercial Fluctuations; 4. Mercantile Reactions, and the degrees in which they have been induced by Banking, Paper Currency, and Private Credit; 5. Immediate Causes of Existing Difficulties; 6. General Conclusions on the Causes of National Distress. PART II. Remedies for the National Distress. Division One:—Remedies by Legislation. Section I. Suggestions for Enlarging the Home Markets. 2. Abrogation of Agricultural Protection; 3. Extension of the Foreign Markets by Free Trade; 4. Suggestions on the New Corn Law and Tariff; 5. Utility of a Commercial Congress of States for the reciprocal Revision of Tariffs; 6. Relief from more liberal Policy towards our Colonial and Foreign Possessions; 7. Benefits from the Settlement of the Currency of the Kingdom; 8. Ought Contracts to be Adjusted, and Funded Property specially Taxed; 9. Emigration; 10. Conclusion of Legislative Remedies. Division Two: Remedies by Capitalists. Division Three: Remedies by the Working Classes. Conclusion of Essay.

The WEEKLY CHRONICLE of this day contains:—A Letter from COTTON TWIST to Sir JAMES GRAHAM, Bart., her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, on his PARLIAMENTARY DENUNCIATION OF THE LEAGUE as a SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY.

The following are also among the peculiar features of the WEEKLY CHRONICLE:—I. The celebrated Articles on IRISH HISTORY, and the REBELLION of 1798: the only safe Guide to a Knowledge of the Irish Policy, essential to the integrity of the Empire at this important crisis. II. COTTON TWIST RE-DIVULGED! A New Series, Weekly, of the LETTERS OF COTTON TWIST, "FREE TRADE! PLenty TO DO! HIGH PROFITS! GOOD WAGES! and CHEAP BREAD!" III. SCALPEL'S ANATOMY OF THE "PEERAGE," forming a complete History of the Peerage of the United Kingdom, for the information of its People.

Arrangements have been made for bringing down the news contained in the WEEKLY CHRONICLE to a much later date than usual, in some instances anticipating the average of last year by a week; and, to effect this, every department of the paper has been scrupulously revised and efficiently reconstructed. For the convenience of our friends, the three following editions are published; and, by attending to these directions, the substitution of any other edition for the one preferred, and for which the order should be distinctly given, may be prevented:—

1. An edition for exclusive circulation in the provinces on the Saturday, marked "Country Edition."
 2. An edition for circulation in London on the Saturday, and in the country on the Sunday, marked "Town and Country Edition."
 3. An edition for exclusive circulation in the metropolis and its environs on the Sunday, marked "Town Edition."

The price is 6d. for which the WEEKLY CHRONICLE may be obtained of all respectable newsmen; and by post, paid in advance, at a subscription of 2s. per annum, 12s. the half year, and 6s. the quarter.—Sold by all newsmen in town and country.—Office, 337, Strand.

FOR STOPPING DECAYED TEETH. Mr. THOMAS'S SUCCEDANUM, price 4s. 6d.—Patronized by her Majesty, the Royal Highness Prince Albert, and her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent. This valuable SUCCEDANUM for Stopping Decayed Teeth, however large the cavity, is far superior to anything ever before used, as it is placed in the tooth in a soft state, without any pressure or pain, and in a short time becomes as hard as the enamel, and will remain firm in the tooth for many years, rendering extraction unnecessary. It arrests all further progress of decay, and renders them again useful in mastication. All persons can use Mr. THOMAS'S SUCCEDANUM themselves with ease, without the aid of a dentist, as full directions are enclosed.—Prepared only by Mr. Thomas, Surgeon-Dentist, 65, Berners-street, Oxford-street, price 4s. 6d., and will be sent by post to any part of the Kingdom.

ARTIFICIAL TEETH.—Mr. Thomas continues to supply the loss of teeth, and has introduced an entirely new description of ARTIFICIAL TEETH, which will be found very superior to all others, as they will never decay nor become discoloured, and their perfect resemblance to nature defies detection even by the closest observer. This method does not require the extraction of any teeth or roots, or any painful operation whatever. The charges will be found less than most dentists.—Mr. Thomas, Surgeon-Dentist, 65, Berners-street, Oxford-street. At home from Eleven till Four.

MR. BEARD'S DAGUERRETYPE, or PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS.—These infallible and most improved Portraits, in which further improvements have lately been effected, are taken by the Patented, at 35, King William-street, City; 24, Finsbury-street; and at the Royal Polytechnic Institution, 209, Regent-street. By whom, also, Licences are granted for exercising the invention in provincial towns and districts.

THE NEW PATENT INKSTAND by R. T. CLIFFE, is Superior in all respects to those recently patented. The ink is drawn from the surface of the reservoir, the eddies remain below. No variation of temperature affects the ink, and from its simplicity cannot be got out of order. Hyde and Co., agents, 61, Fleet-street; where may be had their Bank Sealing Wax, an article exceeding all others in purity of quality and brilliancy of colour.

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A Single Tooth 2s 10 0
 A Set 8 0 0
 Arranged on a principle yet untried, rendering it impossible to distinguish the artificial teeth from the natural ones; answering most completely all the purposes of the original teeth in mastication and conversation, imparting to the countenance a younger and improved appearance, preventing the adjoining teeth, and remaining perfectly secure in their place. Artificial Teeth repaired, remodelled, and brought to their former shape and appearance. Artificial Palates of the most improved construction.—At home every day, from Ten till Six. N.B. Removed from 80, Newman-street, to 42, Berners-street, Oxford-street.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 22.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1844.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

DEFEAT OF MONOPOLY: SOMERSET COUNTY MEETING.

The monopolist landlords have received an impressive lesson. They have tried a county meeting, and been signally beaten. Every circumstance of the transaction renders their defeat the more complete and decisive. The great agricultural county of Somerset was selected for the experiment. Taunton, which might have been regarded as the most appropriate locality for a county meeting, was avoided, and the little town of Bridgwater selected, so that the battle had to be fought upon monopolist ground. No party hostilities were allowed to impede the unity of action against Free Trade; and Whig and Tory magnates of the county cordially greeted each other upon the hustings. Even the antagonism of fixed duty and sliding scale was carefully merged. The requisition was simply negative; and, in its comprehensive ambiguity, merely called on the meeting to consider "the propriety of opposing, by the most efficient measures, an association called the Anti-Corn-Law League." The gathering of farmers from various and distant parts of the county was immense. Several thousands were present, and an attentive perusal of the proceedings demonstrates, beyond all contradiction, that the spirit and tone of the meeting were the same from its commencement to its conclusion. What would the landlords have more? They have left no peg on which to hang a protest against the result; and that result, at the first really public meeting they have ventured to face—under circumstances of their own selection, and with every advantage they could desire—has been the adoption of a county petition to Parliament for Free Trade, and a resolution of thanks to the Anti-Corn-Law League.

Let the monopolists turn and twist it which way they will, this is an ugly conclusion for their cause. They have asked a formally-convened county meeting for support, and have been refused. They have "taken the sense" of the county; and got it, against their own non-sense. No accumulation of hole-and-corner meetings will turn the balance against the weight of this decision. It illustrates the worthlessness of all their little, secret, packed parties, for the formation of Anti-League Associations. We will not say that, were an election to take place, they would not carry the county; but the meeting shows by what means and power they would do so. It may admonish them also of some insecurity in their tenure. There is something very timely in this occurrence. It checks the insolence that boasted of arraying the entire strength of the country against the towns. The Richmond Corresponding Society has made a bad beginning. It upsets the numerical statistics by which occupations were ingeniously sorted, in order to put Free Trade in a minority. After this rural rebellion, the Central Metropolitan Protection (or in whatever title, Anglo-Bengalee or otherwise, its disinterestedness may rejoice) had better decline, with Sir Robert Peel, to say what constitutes an impossibility. County thanks to the League, and County Free-Trade petitions, are a startling phenomenon. It is very unfortunate that the Anti-Leaguers cannot exclude reporters from

other meetings besides their own. The effect of the Somerset meeting will be felt from one end of the kingdom to the other, as fast as it is known; and they cannot hinder the knowledge. One monopoly at least is left them untouched and unenvied—that of the darkness which they love.

No Delegation from the League attended at Bridgwater. The discussion was confined to persons connected with the county; and, on the part of the Free Traders, it was conducted most ably. The county needs no sounder expositors of the facts and principles by which the great question submitted to the meeting must eventually be decided. Mr. Beadon, of Taunton, led the opposition to the requisitionists in a speech which well deserves the attention of our readers for its lucid statements, its home-thrusts, its unanswerable questions, and its frank and manly spirit. "Tenant-farmers," said he, in that direct appeal by which the speech is characterized, "what has the Corn Law done for you? What is your condition? If you look at last week's bankruptcy list you will find, from the 13th to the 20th Jan., no less than the names of twelve farmers; the week previous, nine; and the week previous to that, seven; making, together, twenty-five; and that with your glorious protection to make you all rich." Mr. Beadon is, we understand, a considerable proprietor, and much of his property is of that description of land, the poorer soils, which is so often said to require protection most imperatively. His testimony as a witness, therefore, partakes of the value of his conclusiveness as a reasoner. The blow so well struck at monopoly was promptly followed up:—

"Mr. Thomas Perrott, of Boroughbridge, said, I appear here as a farmer and a landowner, to second the motion made by Mr. Beadon (loud cheers); and I take this opportunity of observing, that I believe the Corn Laws are highly injurious, not only to the manufacturer, not only to the working classes in trade, not only to the working classes in agriculture, but to the tenant-farmers. It does seem strange to me, when, after I have attended public meetings in this county, as an agriculturist, for the last twenty-five years, and have always seen the two parties, Whig and Tory, arrayed one against the other—one thirsting for power, and the other seeking to displace him—to see Sir Alexander Hood coming forward as a high Tory, and shaking hands with Sir Thomas Lethbridge and Mr. Sandford. There is no harm in it, perhaps, but I wish to expose the trick of the two factions." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Perrott is a good hand at this sort of exposure. He hits hard. It is not safe to cross-question him. An instance of this occurred during his speech:—

"As a practical farmer and a landowner, I know you will give me credit for speaking the truth. It is a mistaken notion altogether their wanting to carry on the Corn Laws. How can we flourish at the expense of trade. I am a farmer, but not at the lash of the landlord, and, what is more than all, I am able to keep my sheepskins at home. (Cheers and laughter.) [A gentleman on the hustings having asked Mr. P. what he meant by that, he said] I will answer the question—it is that my property is free from mortgages,—property which I have gained by the honest hand of industry, and of part of which I am not afraid to make a sacrifice to my fellow-men, if it should be necessary." (Loud cheers.)

The vote of thanks to the League was moved and seconded by Mr. Turner and Mr. Charles Summers, both large farmers: the former, who rents land to the extent of nearly £1000 per annum, declared that he was a great sufferer by the Corn Laws, and believed the farmers generally to derive not the least advantage from them. We mention the names of the speakers, to whom we must add Mr. Browne and Mr. Crosse, because the energetic, able, and successful manner in which they managed the discussion entitles them to the gratitude and thanks of the friends of Free Trade throughout the country;—nor must we omit that of Mr. Langton, whose excellent speech was worthy of the son of the venerable Colonel Gore Langton, whose sentiments also it was the medium of conveying to the meeting.

The champions of monopoly were so efficiently handled at the meeting that we do not feel it necessary to bestow a single word upon them. We must, however, notice an unfair use which has been made of this meeting in some of the London journals. The Times professes that it would be sorry for the blindness of the landed aristocracy "which would barter moral power for the support of a ministry or preservation of a sliding scale." And the Globe, with similar purpose, affirms itself to be waiting to see how the Tory journals will attempt "to turn aside the blow which the sliding scale has received in Somersetshire." Gently, good Times and Globe; it is not the sliding scale exclusively to which Somersetshire has dealt "a heavy blow and great discouragement." The stroke falls quite as forcibly upon the fixed duty, which you would most unwarrantably insinuate has gained some strength

by the decision of the meeting. It is the fixed-duty and sliding-scale coalition that has been so completely beaten. It is with both, that Free Trade was there, and is everywhere, in uncompromising collision. The Central Agricultural Protection Disinterested, at its great meeting, from which the press were excluded, on Tuesday last, adopted the following as one of the resolutions by which the association is constituted:—

"That the objects of the society are to maintain protection for British agriculture, at least, equivalent to that at present existing."

What means this, unless it be that both sections of Protectionists should swim in the same boat? The moral power of Free-Trade principle is not to be played off by one section of bread-taxers against the other: it disclaims them equally. In the same boat they are, and let them swim or sink together.

Our friends have generally, and we think wisely, abstained from interfering with meetings called specifically for the support of the Anti-League movement. With open meetings, and especially with county or other public meetings, convened by the local authorities, the case is different. Their attendance on such occasions, and taking such part in the proceedings as they are qualified to take, becomes not only desirable, but a public duty. At a meeting of the inhabitants of a town or county, the poorest has a right to be present, and his uplifted hand, for or against a resolution, is good for as much as that of a lord. His interest in the question is indeed the strongest; and his power to judge, perchance, not inferior. At any rate, he has an absolute equality of right. Many localities will, it is to be hoped, take pattern from the friends of Free Trade in Somersetshire. Will those who have hitherto claimed to be masters of counties afford them similar opportunities? It was objected to the numerous county meetings addressed by Messrs. Cobden and Bright that they were not convened by the requisition of the great landowners, nor by the authority of the High Sheriffs. Will the accusing parties now amend this flaw in the indictment against the League? Will they call a succession of county meetings? Will they come out of their dark corners and face the people at large? We dare them to the experiment. If they decline the challenge, who will doubt the reason?

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Third Week, ending Saturday, Feb. 24.

The debate on Ireland, terminated this morning, has, of course, prevented any other formal discussion in the House of Commons this week—with the exception, indeed, of the *Qui Tam* Bill, which its supporters, on Wednesday night, were strong enough to carry through another stage, both of discussion and progress. Meantime the Free-Trade notices of motion, fixed for Tuesday and for Thursday of the past week, have been necessarily postponed. We shall remind our readers of what they are, in order to show them what the Free-Traders in the House of Commons have in preparation.

For Tuesday night, there was Mr. Cobden's motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the effects of Protective Duties on Imports upon the interests of the Tenant-Farmers and Farm-Labourers of this country. Mr. Ricardo had also fixed for that evening his Resolutions with respect to Commercial Treaties; and Mr. Hume had a motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the extent, nature, moral effect, &c., of Smuggling in Tobacco, Silks, Spirits, Tea, and other articles, upon which high Import and Excise Duties are levied.

Again, for Thursday, there was the very important notice of motion by Mr. Labouchere, for inquiry into our Commercial Relations with the Brazils. This he postponed till Thursday the 7th of March; and we sincerely trust that nothing will then prevent a debate on a matter of such magnitude and pressing importance. Dr. Bowring had also a notice on the paper, fixed for last Thursday, for calling the attention of the House to the operation of the Treaty of Commerce with Turkey upon the commercial interests of this country. We mentioned, last week, that Mr. Wallace had a notice of a motion, pledging the House to a reduction of the duty on Tea.

We do trust that, as all these important motions have now been postponed, they will be so brought on as not to interfere with one another. For instance, the three motions fixed for Tuesday night—Mr. Cobden's, Mr. Ricardo's, and Mr. Hume's—are each separate and distinct, and deal with distinct departments of the great question of FREE TRADE. Mr. Cobden's had precedence, and would, of course, have been the subject of the evening, if not of many evenings, had it been brought on. Again, what can ex-

ceed in relative importance the motion which Mr. Labouchere has now fixed for Thursday, the 7th of March? The great object of the Free Traders in the House of Commons should be directed to securing combined action and continued discussion; and, as this is the hearty wish and feeling of them all, it only requires a little explanation and arrangement to ensure to every Free-Trade motion its own discussion, and to every debate its relative importance and attention.

The presentation of petitions in both Houses, on both sides of the question, has been carried on to some extent during the past week. For instance, on Monday night, the Earl of Yarborough, in the House of Lords, presented twenty-one petitions from Lincolnshire, praying for protection; and on the same evening, in the House of Commons, Sir John Lubbock presented a similar petition from Holbeach, in which the petitioners prayed that they might not be "sacrificed to the delusive schemes of self-interested men." But on Tuesday night, a petition was presented "on the other side," which calls for more detailed description.

Our readers have either already perused, or in the columns of the LEAGUE this week they will peruse, an account of the Somerset county meeting, held at Bridgewater, on yesterday—that is, Friday week. Here, fair discussion triumphed most signally over exaggerated fear and foolish misrepresentation; and a great meeting called for the express purpose of condemning the Anti-Corn-Law League, and of praying Parliament for continued protection, was induced, by the simple eloquence of truth, to adopt a *Free-Trade petition*. W. Gore Langton, Esq. (the son of Colonel Gore Langton, who, with Mr. Miles, represents the eastern division of Somersetshire) was present at the meeting, and proved himself a worthy son of a long-trying, consistent sire, by supporting the Free-Trade petition. What, indeed, could be more convincing to those assembled at the county meeting at Bridgewater, than to see and hear the son of their venerable representative—the inheritor not merely of his property, but of his virtues and his enlightened and generous political principles—coming forward, and declaring that protection was not a real benefit, but, in the long-run, a positive injury to LAND? Boldly he asked the assembled farmers if any one, like his father, whose income was derived from the products of the land, could be hostile or indifferent to the interests of agriculture? whether his interests were not identified with theirs? (Cheers.) His father had a long experience in political matters, and it had shown him the danger and the injustice of class legislation, and the importance of that vital and inseparable bond which united agriculture and commerce together. (Cheers.) Gentlemen had called that meeting under the pretence of opposing the measures of the Anti-Corn-Law League; but he would ask them, was it not rather with the view of upholding a system under which agriculture and commerce had alike languished, which set class against class, and threatened to sow dissension in their once happy and united land? (Great cheering.)

Very fittingly, therefore, was the presentation of the petition intrusted to Colonel Gore Langton; and on Tuesday night the venerable old man rose to perform that duty. But though his intellect is still vigorous, clear, and unclouded, age and infirmities have rendered him feeble; and Mr. Cobden had to support him as he read the prayer of the petition. He stated, that, though a county member, he was one of the few who opposed the Corn Law of 1815; and during the rapid passage of the bill through the House, he had the honour of being the proposer of an amendment on the question that the Speaker do leave the chair for the purpose of going into committee, and was only left in a minority of thirteen. Nearly thirty years ago, therefore, he almost successfully resisted the imposition of the pernicious Corn Law of 1815; and now, in his old age, he comes forward, and through the press, and within the House, bears his testimony, confirmed by the long course and dear-bought experience of years, that "Monopoly is the parent of scarcity, of dearth, and of uncertainty." The spectacle of such a man adhering steadily to his maturely-formed opinions, amidst all the sinister inducements by which he is surrounded, redeems one's faith in men, and attests the fact that there is such a thing as Truth in Principle, and Honour in Consistency. His son is treading in his footsteps—may he, too, like his venerable father, live to see an honoured old age, enjoying the ripe fruits of that harvest for which his parent tilled the soil!

One incident more, which we cannot bring ourselves to omit:—Last Friday night, Mr. Serjeant Murphy made a very striking speech, in the course of which he asked, if the law was such as had been laid down in Ireland, was there not a vast conspiracy now going on in England? Why did not the Attorney-General prosecute the Anti-Corn-Law League, which, according to Sir James Graham, had invaded our theatres, and which went farther than the Repeal Association, for it had a newspaper of its own? Why not prosecute the editor of *Punch*, in whose columns appeared the song quoted by Mr. Cobden, that other great conspirator:—

"Oh, God! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap!"

Nay, why not impanel a jury of agriculturists, with Mr. Ferrand at their head, to try Mr. Cobden? and, to carry on the similitude, bring over the Attorney-General to challenge the counsel and the jury, and the Chief Justice to preside? There were actions imputed to the Anti-Corn-Law League of which the Repeal Association was not accused. Reverend orators charged the League with assassination and incendiarism.

As Mr. Serjeant Murphy was thus speaking Mr. Ferrand bawled out, "They said it themselves!" and Mr. Serjeant Murphy quietly replied, that in *that* House he should, of course, bow to any assertion which the member for Knarborough might make. The keenness of the gentlemanly rebuke was felt by everybody but Mr. Ferrand himself.

MONOPOLIST ARGUMENTS AGAINST A FREE TRADE IN CORN.—"The wicked League"—"the incendiary League"—"but for the League, its enormous lying and unparalleled effrontery," &c.—"the redoubtable League has broken its neck"—"glorious refutation of the great Leaguer lie"—"the Leaguer lie is every where practically refuted."—*Lancaster Gazette*, Feb. 3.

MEETINGS.

AGGREGATE WEEKLY MEETING OF THE LEAGUE AT COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.

The fifth metropolitan meeting of the League for the present year, held at Covent-garden Theatre on Wednesday last, will undoubtedly form a remarkable feature in the history of the Free-Trade agitation. The intensity of the interest excited upon this occasion far surpassed that of any previous gathering, or probably of any meeting held in modern times in the Metropolis. "Leaguers meet in theatres," said Sir James Graham; but where is the building large enough to contain the scores of thousands even of the inhabitants of this Metropolis who have associated themselves, determined to wrest from a selfish and short-sighted oligarchy the bread of the poor, of which they have been so unjustly deprived, and restore the rights of industry, which have been so foully invaded. The extraordinary scene at the meeting on Wednesday night formed a striking contrast to the ridiculous monopolist meeting in a little room in Freemasons' Tavern, no later than the previous day, to which none but sworn bread-taxers were admitted, and from which even the press were excluded.

The number of applicants for tickets of admission to the Covent garden Meeting during the past week has been most extraordinary, amounting, probably, to 30,000. It is no exaggeration to state that, had a place been available to the League large enough to have accommodated 30,000 persons, it would not by any means have been sufficiently capacious for the numbers who were desirous of being present. Many ladies and gentlemen came from distant parts of the country to attend the meeting. Long before five o'clock the crowd began to assemble at all the avenues, and by a few minutes after six had increased to such an extent, that it was deemed advisable to throw open the doors, and, in a very few minutes, the theatre was filled almost to suffocation in every part. Throughout the evening a large crowd remained outside the theatre, cheering at intervals with such warmth that they were distinctly heard by the audience within. Precisely at seven o'clock the chairman, accompanied by several members of the Council, and other distinguished personages, made his appearance on the platform; but Mr. O'Connell did not arrive till nearly eight o'clock. When, however, the honourable member made his appearance, the enthusiasm of the auditory knew no bounds. The cheering and waving of hats and handkerchiefs continued for nearly a quarter of an hour, the shouts from the interior of the building being echoed by the multitude without. Silence appeared ultimately obtained only from the physical exhaustion of the assemblage. Another interesting feature of the meeting—in addition to the presence of Mr. O'Connell—was the first appearance of Mr. G. Thompson, after his return from India, who, as will be perceived, from the subjoined report, delivered a most impressive and eloquent speech. Shortly before seven o'clock, James Harmer, Esq. (the late alderman), entered the theatre, and took his seat at the table; he was loudly cheered by the audience. James Pattison, Esq., M.P. for the city of London, next made his appearance, and was greeted with repeated rounds of applause. Dr. Bowring, M.P., General Sir De Lacy Evans, Col. T. P. Thompson, R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., J. Bright, Esq., M.P., and W. J. Fox, Esq., followed Mr. Pattison, and were also loudly applauded. The following, in addition to the foregoing, is a list of names of the most distinguished individuals present, including between twenty and thirty members of Parliament:—

George Wilson, Esq., chairman; Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.; Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P.; R. H. R. Moore, Esq.; G. Thompson, Esq.; John O'Connell, Esq., M.P.; William Ord, Esq., M.P.; Sir David Roche, Bart., M.P.; Lord Charles Fitzroy, M.P.; W. Williams, Esq., M.P.; Edmund Burke Roche, Esq., M.P.; Lord Duncannon; Ed. Ellice, Jun., Esq., M.P.; Hon. E. P. Bouverie; Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P.; W. D. Christie, Esq., M.P.; T. Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P.; Edward Horsman, Esq., M.P.; Sir Valentine Blake, Bart., M.P.; Thos. Wakley, Esq., M.P.; John Evans, Esq.; John Travers, Esq.; C. T. Crowley, Esq.;—Sanpayo, Esq.; Rev. Dr. Jenkins; Christopher Temple, Esq., Q.C.; D. C. Moylan, Esq.; Summers Harford, Esq.; J. Wynn, Esq.; the Very Rev. Dr. Magee; Dr. Sheridan; Dr. Edwin Lancaster; Charles Cross, Esq.; G. Borrett, Esq.; Southampton; Wynn Ellis, Esq., M.P.; C. F. Tagart, Esq.; W. A. Maybury, Esq.; R. J. Hampton, Esq.; Henry Fenn, Esq.; W. Edgar, Esq.; W. H. Hobhouse, Esq.; George Crawford Heath, Esq.; Captain Kidout; C. G. Spurrer, Esq.; Dr. Nugent; John McLeod, Esq.; J. Cox, Esq.; William Joseph Amherst, Esq.; William Thomson, Esq.; P. H. Le Breton, Esq.; Robert Hope, Esq.; Geo. Vaughan, Esq.; Alexander Bell, Esq.; M. Chauvet, Paris; Samuel Coleby, Esq.; George Rodout, Esq.; Samuel Clarke, Esq.; John Hunter, Esq.; John Bickers, Esq.; Martin Thackeray, Esq.; Dr. Blandford;—Puncher, Esq.; W. Drew, Esq.; Henry Ashworth, Esq.; Bolton; Wm. Evans, Esq.; Manchester; Thos. Harbottle, Esq.; Manchester; W. J. Scott, Esq.; Manchester; C. O. Boyce, Esq.; Henry Jarvis, Esq.; Exeter; Thomas Latimore, Esq.; W. Wheatthamstead; R. Rothwell, Esq.; W. Thornborrow, Esq.; E. T. Granger, Esq.; General Bayard, United States; James Harmer, Esq.; Colonel T. P. Thomson; Wm. Leaf, Esq.; Robert Currick, Esq.; Carlisle; Hon. and Rev. Mr. Stanhope; Rev. Dr. Hutton, &c. &c.

Mr. SAUL, at the request of the chairman, read the minutes of the last meeting, which having been done, Mr. COBDEN moved, and Dr. BOWRING seconded, their confirmation, which was unanimously agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN then came forward amidst loud cheering, and said:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I have seen many meetings of the National Anti-Corn-Law League both here and in the Free-Trade Hall, Manchester—the only two places in the kingdom sufficiently large to accommodate, to a certain extent, our numerous friends—but I never yet saw, either here or elsewhere, an assemblage equal in numbers, respectability, station, or intelligence, with that which is gathered here this evening. Gentlemen, this is as it should be. (Hear.) We have met here to promote no mere political object, neither do we seek any party triumph, or to accomplish any victory of this or that faction. (Hear, hear.) Our object is to secure the union and co-operation of men of every shade and hue of political opinion, in favour of a movement which we believe to be one of the greatest which could possibly enlist the sympathies of the people of this country. (Hear, hear, hear.) It is right, also, that we should meet in such numbers, if it be only to contrast our gathering with the small assemblages which the monopolists are holding in the various agricultural districts, and especially, as we learn from the newspapers of yesterday, in some tavern in a certain part of this city of London. (Hear, hear.) We could tell you much as to the real

character of those agricultural meetings of which so much has been said; and give you a far more faithful account of their actual nature than from any particulars you will collect from the monopolist journals. (Hear.) We could refer to meetings at which the public have been told there were 200 persons present, actually held in small smoky rooms which, when completely filled, would not contain more than 50 individuals; and we could tell you of eloquent speeches which were never made, but which were nevertheless fully reported ("Hear," and laughter); of resolutions said to have been passed, but which were never proposed for the adoption of any meeting; of subscriptions said to have been put down by various individuals, but which were never promised, and which most assuredly will never be paid. ("Hear," and laughter.) Gentlemen, at one of these meetings a noble earl, whose station in society would have led you to expect from him at least an equal amount of good breeding with that which would be exhibited by the members of the Anti-Corn-Law League or of agricultural societies generally, is reported to have described the Anti-Corn-Law League as one of the most bloody, revolutionary, and unconstitutional societies which ever disgraced this country. (Loud cries of "Shame, shame!" "Name, name.") The name of the nobleman who made this modest statement is the Earl of Winchelsea. [This announcement produced a storm of groans and hisses.] For the information of that illustrious personage I may state that the League is not unconstitutional, nor in any respect opposed to the law of this country. (Hear, hear.) We admire the provision which has been made by our constitution, that such pre-eminent wisdom as his should be secured to the country (loud laughter,) by a seat in the higher House of Legislature; but we repudiate the term "bloody;" it belongs not to us. (Loud cries of "Hear.") We seek the abolition of the Corn Laws by peaceable and constitutional means alone. That iniquitous measure was imposed amidst the sacrifice of human life, and it will be repealed amidst the rejoicings of millions of our fellow-countrymen, who watch this struggle with an interest superior even to that which we feel in it. (Cheers.) It would be unbecoming in me to waste the time of the meeting by any lengthened address. I shall, therefore, at once proceed to the immediate business of the evening by calling upon Mr. James Wilson to address you. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. JAMES WILSON (who was received with considerable cheering,) then came forward, and addressed the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I think you will readily allow that, if ever an individual had to beg for the indulgence of a meeting on any occasion, such is now my situation, and that I am entitled to do so to-night. I believe I am here before an assembly under peculiar excitement—excitement derived from the expected visit of a distinguished man (hear), whom we hope to see here this evening only in the character of a witness to the universal truth of the doctrines which we hold, and which we have endeavoured, by every legal means, to inculcate. We hope to see that illustrious man here to-night as a witness that the doctrines we preach are not injurious to him and his fellow-countrymen, who are peculiarly agricultural, and that we are not considered by them as striking at the root of their interests, although the agricultural body, or a part of them, at least in this country, would wish to infer that such was our object. But, whatever the excitement of the present evening may be, I must beg of you to consider that we have assembled here for a great and important discussion, and I must entreat you to remember that we have the primary and ultimate interests of a great nation to consider—a nation that is increasing at the rate of 1000 persons a day, or 365,000 a year. If, therefore, I crave your special attention, and ask your particular indulgence to subdue somewhat the natural enthusiasm which may attend the expectancy of the evening, I trust that you will bear with me if I think it my duty to endeavour to turn this, as far as possible, into an occasion of instruction as well as of interest. Our chairman has told you truly that we meet here for no party purposes; we meet here essentially for no party object, neither of a political nor industrious kind. We are gathered together, not as the advocates alone of commerce or manufactures, but, to those who take an enlightened view of the matter, equally as the advocates of agriculture, when its interests are well understood, as of manufactures. We are here simply as the advocates of the great principle of freedom of industry, freedom of intellect as applied to the industrial pursuits of the country, whatever they may be, whether manufacturing, commercial, or agricultural. (Cheers.)

[At this period Mr. Wakley, M.P., appeared on the platform, and was received with loud applause.]

Mr. WILSON resumed: We meet here, I say, ladies and gentlemen, for the simple purpose of discussing whether the interests of the country and the faculties of the human mind are best developed by the principles of freedom of competition or by those of protection: I may say of delusive protection, for never was protection contemplated to be given by law to any party that it did not prove delusive; for this simple and obvious reason, that it is impossible by an act of Parliament to raise any particular interests—to add wealth to that or to any class—without abstracting an equal amount from some other part of the community. Therefore, the utmost that an act of Parliament can do in protecting any one body, is merely to take from the community generally what it gives to some special interest. (Hear.) At some of the late agricultural meetings which have been held throughout the country, we have seen a great number of singular arguments put forward in order to prove that the Corn Laws were not injurious to the country; and, as elucidating the subject upon which I am speaking, I will refer to the argument used last week by a noble lord in Scotland, when he endeavoured to prove, by a long string of statistics and arguments, that in proportion as the Corn Laws had been made more stringent, in the same ratio commerce and manufactures had flourished. And this he attempted to prove by showing, that since 1815, when the Corn Laws were first enacted, the exports of this country had gradually and regularly increased. He went on to show that our exports in that year amounted to 42 millions, and that they had gradually, up to the last year, increased to 100 millions. The noble lord, however, understood his subject so little as not to know that the figures with which he was dealing were of a delusive and fictitious description; for I dare say it is known to the large bulk of the commercial portion of this audience, that in our custom-house returns we have two descriptions of duties—the real called "the official value," and the other "the real

value." The former is the price of goods calculated at a given rate, fixed some 50 or 60 years ago; and the latter the value at the time they are shipped. Now it so happens that, at the time to which this noble lord refers, in 1815, the official value of these exports was 42 millions, but the real value at that period of those 42 millions was 51 millions; but, on the other hand, it is equally true that in 1842 the 100 millions of exports to which he referred, instead of representing a corresponding value with those of 1815, are in real value only 47 millions. For this double quantity of manufactured goods in that process of time, the manufacturers in this day, and, through them, the labourers of the country, received less than one-half the sum they would have obtained in 1815. Do we complain of this? I answer, no; instead of complaining of it, I should say it is one of the proudest boasts that this country has to make, that you can, by the increase of ingenuity, capital, and industry—by free competition—so far reduce the cost of goods in so short a period as to command the markets of the world in every place, and through them be enabled to give employment to the increasing population of the country. It is just on this account that I wish to prove that this principle of competition has performed what restriction and protection have failed to do. During this period there has not been one single additional hand occupied in agriculture. The whole population of the country has increased several millions, and yet there has not been one more hand employed in agriculture. It has been in manufactures alone that the increasing employment has been found. At another of these meetings last week, an agriculturist was boasting, or rather saying, that he saw no reason why the people ought to complain of the effect of the Corn Law, because the price of corn was not higher now than it was at the commencement of the present century. Here, then, you have the contrast:—the price of corn and agricultural produce is retained the same, while that of manufactured goods is lowered one-half. (Hear, hear.) But if the price of agricultural produce be what it was at the former period, let us inquire what becomes of the extra fund for which that agricultural produce sells. Is the labourer paid the same rate of wages that he was then? He then received 12s., 15s., or 18s. a week, according to the district in which he lived; he now receives only 8s., 9s., or 10s. a week. The farmer was then said to be a prosperous man; he is now stated on all hands to be the reverse. I have put the question frequently to the owners of land, and have said to them, "Why, your labourers are paid less than one-half what they were at the commencement of the century. Your farmers, instead of being prosperous, are now, you admit, in a bad state. Then, what has become of the whole residue of the price of the produce that you receive now, seeing that you employ no more labourers, and that you give the labourers you have much less wages; and seeing that the portion of the profit which falls to the farmer is considerably smaller now than then?" The whole additional quantity must resolve itself into rent. From this state of things it is quite obvious that the landowner has two pre-eminent advantages:—first of all, that of a regularly and gradually increasing rent; and, secondly, a uniformly and gradually diminishing price for everything that he has to buy. On the other hand, the labourer has had two disadvantages: he has had a constantly decreasing rate of wages, while he has had the same fixed price to pay for the first necessities of life during the whole period. (Cheers.) Now, what we contend is, that if agriculturists were exposed to the same principle as manufacturers are,—to free competition,—the same improvements might have taken place in agriculture which have been witnessed under the system of competition in manufactures. (Hear.) We contend, that without a Free Trade you never will have the energies of the tillers of the soil, any more than those of the workers of the loom, brought out in the way they ought to be. We only hope for that from free exchange, which can alone be effected by bringing into competition the cultivators of agricultural produce at home with the corn-growers in every part of the world, as we have brought into competition with our manufacturers the manufacturers of every part of the world. It is only thus that we can hope for that development of the resources of the mind which is likely to bring about the state of things which we desire. But then we are met by a great number of fallacies. People will immediately tell us, "If you will import food for the people, what better are you if you cannot sell your goods? for, in every country they are raising up hostile tariffs, and passing laws against the admission of your goods: and, therefore, you would only be making yourselves worse if you were to remove any portion of the growth of the food of your people from this to any other country." Now, what we hold is this, that it will be quite impossible for us to buy from any foreign land, without their purchasing from us in return. (At this period a loud shout was heard from the multitude assembled outside the theatre, and which it was supposed indicated the approach of Mr. O'Connell. This created great excitement inside the building, and the whole assembly rose in expectation of seeing the honourable gentleman enter.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I beg to state that Mr. O'Connell will be here a little before eight o'clock, and not till then. This announcement having had the effect of quieting the audience,

Mr. WILSON resumed. I was saying that we have been told, over and over again, that if we do import food into this country, that the foreigners abroad will not take our manufactures. Now, we have the fact of the last few years to disprove this statement. From the condition of the law during the last five years, it so happens that we have regularly imported from the Continent large quantities of grain; and during that period, as regularly as we have imported that grain, notwithstanding the hostile tariffs raised against us, and rival manufactures in every country, our export of manufactures to those very places from which we have imported corn have increased to the amount of five millions sterling (hear, hear); and, while they have increased to those countries from which we have received corn, they have actually diminished to all other parts of the world upwards of eleven millions. The trade throughout the world has been so bad, that your exports have decreased eleven millions in the other countries, while they have increased to the corn-growing parts of the world to the amount of five millions sterling, giving a practical denial to the statement that they will not take your manufactures

if you take their produce. But we have another illustration of this fact in France, which is said to be one of the most restrictive countries in the world. For the introduction of French goods we have materially modified our tariff during the last few years. We allow their silk goods to come in which were previously prohibited; their raw silk comes in free of duty; we equalized the duty on their wines with those of Portugal; and the consequence has been, that in twelve years your exports to France have increased from half a million to upwards of three millions.

Here Mr. Wilson was again interrupted by another most enthusiastic cheer from the populace waiting the arrival of Mr. O'Connell, which again produced considerable excitement within the theatre, so much so as to prevent the speaker from proceeding for some time. Tranquillity having been restored,

Mr. WILSON again resumed his forcible address. I was saying, that, in spite of the hostile tariffs of France, your exports to that country have increased from half a million to three millions sterling in that short period of time; and there is every reason to believe, that if the same principles are carried out with regard to every country in the world, the same results will follow. And we have another example which, on the other side, equally proves the accuracy of the principles for which we contend; that it is by a willingness to buy, by a willingness to take the produce of other countries, and not by any powers of treaties, that we can command a foreign trade. This country has a treaty with Brazil of the most favourable description to us, and one which, if ever an agreement was made of a one-sided description, is of that character in its favourableness towards England. And yet during that same period that your exports have increased to France—in spite of hostile tariffs and rival manufactures, and from the mere fact of your taking a larger portion of their produce—during that period, with the most favourable treaty that ever was made, your export to the Brazils have fallen off more than one-half. And why have they thus decreased? For the contrary of the reason that they have increased to France. You have taken French goods, but you have refused to take Brazilian produce. (Cheers.) They have received your goods to the extent of three millions and a half in a year, and, by the laws of this country, your consumption of their produce, limited to a few trivial articles, has not exceeded one-tenth of that sum. And yet you persist, or the Government of this country does so, in the face of this flagrant abuse of their own principle of reciprocity, in maintaining this system. And what is the produce of Brazil? Why, the very thing next to corn which most you want—it being chiefly sugar—the very thing which you want to make up the consumption of necessities for the poor. Singular as it may appear, the supply of sugar, notwithstanding the Government persist in excluding it from foreign countries, has not increased in this country one ounce since 1811; it was as large at that time as it was last year. This year eight millions of people more are to be fed. When the consumption of tea was twenty-two million lbs. less than it is now, and when that of coffee was twenty-four million lbs. less than it is now, the consumption of sugar was as large as at the present day. (Hear, hear.) It is strange to see the mercantile interests of the cities of London and Liverpool,—which have done their best to exclude sugar, destroy their own trade, and to continue this state of things by returning men to represent them in Parliament who have supported these monopolies,—now that we have a Free-Trade treaty with China, as far as they are concerned, these very men in London and Liverpool go to the Government and ask them to reduce the duty on tea, in order to increase the consumption! (Hear.) But, then, how do they expect to increase the sale of tea without enlarging the supply of sugar? Do they suppose that the ingenuity of the ladies of this country has no end? (Cheers and laughter.) They have already tried it sufficiently; when, since 1811, they have seen the consumption of tea already increased twenty-two million lbs., and the consumption of coffee twenty-four million lbs., and the population increased eight million in number, and yet not one ounce of sugar more to supply them! I think they ought to have given them sufficient credit for having exercised ingenuity already. (Cheers.) Therefore I would recommend our friends in Mincing-lane and Liverpool, before they approach Government with a petition to reduce the duty on tea, in order that we may increase our trade with China, also to accompany that petition with a resolution that we ought also to have an increased quantity of sugar. But this additional supply of that article is necessary for two purposes—for the comfort and for relieving the necessities of the poor; but it is also necessary in order that we may have a matter of exchange with some of the largest and best markets in the world. It is not only necessary that we should have sugar in order to eke out the consumption of the country, but it is also requisite to enable us to give employment to the manufacturing population of the country, and obtain an article of exchange from those countries which can consume our manufactures. (Hear, hear.) Singular and strange, however, is the excuse which the Government have made for their exclusion of this sugar. We have found a party who, for fifty years—while all the philanthropy and liberality of the country were engaged in endeavouring to knock off the shackles of slavery—constantly day after day, motion after motion, as they were brought forward, opposed every effort to strike off the fetters of the slave. We find that party now at last, when freedom to the slave can be turned into an excuse for monopoly, using it for that purpose. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Far be it from me, and I am sure it is not the wish of any one present, to preclude any man from changing his opinions as often as he pleases, however unfortunate it may be for public men to have occasion to do so—(hear, hear)—however inconvenient it may be for a Premier of the country to be obliged on every question that he undertakes to recant some former firmly-entertained principle. I have carefully looked over the votes of the House of Commons from 1811 until 1834, and I find the name of the right hon. baronet now at the head of her Majesty's Government, until that time invariably recorded in favour of slavery. However, if hon. gentlemen and right hon. baronets will change their sentiments, we have no objection to that; but they must excuse us if their judgment ceases to have any weight with us. (Hear.) Those who understand this subject, or have looked into it, must indeed be thoroughly disgusted with the hypocrisy which lies at the bottom of the whole subject. It is a delusive hypocrisy—for nothing else can I call it; for to say that we do not buy sugar of

the Brazil is quite a mistake. The truth is, that we do purchase that article of Brazil, and we are almost the only people on the earth who do buy it, for the simple reason, that we are almost the only people from whom they receive goods. We buy their sugar; but what do we do with it? We sent out to Brazil in 1842, 114 ships laden with the manufactures of this country; of that number of vessels only 21 returned with cargoes. But the remainder of them put the cheap sugar and coffee of Brazil on board, and carried it to every other country in the world, to supply others with that which you were denied. ("Hear," and cries of "Shame!") I find in the list of English ships, some going to Trieste, Antwerp, Hamburg, and St. Petersburg, with cheap produce, to the very men who have to compete with the artisans and labourers of this country, in the disposal of the produce of their labour in the neutral markets of the world. But, moreover, if it were a sin to buy sugar of the Brazils, it is surely equally a sin to supply them with the implements with which they grow it. If it is a sin to purchase the sugar of that country, it is undoubtedly as much a crime to bring it home, and to deal with it in our own docks, to refine it in bond, and to sell and buy that same sugar in our haunts of industry—in London and Liverpool; to sell it for re-exportation in foreign countries; to refine it in bond to send it back to be consumed, not only by the free people in other parts of the world, but by those very slaves, the professed sympathy for whom precluded our allowing it to come into consumption here. But the inconsistency of the present Government, and of the right hon. baronet at its head, is still more palpably shown by the very first act which he did after he turned out the late Ministry upon this question. He brought in the new tariff in the following year; and the very first change in that tariff is actually a reduction of duty on foreign coffee. Now it so happens that coffee is a more important article of produce in Brazil than sugar. Further, he reduced the duty on foreign copper ore, in the produce of which slavery is used, in Cuba, in its very worst form. He felt no compunction there, because he was not urged on that point.

[Some confusion at the stage door here interrupted the speaker, and once more drew the attention of the house from the Corn Laws to Mr. O'Connell. A moment or two afterwards the hon. and learned gentleman made his appearance. Before he could reach the platform the vast assembly had risen to their feet, and such a shout reverberated throughout the house as Covent Garden had never witnessed before. For ten consecutive minutes the cheering continued without abatement or interruption. Every voice was strained to the utmost, every arm was raised, and hats, handkerchiefs, and shawls, and even open umbrellas, were waved in the air, to greet the entrance of the honourable and learned gentleman. Mr. O'Connell advanced to the table and bowed repeatedly to those before and around him. Every acknowledgment thus made only drew down a fresh burst of acclamation from the house; and, after standing some minutes unconvered, Mr. O'Connell took his seat, but not so the vast throng before him—all, ladies included, continued standing for full five minutes after he had seated himself; and the applause grew, if possible, louder and more cordial as it was continued; but it was when Mr. O'Connell again presented himself at the table that it reached its climax. The cheering for a minute or so was almost terrific; Covent-garden shook to its foundation. The roar of six thousand voices mingled with a sublime effect with the tramping of feet and the clapping of hands—the deep shout of the multitudes without the walls responding regularly to every fresh outbreak from within. Mr. O'Connell was much moved, and exhibited throughout the liveliest emotion at so magnificent a reception.]

The CHAIRMAN here came forward, and said:—Ladies and Gentlemen, if you will have the goodness to keep your seats for a few minutes, Mr. Wilson will conclude his speech, and Mr. O'Connell will then address you. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. WILSON then proceeded:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I will undertake to detain you but a very few minutes. I will only endeavour to impress on you the high importance of the subject we are met this night to discuss. (Hear.) I would only wish once more to crave your attention and support to the efforts which we are making to introduce these important principles into the Legislature of the country. Unfortunately for the great interests of England, we have hitherto found that trade and commerce has not been altogether an agreeable thing with the bulk of those to whom the Legislature has been intrusted; while we have found in every other country, that commerce has been considered an honourable calling, and that not only nobles but princes have undertaken to foster manufactures; we find, and perhaps it has been beneficial that it is so, that manufactures have been left here to be fostered only by themselves. I say, that trade appears not to have been a very agreeable consideration with the great bulk of those into whose hands the Legislature of the country has been intrusted; for I think, if it had been so, that it would have been difficult to find 658 men who would have supported this monopoly, or have countenanced a thing so absurd as the one we have just been considering, with reference to the Brazil trade. I say it would have been difficult to have conceived of men in this country, who have been elected members of Parliament, as being supposed to be fitted for that office and for the duties of legislation,—had they paid anything like usual attention to the commercial interests of this country,—it would have been difficult to have found 658 men, a majority of whom would have voted for such a state of things as that which we have just considered. Nay, indeed, so absurd is the position in which they have placed us, that I should have considered it would have been difficult to have found, not 658 men of the elect of this country, but any 658 men in England, a majority of whom would have voted for such principles of absurdity and practical hypocrisy; I am afraid, however, that it will be distasteful if I should detain you any longer. (Loud cries of "No, no," "Go on, go on.") Unfortunately, I say, in this country, which has been designated a country of shopkeepers,—which owes every thing to its commerce—whether of political, social, or physical greatness—whether of intellectual superiority, or of supremacy of wealth and power in the world,—strange to say, that trade is not looked upon with much favour by the ruling classes;—by the classes whose position in society gives them influence and means to occupy places in the Legislature:—to these classes commerce is distasteful, and at

for he charges you that price for the entire loaf for which the man would have got the loaf and the hunch if it had not been for that. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I should have expected better of the ancient nobility of England; I should have anticipated something higher of them than not "conspiring,"—for they are not conspirators—not "combining," for that is a crime that is punished only in the poor (cheers), but "meeting together," resolving and determining that every body shall pay them more money for their bread than they would pay otherwise. I repeat the phrase in identical terms over and over again, because I want to infix in the mind of every one who hears me the real nature of this plunder, this robbery. Let us not mind the pretence that it is increase of wages. Increase of wages! Why, if I chose to open the books of political economy, and give you dates which you have had before, and particulars with which you may be conversant, I could show you that whenever bread was cheap, wages were high; that they were doubly high comparatively, because the man was able to buy more articles for his money, and thus his wages were doubly useful to himself. Yes, and all these truths are as clear as the sun at noonday! And here are we talking about—animals on two legs (a laugh)—apparently having no head at all, and, still more strange, as if we had no hearts! Oh, put an end to the system! (Cheers.) Why, is not the present Parliament principally packed by these bread-taxers? (Hear, hear.) Did they not send two-thirds of the members to the House, not only from the counties by means of the Chandos clause, but also by purchasing boroughs? Indeed, two sessions ago I heard it admitted, from one side of the House and the other, that there never had been so much bribery and corruption in electing any Parliament as in the present. Mr. Roebuck proclaimed it on one side of the House, and Sir Robert Peel admitted it on the other. Though they disagreed on every thing else they agreed unanimously in that. (Laughter.) And yet here are your models of virtue and piety,—the men who are to sustain the church,—who are ready to punish the poor wretch who happens to stray from the road on Sunday, if he be not walking towards some church while they enjoy their own carriage-drive quite unscathed and free,—yes, these great examples of morality to the country turn up the whites of their eyes to heaven at the enormity of other men's iniquity, while they are putting their hands at the same time into the pockets of the wretched man who wishes to feed his family. (Immense cheers.) It is too bad! It ought to be "proclaimed." (A laugh.) It is just the kind of thing which ought to be proclaimed throughout the country. The good and the wise ought to congregate; these persons ought to be looked at with suspicion and distrust, ay, and with disgust too. (Cheers.) If they stand by the poor and humble, oh! may every blessing that Heaven has in store be poured on them; but if they insist that the poor man shall be poorer, and the wretched man suffer more—that destitution shall be augmented, and poverty increased,—that they may grow wealthy and pay off their mortgages by means of this tax on human food, then, I say, shame on them for practising such misconduct, and shame on those who do not lift up their voices until the human sound, like the roll of the thunder, affrights the culprit and sets the land and the people free! (Loud cheers.) Yes, landlords, you are mustering well; and I am convinced that your attempt to counteract the exertions of the League will have directly the contrary effect. (Hear.) We are ready to argue with them. Bring them once to reasoning, and you have them. Let them come to the Primer—and some of them have hardly got beyond that yet. (Laughter.) We will meet them foot to foot; we will debate with them point to point. What, if a fellow came on you and snapped his pistol and did not let it off, would you not take care to run in upon him before he charged it again? Yes, we are ready to meet them foot to foot and debate with them; and the more they bring to their meetings the greater chance is there of the truth spreading, and of the minds of the farming class not being any longer deluded. Why do they not give the farmers leases? Would not that enable them to feed their labourers, and assist in every charitable act in their neighbourhoods? Oh, no; the great landowner is to have all. His name is Behemoth, and he must swallow the entire. (Cheers and laughter.) You are engaged, then, in a glorious struggle, and I am proud to be allowed to take part in it with you. It is delightful to me to lend to it the aid of my talents, small as they are, and the sound of my voice, which ought to be pretty well worn out with practice by this time (a laugh); such as they are, I lend them heartily to your sacred cause. (Loud cheers.) I may venture to say of myself that I have been found at the side of liberty on every question which has been agitated since I came to Parliament. (Cheers.) I care not of what creed, or cast, or colour, any human being may be. I claim for him the privileges, the rights, the protection of a man, not the protection of robbery and spoil, but protection against every iniquity, whatever it may be. (Loud cheers.) I cannot, therefore, but cheer you on; and whatever be my own fate,—be it the dungeon or even the scaffold—(loud cries of "No, no," "Never! never!" and most enthusiastic cheering)—I am convinced, if it were left to your votes you would decide differently. (Cheers; a voice:—"We are not packed against you.") I hope you are honest. (Laughter.) It gratifies me that I am engaged in this struggle with you. I see all its bearings,—I know all its value. I know how it would increase your commerce by giving you consumers who are now unable to buy from you. I know how it would increase your comfort, by giving you employment on the one hand and food on the other. I know how it would take down the iniquity of class legislation—(hear)—for the great and mighty reason why classification exists to the prejudice of the poor and the humble in this country is this very Corn Law, which seems to me to be the very root and ground of all the evils under which the nation suffers. (Cheers.) To me it is a cause that stimulates to every iniquity. They know the injustice of their position, and they want to fence it round with all the formalities of the law and all the force of legislation; but it will not do. The public eyes are open—the public mind is roused. Yes, England never willed, and willed in vain. (Cheers.) She had the folly to go to extravagant lengths formerly in working out her will; and she brought to the scaffold the head of a foolish monarch. It was a foolish thing, because it produced a military despotism, which is always the result of violence. That man's son outraged the laws of England, and the people, grown wise, did not cut off the foolish fellow's head, but sent him abroad for his folly in endeavouring to trample on their rights. Those

violent measures are no longer necessary; they are not suited to the age or the time; but public and open combination is necessary; we want the combination which springs from sympathy, from the electricity of human opinion. Oh, yes, that electricity of opinion shall spread through the whole kingdom. Scotland will join in the exultation; the manufacturing classes are already arrayed; the labourers and agriculturists find their interests are identified with ours; the farmers understand the chicanery of the great proprietors who are making that kind of bustle and noise which the rats make when the stack is about to be thrown down. (Cheers and laughter.) Yes, the time is approaching—it is irresistible. They may delude miserable constituents here and there; they may overrule them in other places (hear); but the public intellect is on its march, like the mighty waves of the ocean with the incoming tide. The tyrant of old bade the sea stop at his mandate; and yet the waves came on, and overwhelmed him who thought to resist its progress. We don't want to overwhelm them; we would only wish to wet their feet a little. (Laughter.) No, the progress of this great cause is magnificent. What country on the face of the earth could do what you have done? Last year you subscribed £50,000, the income of two or three sovereign princes in Germany; this year you subscribe your £100,000; and if it be necessary next year, you will double it (cheers)—it is not double or win, but double and win. Yes; the movement is in its majestic progress. From day to day new recruits fall into your ranks. We, who are veterans in the contest, are able to look on with delight at the rapidity with which our armies are augmented and our peaceful troops assembled. (Cheers.) The force of public opinion is manifesting itself everywhere. Violent despots, with the single exception of the monster Nicholas (loud groans and hisses), do not now commit those terrible acts which formerly were common with them. The sentiment of England is awakened and abroad; it never will sleep until the poor are righted and the rich compelled to be honest. (The hon. and learned gentleman resumed his seat amidst prolonged and most vehement cheering.)

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON came forward amidst loud cheers, and addressed the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, when I entered this house to-night to be a witness of the reception of Mr. O'Connell, I did not cherish the remotest idea of being called on to address you; nor do I now feel, standing in the position which unhappily I occupy, that I can be anything more than like that shadow of which Mr. O'Connell spoke, that was almost afraid to follow its mighty master. Ladies and gentlemen, this is to me an exhilarating spectacle from the circumstance, peculiarly, that for the last sixteen months I have been absent from my country, and during the whole of that period travelling exclusively in other lands, where no such scenes or sounds like those to which I have been a witness to-night are ever witnessed or heard. But though I have travelled a distance of 15,000 miles from the spot on which we stand, I have not gone to any distance so great as to preclude from the people amongst whom I have been, a knowledge of the proceedings of that gigantic body that is now purifying, directing, and consolidating to an ultimate triumph the public sentiments and opinions of Great Britain. (Cheers.) It has been my privilege, if not to be intimately associated in labour with the Anti-Corn-Law League, at least to possess a knowledge of its progress ever since its commencement, and to number amongst my earliest and best friends those who have laboured and borne the burthen and heat of the day. I cannot, returning to my native land, but contrast the state of this cause to-night, and its condition when I bade farewell to an audience in Manchester, convened for precisely the same purpose as that which brings you within these walls to-night. I took leave of the Anti-Corn-Law League in the midst of an assembly of at most some 1200 persons, and I now meet them in the largest obtainable building in the metropolis of Great Britain and the world, to the number at least, I should think, of 6000. (Cheers.) I left you in the struggle with silent opponents,—depending almost entirely and hopefully on their rank, station, and wealth,—who were mute spectators of your progress among the manufacturing and artisan classes of England; I meet you now fairly in open combat with this party—their silence broken, their plans disconcerted, their hopes thwarted, their strength diminished, and compelled at last, in self-defence, to have recourse to precisely similar measures on their own part to those which they have condemned in you and in others. (Loud cheers.) Do I anticipate any injury to your cause from the circumstance that your opponents are now banding themselves together and copying from you in regard to the plans they shall pursue for the purpose of thwarting your intentions? Nothing of the kind: I think it the most hopeful sign of the times, that you are now able every morning to learn what is said in all parts of the country; that you have the opportunity now to grapple fairly with—if it may be called by such a name—the arguments of those who will, as long as they are able, out of doors and in doors, endeavour to sustain and maintain the monopoly of which they are the patrons and by which they live. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I congratulate you on this mighty progress; I rejoice to see the firm hold that you have obtained upon the best principles and most enlightend intellects of the nation at large. I congratulate you on having now arrayed around your standard all that is estimable and excellent, or nearly so, in the land in which we live; and I congratulate you on the near prospect of a most glorious and peaceful triumph over the party with which you have been so long contending. (Cheers.) Wherever I have travelled—whether in Egypt or in India—I have found the deepest interest taken in the proceedings of this association. (Hear.) I have heard the greatest wonder everywhere expressed at the folly and infatuation of those who are endeavouring, upon the disasters and poverty and want and hunger and nakedness and crime of the people, to maintain that prosperity, which must be a guilty prosperity gained only by such means. (Cheers.) Men far removed from party influence, and not having a domestic and personal interest in this question, hold but one opinion on the subject. They cannot traverse regions thousands of miles in extent, estimate their resources, survey the means, as they pass along, of transporting from the most remote districts to the seaboard, and thence across the ocean to this country, that which, if it came across, would be capable of sustaining those who are now perishing at our very doors—I say they cannot now behold these things, and know that whatever they send here would come back to them in the shape of that which would be equally desirable—they cannot see this, and know this, without

standing astonished in the presence of so monstrous and stupendous a robbery as that which is perpetrated in this country. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I have never had but one view of the Corn Laws, and that was an all-comprising view: it was a view of the subject which satisfied my own mind, and which shut me up to be what I am—a present, entire, universal, everlasting hater of those laws which circumscribe the bounties of Divine Providence, and say to the gifts which God has scattered so liberally over the surface of the earth for the benefit of all, "Hitherto shall you come, but no further." (Tremendous applause.) With me the narrow—I will even say the national—view of this question sinks into insignificance when I contemplate the fact that God could never have designed that a people every day increasing, and living upon a soil that never could be extended, should depend for their resources for feeding that daily augmenting population upon their own soil; while, at the same time, the pathways of the ocean, the ingenuity of men of science, the bravery of our merchant seamen, the fertility of distant nations, the prosperity of the world, and the dispensations of God—the fatherly care of Him who made us all—evidently designed that men should exchange benefits, and that the abundance of one region should contribute to the happiness and comfort of another. (Loud Cheers.) To me the offence that is committed by the supporters of the Corn Laws is one that reaches the throne of the eternal God himself. (Hear.) Monopoly is a practical denial of the gifts of the Almighty to his creatures: it stops them half-way between the hand of God, open for the benefit of all His created beings, and the waiting, hungry recipients—or those who were intended to be—of that bounty. On one shore we have bread enough and to spare; on the other there is a famished population who would commit a crime if they took one grain of the yellow harvest which God in his bounty has provided for the benefit of us all. (Cheers.) Talk to me of ancient rights and vested interests—of the title of the aristocrat to his green crops. I give him his rights; I respect his rank most of all when to it he adds that which is more than rank—that sympathy with his fellow mortals which should increase in proportion as God has been good to him, and has seen fit to withhold his temporal bounties from them. (Loud cheers.) Let him take that to which he is fairly entitled; let him possess his parks, his paddocks, his hunting-grounds, and his preserves; let him, if he pleases, wall them all round, and inscribe upon a board that "man-traps and spring-guns are set within these grounds;" I will not encroach on his manor, neither will I even look over his wall; but be content to pursue my way along the dusty road, if, when I get to the end of my journey, I may purchase for my family that which the goodness of God and the bounty of his Providence has destined for me. (Cheers.) The wealthy landlord seeks protection! Why, he has it. He possesses it in the superior fertility of his estate, in the nearness of the field where the corn is grown to the market where it is sold. He has it in the distance of the competing countries from his own—in the hurricanes and shipwrecks to which the vessels upon the ocean conveying the produce of foreign countries are exposed—in the expense of insurance, the land and water charges, wharf duties, and warehouse dues—all these constitute a protection lasting as the ocean itself, and of which no man can deprive him. But with all this, he asks more: he demands that there should be placed upon his corn an arbitrary artificial price; that you should not allow the poor man to buy in the world's market, but to purchase of him until he has no corn to sell, allowing him to get his provision elsewhere only when the landowners in this country cannot by possibility benefit by withholding it. (Loud cheers.) (A person here interrupted the meeting, upon which a general cry was raised to turn him out.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward, and said:—I put it to the persons who are disturbing the meeting at the end of the pit, whether they are willing to undergo the process of being removed and placed in the custody of the police or not? Because most assuredly I shall exercise the right I possess, and use lawful means to maintain perfect order in this meeting, and place any one in the station-house who shall interfere with the regular order and decorum of an assembly like this. At the same time, if any gentleman wishes to leave the meeting, the doors are open, and he can retire; but surely it is a disgrace to any one to attempt for one moment to occupy the time of a large audience like this by such interruptions as, I am sorry to say, have been frequent this evening. (Cheers.)

Mr. THOMPSON then resumed:—Sir, I have taken the liberty to express those views of this question, which in my early attention to the subject settled my own mind, and placed it upon an argument so lofty and commanding, that I think it would not be within the possibility of human ingenuity ever to alter the opinion I have formed of the unmixed and monstrous iniquity of the Corn Laws. But not only are we strong in resorting to these obvious dispensations of Providence in nature, and the authoritative will of our Maker as made known to us in a volume which we reverence,—which, whether we open the first page, and read that on "everything that grows" man may subsist, or the last, which tells us that, "without money, and without price," we may obtain the high and enduring blessings of another life,—I say, not only are we strong on this ground, but upon every other position that can be assumed by our opponents we are equally invulnerable. The argument has been exhausted: we have gone round the compass, availed ourselves of the experience, the intellect, and the ratiocination of the nation; and whether our argument is drawn from the circumstances of our own country, or from the peculiarities of other lands—whether it be taken from times of peace, or seasons of war—whether the illustration be from the agricultural population, or one composed of those who are artisans, the argument is complete; all parties in this country, who aim at nothing beyond their just, natural, social, and civil rights, would be benefited. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, our Legislature has much to answer for. (Hear.) Talk of disaffection, insubordination, and conspiracy! (Laughter and cheers.) I ask, what are the causes of these evils? I go to the men who would punish these in their development, and I say, when searching for the culprit, "Thou art the man." (Hear, hear.) An unjust law is incipient revolution. Trace it out in operation until it begins to wither, impoverish, crush, and coerce mankind: then come the efforts of patriotism; then the responses of the people; then the stand of determination, if not of defiance; then come prosecutions; then prisons, then scaffolds, then martyrs. (Cheers.) But I go back to the original offenders—the men who framed the corrupt law—and I say:—You fomented the disaffection; you raised into no-

prefacing the object of their meeting; his sentiments were well known, as they had been delivered by him in public many times, and through the newspaper press; but he continued his observations to a lengthened extent, which were quite inaudible to a vast part of the meeting. Resolutions similar to those passed at former "protection" meetings having been moved, seconded, and agreed to, Mr. Jonathan Howlett, a thoroughly respected farmer and auctioneer, who was standing in front not far from the speakers, held up a paper which was circulated by the society, which he supposed came under the denomination of one of their tracts. In that paper was contained the relative proportion of imports of corn in some former years, to the depression in the manufacturing interest at the time imported. He denounced it as a one-sided statement, inasmuch as several years intervening between the periods were not stated at all. It was full of error, and intended to impose on the credulity of the innocent farmer. He said he stood before them as a brother farmer, determined not to see them gulled by the pretensions and falsehood of those who ought to stand on better ground. What was their position, and what had it been? The Corn Laws have given the landlords an opportunity for asking and obtaining a much higher rent for their farms than had been originally obtained, and stated an instance in his locality where a farm had been doubled in its rent within his remembrance. He asked whether the prices promised to the occupier by this law had ever been realized? Most deplorably not; and he was sure they were most of them before him aware of the distress now prevailing among farmers. It was notorious, that if the rent was paid the tradesman went unpaid; and he was sorry to see them meet here to-day to bolster up that law which was the concern of the landlord and tithe-owner only to uphold. He called on them to be deluded no longer—not to be made mere tools of by the operation of this law as they had been—but to emerge from their serf-like position, and declare they were blind no longer.—S. Cross, Esq., then mounted the table, making vituperative personal allusions to Mr. Howlett, who was fighting single-handed; and not being much skilled in the art of gentle persuasion, allowed his choleric to overcome his better sense, and ultimately brought him to a fall. Some kind friends wishing him to retire from his lofty and perilous position, he acceded to their request with all due humility, and thus ended the meeting. Many farmers evidently participated in the manly and straightforward sentiments of Mr. Howlett on their serf-like position.

DALRY FARMERS' PROTECTION SOCIETY.—A public meeting of all those friendly to a national protection to the British agriculturist, called by handbills circulated in the town and neighbourhood of Dalry, Ayrshire, was held in the parish school-house of Dalry on Tuesday, Feb. 6. By the *Ayr Observer*, a favourite organ of the "farmers' friends," it appears that this meeting was one of considerable importance, fully more than a column of that paper being occupied with an account of the proceedings. It is represented as "a large party"—"a respectable assemblage of farmers and others belonging to the district." Now, a friend of ours happened to be present. The "large party" was, in fact, so small that a child could count them. Not more than from 10 to 12 farmers were present, who, it is presumed, were specially invited by their landlords, and not more than 21 in all. Mr. Blair of Blair acted as chairman. He had a series of resolutions ready for the adoption of the meeting. So heartily did the farmers approve of the proceedings, that they required to be told by their masters to second, and in some cases even to move the resolutions. The proceedings were altogether so contemptible, that the very warmest monopolists in the place are quite ashamed of them. To make sure work that the greatest unanimity should prevail at the meeting, though styled "public," two constables were placed at the door, who, with an exception or two, admitted only those known to be friendly to monopoly. Now may the Council of the League tremble! Surely the days of the "unconstitutional confederacy" are numbered! Seriously, it is thought that the cause of Free Trade could not be better promoted than by the course adopted by its enemies. Dalry is to be inundated with Anti-Monopoly tracts. It is certain that the people only require to read and to think, and Free Trade will speedily supersede Monopoly.

NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.—A strong spirit of inquiry is beginning to manifest itself amongst the farmers of the North Riding, and it is instigated rather than satisfied by the Anti-League meetings. The farmers in the neighbourhood of Thirsk were invited to meet on Monday last, and to pass resolutions that they would strenuously oppose themselves to the operations of the League. There was a full meeting, as the farmers were anxious to hear what could be said in favour of that "protection," of whose benefit to themselves they were beginning to entertain strong doubts. The usual fallacies were uttered, but were very coldly received; and, although the resolutions were passed, many of the farmers afterwards declared to the townsmen that they were left in as much doubt as they were before, and they would remain to attend the evening meeting which had been called, to hear Mr. Flint, from Leeds, and Mr. Prentice, from Manchester, on the manner in which the interests of farmers are affected by the Corn Laws. There was, therefore, a considerable number of them at the evening meeting, which was so completely crammed that one abled-bodied person fainted from the excessive heat.—Mr. John Baker took the chair, and said, that he and his brothers had become tradesmen, because there was no room for them on their father's land, and no profit to be had from renting land elsewhere.—Mr. Prentice, in commencing his address, tendered his thanks to the promoters of the day's meeting for having excited a strong curiosity to hear both sides, which had brought so many agriculturists together to listen to arguments in favour of Free Trade. He proceeded at considerable length to show that protection had not only not benefited farmers or farm-labourers, but had greatly injured them, and that their property was dependent upon the prosperity of their customers in the commercial and manufacturing towns.—Mr. Flint followed in an argumentative and effective speech, in which he demolished many of the fallacies of the landholders.—Notwithstanding the crowded state of the room, and that there were not seats for one tenth of the persons present, every one remained to the last; and the announcement that the deputation would address the farmers in the open market place on the following Monday was received with enthusiastic cheers. After having given three cheers for the League, and thanks to the deputation and chairman, the meeting terminated.—On Thursday morning Messrs. Prentice and Flint proceeded to Richmond, where a very full meeting is expected, the late Anti-League meeting, where Lord Zetland, by his arguments against the existing Corn Law, put a stop to the intended Pro-Corn Law agitation, having given additional stimulus to the previously existing spirit of inquiry, and created a great desire to hear full expositions of Free-Trade doctrine.

RICHMOND (NORTH RIDING), YORKSHIRE.—On Tuesday evening the Town Hall was completely filled by an audience consisting of many of the principal inhabitants of the town, some farmers from the neighbourhood, and a considerable number of intelligent working-men. Seats had been reserved for ladies, of whom there was a fair attendance. The previous attempt of the landowners to get up a farmers' demonstration had excited considerable curiosity to hear the deputation, and to that may be attributed, in a considerable degree, the crowded state of the hall, and the deep interest which was taken in the proceedings. Mr. Cooke, proprietor of the large paper-mills in the neighbourhood, after having stated that the object of the meeting was to hear Mr. Flint and Mr. Prentice on the manner in which the Corn Laws operated upon the agricultural districts, introduced to the meeting Mr. Prentice, who proceeded for about half an hour with very marked effect, and obviously to the conviction of the majority of his hearers, when a farmer, who had the appearance of having sat rather too long after dinner, and who was instigated by a little knot of persons who had taken part in the Pro-Corn-Law meeting, attempted to get up a disturbance by interrupting the speaker; he was aided by a young fellow who had the appearance of one of those "working men" who never work, who also had his little knot of advisers, and who kept shouting "machinery." Mr. Prentice having denounced this attempt of some half-dozen persons

to prevent three or four hundred attending to what they had come to hear, and being supported by the Chairman, and by the expressed indignation of the meeting at such interruption, proceeded with his address, which was only further interrupted by applause. Mr. Flint was then introduced to the meeting, and was listened to with profound attention throughout a long and closely-argumentative speech, in which he supported, by reference to original documents, all the principles laid down by the previous speaker, and proved the extent to which the destitution of the agricultural labourers had increased the population of the manufacturing towns, drawing thence the conclusion, that, but for the unprotected branches of trade, and the use of machinery which had been so much deplored, the protected would have been one immense mass of pauperism. He concluded by an eloquent exposition of the peace-producing effects of Free Trade, which excited loud and long-continued cheering.—The Chairman then invited any one who wished to address the meeting to come forward, especially those who had before attempted to be heard out of place; but no one appearing, Mr. Pearson moved, and Mr. Harrop seconded, a vote of thanks to the deputation, which was carried unanimously, and with much cheering.—Mr. Prentice, in reply, adverted to a point on which before he had but slightly touched, and excited great laughter and applause.—Thanks to the Chairman were then voted with three enthusiastic cheers, and then three still more enthusiastic cheers, and one cheer more, were given for the League. So much for the effort of the Pro-Corn-Law meeting in Richmond, the capital of agricultural Richmondshire.—On Wednesday morning Mr. Flint and Mr. Prentice proceeded to Mr. Ferrand's, borough of Knaresborough.

KNARESBOROUGH.—The Anti-Corn-Law meeting on Wednesday night was extremely crowded. Messrs. Flint and Prentice went thoroughly into the relative position of the people in the agricultural and manufacturing districts, and convinced not a few of Mr. Ferrand's constituents that it was solely from the demand for labour where machines were that men left the districts where machines were not. One of Mr. Ferrand's "devil's-dust" men attempted to have an interruption, but he was too well known, and when at the close of the address of the deputation the meeting was asked if they had any wish to hear Mr. Harper, loud cries of "No, no," rung through the room, and thanks to the deputation were given with immense applause: many loud cheers were given for the League.

OPERATIVE FREE-TRADE SOCIETY.—We are happy to find that the operatives of Liverpool are again beginning to beat themselves in the great and important question of Free Trade, and that they held a public meeting on Wednesday evening, at the large room, Roe-street, which was numerously and respectably attended. Mr. John Critchley presided on the occasion. Mr. Robert Jones moved the first resolution in his usual homely but effective style, condemnatory of all restrictions on trade, and calling upon the meeting to unite their most strenuous efforts to thwart the operations of those newly-formed societies called into life by the landowners, who are beginning to manifest symptoms of delirious apprehension at the rapid strides of the Anti-Corn-Law League. The meeting was also very effectively addressed by Messrs. Onions, Leach, Fitzsimons, &c. Henry Edwards, Esq., then, in a forcible and convincing speech, addressed the shipwrights and other operatives connected with the shipping interest, a great many of whom attended. The whole of the resolutions were carried by acclamation, and a great number of members enrolled their names, the majority of whom were freemen.—*Liverpool Mercury.*

THE GATESHEAD FREE-TRADE SOCIETY.—The usual fortnightly meeting was held on Monday, at the Half-moon Inn, Councillor Revely in the chair. The opinion was unanimous, that the present position of affairs rendered it more than ever incumbent on Free-Traders to support the League; and Mr. Crawshaw expressed his readiness to deliver a lecture on Free Trade in connexion with wages, at the Grey Horse Inn, on Tuesday, the 20th inst., at eight o'clock.—*Gateshead Observer.*

THE TORIES AND FREE TRADE.—Mr. Cardwell, M.P. for Clitheroe, who seconded the address at the opening of the session, said:—"The best source of wealth and competence was unlimited competition in commerce. Where there was the most rivalry—the most competition in commerce for all nations—he believed there would be the greatest prosperity." The light is breaking in apace.

ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.—The inhabitants of Cross Hills have been visited by a deputation from the Anti-Corn-Law League in Manchester, and the Anti-Corn-Law Association in Bradford, when, after spirited addresses delivered by Mr. Murray and several others, on the evil effects of those laws both to manufacturers and agriculturists, the sum of £20 was immediately subscribed in aid of the League fund of £100,000, with a prospect of increasing that sum previous to the subscription list being closed.—*Leeds Mercury.*

MEETING OF AGRICULTURISTS IN EASTER ROSS; WITH REMARKS BY A CORRESPONDENT.

On Thursday, the 13th of January, a meeting of a large number of the respectable farmers and tenants of Easter Ross took place within the hall of Mrs. Dickson's Hotel, Tain, with a view to petition both Houses of Parliament against any interference whatever with the Corn Laws of the country as they exist at present.

JOHN HAY MACKENZIE, Esq., of Cromertie, proposed that Crawford Ross, Esq., Caddell, as President of the Easter Ross Farmers' Society, should take the chair.

Mr. Ross, having taken the chair, addressed the meeting on the subject for which it had been convened. He was followed by Mr. Williamson, Ballinroich; Mr. Syme, Tarrel; H. Ross, Esq., of Cromarty; Captain D. Mackay, Hilton; and Mr. Middleton, Davioton. The sentiments expressed by Mr. Syme, Tarrel, and Captain Mackay, Hilton, on the subject of a total repeal, were somewhat different from those of the other gentlemen present.

Mr. Syme expressed his firm belief that an alteration would take place, and he proposed that, instead of petitioning Parliament against this measure, their object ought to be to obtain a total repeal, instead of a further reduction of duty, as in the latter case the farmer would have no protection at all.

The following resolutions were passed by the meeting:—"Resolved, That the views of the body denominated the 'Anti-Corn-Law League' are directed against the most important and valuable interests of this great nation, which are based upon its agricultural capital and resources.

"That, from recent reduction in the import duties, the British corn-grower has not an adequate protection, and, should there be a further reduction, he will be obliged to abandon cultivation.

"That it is indispensable, if fettered with a tack, and in the hands of a needy or avaricious proprietor, he will, of course, have to abide by his engagement while his capital affords means: when that is expended he falls—all those employed by him are thrown idle. Thus the tenant and his dependents are ruined.

"That this meeting contemplates the measures now in progress through the country for the abolition of the Corn Laws with the greatest alarm, and deem it their duty to their country, themselves, and those agitators also, to do all in their power to resist them.

"That they immediately petition both Houses of Parliament, strongly deprecating and praying against any interference whatever with the Corn Laws as they now stand."

PETITION.

"Unto the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament,

"The Petition of the Farmers, Tenants, and others subscribing,

"Humbly sheweth,

"That your petitioners contemplate with great alarm the agitation through many of the manufacturing districts in the south to obtain a repeal of the Corn Laws; that the British farmer does not at present enjoy a sufficient protection, for in

many districts they are struggling very severely and losing capital; that a further reduction will inevitably prove ruinous to him; and the cultivation of the soil must, to a very great extent, be abandoned. Should this occur, the best and greatest proportions of our British subjects will be prostrated; and, moreover, the nation, in the event of a struggle, will find herself at the mercy of a foreign land for bread.

"That such calamitous results are to be apprehended, and to be averted.

"May it therefore please your Honourable House not to alter or interfere with the Corn Laws as they now stand."

REMARKS.

The preceding account of a "meeting of agriculturists in Easter Ross" is taken from the *Inverness Courier* of the 24th of January last. "Agriculturist" is a word of comprehensive meaning, embracing both landlords and farmers, although as Mr. Cobden has well shown that a landowner is no more a farmer than a shipowner is a sailor. In the body of the account, however, the meeting is described as that "of a large number of respectable farmers and tenants of Easter Ross," and their petition is styled that "of the farmers, tenants, and others." Let me now show how far this title is applicable to the party, or rather how far the tenant-farmers are mixed up in the affair. Seven individuals are mentioned by name as having taken prominent parts in the proceedings. Two of them (J. H. Mackenzie and H. Ross) are not tenants, but they are large landowners. One (Mr. C. Ross) is no doubt a tenant, but he is also (and it is his principal business) the factor (*Anglice*, steward) of an absent landowner of great possessions. Another (Mr. Williamson) is a tenant, but he is also a lawyer and a land agent and steward. Two (Mr. Syme and Captain Mackay), who are *bond fide* tenant-farmers, dissent from the resolutions; and the former is for a total repeal of the Corn Laws. There remains, therefore, only one—positively but one—(Mr. Middleton)—tenant-farmer of all the individuals specified as taking a part in the proceedings.

Of the resolutions, and the petition founded on them, the grammar, although bad enough, is not so bad as the logic, and neither of them so absurd and ill founded as the gratuitous assumptions which are hazarded. While the petition alleges that the "British farmer does not at present enjoy sufficient protection, for, in many districts, he is struggling very severely, and losing capital," yet, strange to say, the House of Commons is prayed "not to alter or interfere with the Corn Laws as they now stand." Why, this is odd to petition for a continuance of the system which has brought about the present calamitous state of the farming interest.

With regard to the dissenting members at the meeting, Captain Mackay and Mr. Syme, I remember reading in an *Inverness* newspaper, some short time ago, that the former stated at a public meeting that he had left a farm he had because it was unprofitable, and he was losing capital by it. The latter, Mr. Syme, who is for a total repeal (at least I so read the report), occupies one of the finest farms in Ross-shire. He is a man of education and intelligence, has ample capital, and prosecutes his farming operations with a degree of activity, skill, and success not surpassed and rarely equalled in the district where he resides. This I know personally.

It is as edifying as it is amusing to turn from the report of this meeting to an article in another part of the same newspaper, where Sir George S. Mackenzie, of Coul, Bart., himself a great land proprietor in Ross-shire, a practical farmer, and a man of eminence in literature and science, demonstrates the necessity of a mixture of foreign wheat with the home-growths for the use of the baker, advocates the propriety of a grain rent as evinced in the success and well-doing of his own tenants under that system, and repudiates the Corn Laws with indignation and contempt.

THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND AND THE CORN LAWS.

The following letter has been addressed by his Grace the Duke of Sutherland to his agent at Dunrobin, in the county of Sutherland:—

"London, Feb. 12, 1844.
"DEAR SIR,—As I learn that in Sutherland some of my friends and tenants are desirous of having a meeting to consider the subject of the Corn Laws, under apprehension of the effects which the present agitation of that subject may have on our agricultural interests, it may be well for me to say shortly to you what I am disposed to believe right and true in regard to it. It is very fair that the sentiments of any who feel desirous of communicating them should be expressed; but it is also desirable that none should commit themselves incautiously, and, under unnecessary apprehensions, they may probably find that in this as on many other subjects great exaggerations prevail. I take for granted that none would think of considering societies for agricultural purposes as proper instruments for use as machinery for extending any determined opinions that any number of the members may entertain on this general question. This, I think, should be carefully avoided. Of course I do not urge objections to any persons meeting as a society for the special purpose of taking a part for or against a general measure; but the societies which have been formed to promote improvements in all branches of farming should be kept clear of contention, and free from disputes of this nature.

"My own feeling is in favour of the free current of national industry—of unfettered commerce—of purchase and sale generally—without excepting any trade on which the sustenance of the people depends. I am unwilling to close the best markets for our supplies, and cut off from the people the sources which Providence offers, under the varying circumstances of seasons and climates, for the produce of commodities necessary for the enjoyment of life. I do not think it is a solid good principle to maintain that a bounty should be given to the grower by a tax on the consumer; and I believe that the protest drawn up by the late Lord Grenville on the subject is substantially sound and just. I also, as I said, think that in conforming to these principles we shall not endanger ourselves; though no doubt, in many parts of England particularly, great improvements will be required, and under any system they should be enforced.

"Important considerations arise from the artificial and complicated system which has made our condition so difficult to understand and manage. Our national debt, complicated taxation, necessities of revenue,—all these make great caution necessary; and it is no doubt right and proper that all who have insight into these subjects should communicate—that agriculturists should express their sentiments regarding their own prospects and fears and expectations, as well as other members of society. But I do not wish to enrol myself among those who require restrictions interfering with trade and commerce in regard to the most important articles for man.

"G. Gunn, Esq."

"I am, dear sir, truly yours,
"SUTHERLAND."

I love clamour, when there is an abuse. The alarm-bell disturbs the inhabitants, but 't saves them from being burnt in their beds.—*Burke.*

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, February 21, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | |
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| Small subscriptions from Birmingham, per B. Smith | £2 18 3 |
| George Musgrove, Middlewich, Cheshire | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Rushton, Tib-street, Manchester | 25 0 0 |
| Sam. Grindrod, Prince's-court, Market-st., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Dixon and Galloway, 8, Fountain street, do. | 10 0 0 |
| M. and S. Bridge, 40, Market-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| M. Killyerby, 52, Market-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
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| T. Bateman, 34, Spring-gardens, do. | 5 0 0 |
| Henry Holland, 41, Mosley-street, do. | 10 0 0 |
| Robert Sykes, 31, do., do. | 20 0 0 |
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| C. Moorcock, 12, do., do. | 30 0 0 |
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| Ralph Darbyshire, Brown-street, Manchester | 0 5 0 |
| John Webb, 79, Market-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| J. Dean, Barlow-court, Market-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Muir, Peel-street, Hulme, do. | 0 2 6 |
| W. C., do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| F. Birckley, Ducie-bridge, do. | 0 2 0 |
| Yates and Williams, Brown street, do. | 30 0 0 |
| Robert Maxwell, 4, New Brown-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| T. Blatter, 5, Duke-street, do. | 5 0 0 |
| Potter and Ascoli, 8, Greenwood-street, do. | 10 0 0 |
| Wm. Gill, 11, New Cannon-street, do. | 10 0 0 |
| Mr. Baker, Chester-road, Hulme, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Mr. Fielden, painter, do., do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thos. Smith, per A. P. Halliday, Cornbrook, do. | 1 1 0 |
| John Johnson, Wood-street, Wigan | 0 10 0 |
| James Blacklock, Regent-street, Haslingdon, near Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| Small subscriptions from Radcliffe-bridge, near do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Leach, do., do. | 200 0 0 |
| Spedding, Kenwick, Cumberland | 5 0 0 |
| Jonah Warburton, Bristol-street, Radnor-street, Hulme, Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| Josh. Evison, Park Cottage, near the Penitentiary, Hulme, Manchester | 0 5 0 |
| Foster and Co., 43, Oxford street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Whitehead, 53, London-road, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Ritchie, 2, Cleveland-buildg., Market-st., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Jas. McLean, Joiner and builder, Stretford New-road, Manchester | 0 2 6 |
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| Wm. and Charles Miller, 93, Fountain-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
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| Edward Cole, 6, Chapel-square, Birchin-lane, do. | 10 0 0 |
| A. R. Chandler, Hereford | 1 0 0 |
| X. Y., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Z. N., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Rogers (2nd subscr.), 17, Oxford-st., Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Scott, 8, Morton-street, Chorlton, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Gaskell, 25, St. George's-road, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Sam. Oller, 16, Beech-street, Hulme, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A. Burns, 107, Medlock-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
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| J. Lowe, Wribben Hall, near Bewdley, Worcestershire | 1 0 0 |
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| A Friend, per Andrew Christie, do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. McEwen & Sons, manufacturers, near do. | 1 0 0 |
| James McEwen, High-street, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Thos. Wright and Son, tanners, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Robert Arnott, High-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph McIntyre, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Jas. Taylor, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Donaldson, St. James's-square, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. McLean, High-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Lieut. James McOrum, King street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, per Andrew Christie, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Do., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Do., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Miller, grocer, High-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Cameron, carrier, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John McEwen, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Dewar, jun., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robt. McHinde, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Alex. McGregor, M.D., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Donald Stewart, grocer, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Clark, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Daniel McEwen, Comrie-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 17 6 |
| Robert Shaw Wensley, Darley Dale, near Bakewell, Derbyshire | 0 2 6 |
| James Dakyne, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Akop, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Charles Dakyne, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. Dakyne, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Kil. Dakyne, Green House, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, do., do. | 0 13 0 |
| H. Arbuckle, Queensferry, Lullithgow, N.B. | 0 5 0 |
| Peter Christie, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| W. Carruthers, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. McArthur, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 17 6 |
| J. Wilkinson, Shakespeare-st., Newcastle-upon-Tyne | 1 0 0 |
| Josh. Pearson, Carhol-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sum, do. | 0 1 0 |
| C. T. H., Glasgow | 1 4 0 |
| John Kenworthy and Co., carriers, Manchester | 100 0 0 |
| A Lover of Justice, per Dan. O'Connell, Esq., M.P. | 100 0 0 |
| Workmen of Joseph Twigg and Brothers, Newhill Pottery, near Rotherham, per John Twigg (5th sub- scription since July) | 1 10 0 |
| Major Brandon, Rathbone House, Cheltenham | 1 0 0 |
| Miss Answorth, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Miss Catherine Answorth, 19, Bury New road, Manchester | 1 1 0 |
| Miss Esther Answorth, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Miss Jeanette Answorth, do. | 1 1 0 |
| George Common, Ninfeld, near Battle | 1 0 0 |
| Small subscriptions from Leslie, Fife, per Jos. Senior | 2 13 0 |
| George Christwood, seedsmen, 14, Tavistock-row, Covent Garden | 5 0 0 |
| Charles Tennant, Sons, and Co., Thames-street | 50 0 0 |
| John Smith, Elm-tree House, Haverstock Hill | 1 1 0 |
| George McKenzie, 136, Houndditch, per D. Parker | 1 0 0 |

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| D. Parker, 96, Minories | £1 0 0 |
| Richard Brook, Whitstable, Kent | 0 2 6 |
| John Jones, Love-lane, City | 2 2 0 |
| Major J. L. Verity, 21, South-street, Thurlow-square | 1 0 0 |
| William Ellis, Champion Hill | 5 0 0 |
| C. J. Parsons | 0 2 6 |
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| A Non-Elector, Southwark | 0 2 6 |
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| Joseph Clement, do. | 0 2 6 |
| William Murray, West Bromwich | 0 10 0 |
| John Clode, 93, Peaseod-street, Windsor | 1 0 0 |
| Alexander Telfar, Wigtown | 1 0 0 |
| G. and B. | 1 0 0 |
| Francis Holl, 7, St. James's-terrace, Camden-town | 0 5 0 |
| Coupland and Gilbert, 1, George-yard, Bow-lane | 2 2 0 |
| James Buckingham, Wandsworth | 5 5 0 |
| James Grieves, Haverstock-hill, Hampstead | 1 1 0 |
| R. Thropp, 7, Thornhill Bridge-place, Pentonville | 0 3 0 |
| John Roberts, 50, New Bond-street | 0 5 0 |
| George Gow, Truman's Brewery | 1 0 0 |
| Martin Thackeray, 88, Gloucester-place, Portman-sq. | 5 0 0 |
| Charles De la Prynce, Lincoln's-inn | 1 1 0 |
| C. H. Blagden, Hoxton-square | 1 1 0 |
| Edward Carter, Thame-bank, Westminster | 2 2 0 |
| C. O. S. L. | 0 5 0 |
| W. D. Seymour, 32, Fenchurch-street | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Drewell, 85, West Smithfield | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Noble, jun., 152, Fleet-street | 0 2 6 |
| O. H. Smith, Thame-bank, Westminster | 5 0 0 |
| William Coles, draper, Bushy, Herts | 0 5 0 |
| Reuben Roby, 19, Queen-street, Chapside | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Brindley, 70, St. John-street-road | 0 2 6 |
| J. D. Gaskell, Warrington | 25 0 0 |
| W. C. Perry, Exeter | 0 5 0 |
| James Boyd, 36, Mark-lane | 1 0 0 |
| James Robinson, 21, Grosvenor-row, Pimlico | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. J. L. James, 20, Alfred-street, Islington | 0 10 0 |
| A few subscriptions at Mr. John Fellows's, King's Head, Museum-street | 1 0 0 |
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| Miss Webb, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Miss E. Webb, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Webb, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 10 0 |
| Wm. Smith, 39, Fish-street Hill | 1 1 0 |
| A. Galloway, 30, Canonbury-square | 1 0 0 |
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| John Payne, St. Andrew's Hill | 1 1 0 |
| Peter Stein, Grove, Highgate | 0 2 6 |
| W. H. Pridoux, 59, Red Lion-street, Holborn | 1 0 0 |
| G. Purnell, 78, Curtain-road | 1 0 0 |
| James Robinson, 9, Heathcote-st., Gray's Inn-lane | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Ruddle, 3, Hanworth-terrace | 0 1 0 |
| J. Salisbury, 7, Marchmont-street, Brunswick-square | 0 10 0 |
| Abraham Scott, 60, Red Lion-street, Holborn | 1 1 0 |
| William Wing, 61, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Scott, 60, do. | 0 10 6 |
| William Scott, do. | 0 10 6 |
| Thomas Bosher, do. | 1 0 0 |
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| Mr. Downing | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Kirby | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Agar | 0 2 0 |
| Mr. Orrell | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Newlove | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Parker | 0 2 0 |
| Mr. Kelly | 0 2 6 |
| D. Bailey | 0 2 6 |
| H. Bailey | 0 2 6 |
| John Edward Spicer and Sons, New Bridge-street, P. G. | 10 10 0 |
| Wm. Sutcliffe, Camberwell-green | 0 2 6 |
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| Thomas Styles, 11, Charles-street, New Kent-road | 0 2 6 |
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| Thomas Crossley, 38, Noble-street | 1 0 0 |
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| Wilson, Gibb, & Irwin, 123, Long-lane, Bermondsey | 10 0 0 |
| John Ingram, 29, City-road | 2 2 0 |
| Joseph Matthews, 19, Somers-place, New-road | 0 10 0 |
| C. E. | 1 0 0 |
| D. Carter, jun., 15, Warrington-place, Camberwell New-road | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Weyland, 6, Lodge-road, St. John's Wood | 0 7 6 |
| William Bell, 12, King's-terrace, Bagnigge Wells-rd. | 0 5 0 |
| E. Kynneraley, Jamaica Level, Bermondsey | 1 1 0 |
| John Bull, 51, St. Martin's-lane | 1 1 0 |
| J. G. | 1 0 0 |
| David Surry, 13, Oldham gardens, Bagnigge Wells-rd. | 0 3 6 |
| Samuel Hurt, 20, Clarence-gardens, Regent's-park | 0 5 6 |
| J. B. Radale, Burdett-street, Watworth Common | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Sattersfield, jun., Staincliffe, Batley | 1 10 0 |
| William Sattersfield, Height | 2 10 0 |
| Joseph Sattersfield, sen., Kilpinhill | 2 0 0 |
| Jeremiah Sattersfield, do. | 1 10 0 |
| John Sattersfield, jun., do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Sattersfield, sen., do. | 1 10 0 |
| Christopher Oddy, jun., do. | 1 10 0 |
| Henry Senior, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Matthew Senior, Batley | 1 0 0 |
| John Ealey, do. | 0 10 0 |
| James Walker, do. | 1 10 0 |
| John Oddy, Staincliffe | 1 0 0 |
| A poor Man's Mite | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Birkhead, Staincliffe | 0 10 0 |
| D. D. James, 6, Prince's-street, Stamford-street | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Hutchinson, 5, Bread-street | 1 1 0 |
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| Anonymous | 0 2 6 |
| Anonymous | 0 5 0 |
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| Alex. Gilchrist, 10, Heathcote-street, Gray's-inn-lane | 0 2 6 |
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| Henry Edgar | 0 2 0 |
| Edward Ellice, Esq., jun., M.P., 130, Park-street | 10 0 0 |
| John Thom, 27, East-lane, Walworth | 0 2 6 |
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| per W. Hammond, B. Fagg, do. | 1 0 0 |
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| Thomas Thackwell, Church-street | 0 2 6 |
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Sheffield, Second Remittance.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, Second Remittance.

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| Robert Leader, Pittmoor, Sheffield | £1 0 0 |
| Friends of Free Trade, Independent Office | 0 17 6 |
| George Bell, King-street | 2 0 0 |
| Robert Leader, jun., Independent Office | 5 0 0 |
| Mrs. Leader | 2 0 0 |
| John Daniel Leader | 1 0 0 |
| Barth E. Leader | 1 0 0 |
| Robert E. Leader | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Colley, Blue Bell, Jebu-lane | 2 0 0 |
| Charles Burgin, Queen-street | 2 0 0 |
| George Stimson, 10, Watson-walk | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Deakin, Infirmary-lane | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Roper, Broad-street, Park | 1 0 0 |
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| George Tricket, Loxley, near | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, per Jonathan Roebuck | 0 10 0 |
| Robert Taylor, 103, Devonshire-street | 1 0 0 |
| George Holden, Fargate | 1 0 0 |
| John Hall, near Cornish-place | 1 2 0 |
| Elias Shurt, publican, Coalpit-lane, in addition to 10s. subscribed before | 0 10 0 |
| Workmen of J. Watson & Son (2nd subscr.) | 0 10 0 |
| George Shortland, 70, Carver-street | 1 0 0 |
| Benjamin Osborne, 19, Smithfield | 1 0 0 |
| R. Alexander, Sheffield Arms, New Meadow-street (2nd subscription, in addition to 2s. 6d.) | 0 17 6 |
| A Friend, per Thomas Oates | 10 0 0 |
| Isaac Deakin, Ran Moor | 1 0 0 |
| Workmen at the Wicker Iron Works | 1 0 0 |
| John Davenport, Rockingham-street | 2 0 0 |
| John Bradbury, Joiner, Carver-street | 0 10 0 |
| F. Hoole, solicitor | 10 0 0 |
| J. W. Smith, solicitor | 5 0 0 |
| E. Bramley, Town Clerk | 5 0 0 |
| Thomas Oates, Broom Villa | 3 0 0 |
| Another Anti-Ferrand | 0 10 0 |
| Wm. Calvert, 64, Rockingham-street | 1 4 0 |
| Peter Murray, 5, Charles-street | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, per Miss Brady | 0 5 0 |
| Henry Hiller, South-street | 0 10 0 |
| George Foster, High-street | 1 0 0 |
| Adam Renwick, Fargate | 0 5 0 |
| Isaac Broadhurst, cooper, Paradise-square | 0 2 6 |
| Ashton, Jackson, and Co. | 10 0 0 |
| Mr. Bird, Fargate | 0 2 6 |
| Marshes and Shepherd | 10 0 0 |
| George Turton, surgeon | 3 0 0 |
| Stephenson, Blake, and Co. | 10 0 0 |
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| Brookes and Son, Rockingham-street | 2 0 0 |
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| Robt. Lingard, Wharnccliffe-side, near Oughti-bridge, Sheffield | 1 0 0 |
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| John Wilson Hawksworth, Arundel-street | 5 0 0 |
| Erith Brothers, do. | 2 0 0 |
| Benjamin Fox, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Workmen at Wilson Hawksworth and Moss's | 1 0 0 |
| Parke, Hanger, and Co., Charles-street | 1 0 0 |
| J. P. Cutts and Sons, Division-street | 5 5 0 |
| George Crookes, Washington Works | 0 10 0 |
| Workmen at Walker, Wall, and Co.'s | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Falding, Wentworth, near Rotherham | 1 0 0 |
| Francis Moore, do. | 1 0 0 |
| William Poles, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Cooper, do. | 1 0 0 |
| William Beardshall, do. | 1 0 0 |
| George Jackson, Basingthorpe, near | 1 0 0 |
| John Hawthorn, Hoyland, near Barnsley | 1 4 4 |
| Amicus, per R. Solly, Furnival-street | 10 10 0 |
| John Wilson, 50, Fargate | 0 2 6 |
| Philip Unwin, Burgess street | 5 0 0 |
| George Chester, Barker Pool | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Ashmore, Burgess-street | 1 0 0 |
| R. Mellor, Barker Pool | 0 5 0 |
| J. Acton, Union-street | 0 5 0 |
| J. Wilkinson, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Cooper, New-Church-street | 0 10 0 |
| John Grattan, Pinstone-street | 0 5 0 |
| G. Baines, Union street | 0 2 6 |
| Workmen at J. and J. Stevenson's | 1 5 0 |
| A. Tofield, Broom-close, London-road | 1 0 0 |
| J. H. Greaves, Post-office-buildings | 1 0 0 |
| Workmen at Joseph Mappin's | 1 10 0 |
| B. Skidmore, Corn Market | 0 10 0 |
| T. Wilde, Fargate | 1 0 0 |
| John Cam, Eyre-lane | 1 0 0 |
| W. Walton, Trafalgar-street | 0 5 0 |
| Broadhead and Atkin, North-street | 5 0 0 |
| "No. 2, Castle-street" | 0 5 0 |
| Workmen { Samuel Wells | 1 0 0 |
| at { Frederick Berry | 1 0 0 |
| Trafalgar Works. { Thomas Turner | 1 0 0 |
| { John Kay | 1 0 0 |
| { Robert Coates | 1 0 0 |
| Two Friends | 0 5 0 |
| J. Brookhouse, 52, Fargate | 1 0 0 |
| H. Johnson Court, No. 8, Fitzwilliam-street | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend to Liberty | 2 2 0 |
| John Cawthron, 11, Shepherd-street | 0 2 6 |
| Workmen at Hawkesworth, Eyre, and Co.'s | 1 7 0 |
| Workmen at H. Wilkinson & Co.'s, Norfolk-st. | 2 0 0 |
| Edward Liddell, Haymarket | 1 0 0 |
| J. Gladwin, Market-street | 1 10 0 |
| Thomas Turton | 0 5 0 |
| W. Hudson, Royd's Mill | 0 5 0 |
| Per T. Deakin, Infirmary-lane | 0 3 0 |
| Per E. and J. Greaves, Park | 0 8 0 |
| Small sums | 0 8 0 |
| Ashton- { W. Shaw, Furnace Hill, Dukinfield, nr. | 1 0 0 |
| under-Lyue. { Timothy Broadbent | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Ormiston, Saville-row | 10 0 0 |
| Stephen Lowry, Shield-field House | 5 0 0 |
| Edward Whitfield, Quayside | 2 2 0 |
| Joseph Cowen, Blaydon Burn, near | 2 2 0 |
| James Finlay, 46, Pilgrim-street | 2 2 0 |
| T. A. Barnes, Whitburn, near Sunderland | 1 10 0 |
| R. Barrow, High Friar-street | 1 0 |

| Stockport, Second Remittance. | | Glasgow. | | Leicester, Third Remittance. | |
|---|--------|---|---------|---|--------|
| George Hankinson, Gorse Brow | 1 1 0 | Hugh Fulton, 24, Blackfriars-street | 1 1 0 | James Wood, Dodsworth's-court, Briggate | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Bamber, Churchgate | 1 1 0 | Andrew Liddle, 101, Maxwell-street | 1 1 0 | C. Wolf | 10 0 0 |
| Thomas Cheatham, surgeon, Middle Hillgate | 1 1 0 | J. Hoey (Randolph, Elliott, & Co.'s), Centre-st. | 1 2 0 | A few enemies of those who withhold Corn from the Poor, Wortley | 0 12 6 |
| Wm. Horner, Counsellor, near Skipton | 1 1 0 | James Ross and Sons, 18, N. Albion-street | 1 1 0 | Richard Dobblings, Golden Cook Inn, Kirkgate | 0 2 6 |
| Charles Bailey, Gorse Brow | 2 3 0 | William Carswell, N. Frowan-ade | 1 0 0 | Longbottom and Fawcett, Park-lane | 2 3 0 |
| John Clave, 147, Castle-street | 1 1 0 | John Hamilton, Stockwell | 10 0 0 | Beverly and Simpson | 50 0 0 |
| Thomas Brickhill, 12, Travis-lane | 1 1 0 | D. and J. Macdonald and Co., 78, Queen-st. | 10 0 0 | Christopher Heape | 10 0 0 |
| Charles Stewart, 2, Brown-street | 1 1 0 | John Anderson, Renfield-street | 20 0 0 | | |
| John Etchells, Bee Hive | 1 1 0 | J. and T. Brown and Co., 124, Argyle-street | 5 0 0 | | |
| B. H. Cheatham, surgeon, Bridge-street | 1 1 0 | John Macleod, 193, do. | 1 0 0 | | |
| John Trickett, Middle Hillgate | 1 1 0 | Neil Matheson, Eastfield Dye Works, Rutherglen, by | 2 0 0 | | |
| James Shawcross, Princess-street | 1 1 0 | A Friend, per A. Couper | 1 0 0 | | |
| John Wood, Mottram-street | 1 1 0 | Alexander Park, 103, Stockwell | 0 5 0 | | |
| John Hampson, Wellington-road | 10 0 0 | John Anderson, Jun., 44, Adelphi-place | 1 0 0 | | |
| J. L. Cheatham, Middle Hillgate | 1 0 0 | George Watson, 54, West Nile-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| John Sheldarles, Edward-street | 1 2 6 | James Bell, 15, St. Enoch-square | 1 1 0 | | |
| Lawrence Arden, Lower Hillgate | 1 1 0 | Workers of R. G. Finlay and Brothers, Montrose-street | 0 14 0 | | |
| Owen Robinson, Millgate | 1 1 0 | Robert Wylie, jun., and Co., Ingram-street | 2 2 0 | | |
| Robert Taylor, Park Mills | 1 0 0 | George Mitchell, 47, do. | 5 0 0 | | |
| William Helm, Harrison-street | 1 0 0 | Robert Watson and Co., Cochran-street | 10 10 0 | | |
| R. T. Orme, surgeon, Heavily | 1 0 0 | Andrew Wilson, 22, S. Frederick-street | 5 0 0 | | |
| Jabez Bowles, Gorse Brow | 1 1 0 | R. Jameson, 19, S. Hanover-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| Mrs. Bowles, do. | 1 1 0 | J. Shaw, 20, Candleriggs | 0 2 6 | | |
| Wilson Speak, Brunswick-street | 1 1 0 | Neil Shaw, 177, Hope-street | 1 1 0 | | |
| Thomas Birch, Ridgeway-lane | 2 2 0 | Alexander Lamb, 24, Main-street, Anderston | 1 1 0 | | |
| John Cropper, Old-road | 1 1 0 | William Anderson, 35, Buchanan-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| James Storab, New Zealand-road | 1 0 0 | Robert Lamont, 16, St. Enoch-square | 1 0 0 | | |
| John Burgess, Club-house | 1 1 0 | J. W. MacGregor, Jamaica-street | 2 2 0 | | |
| William Nicholson, Woodman Inn | 1 10 0 | Patrick Robertson, 7, Union-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| Mrs. Nicholson, do. | 0 10 6 | William Miller, 170, Argyle-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| Charles Smith, Higher Hillgate | 1 0 0 | J. W. Muirhead, Gordon-street | 1 1 0 | | |
| An Enemy to all Monopolies | 5 0 0 | A. W. Nicholson, Antigua-place | 1 0 0 | | |
| A Friend, Underbank | 1 1 0 | Walter Wilson, 43, King-street | 1 1 0 | | |
| A Friend | 1 1 0 | Andrew Gray, 15, S. Portland-street | 1 1 0 | | |
| A Cheshire Farmer | 0 5 0 | Walter Paterson, 4, Ingram-street | 10 0 0 | | |
| To promote Peace and Goodwill | 0 5 0 | Thomas Mitchell, 76, Virginia-street | 10 10 0 | | |
| Wm. Wright, Lancashire Hill | 0 5 0 | David McKinlay, 113, Brunswick-street | 10 0 0 | | |
| James Robinson, Hall-street | 0 5 0 | Robert Shaw, 69, Ingram-street | 2 2 0 | | |
| James Oakes, Castle-street | 0 5 0 | John Kerr, 14, Garthland-street | 2 2 0 | | |
| James Siddall, Etchells's-street | 0 10 6 | Donald McIntyre, 20, Brunswick-place | 1 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Cheatham, Mile-end | 0 2 6 | Robertson and Co., 12, Hutcheson-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| Nathaniel Calvert, Crowther-street | 0 2 6 | Hutcheson and Witherspoon, 34, do. | 1 0 0 | | |
| Joseph Bickerton, Brunswick-street | 1 0 0 | James Harvey, 113, Brunswick-street | 0 5 0 | | |
| William Gill, 9, Hope-street | 1 0 0 | John Stewart, 62, do. | 0 5 0 | | |
| Bam. Gosling, 62, Hope-hill-brow | 1 0 0 | George McFarlan, 44, Hutcheson-street | 0 10 0 | | |
| Joseph Smith, Travis-brow | 1 0 0 | Turner and Park, 10, do. | 0 5 0 | | |
| John Fowden, Brinnington Lodge | 1 1 0 | Alexr. Smyth and Co., 29, W. George-street | 80 0 0 | | |
| Robert McClure, Bower House | 10 0 0 | John Walker, George-place | 1 0 0 | | |
| William Fleming, Underbank | 2 2 0 | Jas. McClelland, 128, Ingram-street | 10 0 0 | | |
| John Bramall, Millgate | 5 0 0 | The Rev. Dr. Heugh, 126, Montrose-street | 1 1 0 | | |
| George Bramall, do. | 5 0 0 | Walter Hamilton, Kilmay, Stirlingshire | 1 1 0 | | |
| George Wild, Market-place | 3 3 0 | Alexr. Grahame, 105, St. Vincent-street | 1 1 0 | | |
| George Chapman Underbank | 3 3 0 | Jeffray and Gunnison, 85, Candleriggs | 1 1 0 | | |
| George Smith, Hope-hill | 2 2 0 | Thomas Kyle, 40, St. Vincent-place | 2 2 0 | | |
| John Adamson, Market-place | 2 2 0 | Archd. Sands, 20, Buchanan-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| Mrs. Adamson, do. | 1 1 0 | A. M. | 0 2 6 | | |
| Samuel Walker, Chestergate | 2 2 0 | Shadrach Robison, 16, Argyle-street | 1 1 0 | | |
| W. R. Potts, Hillgate | 5 0 0 | Charles Robertson, 37, Montrose-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | James Scott, 3, Clyde-terrace | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | "One of the Whipped" | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | David Goodwill | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | John Dalton, merchant | 5 0 0 | | |
| | | Wm. Holmes, tanner | 5 0 0 | | |
| | | Geo. Malcolm and Son, merchants | 5 0 0 | | |
| | | John Spink, 24, Wincolmler | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Henry Spink, do. | 0 2 6 | | |
| | | Alfred Spink, do. | 0 1 0 | | |
| | | "A drop of the £100,000" | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | B. Adamson, Durham Ox, Blanket-row | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | James Wilson, Osborne-street | 0 2 6 | | |
| | | Richard Johnson, Scale-lane | 0 2 6 | | |
| | | Christopher Simpson, Whitefriar-gate | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Jos. Waltham, Cottingham, near | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Chas. Miller, 20, Hook-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | T. Thompson and Son, merchants | 25 0 0 | | |
| | | H. F. S. | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | John Robinson, 13, Lister-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Brownlow, Pearson, and Co., merchants | 25 0 0 | | |
| | | Henry Smith, merchant | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | W. H. Bell, do. | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Joseph Storr, Oustwick, near | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | J. G. Hood, Heale | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Wm. Collinson, sharebroker (2nd subscription) | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Benj. Gunnell | 0 5 0 | | |
| | | James Mellor, 7, Water-street | 100 0 0 | | |
| | | Thomas Harvey, 1, Exchange-buildings | 50 0 0 | | |
| | | Sir Joshua Walsley 14, Brunswick-street | 50 0 0 | | |
| | | Charles Sharp, 9, Church-street | 5 0 0 | | |
| | | W. B. | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | S. M. Bulley, Virginia-hdgs., South Chapel-st. | 1 1 0 | | |
| | | Thomas Witter, 10, Islington | 0 10 0 | | |
| | | John Haselden, 32, Castle-street | 5 0 0 | | |
| | | Thomas Kidd, 59, Eldon-place | 0 5 0 | | |
| | | A Shipowner | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Henry Armstrong, Villiers-street | 1 1 0 | | |
| | | Edward Backhouse, jun., Ashburne | 2 0 0 | | |
| | | John Robson, Church-street, High-street | 0 5 0 | | |
| | | W. Dixon, High-street | 0 5 0 | | |
| | | R. Todd, do. | 0 5 0 | | |
| | | George Mitchell, do. | 0 2 6 | | |
| | | W. Dewar, Green-street | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | P. Kearney, Bridge | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Provost Nicol | 2 2 0 | | |
| | | Charles Lee, manufacturer | 2 2 0 | | |
| | | R. and J. Wisemann, druggists | 2 2 0 | | |
| | | David Adamson, Burntark | 2 0 0 | | |
| | | Thomas Arnot, Chapel | 2 2 0 | | |
| | | Dr. Guthrie, Newburgh | 2 0 0 | | |
| | | Baile Hain | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | M. C. W. Aytoun, Furlin | 10 0 0 | | |
| | | A Friend to Commerce | 2 2 0 | | |
| | | R. Tullis and Co., Auchmuty and Rothes | | | |
| | | Paper-mills | 15 0 0 | | |
| | | Mr. Lawson, manufacturer, Rettle | 5 5 0 | | |
| | | The Guildry of Cupar | 2 2 0 | | |
| | | George Moon, Russel-mill | 2 2 0 | | |
| | | Wm. Smith and Son, manufacturers | 2 2 0 | | |
| | | A Landowner, per Geo. S. Tullis | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Mr. Cousin, china merchant | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Francis Deare, farmer, Falkland | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | John Ritchie, builder, Strathmiglo | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | George Thomson, Wellbank, do. | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | William Bonimers, Austruther | 0 5 0 | | |
| | | Wm. Murray, draper, do. | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | J. G. Stewart, Balgonie-mills, Markinch | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | James Smart, Balgonie, Markinch, and others | 1 5 6 | | |
| | | Dr. Taylor, Auchtermuchty; self and others | 1 5 0 | | |
| | | Anti-Corn-Law Association, Pittenweem | 2 10 0 | | |
| | | A Springfield determined Free-Trader | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | George Robertson | 0 2 6 | | |
| | | Another Cupar Friend to Commerce | 0 10 0 | | |
| | | A St. Andrew's Free-Trader | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | A Landowner, yet a Leaguer | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Cupar Reading-room | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Wm. Innes, draper | 0 10 0 | | |
| | | Alex. Honeyman, do. | 0 10 0 | | |
| | | Robert Mitchell, do. | 1 0 0 | | |
| | | Thos. Greig, baker | 0 10 6 | | |
| | | John Wilkie, watchmaker | 0 5 0 | | |
| | | John Anderson, grocer | 0 5 0 | | |
| | | Matthew Murdoch, manufacturer | 0 5 0 | | |
| | | Thomas Henderson, draper | 0 5 0 | | |
| | | Wm. Beveridge, confectioner | 0 2 6 | | |
| | | Jos. Fleming, grocer | 0 2 6 | | |
| | | A Friend | 0 5 0 | | |
| | | Balance of Admission Tickets | 2 10 11 | | |
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| W. R. L. | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Bigne, Union-street | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. A. Hook, do. | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Marlow, do. | 0 | 5 |
| F. and W. Southall, Bull-street | 0 | 0 |
| A. B. Oppenheimer, Great Charles-street | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Clark, Edgbaston | 20 | 0 |
| W. L. Sergeant, Edmund-street | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Kaim, Mr. Wright's, Bradford-street | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Groot, do. | 0 | 10 |
| Richard Peyton, Bristol-road | 0 | 0 |
| Edward Collins, Newland-street | 0 | 0 |
| Per G. Kirby, Stag's Head, Summer-lane. | 1 | 0 |
| W. Wrighton, New-street | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Cox, at Mr. Wrighton's, New-street | 1 | 0 |
| Samuel Kendrick, Haddow | 20 | 0 |
| John Pritchard, Caroline-street | 0 | 0 |
| K. Shingler, Bull-street | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend | 2 | 0 |
| George Ashford, Mass House-lane | 1 | 0 |
| H. Dwyer | 0 | 2 |
| Mr. Froeth, Temple-street | 1 | 1 |
| Mr. Allport, Colmore-row | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 10 |
| Joseph Hincks, George-street | 1 | 0 |
| J. B. Mott, St. Paul's-square | 0 | 10 |
| C. T. Lutwyche, Cox-street | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Shensone, Caroline-street | 1 | 0 |
| Joseph Taylor, do. | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Uood, do. | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Brown, do. | 1 | 0 |
| Barwell and Co., James-street | 0 | 10 |
| Thomas Aston, Regent's-place | 2 | 2 |
| George Unite, do. | 0 | 10 |
| Collins and Son, do. | 1 | 0 |
| Collected by Messrs. Prime and Dealey from 46 persons in small sums | 4 | 14 |
| Thomas Perkins, Spical-street | 5 | 0 |
| John Walters, Exeter-row | 1 | 1 |
| James Meredith, Colmore-row | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Whitehouse, Fisher-street | 1 | 0 |
| A. B. C. | 0 | 10 |
| Mr. Rooke, Great Charles-street | 1 | 0 |
| Joseph Rawlings, Deritend | 2 | 0 |
| Gaskins and Winder, Suffolk-street | 5 | 0 |
| Mrs. Pritchard, Caroline-street | 1 | 0 |
| Griffiths and Hopkins's Work-people | 1 | 2 |
| Newstead and Barnett, Bennett's-hill | 10 | 0 |
| W. Jenking, sen., Broad-street | 2 | 2 |
| John Cornforth, Dartmouth-street | 5 | 0 |
| William Harrison, Fisher-street | 5 | 0 |
| H. Fielding, Great Hampton street | 2 | 0 |
| Mrs. Maria Knight, Ann-street | 1 | 0 |
| T. B. Lee, Newhall-street | 10 | 0 |
| Timmins and Son, Hurst-street | 2 | 0 |
| Taylor and Co., Cherry-street | 2 | 2 |
| John Field, Moseley-street | 1 | 0 |
| William Hoyle, Soapworks, Smethwick | 2 | 0 |
| James Boyle, do. | 1 | 0 |
| T. F. Jones, Cecil-street | 1 | 0 |
| Evans and Fisher, Moor-street | 2 | 0 |
| D. Harcourt, Bristol-street | 1 | 0 |
| Chas. Gracie, Birmingham and Midland Bank | 30 | 0 |
| C. M. Evans, Edmund street | 1 | 1 |
| Joseph Edwards, Hall Farm, Solihull | 1 | 0 |
| L. Lloyd, Broad-street | 1 | 0 |
| T. Kempson, Fazley-street Mills | 0 | 10 |
| Mr. Smith's Men, Whittall-street, per George Hood | 1 | 0 |
| John Cowley, Kilsley Lodge, near Daventry, farmer | 1 | 0 |
| Small sums | 0 | 8 |

RHATA.

In the LEAGUE, No. 21, "Andrew Mellor, 60, North-bridge, Edinburgh 33 3s." was omitted; and for James Brown, Smithy-place, Edinburgh 41, read 41 1s.

SIGNAL DEFEAT OF THE MONOPOLISTS.

(From the Somerset County Gazette.)

The landowners, land occupiers, and other inhabitants of Somerset having requested the High Sheriff to convene a meeting "to take into consideration the propriety of opposing, by the most efficient measures, an association called the Anti-Corn-Law League," that worthy officer appointed the meeting to be held at Bridgwater (Friday, the 16th instant), and it took place accordingly.

Early in the morning large numbers of farmers and others proceeded from Wellington and Taunton, and other parts of the county, to Bridgwater, by railway, and the occasion was one of great interest and excitement.

A band of music, with flags and banners, having Free-trade mottoes inscribed on them, paraded the town during the morning, and tended in some degree to the enlivenment of the town.

There were many country gentlemen present at the meeting; we observed upon the platform Sir A. Hood, Bart., E. A. Sandford, Esq., Sir T. B. Lethbridge, Bart., T. D. Acland, Esq., Capt. Strachy, R. K. M. King, Esq., P. St. J. Milmay, Esq., Rev. Mr. Jolliffe, Rev. Mr. Thring, *W. Beadon, Esq., the Hon. P. P. Bouvart, Francis Popham, Esq., Charles P. Collins, Esq., Capt. Norris, *W. H. G. Langton, Esq., J. G. W. Carew, Esq., Rev. Mr. Barnard, J. W. Warren, Esq., Rev. W. Thomas, Dr. Macmillan, Jeffries Kadale, Esq., Henry Badcock, Esq., *Andrew Crosse, Esq., Henry Warre, Esq., *Capt. Browne, R.N., Col. Luttrell, Lee Lee, Esq., Henry Charles Trenchard, Esq., *John Browne, Esq., *Edridge, Esq., Mayor of Bath; Langley St. Alban, Esq., *Edward Sealy, Esq., Edward Coles, Esq., Edward Beadon, Esq., Sir Geo. Adams, K.C.H., Rev. R. Beadon, H. D. Harvey, Esq., Capt. Keats, &c. &c.

The High Sheriff, the Hon. P. P. Bouvart, accompanied by the Under Sheriff and other gentlemen, took the chair at 12 o'clock, at which time the Cornhill was thronged by tenant-farmers, tradesmen, and labourers.

The High Sheriff then requested the Under Sheriff to read the notice calling the meeting, which being done, the High Sheriff said, having the requisition, he felt it his duty to comply with the request therein contained, and convene the meeting then assembled. He trusted that in the discussion which was about to take place, on a subject deeply interesting to all classes and all individuals, they would attend without interrupting the speakers. (Cheers.) He would not take up their time more than to express a hope that they would listen quietly and calmly to the gentlemen who were prepared to address them. (Cheers.)

JOHN HANCOCK, Esq., moved the first resolution, and observed, that he came forward because he was a farmer of the county of Somerset—a small landowner and a considerable occupier. (Hear, hear.) He had made agriculture generally his study for the last fifty years, and he did think that some amount of protection was necessary to the agricultural prosperity. In the first place they had the Church to maintain (cheers and a laugh); they had poor-rates to pay, and they had way-rates to pay; he contended that they ought to have protection to enable them to meet those payments, which the foreign growers were not called upon to meet. (Hear.) Mr. Hancock having argued that the abolition of the present protection would reduce the wages of the labourer, and that it was the duty of all who were interested in agriculture to petition that it might not be given up, read the resolution, expressive of decided conviction that the repeal of the Corn Law would be highly prejudicial, if not ruinous, to British agriculture. (Cheers.)

* Free Traders.

Mr. ALEXANDER HOOD said, he was proud to have the honour of seconding the motion which had been moved by an honourable and well-known yeoman of the county of Somerset, one who had grown grey in the occupation of an agriculturist, and who was always anxious to do good to his fellow-men, whether tradesmen or labourers. (Cheers.) Why am I here (said the hon. baronet)? Because I read in a letter from one of the principal individuals connected with the Anti-Corn-Law League, the paragraph which I shall have the honour to read to you; you will see, then, whether I am justified or not in seconding the proposal so ably made to you. "The Corn Laws may be repealed by clamour and by force." (Uproar, and cries of "You took that from a Tory paper.") There it is, they may be repealed by clamour. "And so they must be repealed, unless they fall before the calmly-expressed will of the millions." (A voice, "The millions are starving.") Now, it strikes me, said the hon. baronet, that this partakes very much of threats and robbery (no, no), and that is one reason why I am here to-day. (The hon. baronet then indulged in a tirade against the League, copying much of the language of the *temperate* Lord Winchelsea, whose recent speech at the Lincolnshire meeting, full of sound and fury, had not appeared in the columns of the *Morning Post*.) He contended that England was emerging from her manufacturing difficulties; that the mill-autocrat was receiving for his manufacture an average profit of 18 per cent, while the farmers were receiving only their 8 or 10 per cent; that the average protection on corn for the past twenty years, putting rent aside, had ranged from 13s. to 45s. per quarter; and he asked where would the British farmer be now but for that protection? (A voice, "Where is he now?") He would have taken his place with the serfs in Germany long since. After some further observations, in the course of which the hon. baronet turning to Mr. Sandford, said, "I am proud to offer my right hand to you, Sir (laughter), and (turning to Sir T. Lethbridge) you, Sir." (Roars of laughter and loud cheering,) he concluded by calling on the country gentlemen to subscribe, in order to counteract the efforts of the League, and seconding the resolution.

WILLIAM BEADON, Esq., then stood forward, and was received with loud cheers. Silence having been obtained, he said:—Mr. High Sheriff and gentlemen, I have come forward for the purpose of moving an amendment to the resolution which has been put to you—an amendment which, I believe, will receive the approbation of the majority of this great and influential meeting. [Some noise having been created at this time, Mr. B. declared that he would be heard though they should stay there all night; and, though he was frequently interrupted in the course of his address, he was pretty successful in making himself heard throughout.] And, gentlemen, if there be one individual in this vast assembly whose warm, whose earnest, and energetic support I expect to receive more than any other, it is that of the hon. baronet, Sir Thomas Lethbridge, the promoter, if not the originator, of this meeting. (Cheers.) I shall call upon him to support me when I shall have read this resolution, and for this reason—now, I have a great respect for Sir Thomas, and I call upon him to support me because my amendment to the resolution embodies sentiments with which I know that hon. gentleman fully accords. Before I proceed to read the resolution to you I shall trouble you with a few brief remarks. I shall appeal to your common sense. I shall not trouble or fatigue you with dry and uninteresting statistics; and if I do not carry conviction to your minds, the fault will not be in the matter, but the man. ("Hear," and cheers.) I shall not insult your understanding, or trifle with your patience, by endeavouring to refute all the arguments (if they deserve the dignity of that term), all the fallacies, all the high-flown rhetoric you have heard, in supporting my resolution. I shall appeal to the common sense of the people, and then we shall see who is wrong and who is right. (Cheers.) What are those fallacies? Such as your undoubted champions in the House of Parliament—such as not even your representatives of West or East Somerset—not even they would venture to bring forward in the House of Commons, because it would be, perhaps, at the risk of their reputation, and at the risk of ridicule and contempt. (Tremendous cheering.) Gentlemen, they are afraid to do it. What are you invited here for this day? Why, you are invited, tenant-farmers and inhabitants of the county of Somerset, to oppose that ugly, that unconstitutional body, as it is called, the Anti-Corn-Law League! (Cheers.) You are asked to support (I have no wish to abuse your minds on this point)—to support things as they are—the sliding scale. ("No, no," from Sir Thomas Lethbridge.) Some of you have talked of a fixed duty. I have seen the sliding-scale men shake hands with fixed-duty men on this hustings; but don't be taken by this clap-net. (Hear, hear.) You who vote for a fixed duty will be voting for the sliding scale. You are called upon to support the "no surrender" party. Now, I ask if there is any one individual in this assembly so credulous as to believe that, with a population increasing at the rate of 1000 per day, it is possible the sliding scale will last? Does Sir Thomas believe it? ("No, no," from Sir Thomas.) Your leaders affect to be satisfied with the late declaration of the Government; and what is that declaration? What has Sir Robert Peel told you and the landowners?—that Government does not contemplate any alteration in the existing Corn Laws; but Sir Robert Peel says "I won't say but what it may be possible." (Hear, hear.) Why do the landowners affect to be satisfied with this declaration? Because, I suspect, they are anxious to create a feeling in the mind of Sir Robert Peel and her Majesty's Government, that they, the landowners, have at last extracted a pledge from them—their wish is father to the thought. But are you satisfied with such a declaration?—(loud cries of "no")—you, the tenant farmers? (Faint cries of "Yes.") Well, then, you are satisfied, perhaps, some of you, the landowners are. Then if no alteration is to be made in this law—if you are satisfied with the declaration of the Government—why are you called here this day?

Sir T. LETHBRIDGE: To oppose the League, to show where it is wrong.

Mr. BEADON: Now it is not to prevent the League from going any farther, but because your masters do not feel secure. (Cheers.) The real object of this meeting is, to coerce the unwilling Minister. ("No, no," from Sir T. Lethbridge.) It is for the sliding scale or nothing; and that Minister has declared that he will have the sliding scale or nothing. (Hear, hear.) And let me tell you, who depend on this rope of sand, that he will trip you up at the first opportunity. You are asked to subscribe your money. You have just been told that you have none, and still you are asked to subscribe.

Sir A. HOOD: Give me leave to answer that. I distinctly disclaim having said so; but, gentlemen, I would say, as I have said before, that if the landowners do not come forward and do so, they deserve not to have an acre of land to stand upon.

Mr. BEADON: I repeat, gentlemen, that you are asked to subscribe your money, and I ask you, for what object? We are simply told to-day that it is for the sake of petitioning the House of Commons and the legislative bodies of the kingdom. Now, petitions do not cost much. I have a petition here (which I hope to carry by-and-by) which will not cost a farthing. Why, then, is the money wanted? There is some ulterior object in it (hear, hear); something that does not appear. But let me advise you to keep your money in your pockets. Perhaps you will say, "We will send lecturers into the towns." (No, no.) I should think not. If you send lecturers into the towns, you shall have lecturers from the Anti-Corn-Law League accompanying them. If you send your tracts, the steam-engines of Manchester will overwhelm you with tons of answers. (Cheers.) Lord Worsley, who was a member of the London Agricultural Protection Society, withdrew his subscription from that, because the tracts which that society published were worse than useless, and because all the money had been spent in the support of clerks. (Hear, hear.) What will be the effect of your meeting this day, even if you succeed? Why, at best, tenant-farmers of Somerset, it will be but to postpone the settlement of this question which is of the most vital importance to you, and which ought to be settled at once. Your money will go in support of the Income Tax, which is the offspring of the Corn Laws. Now, let the landowners subscribe for themselves; but let me advise you to keep

your money in your pockets, and do not stultify yourselves by coming to this meeting for the purpose of abolishing one unconstitutional body by establishing another. Let me advise you, tenant-farmers, if you really believe this body is unconstitutional, to petition the Queen to issue a proclamation to put down the ugly monster. (Cheers.) But they do not advise these things; they have other objects in view. If your plans are futile, if your plans are useless, if ineffectual, I ask what ground you have for placing confidence in your leaders? (Hear.) Now, mark the consistency of the bulk of that party which, in the days of Adam Smith, petitioned against turnpike-roads. They opposed turnpike-roads because they were injurious to the interests of agriculture; and the landlords who resided within a short distance of London actually petitioned the Legislature not to allow turnpike-roads, because the produce of the country would flow in upon London, and all the landowners would be ruined. ("Hear," and laughter.) What are the facts? London has been rising from that day to this. (Cheers.) They are the same party who, when the Catholic Emancipation Bill was brought forward, opposed that measure; they predicted that the nation would swim in blood, that the Church and State would be swallowed up, and nothing but popery would exist. Gentlemen, what are the facts? Why, the Church now boasts that it never was so strong as it is at this moment. (Hear.) It is the same party who opposed the anti-slavery movement, and argued that we should have no sugar—that the unfortunate negro would not work,—that he would rise up against his master,—that it was not intended by the Almighty for him to be on a level with his fellow-white, but that he was to work in chains to the last. (Hear.) Since the abolition of slavery took place, what has been the fact? We have sugar, and I hope we shall have it cheaper by and by than it is; and every assertion which they made has been contradicted. (Cheers.) It is the same party who, when Mr. Huskisson—(now, farmers, I ask you to listen to this)—it is the same party who, when that minister proposed to reduce the duty on wool from 6d. to 1d., told us there would be no flock-masters, that they would be ruined; and I now appeal to Sir Thomas Lethbridge himself, who said that the sheepwalks of Wiltshire and Dorsetshire would be valueless, who told us that we should have no mutton, and that a sheep would be a curiosity. ("Hear," and cheers.) Why, the hon. baronet went up as a deputation from you, the farmers, to endeavour to prevent the reduction of that duty. It is the same party who, when railways were proposed, told you that if the railways were established the agricultural interest would be ruined—that there would be no horses to eat the oats. But what is the fact? I rather suspect that oats are one of the best articles you have for sale. (A voice—"It is as good as any.") It is the same party who, when the Corn Law of 1815 was proposed, told you, the farmers, that wheat must be kept at 80s. per quarter, or that land would be thrown out of cultivation; whereas the fact is, that within five short years—in 1820—it sank to 40s. per quarter. (Hear, hear.) I could go through a whole field of such instances as these to show the incapacity of your leaders; but I will not occupy your time by doing so. To crown all, it was the same party who asked your votes—you, the tenant-farmers of England—in the election of 1841, and pledged themselves to keep things as they were; but the moment they got into the House of Commons they betrayed you to a man. (Hear, hear.) They passed the tariff and the one-sided Canada Corn Bill; and that too with the House of Lords at their back, and a majority of the House of Commons in their favour. But why was this? Because their principles were wrong, and their principles are wrong now. (Cheers.) Your masters still think that land will fall out of cultivation, if we allow the foreigner to come in. These are the men who now ask your confidence in their foresight, their talent, and their integrity. (Hear, hear.) Now, let us contrast what are the Free Traders telling you. We told you the Corn Law of 1815 would derange the currency, be injurious to the farmer, and all the interests of the country; and the numberless applications to Parliament to remove agricultural distress is proof of what I say. (Cheers.) Now, I will take a glance, for one instant, at the sliding scale. What is that doing for you? What does Sir Robert Peel tell you? That corn shall be sold for 55s. per quarter. Now, do the landowners believe it will keep at that? The farmers bargained for their rents at that price; and I ask the landlords, will they prove their sincerity by agreeing to corn-rent? (Hear, hear.) It seems the desire of gentlemen present that I should not proceed with my argument; but I tell you I believe I should convince any man who is uncertain at this moment, because I believe I stand on the rock of principle and truth. (Loud cheers.) It was my intention to have quoted great authorities in support of the views I have taken, but I will not do so. I would quote, however, your own paper, the *Mark-lane Express*, which says—"It were well for the farmers to consider whether or not they had better come to the point at once." Gentlemen, I desire to avoid anything like personality; but the hon. baronet, Sir T. Lethbridge, for whom I entertain a great respect—and that hon. gentleman will not be angry with me—is one of the authorities which I would quote in support of my views. (Hear, hear.) At the meeting held in Taunton he told us that he had thought protection was needed once, but he did not think so now (hear, hear); and, with regard to the Anti-Corn-Law League, it was composed of a great and intelligent body of men, and that the kingdom was deeply indebted to it; and now he comes here to put it down as an unconstitutional body. (Loud cheers.) But, tenant-farmers, what has the Corn Law done for you? What is your present condition? If you look at last week's bankruptcy list, you will find from the 13th to the 20th of January no less than the names of twelve farmers, the week previous nine, and the week previous to that seven, making together 25. And that with your glorious protection to make you all rich. (Hear, hear.) I tell you that your interest is in the interest of the consumer. If you diminish the power of the labourer to purchase, you diminish your own returns and profits. I will now lastly appeal to you, the unfortunate labourers, put forward to be deluded into support of that iniquitous bread tax. By whom is that tax paid? By the poor. The poor man with his family of eight children, and 6s. or 7s. per week, lives upon bread—(a voice, "Potatoes, not bread")—and potatoes; and what does the man with his £1000 a year? He does not live on bread, he has other food, and it is, therefore, the poor man who feels the iniquitous bread tax. (Cheers.) They come forward and tell you, that if wheat is lowered wages would be also lowered. Why, does not common sense say that full trade is full work, and full work gets full wages? Common sense throws such nonsensical speeches to the winds. (Loud cheers.) In 1786, wheat was sold at 4s. per bushel. (A voice, "And in 1835 and 1836 it was the same.") Now, I ask what were wages? Why, in 1826 wheat sold at 8s., and wages were 8s. a week; so that although wheat rose to 8s. per bushel, your wages remained the same. (Hear, hear.) What is it now, in 1844? Wheat is now 7s. 6d. per bushel, and what are your wages? Six shillings per week, poor, unfortunate labourers, rejoicing in potatoes. Why, gentlemen, here is wheat increased 4s., while the labourers' wages have not increased one farthing. What is the Corn Law doing now? It is a known fact that some of you farmers are beginning to look up a bit. You say times are getting better. Why? Because the dealers in corn are now working upon the averages; and the moment you, with your abundant crops, ask high prices, in comes the bonded corn and floods the market, and down you go again. (Hear, hear.) I appeal to you, landlords, on the grounds of humanity, and to you, tenant-farmers, as you love justice, and as you wish to serve the poor; I appeal to you to hold up your hands against this law, that is ruining you and your customers. I have been taunted with vanity and folly in coming forward on this question; but if it vanities be reckoned with your Radnor, your Westminster, your Cobdens and your Brights, I am proud of it—ay, I am proud to be reckoned with the Langtons; and I tell you that the wealth, the old nobility, is nearly to a man in favour of this movement. I care not for the taunts by which I am assailed. I feel assured that I stand on a pedestal of justice; I feel that I am entrenched and supported by the wrongs of my fellow-countrymen, and with such support I fear not all the world's feudal aristocracy of the land. Mr. Beadon then proposed

following amendment to the foregoing resolution:—"That all monopolies, whether for the benefit of landowners or manufacturers, are ungenerous and unjust to the community at large, and especially to the working classes, who have been told by Parliament that there can be no protection for wages. Therefore it is the opinion of this meeting that principles of Free Trade ought to be established by abolishing every commercial and agricultural monopoly, and this meeting adopts the following petition to the two Houses of Parliament, to be signed by the Sheriff on behalf of the meeting."

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled;
The humble petition of the inhabitants of the county of Somerset, assembled in public meeting, convened by the High Sheriff,

Sheweth—That your petitioners feel the unequal pressure, and deeply lament the pernicious effects, of the Corn and Provision Laws, believing that these and all other duties on articles of home production are injurious alike to the two great interests of agriculture and commerce, the welfare of the one depending on that of the other.

That your petitioners are convinced that these laws have a most baneful influence on the welfare of the whole community; that they injure the bankers by deranging the currency; oppress the merchants, by the excessive rate of interest; annihilate the profits of the capitalist; reduce to pauperism the industrious artisan and labourer; and that, if persisted in, these destructive laws, by banishing our manufactures to other countries, and throwing upon the soil the entire burden of supporting a destitute, unemployed, and increasing population, will involve the landowners themselves, with every other class, in one common ruin.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray your Honourable House to abolish all duties on articles of home production, and to revise the whole system of taxation, with a view to a more equitable and equitable arrangement.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Mr. THOMAS PERROTT, of Boroughbridge, said:—I appear here as a farmer and landowner, to second the motion made by Mr. Headon (loud cheers); and I take this opportunity of observing, that I believe the Corn Laws are highly injurious, not only to the manufacturer, not only to the working classes in trade, not only to the working classes in agriculture, but to the tenant-farmers. It does seem strange to me when, after I have attended public meetings in this county as an agriculturist for the last twenty-five years, and have always seen the two parties, Whig and Tory, arrayed one against the other—one thirsting for power, and the other seeking to displace him—to see Sir Alexander Hood coming forward as a high Tory, and shaking hands with Sir Thomas Lethbridge and Mr. Sandford. There is no harm in it, perhaps, but I wish to expose the trick of the two factions. (Loud cheers.) I have lived long enough to see what Tories are, but I never did support them in my life. I own, and with pleasure, that I have supported the Whigs; and I wish that measure of an 8s. fixed duty, which was proposed by the Whigs had been accepted. (Hear, hear.) But what did the Tories do in order to supplant the Whigs? They appealed to the farmers, and made them believe they were their friends. They were never the friends of farmers in their lives. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I must say that the farmers did flourish under the Whig Administration, never under the Tories, because they were always laying their burdens upon us, and were taxing us from the crowns of our heads to the soles of our feet. (Cheers.) I remember having a conversation with Sir Thomas Lethbridge, in Taunton. Sir Thomas asked me my opinion respecting the Corn Laws. I told him I thought it a great question, and that I could not exactly make up my mind upon it, because the whole of my property consisted of land. I said, "Mr. Sandford wished the sliding scale to continue." "Ay," said Sir Thomas, "my friend Sandford and I do not agree on this question, and I wish to tell you, as an agriculturist, if you drive away the trade from this country, we are done as agriculturists." (Hear, hear, from Sir Thomas.) I have thought a vast deal more since then upon the subject, and from the reports of the House of Commons, and the arguments I have heard, I am convinced thoroughly that the Corn Laws are of no advantage to me. (Cheers.) As a landowner and a considerable occupier, I stand here to say that the sooner they are abolished the better. (Loud cheers.) Sir Robert Peel has given you a beautiful sliding scale. He has told you he is a great friend to the agriculturist; but what has he done? He has opened the backdoor of Canada, and you will find that the corn will "slide" into the British market, and we shall be done unless that backdoor be barred up again. Rent must be reduced. Lower the rents and the British farmer will flourish again. As a practical farmer and a landowner, I know you will give me credit for speaking the truth. It is a mistaken notion altogether, their wanting to carry on the Corn Laws. How can we flourish at the expense of trade. I am a farmer, but not at the lash of the landlord, and what is more than all, I am able to keep my sheepskins at home. (Cheers and laughter.) [A gentleman on the hustings having asked Mr. P. what he meant by that, he said,] I will answer the question:—It is that my property is free from mortgages, property which I have gained by the honest hand of industry, and part of which I am not afraid to make a sacrifice to my fellow-men, if it should be necessary. (Loud cheers.) I do not believe that if the Corn Laws were abolished we should have things down low. They are merely to keep up the taxes, the chief benefit of which goes not to the labourers, not the farmers, not the tradesmen, but I won't mention to what class it goes. (Hear.) Mr. Perrott concluded by expressing a hope that all subsequent speeches would be heard, and by seconding the resolution.

Sir T. B. LETHBRIDGE came forward, and commenced by remarking that he would say but a few words, as those gentlemen who had spoken before him had gone into the matter at great length. One gentleman had read almost a pamphlet to them. He had one in his pocket, with which he could do the same, if he liked; but he did not mean to do so, but would answer that gentleman, if he could, from his recollection. Before he did so, however, he would give him credit for his fair statements, fair play, and good conduct. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) The gentleman who had seconded him (Mr. Perrott) was well known to him (Sir Thomas); he was an honest man, and a landed proprietor, who was fortunate enough to have lived within his means—a very pleasant situation. (Laughter.) He (Sir Thomas) stood there as an Englishman, and as a Somersetshire man; he had stood on the same spot forty years ago advocating the rights and liberties of the people of England, and he had never promised them anything that he had not performed. He was still the friend of the people of England, and the friend of the labouring classes. The people who lived near him could tell them that. He could meet them all, because he had a clean conscience within his breast; and, notwithstanding any abuse, clamour, or indignity, he would endeavour to tell them what he thought was the truth upon this question. (Cheers.) The question was, whether a body, called the Anti-Corn-Law League, should dictate what should be done with laws which were now in existence. The laws were made for all, and they were not to be repealed for some. (Voice, "Who made them?") [Here the honourable baronet indulged in the usual slanders against the League.] Mr. Perrott, who had seconded the motion, had told them that he would not support the present Corn Law because it led to more taxes. Now the taxes were the whole of this question. He did not say the Corn Law was a good thing, or that taxes were good things, but they were necessary evils, which they must bear—they must bear with a little evil, that great good might come. If you had no Corn Laws at this moment with your taxes, the producers of the soil would be compelled to give up producing—it would set up the markets in Germany, France, Spain, and Austria, and indeed all over all the world, while it would destroy my friend's and yours. (Hear, hear.) They had a tariff which was not asked for, and to which, though it did the farmers injury, they submitted in silence. They had also a Canada Corn Bill, which let in corn not only of their own colonies, but from America also. (Hear, hear.) (From the interruption offered to the hon. baronet, and the

distance at which he stood from us, we were unable to hear him distinctly; but we understood him to say:—There must be a new construction of the taxes altogether, for at present two-thirds of the taxes rested upon the land; therefore it was that the land was obliged to ask for a Corn Law. When the taxes were put on the right horse, they would find that the Corn Laws were of little use. Two-thirds of the poor-rate rested upon the land, as well as the tithe, the highway and land-tax exclusively. (Hear, hear.) Who should say, then, that the land was not to be protected? Whenever the Government was wise enough to take the bull by the horns, and divide taxation more fairly, they might with a good grace demand the repeal of the Corn Law.

—LAWSON, Esq., said:—It had been his intention to remain a quiet listener, but, after the able speeches which they had heard, he felt called upon to make one or two observations with respect to his father's line of conduct on this great question. He felt quite confident that, whatever might be their differences in political opinion, the generous feelings of the yeomanry and inhabitants would ensure him a patient hearing, while he spoke in the name of one who, by their kind suffrages, once held the high situation of representative for the whole county, and was now one of the representatives for East Somerset. (Cheers.) He would not enter into the merits or demerits of a fixed duty or the sliding scale, still less was it necessary that he should give any explanation of his father's opinion of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) If any doubt existed as to what his opinions were, he had lately embodied them in an address to his constituents, and which he had no doubt many of those present had seen. The principles which his father declared he had always advocated were those of a firm and unflinching friend of Free Trade. Comment had been made upon that address by the monopolists, and the writer had been called the farmers' foe; he (Mr. L.) appealed to the meeting—did he deserve that appellation. (No, no.) The confidence which they had so long reposed in him, and the confidence which was still placed in him, was the best answer to the slander. No, call him not the farmers' foe, for he had always endeavoured to prove himself the farmers' and the labourers' friend. In 1815 he opposed the Corn Law, and in 1811 he was returned their representative in Parliament. (Cheers.) Nearly thirty years had since elapsed, and what had been the result of the so-called protection? He declared, and spoke his father's sentiments when he said, his father would have rejoiced to find that he had been wrong in his expectations of the working of those laws—that, contrary to his expectation, they had been beneficial to the agriculturists, the tenant-farmers, and labourers of this country. (Cheers.) But what had been the result? He appealed to them. Had prosperity attended agriculture? Had the farmers made their fortunes; or were they now making them? (Hear, hear.) No, their capital was yielding less and less every year, while the condition of the labourers was growing worse and worse daily. (A voice—"That's true, sir.") Could any one who, like his father, derived the greater part of his income from land, be indifferent to the prosperity of agriculture? Long experience had shown him the danger of class legislation to the bonds which united the agricultural and manufacturing interests. (Cheers.) This meeting was ostensibly called to oppose the League, but he thought it was rather intended to uphold the system under which trade and commerce had languished, which threatened to raise class against class, and perpetuate divisions throughout this once great, because united, people. (Cheers.) His father cordially differed from the sentiments uttered by Sir Alexander Hood and Mr. Hancock, and as cordially agreed in those which had been delivered by Mr. Headon and Mr. Perrott. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. THURNO said he had never before, on any similar occasion, presumed to obtrude himself on their notice. He should not attempt to follow the honourable gentleman near him through the many fallacies and assumptions which had characterized his speech, inasmuch as they carried in themselves their own refutation; but to one observation of the gentleman at his left (Mr. Perrott), he begged to call the attention of the meeting. He had said that this was only a landlords' question. He would say, in answer, that it was more a tenants' question than a landlords'. He had called upon the farmers to look to their leaders; he thought the farmers were their leaders, and they were proud to follow them.

The resolutions in favour of the Corn Laws and Free Trade respectively, were here read, and a show of hands taken for each. The numbers were two to one in favour of the latter. The High Sheriff, however, who from his situation could not command the whole assembly, and judging only from that portion of it which was before him, decided that the majority were in favour of the Pro-Corn-Law resolution. The decision excited great surprise, and an altercation ensued, the High Sheriff refusing to take a second show of hands.

E. A. SANDFORD, Esq., made several ineffectual attempts to be heard respecting the High Sheriff's decision. We understood him to say, that the High Sheriff, before he came to the meeting, had seen the petition which he (Mr. Sandford) was about to present to their notice; and the High Sheriff declared that it was his intention to request some friend of his in the House of Commons to say, that he did not agree with the petition. Under these circumstances, and seeing the state of the meeting, he should move, in accordance with the resolution which the meeting had adopted, that the petition be signed by the Sheriff, and presented to the House of Parliament, for which purpose he now placed it in the hands of the High Sheriff.

Mr. HENRY BLANDFORD, of Weston Bampton, seconded the motion of Mr. Sandford, as a renting farmer.

Capt. STRACHY asked if, in case of a difference of opinion in a show of hands, it was not usual to call for a division. He thought a division would be the most satisfactory way of settling the present difference. (Hear.)

The HIGH SHERIFF said he had decided according to his own judgment; but, if there were precedents as to dividing after a show of hands had been taken, he had no objection to follow them. (Cheers.)

Some time elapsed without the High Sheriff deciding on the course which he would adopt, and

J. BROWNE, Esq., came forward and proposed the petition for Free Trade, without reference to the amendment with which it had before been connected. Mr. Browne said the subject for consideration was between the landowners and those who did not own land—it was a question between the landlords on the one side, and the tenant-farmer, the manufacturer, and the labourer on the other. There had not been on the side of the monopolists a single argument produced in support of the Corn Law, but the landlords had convened this meeting in the hope of being enabled to extort a vote for their exclusive benefit. (Hear, hear.) The grounds on which the landlords claimed protection was, that they had to educate their sons, and their estates were encumbered with mortgages, and they had the church to support. These were the grounds on which the rich, the high, and the influential gentlemen asked for the votes of the inhabitants in favour of the Corn Laws (hear, hear); laws more detrimental, more wicked, and more vicious, especially in their influence on the poor, than any that ever existed under any government. (Cheers.) He did protest most solemnly, that in his belief the Corn Laws were the main reason why the poor were so ground down. He hoped he should not be misunderstood. There were many among the landowners who had great sympathy and kindness for the poor, but he did believe that they mistook their duty towards others as well as towards themselves. (Cheers.) It was said the land must be protected. Why? Must the owner of hundreds of acres be protected against the poor wretch who had not a rood. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Browne then proceeded to show that the Corn Laws were of no service to the tenants, but quite the reverse, and concluded a lengthened and excellent speech, which we regret our space will not allow us to insert, amid enthusiastic cheering.

ANDREW CROSS, Esq., said, in coming forward to second the proposition of Mr. Browne, he was sorry he could not agree with his brother landowners on this momentous question. He was sure they were mistaken. The time would come, and was come, when they must take a very much wider view of the matter than they had been in the habit of taking. (Cheers.) Did not each country excel in its particular man-

ufacture or produce, and would it not be to the advantage of the whole earth that there should be universal Free Trade in everything? (Loud cheers.) As the sun shone and the rain fell for the good of all, so ought trade to be entirely free. That there were some minor difficulties in the way of Free Trade he was ready to allow; the currency question, which should be taken into consideration, as well as others.

The HIGH SHERIFF then read the two petitions, and took a show of hands for each. That which we insert above, praying that the principles of Free Trade may be carried into full effect, was carried in the proportion of about four to one. The result was received with tremendous cheering.

Mr. TURNER, of Bath, a farmer renting land to the extent of nearly 4000 per annum, proposed the following resolution:—"That in the opinion of this meeting the gratitude and thanks of the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland are justly due to the Anti-Corn-Law League, for their unwearying exertions in diffusing a knowledge of political economy, and for their endeavours to abolish the Corn Law, and establish the principle of Free Trade." Mr. Turner said he stood there convinced that what he was doing was for the good of himself and agriculturists generally. The farmers knew that they received not the least advantage from the Corn Law, and he was himself a great sufferer from them, having taken his estate at a high rent, while almost ever since the price of agricultural produce had been very low.

Mr. CHARLES SUMMERS, also a large farmer, seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

T. D. AGLAND, Esq., proposed a vote of thanks to the High Sheriff, which, being seconded, the High Sheriff acknowledged the compliment, and the meeting separated.

CENTRAL AGRICULTURAL PROTECTION SOCIETY.

(From the Times of Wednesday.)

It has long been a matter of regret to all who like to see things well matched and fitted that the "League" has not yet fallen in with a respectable and suitable antagonist. That most pugnacious of knight-errants has too long been permitted to fling about challenges before sympathetic audiences, and provoke the void air to disputation. The desideratum, we now rejoice to say, is in a fair way of being supplied. Yesterday witnessed the first actual steps towards an Anti-League—a grand combination of numbers, money, wisdom, and eloquence, competent to fight the League on its own ground of popular agitation. As the new body has not yet quite emerged from the alluvial mud and artificial compost in which it has been engendered, it may, perhaps, be premature to announce positively its final organization, name, and functions. At present it is known as an intended "Central Agricultural Protection Society."

The object of this new creation is noble and comprehensive. One can hardly venture to say what it does not embrace. It is nothing less than "to protect the most important interests of the country," as we are informed on high legal authority; and if the view seem a little narrowed when we find in the second resolution that its object is to maintain protection for British agriculture, at least equivalent to that at present existing, we may rest assured this latter object is only a means to an end.

That some larger and more popular design is intended than ever yet was conceived in the timid and bashful bosom of agriculture may be inferred from the plans and the agents now adopted. The "farmers' friend," the pride of yeomen, the noble Chandos, is now but "the shadow of poor Buckingham,"—in fact, he is reduced to play the second fiddle to the more political and economical Duke of Richmond. The subordinate agents also appear to be of a rather more active and versatile class than the dull indigenous English farmer. A slight doubt hangs over their real qualifications for the office; but this is covered by an important hint, that they will be abundantly supplied with the sinews of war—to what exact extent, and from whom, it would of course be impertinent to inquire. But something deeper and darker remains to be told. Whether because there happens to be a panic just now among political associations, or because there really is some wonderful scheme of agricultural "repeal" in contemplation, certain it is this new body suspects itself. It recoils from its own shadow. Frightened by its consciousness of concentrated ability and intense determination, or perhaps at its own numbers, it has recourse to a lawyer to assuage its terrors, and confesses to him its hidden fund of doubtful intentions. But innocents, and, we suppose, a fee, is rewarded with a kind paternal encouragement. The agriculturists are dismissed with a legal benediction, and the assurance, in which we heartily concur, that they are likely to prove perfectly harmless.

Such a Pantheon of British agriculturists must be one of the most interesting scenes that the poet or the painter could find in this barren world. Doubtless, there were present all those great lords of the soil whose names are counties, and hundreds, and hills, and dales: round these Corinthian props of the cause were mustered solid ranks of gentlemen and yeomen: these "opites" of the rural army, as Mitford would call them, were flanked by a vast multitude of sturdy labourers, with their wives and children; but in the foremost rank, the strong, the most affecting auxiliaries, thousands of happy, peaceful, old men and women, contented cripples, comforted widows, and smiling orphans, pointing to their sleek little bodies and decent raiment,—all the undeniable fruits of agricultural protection. With such a body of friends and clients, the agriculturists need "not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate." No fear, no misgiving, no doubt of success, could by possibility mar the joy of so bright and unanimous an assemblage. There is one only difficulty in its way. What plain could be found large enough for so immense a body? All England, from sea to sea, is cultivated up to the throat; not a heath, not a moor, not even a village common, is left; Salisbury Plain is now turned up right to the very stones of Stonehenge; and to such admirable perfection and exactness is the system of succession husbandry now carried, that there is not even an acre of fallow to be found. So where—in what new agricultural Runnymede—are the assembled millions to vindicate the "most important interests in the country?"

Alas for the poet and historian! Alas for the agriculturist! There is no difficulty whatever. A zealous friend comes up to town, and follows the stream—not to Hyde-park—not to Lincoln's-inn-square—not even to the large room of Kxeter-hall, but—to Freemasons'-hall. There, there, packed and ticketed in that snugest of rooms, he finds a handful of farmers and nondescripts—tenant farmers, honorary farmers, and farmers by courtesy. It is left to imagination to supply the rapturous applause of the full-fed labourers, and the ecstatic satisfactions of the old men, widows, and orphans.

Now, this won't do. If the times are not ripe for a better exhibition, let things alone for the present. The actual strength of the League consists, not in the length either of its purse or its talk, but in the fact that some millions of men, women, and children, rightly or wrongly, happen to identify themselves with it, and consider their prosperity involved in its success. The agriculturists boast that they have three times as many millions on their side of the question. Why not produce them? Nobody expects or wishes labourers to enter into theories of political economy; but why are they not grateful? Why are they not anxious for the continuance of the existing system? Why don't they identify their own comforts with the splendour of the aristocracy? They do not, and will not, so long as they have no other prospect than living—wife, children, and all—on 7s. or 8s. a-week, and dying in a union workhouse.

"WHEAT FOR SEED."

Sir George S. Mackenzie of Coull, Bart., has just issued a pamphlet on a subject interesting to farmers, corn-factors, and bakers, namely, the choice of wheat for seed. He dedicates it to "the farmers of his native county of Ross, who have long distinguished themselves by their talent and industry, and by sending superior samples of

wheat to the southern markets." The compliment is not an undeserved one, as will be acknowledged even in Mark-lane; but the remarks of the inquiring baronet are interesting to more than farmers. All classes eat bread, though all do not grow wheat, and Sir George seems to be skilled in the mysteries of the baker's oven. It appears that bakers are in the habit of using a mixture of different kinds of wheat for making flour; and a proportion of foreign wheat is commonly used. All the wheat coming from abroad is a mixture of different varieties; and it has been kept a year before it arrives in this country, or else it is artificially dried, which renders it of much more value to the baker than newly-reaped home-grown wheat. "Here, then," says Sir George, "is a matter of very serious importance to our farmers. Let them consider how they can furnish bakers with an article which they will value as highly as they do foreign wheat. This is a question to which science should long ago have applied itself, and which agricultural societies should have preferred before almost all the objects of infinitely less importance to which their attention has been directed, and on which their funds have been lavished and much of them wasted." This partiality of the bakers to flour made of mixed wheats arises, as the author states, from the want of means to discover whether a single variety possesses the desired qualities. They try one, two, or several, and find none of them, singly, suitable for their purpose. On mixing them they procure, as they conceive, an average quality of flour, which they find more certainly to bake well. Hence they do not like to run risk with a single variety; and foreign wheat being in all cases a mixture, they give it a preference. Mr. Oliver, of Lochend, illustrated this by an amusing anecdote, which Sir George relates. He took the produce of two different fields, two different varieties, to the market. He offered to a baker, first one, and then the other, and for each an offer was made. He then presented a handful of the two mixed together, when he was immediately offered as much as two or three shillings a quarter more for the mixture than for either of the sorts singly! The baker requires a wheat which contains a large proportion of gluten, in order to sustain the bread in a raised state; but a proportion of starch in wheat is also necessary; and sugar is an ingredient of wheat which acts a prominent part in the formation of bread.

"Were I to be asked the question," says Sir George in conclusion, "in what class of society do you believe honourable feelings and honesty to be most prevalent, I should at once declare my firm belief, that they are to be found in largest proportion in the cultivators of the soil. Firm in this belief, I believe also that every farmer is willing to give to his landlord all that he can be reasonably expected to give in name of rent, under existing circumstances. He is willing to pay a fair proportion of the produce; and one great protection which a landlord can and ought to give to his tenants, is to take his rent in produce, and to submit to his rent rising and falling according to the rise and fall of prices. Then the farmer will rejoice when he has to pay a high rent, because his profits will have been high in proportion. I am aware there are local circumstances which may render it more advisable for the farmer to pay a fixed rent; but these are rare; I have reasons to believe that my own tenants are content under the plan I recommend, the foundation of which is laid in not exacting as rent more than a reasonable share of the produce. The state of the markets since 1830 has caused me to lose much that I might have put into my pocket with the former fixed rent. But my tenants would have suffered, and perhaps would have become insolvent. What I may have lost, or rather what is missed in my rental-book, has been repaid to me in another way, and, to my mind, a much more agreeable one. I see my tenants succeeding, and voluntarily making corn grow on land which stones, heath, furze, and brushwood had occupied since the soil was first formed. Some of them have actually doubled the amount of arable land on their farms, and all of them have added more or less to the productive soil of the country, and that without the help of premiums from societies. May I not be proud of such tenants; and may they not boast of their exploits!"

"Why should not the tenantry of the entire kingdom be placed in a condition to do the same? What prevents their being all equally contented and industrious? Let the Government and landlords ponder well on such questions; and let them also try the value of another question with which I will conclude, and the solution of which, whoever may give it, may bring to light the real cause of agricultural distress, when such distress is spoken of. It is a moral question, the profundity of which is not so great as to hinder ordinary observers from clearly seeing all its bearings, numerous though they be.

"How does it happen that the proprietors of the finest and largest estates are, for the most part, involved in debt, for which their property is mortgaged, so that they feel themselves compelled to screw their tenantry, and to indulge the foolish hope that the motion of the screw can be reversed by such preposterous means as a Corn Law?"—(From the Inverness Courier.

CORRESPONDENCE.

We have been favoured with a copy of a letter addressed by the Rev. Robt. Melson, Wesleyan minister, of Birmingham, to a Free-Trade friend, which we have the pleasure of laying before our readers, as another testimony of a Christian minister in favour of Free Trade. The station of Mr. Melson in the Wesleyan body will be recognised by our Free-Trade friends of that persuasion. Mr. Melson is a subscriber of £5 to the League:—

"Hunter's-lane, Birmingham.

"HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—I believe you will readily excuse my delay in acknowledging the receipt of your kind favour, conferred through the medium of the post a few days ago, of the very excellent pamphlet, entitled 'Christian Thoughts on FREE TRADE,' when I inform you that, on its coming to hand, I had two long journeys before me. An expression of thanks, un-

"I do not mean to affirm that my tenants are a solitary example of contentment and industry. I am aware of many such instances. But it is too true, I fear, that an immense majority are in a very different condition, both in Scotland and England. The aspect of Ireland is too horrible to contemplate. My rent is always ready when I ask for it; and it has happened that the rent of some has been sent to me before it was due."

til made, is always due to kind donors for their free gifts, and all favours unmerited; and I believe that a truly grateful heart cannot be satisfied with itself without a due performance of its obligatory duties. But, Sir, I now wish to express, not only my thanks to you for the gift of the little book, of which I had no previous knowledge, but also the pleasure I have derived from the gift itself. Indeed, the title in the 'abstract' gave me pleasure. The very idea of Christian thoughts was pleasing; but Christian thoughts on FREE TRADE were still more so; and then, Christian thoughts on the very popular subject of Free Trade by a minister of Christ, and that minister a Wesleyan, was to me, indeed, most delightful.

"But when I began to read the excellent author's address to his THREE friends, with whom, it seems, he had had frequent conversations, he having been the one against three, acknowledging the overwhelming power of conviction, terminating in conversion, and inducing an ingenuous and public confession of his former errors, I must say that I was greatly delighted. But, indeed, I cannot see how any Christian minister can read the sacred scriptures attentively, and exercise his reason, and engage in deep thought upon the subject of Free Trade, without being constrained to acknowledge the propriety and excellency of the Christian doctrine, and that it is clearly revealed by the Lord, and powerfully supported in His two Testaments of Divine inspiration. But I believe that many of the Wesleyan ministers rather study to remain in ignorance of the subject of Free Trade, and the influence of the obnoxious Corn Laws, than to have a clear understanding of them. They are so alarmed at the very sound of politics, and so afraid of teaching legislators their duties, and of showing them what principles they should cultivate, and by what motives they should be stimulated to act in all things, that they can allow them, without interference, to make and enforce laws that are contrary to all righteousness, disgracing the nation, and famishing the thousands. Is not this preferring the darkness of ignorance to the light of truth, and by silence, and an awful omission of very important duties, sinning against God and his people?"

"When monopolizing legislators make laws to rob the poor of their rights, or to oppress any of their fellow subjects for the increase of their own wealth, all the ministers of Christ, of every Christian denomination, should combine to correct them, and, by an open and public avowal of their views and principles, they should openly and loudly reprove them.

"But, Sir, I consider that it is much to be lamented that very few ministers of the Gospel of God our Saviour seem to enter into the subject at all, as though, to them, it is a matter of indifference whether the lower classes of society live or die; or whether they are wretched and miserable, or comfortable and happy: which to me is a proof, and a powerful proof, that, although they may study and preach the truth, and nothing but the truth, they do not study and preach the whole truth. Whereas, all the ministers of every Christian denomination or section of the Church of Christ, who are divinely called to preach the Gospel of God, should consider themselves as bound to a discharge of all their momentous duties, in reference to Him who has called them his Church, and to the world; to speak the things, and all the things, which become sound doctrine; and to 'use sound speech that cannot be condemned' (Tit. ii. 8); that all men, let them be in whatsoever rank, circumstances, or station in life, whether legislators or no-legislators, should be called to a firm belief of the truth, the cultivation of all Christian principles, the diligent and faithful practice of all justice, and righteousness, and to exercise themselves in all mercy and charity; in a word, in all godliness!

"I cannot think, Sir, but that the ministers of Christ who are silent, or who reprove not the legislators of the present times, or expose not the injustice of the laws now in existence,—laws evidently leading to poverty, misery, and woe, and the disgrace of our once glorious nation, to almost the last extreme of wretchedness, must be highly culpable in the sight of Heaven; but more especially those who consider themselves as the chief dictators in a religious body, and enjoin silence upon their brethren at such awful times as the present.

"What the all-wise and all-mighty Governor of the universe calls His ministers to the performance of, and strictly enjoins upon them in his Word,—they, without consultation of bishops or fear of legislators, should perform, as they have to answer to God when they shall come before His bar.

"It is true, however, and highly praiseworthy, that some of the ministers of Christ among the Dissenters are acting a generous part, in exposing and rebuking the ungodliness of legislators, and the injustice and awful consequences of their cruel laws. But it may be considered as passing strange that the Wesleyans, as a body, who were evidently designed by the Almighty to correct errors, abuses, and all unjust men and laws in Church and State, should be silent in these times of oppression, cruelty, lamentation, extreme poverty, wretchedness, and death!!

"I believe, Sir, that had the Wesleyans come forward as they should have done, and united themselves with those excellent ministers who assembled in Manchester in August, 1841, for consultation with those other excellent men who composed the League's Council, in order to unite their energies, and call upon the people of their respective charge, and appeal to the public generally, to assist in obtaining a repeal of the infringing, unjust, inhuman, overwhelming, cruelly-oppressive, and deadly laws of monopolizing legislators, much contention, strife, poverty, sorrow, sickness, and disease, with fires, thousands of imprisonments, banishments, and deaths would have been obviated, and that that body of ministers and people would have been greatly honoured and blessed!!!"

"The subject, Sir, now presented to me, would lead

me on to a volume of thoughts—to thoughts Christian, free, just, serious, deep, conclusive, &c.; but I believe they must remain at the present as thoughts only.

"I am, honoured and dear Sir,

"Yours truly and affectionately,

"ROBT. MELSON.

"—, Esq., Leamington."

AGRICULTURE.

MODERN FEUDALISM.

We last week rapidly traced the direct connexion which exists between the present English law of real property and the anti-social system of feudalism; and we shall now proceed to show how largely feudal principles enter into the modern relations of landlord and tenant in this country.

The cultivation of the soil was in feudal ages carried on by serfs, who rendered all the produce to their lords beyond what was necessary for their own bare subsistence, and the continuation of their race; or by small freeholders or yeomen, who rendered definite portions of the produce of their land to their immediate feudal superiors. The first class of cultivators were literally slaves, they were attached to the land—*adscripti gleba*—and they were passed with it as so many cattle might be. It was an offence against the law to "harbour" a runaway serf; and it was a constant source of strife and jealousy between the landed aristocracy and the towns, that the serfs escaped into the corporate towns, and there having become burgesses for a year and a day, they became emancipated by law and were for ever freemen. It is from the class of serfs, who were finally emancipated from personal slavery, that our present agricultural labourers are descended, and who are practically little better than serfs at this hour, for the description which *Bracton* applied to them in the time of Henry II., as being "in a very degraded condition," is painfully accurate now. So far as special legislation has been directed towards them, it has been solely for the purpose of depressing them and retaining them in subjection. When from peculiar causes there was a scarcity of labour, and wages in consequence tended to rise to an extent the owners of land thought inconvenient to themselves, they passed the "Statute of Labourers" for the purpose of compelling the labourers to accept wages lower than the natural rate; they were also subjected to harsh punishments for breaches of contract with their employers, and were and are made liable to serious afflictions under the vagrant laws when found wandering about the country. The life of the agricultural labourer is still one of ill-requited toil, which ends, if he outlive the power to labour, in the parish workhouse; and he has no hope but that of escaping into some employment in the towns, or in domestic service. His dwelling is relatively inferior to that which covered his ancestor the serf, and the quantity of his food is certainly less than that retained for his own use by the feudal vassal. And the Corn Law has much to do with producing this low state of the labourer; for, by enhancing the price of grain, it causes a slovenly cultivation, which limits the demand for agricultural labour. There is scarcely a parish in England in which, if half the land were cultivated according to the best system of modern husbandry, there would not be rather a deficiency than a redundancy of agricultural labourers. Even a monopolist squire could understand that such a state of things would be highly beneficial to the rural labourers; and it has been shown again and again that it is nothing but a delusive reliance upon protection, and the prevalent vicious practices of land-letting, which prevents a much more rapid improvement in husbandry throughout the kingdom than has hitherto occurred. We believe it is perfectly true that, with British skill, climate, and capital, corn sufficient for the national consumption might be produced at prices so low as to defy all competition in seasons of ordinary productiveness; but it is no less certain that skill and capital will never be applied to the soil in the best way until the British agriculturist is subject to the most unlimited competition with the whole world. That the labourer thrives best where the greatest skill and capital are applied to husbandry is proved by comparing the best with the worst farmed districts. Thus in Dorsetshire, where, as the Rev. Mr. Osborne stated in the presence of the assembled squires, every seventh person of the population is a pauper, and wages are 6s. and 7s. a week, agriculture is in the very lowest condition; while in Lincolnshire, where agricultural improvement has been carried on with great spirit, Mr. Pusey, in the last number of the Royal Agricultural Society's Journal, tells us, "the labourers' wages vary from 10s. to 12s. and 15s. a week; he obtains a good deal of task work, good hands earning at this moment at task work from 15s. to 18s. weekly. His cottage is neat and cheerful. Many labourers have allotments, and some even cows." And, until this enterprise in husbandry becomes general, the mass of labourers will remain as they now are, little better than mere serfs.

And this can only be effected by liberating the agricultural capitalists—the tenant-farmers—from the thralldom in which they are at present held. That this

thralldom is the remnant of feudalism the following brief sketch of the history of the yeomanry will make evident. Besides the lands granted to gentlemen, to be held by knight-service, free or socage tenures—that is, of rendering some service, domestic or connected with agriculture—were granted; and it was one of the conditions of these tenures that the tenants should attend the manor courts or courts baron held in the lord's hall. Even the few allodial proprietors who had escaped confiscation, in those days when the laws were ineffectual to protect the weak against the strong, found it advantageous to become feudatories to some powerful lord. Thus we see the most independent class of cultivators—those who had freeholds of their own—became accustomed to the sentiments and habits of vassallage. And the sentiments and habits continued after the abolition of feudal tenures; for when in course of time the lands of larger proprietors became let to farmers, the occupiers were men drawn entirely from the class of yeomen. And down to this day, on many large estates—originally it was so on all—the tenants are bound to find teams and labour for certain work upon the lands in the actual possession of their landlord. In all cases timber and game, and the exclusive right of hunting, fishing, and fowling, were reserved to the landlord; repairs were usually executed by him, and in all cases timber and other materials for repairs were found by him; so that not only had the tenant a very qualified possession of his farm, but a constant recurrence to, and dependence upon, the landlord or his steward became necessary. Then a very rigid course of cropping was prescribed, which would alone have been sufficient to prevent scientific or enterprising husbandry. Farms, too, were generally small, and as Burke said of the farmer previously to 1794, "that he rarely died worth more than paid his debts, leaving his posterity to continue in nearly the same equal conflict between industry and want, in which his last predecessor, and a long line of predecessors before him, lived and died."

And in this state renting farmers lived and died, generation after generation, on the same farm: a circumstance which has tended to keep alive the feudal sentiment of submission, and perhaps in some cases respect for their landlord, which had been handed down from times when feudalism was something more than a sentiment. Subsequently to 1794, farming partook of the vivifying influence of commercial enterprise, and large tracts of land, which had been considered of little value by the owners, were taken upon long leases by active farmers with some capital, and brought into cultivation with great profit to themselves and the community. The old farmers, on the ancient farms, participated comparatively little in these advances; they made but little improvement in their method of cultivation, though from 1794 to 1814 they obtained large profits from the enormous prices which scanty crops, combined with the fortuitous circumstance of the war, occasioned. And even now the oldest enclosed and the best lands are, as a general rule, the worst cultivated. Yet it was during the war that the greatest steps were made towards shaking off feudalism, the rapid rise of the value of land—the wants and extravagancies of the landowners rising in even a greater ratio—having caused all minor considerations affecting land to be sunk in comparison with its money-producing power, and there was a fair chance of land becoming what it ought to be—a merchantable commodity. Then came the fall of prices at the peace, and the struggle of the landlords to create by law artificially that scarcity of corn which accidental causes had produced during the war. Tenants fell into the delusion that prices could be kept constantly high by act of Parliament; and the Corn Law of 1815 and its successors have since kept the tenant-farmers in worse than feudal vassallage by inducing them to calculate on prices they have not obtained, and to look for profits from high prices rather than large produce. We shall again recur to the anomalous state of vassallage into which the Corn Laws have, since 1815, reduced the tenant-farmers.

LANDLORDS AND LABOURERS—FACTS FOR THE MONOPOLISTS.

The following paragraph from an agricultural journal indicates some of the consequences of a law which limits the employment of agricultural labourers for the sake of keeping up rents:—

"**AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS DESTROYED.**—The village of Charlton-on-Otmoor, situate within a few miles of Oxford, has latterly been the scene of several very lawless proceedings. Some of the labourers, for the want of employment, have been driven to the Bicester Union-workhouse, which has caused a great deal of excitement and dissatisfaction in the minds of those remaining. Several of the respectable inhabitants have had their windows broken; and on the night of the 26th of January three ploughs were destroyed, by cutting them to pieces. Each plough belonged to a different farmer of the village. A paper was left on one of them, with the following written on it:—'A full belly does not know what an empty one feels.'"

Now, this is that district where the Rev. Dr. Marsham, the notorious monopolist, said, a few weeks since, that there "is now no cry from the labour market in the rural districts; that the people are employed, and that provisions are cheap." Nor is further evidence of the falsehood wanting, for the Rev. W. Fergusson, of Bicester, has addressed a letter to his monopolist brother, in which

he calls his attention to a few facts which, as he truly says, "will tell their own tale." Fact the first:—

"B. B. has a wife and five children; his wages are 9s. per week. The money is laid out by his wife in the following order:—

| | |
|------------------------------|------------|
| 1 oz. of tea | s. d. |
| 7 Loaves, 4lbs. each | 3 6 |
| Flour | 0 8 |
| 1½ lb. bacon | 0 10½ |
| 1 lb. candles | 0 3½ |
| Soap | 0 3 |
| 1 bushel of potatoes | 1 0 |
| House-rent | 0 10 |
| Coals | 1 0 |
| Total | 9 0 |

Deduct house-rent and coals from the above sum, and there remains 1s. 0½d. per head per week for each of the above family."

How this man must rejoice in a law which limits employment and renders it precarious, and enhances the price of food! Then we have fact the second:—

"T. B. has a wife and six children; his wages are 8s. per week; they live in a hovel rent-free. The money is laid out in the following manner:—

| | |
|------------------------------|------------|
| 10 loaves, 4lb. each | s. d. |
| 1 bushel of potatoes | 1 0 |
| Candles | 0 5 |
| Tea | 0 1 |
| Bacon | 0 2 |
| Lard | 0 2 |
| Soap | 0 2 |
| Coals | 1 0 |
| Total | 8 0 |

This sum, deducting coals, allows 10½d. per week for each of the above family of eight persons."

Yet if one-tenth of the parish were drained every year, probably labour would rise 50 per cent., and these unhappy labourers would live in decent comfort; but their landlords must abandon game-preserving, and make their tenants independent by granting leases! Fact the third:—

"J. B. has a wife and six children; his wages are 9s. per week; boy at work, wages 1s. per week. Total income 10s., and laid out as follows:—

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| 9 loaves, 4lb. each | s. d. |
| 1 bushel of potatoes | 1 0 |
| 1 lb. rushlights | 0 7 |
| 1½ lb. bacon | 0 11 |
| Coals | 1 7 |
| School for one boy | 0 1 |
| House-rent | 1 0 |
| 1 lb. soap | 0 3 |
| Tea | 0 1 |
| Total | 10 0 |

Deducting house-rent, coals, and schooling from this sum, there remains 7s. 4d. to be divided among a family of eight persons, or 11d. per head per week."

Mr. Fergusson says:—

"It will be seen that I have not found coffee, sugar, milk, butter, cheese, and mutton, &c., among the provisions on which the white slaves subsist. These necessary comforts are out of the question in many parts of the agricultural districts. What shoes and clothes are worn by the families, whose condition I have brought under your notice in this letter, are paid for by a little additional money earned by them in spring and harvest; and also by what the poor mothers, and in some cases their little girls, earn by lace-making. The following additional facts will finish my present picture of the 'Labour Market':—

J. W. has a wife and one child; works in a gravel quarry s. d.

—wages per week 6 0

J. J. has a wife and four children; works in a gravel quarry—wages per week 6 0

B. M. has a wife and two children; works in a gravel quarry—wages per week 6 0

Again, hear what those clergymen who do go amongst the poor witness. Mr. Fergusson tells the monopolist of another fact:—

"H. has a wife and a large family—is out of work. They were visited the other day by a member of my family, and the poor woman, who had no fire, was sitting in bed at noonday to keep herself warm, while she was making lace to procure a little bread. Three of these four able-bodied men, along with other eight, all of whom are heads of families, are employed at the quarry, because the farmers cannot employ them in the fields."

Again:—

"I have just called upon two families, who are in a state of great destitution and wretchedness. The men are able and willing to work, but they cannot get employment. They were boiling turnips for dinner, and had nothing else which they could eat. Think, Sir, of two families, or fourteen persons, dining on boiled turnips. Your 'oatmeal and potatoes' would be a welcome meal to them! I have just met another able-bodied man, who has a wife and five children; he has been out of work for sixteen weeks. His daily and only employment is to stand in the streets, watching to see if any person will employ him to carry coals into the coal-house. The men, women, and children, whose wretchedness and misery I have described in this letter, are all pining in the vicinity of your own estates."

We say advisedly that all this rural destitution is indirectly attributable to the Corn Laws, and the Corn Laws alone: we defy any monopolist to gainsay it; and we call upon every monopolist member of Parliament, who does not desire to be deemed a political cheat, to vote for Mr. Cobden's motion for a committee of inquiry as to the effect of protective duties on tenant-farmers and farm-labourers. How many monopolists will do so? We shall see.

In a second letter Mr. Fergusson says:—

"I have this day visited between 50 and 60 cottages in Bicester, and have found some without fire, some without bread, and others dining upon turnips. There are, in our parish, men who have families to support, but not a day's work to go to. Many of the houses which I have visited to-day have next to no furniture in them. How the poor creatures manage to live is to me a mystery."

And this misery is spreading in that district, for that gentleman says:—

"That the miseries of the field labourers are daily increasing is a fact that very few will venture to deny; but when I speak of the wretchedness and nakedness, I am told that 'they are bad ones,' and that 'if they had any money they would spend it at the alehouse.' These charges against the poor are, to a certain extent, true, and, therefore, I should like to know why they have been left, in the vicinity of Oxford, to grow up in such a state of ignorance and immorality."

When we remember that, in the local papers, under the head "Bicester," we every week see some five or six game convictions, we can easily understand that the most earnest and honest endeavours to instruct men so immersed in poverty, and surrounded by temptation to crime, may prove fruitless. And what is the remedy?—

"Surely," says Mr. Fergusson, "some steps ought to be taken to find them employment in winter as well as in summer. There are some kind and charitable men in Bicester, but the evil is too great to be cured by alms. Regular employment, and the constant inculcation of religious, frugal, and virtuous habits, are the only means that will effect a radical cure."

AGRICULTURAL MUTUAL INSTRUCTION.

That which we from the first anticipated as the result of the Pro-Corn-Law associations, is beginning to take place. In spite of their leaders and misleaders, the farmers who go to these meetings are obtaining, incidentally and occasionally, scraps of knowledge upon the Corn-Law question which will, ere long, make them comprehend the monopolists' delusion. The absurd statements of the speakers at these meetings are being gradually reduced to their true value, and that by their own friends. Thus Mr. Harcourt, one of the members for the county of Oxford, said, at the Oxford gathering:—

"He had seen accounts of statements made in other places, statements he should regret to see made in any society to which he belonged. He regretted to have seen something of the kind in Mr. Baker, of Essex; and, if Mr. B. were not more cautious, he would expose himself on some points to very easy refutation. He (Mr. Harcourt) disliked exaggerations." Mr. Harcourt then proceeded to give an instance of one point at least in which Mr. Baker is easy of refutation. By a little jugglery in his calculations, he pretends to make it appear that the protection on wheat, from 1828 to 1842, was 11 per cent., whereas, according to Mr. Harcourt, it was in reality four times as much, or 44 per cent. Mr. Baker has effected this deception by calculating the duty only on the foreign corn that has come in, not upon that which the sliding-scale has kept out. The sliding-scale of 1828 had the effect of excluding corn altogether, till it rose to a certain price in the home-market.

This did not suit the concoctors of the meeting, who, accordingly, cried down Mr. Harcourt, and all mention of any such correction was carefully omitted by the *truthful Morning Post*. Now, if any farmer will take the trouble to go through the calculations of Mr. Baker, or any other of the monopolist speakers, he will find that not "a little jugglery" has been practised in every case except where the simpler expedient of a downright lie has been adopted. So we find Mr. O. Copland's "calculations" in Essex corrected in the following quiet way by a gentleman of that county, named Marriage, who is engaged in the corn trade:—

"Upon reading a report of the speech of Oswald Copland, at Romford, I was surprised to find the price of Dantzic wheat quoted by him only 15s. 11d. per quarter in 1826. I found, on referring to the averages, he had not only selected one of the lowest years, but had quoted the price 7s. below the average price of that year in the *Prussian Gazette*, which is 22s. 1d. per quarter for the year 1826. I object to public men taking the price of one year only, to show at what price corn can be grown abroad. Had he searched a few years further back, he would have found the price at Dantzic to be as high as 75s. 8d. per quarter, which price would not have suited his line of argument. The average price at Dantzic from the year 1817 to 1838, was 34s. 4d. per quarter; more than double the price quoted by O. Copland."—See *Prussian Gazette*.

This will settle Mr. O. Copland's veracity in the minds of all sober men at its true value. Then the monopolist members who do not come up to the mark of the high-flying protectionists are called over the coals by some blunt-speaking farmer like Mr. Jos. Seamons, of Buckinghamshire, who said at Aylesbury:—

"Why did not their present members come forward as his grace had always done? If they did not come more among their constituents, and do their duty as local representatives, they would choose others in their places who would. They saw their representatives so seldom, that they hardly knew whether they were dead or alive. When these gentlemen were candidates, and came among the farmers for their votes, they promised great things, and professed to have a great regard for all that concerns their local interests, in every possible way, but they were so soon elected that they forgot all their fine promises, and left the local interest to care for itself."

Now, as the members for the county of Buckingham are the mere nominees of the Duke of Buckingham, and no doubt quite understand his wishes in the course they take, his grace, who was in the chair, must have felt this to have been something like a backhanded blow from his worthy vice. So, in Bedfordshire, according to the *Post*—

"Mr. Bennett proceeded to make some allusions to a petition that had been got up in Bedfordshire against the Canada Corn Bill, and passed some rather stringent remarks upon the conduct of Mr. Astell, one of their county members, who, he alleged, had been instrumental in originating the petition, and afterwards turned round and voted with Ministers in favour of the measure. He thought gentlemen should not raise the cry of 'No surrender,' and immediately afterwards give in their adhesion to the principle they had formerly condemned. He disclaimed any personal animosity towards Mr. Astell; but, as a British yeoman, he would uphold his right to form an opinion, and to express it." (Loud cheers.)

We suspect landlords will find, ere long, that "British yeomen" will express a good many opinions not altogether agreeable to their feudal superiors. This same Mr. Bennett put the question upon an issue the squires will not altogether relish, when he said, "He held that the amount of protection to agriculturists should be in an equal ratio with the burdens imposed on land." Let this be the issue, and protection must be abandoned, for the only burdens on the land are those of the landlords' own creation: as annuities, mortgages, and so forth. Again, Mr. Sutherland, the chairman of the Croydon "protection" meeting, made the following (for monopolists) awkward admissions:—

"He alluded to the letter of Mr. Loyd, and said that that gentleman appeared to feel great alarm at the increase of population, but he did not see any ground for that alarm. By the improvements that had been effected in agriculture, they had nearly kept pace in production with the increase of population; but, even supposing they had not done so, they had the elements to do it within their own grasp. There were in England ten or twelve millions of acres of waste land, which only required draining and tillage to bring into cultivation."

Well, but if a protection which, except in years of very considerable scarcity, has given an absolute monopoly to the British grower for nearly 30 years past has not enabled or induced him to use the "elements within his grasp," and to do the necessary "drainage and tillage" for bringing the waste lands into cultivation, why is protection now to have such a wonderfully productive operation? The truth is, until protection was death-doomed by the evidence before the committee of 1836, we never heard of any of these projected improvements. Let protection vanish altogether, and then improvement will commence in earnest.

HINTS FOR LANDLORDS.

SPECIAL BURDENS ON LAND.—Amongst the many ludicrous claims made by the landowning monopolists, as pleas for taxing the community to uphold rents, one is the highway-rate—the expense of keeping in repair their own roads—an outlay by which they are the principal gainers. The following paragraph, extracted from a monopolist paper, sets this in a very clear light:—

"**GOOD AND BAD ROADS.**—The following table will show the occupiers of land, who, by their teams and in their gigs, are the most frequent travellers along the cross roads, how very

expensive bad roads are to them, and how much it is to their interest to endeavour to improve them, to which frequent rates are the greatest obstacles. Force required to draw a loaded cart, weighing 1000 lbs. —

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------|
| Turnpike-road, hard and dry.. | 204 lbs. |
| Do ditto dirty | 89 |
| Hard compact loam | 88 |
| Ordinary by-road | 106 |
| Turnpike-road, newly gravelled | 148 |
| Loose sandy road | 204 |

From this it appears that there is more than three times as much force required in draught on a middling by-road as on a hard turnpike road. No farmer makes money now-a-days by carting horses; he ought not, therefore, to wish to keep more than necessary; and good roads enable him to turn the keep of a cart horse into the more profitable animal—a cow or some sheep." —*Berks Chronicle*.

Yet in the face of this we shall again and again hear highway-rates and turnpike-tolls enumerated by the landowners who advocate monopoly as special burdens on land.

THE FARMERS REFUSING TO SUPPORT THE CORN LAWS.—Symptoms of backwardness appear in some quarters to subscribe to the Corn-Law League. The *Worcester Journal*, a monopolist organ, has the following paragraph:—

"We much regret to find that our efforts to excite a spirit of activity amongst the agriculturists of Worcestershire have not hitherto been attended with that success which we had hoped the deep and paramount importance of the subject would have ensured to them."

And the following statement respecting Pro-Corn-Law agitation in Worcester, from a trustworthy correspondent, shows the hollowness of the high-rent agitation:—"This society [Worcestershire Agricultural Protection Society] appears to contain the names of only few landowners (not more than one or two of any extent); several land-agents, and dependants upon them; some respectable farmers; a great many tenants of the Coventry family, to whom it was intimated when Messrs. Cobden and Bright visited this city, that they must not attend their meeting; and the remaining part of the members of this society consists of rabid political partisans of the city of Worcester, with a sprinkling of red-tape gentlemen. Such is the want of talent amongst this enlightened body of men, provided it was possible to make out a good case, I am sure there is not more than one man in the society that could expound it."

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"The Rackrenter's Song" is under consideration.

"A Halop Farmer" sends a Hrewsbury newspaper, describing a meeting held in that town for the protection of agriculture, and a most amusing letter of commentary on the proceedings. He says "The proper appellation of the proposed association would be a society for the destruction of the tenant-farmers, a class which suffers more severely from the pernicious effects of the Corn Laws than any other portion of her Majesty's subjects." "There was everything," he says, "at the Hrewsbury meeting but honesty, candour, truth, argument, and justice;" and he concludes by declaring that he considers the success of the League identical with the prosperity of agriculture.

"W. A." gives some amusing particulars respecting the Pro-Corn-Law petition from Newark, which he says was signed by ten police-men, the gaoler, and a bailiff-follower. This is natural enough, for all who live by public crime or vice have a direct interest in the maintenance of the Corn Laws.

"A Complete Suffragist."—His letter is too long, and the point in dispute is of no importance.

"A Member of the League," and a vast number of correspondents with different signatures, from various parts of the country, have sent us evidence to show that farmers have been forced to sign requisitions for Anti-League meetings, and some of them complain bitterly of the coercion to which they have been themselves subjected. If the emancipation of industry had no other recommendation, it would be desirable, as the certain means of raising up in every rural district—

"Some village Hampden, who, with dauntless breast,
The petty tyrant of his field withstands."

"Crito" and "A Native of Kent" will find that their hints will be turned to advantage at an early opportunity.

Will "M. B. C." permit her lines to be a little altered?

"M. B." relates, in affecting language, the history of a person tempted by war prices to invest his savings in land, and, after years of incessant labour, reduced to poverty, ejected from his farm, and forced to witness the landlord who had been the cause of all his ruin, reaping the benefit of his improvements.—"N. L." supplies a similar history; and, we doubt not, that "the other true tale" might be told of thousands.

"R. J."—They must claim to be registered as rate-payers.
"G. B." shall meet attention.
"J. C. J." must pardon some verbal alterations in the following lines:—

THE POOR MAN'S PRAYER.
"Father, by whom all hearts are seen,
All inmost secrets read,
Thou know'st our woe;—our wants how keen!
How rude the paths we tread!
Bow'd, blighted, sapp'd in soul and health,
To toil and misery wed;
Yet ask we not rank, power, or wealth,
But—give the Poor Man bread!
Here, on thy fair and fruitful earth,
Midst vineyards, cornfields, flocks;
So rich that at the thought of death
Their garner'd treasure mocks,—
Faint—feeble—fainting away,
We, kinamen of the dead,
By hard misrule are forced to pray,—
God! give the Poor Man bread!"

"A. B." "Rent made worse," "Anti-Apostate," and several others, including nine with the signature, "A Farmer," will find that their suggestions, hints, and information, will be turned to good account in the *League*, though at present, for reasons which their own good sense will, doubtless, in most instances, suggest, there is no specific reference made to the topics of their several communications.

A Driffield Correspondent writes to us to say that a curious fact transpired at the late Anti-League meeting held on the 8th inst. in that town, namely, that just before the meeting of Parliament Lord Stanley had been at Sledmer House,

urging Sir T. Sykes, and, no doubt, other great landlords, to get up farmers' petitions in favour of the sliding scale. The secret oozed out in one of the speeches at the meeting, but the landlords, becoming alarmed, contrived to induce the local press to omit it. The *Hall Beckingham*, however, honestly gave it publicity, which led to a clumsy attempt at denial in the *Eastern Counties Herald*.

"Hastings."—We shall be glad to hear further from our correspondent.

"Perthensis" is under consideration.

"L. G."—The League cannot imitate the Monopolists and substitute personalities for principles.

"J. H." Falkirk, is thanked.

"Capit in the Cornfield" compares the pretended love of the Monopolists for the labourers to Judas's betrayal of his Master by a kiss. The parallel fails, because the affection was not pretended by the Monopolists until after the injury was effected.

"B."s verses have much merit, but some of the stanzas are rather feeble.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 8d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the *League* forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the *League* may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

GREAT LEAGUE MEETING.

The Weekly Meetings of the League will, in future, be held on the Wednesday in place of the Thursday Evenings as heretofore.

The next WEEKLY MEETING of the LEAGUE will take place in COVENT GARDEN THEATRE, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, Feb. 28th.

GEORGE WILSON, Esq., will take the Chair at Seven o'clock.

The meeting will be addressed by Thomas Gisborne, Esq., M.P.; Thomas Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; Henry Ashworth, Esq., of The Oaks, near Bolton, Lancashire, and other gentlemen.

Cards of admission to the Stage and Upper Circles or Boxes may be had on personal application at the Central Office of the League, 67, Fleet-street, during Monday and Tuesday; no application by letter can be attended to.

To prevent inconvenience from the great pressure at the front entrance of the Theatre, the Council has resolved to limit the issue of Tickets of admission to the dress circle to the precise number that can be conveniently accommodated.

Each ticket will be numbered, and each number represent and secure the seat in each box to be occupied by the bearer of the ticket.

The Entrance to the Dress Circle will, in future, be at the Private Box-door on the Queen's Side, in Hart-street.

The Cards of Registered Members only, will, as heretofore, admit to the Pit and Galleries of the Theatre.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, February 24, 1844.

The scene at Covent Garden Theatre on Wednesday evening was splendid beyond any parallel in the history of public meetings. Faint, indeed, is the impression which the best report of it can convey to those who were not present; and it is well worthy of note that, sublime and tremendous as was the enthusiasm which greeted Mr. O'Connell, it never led either him or the meeting away from the great purpose and sacred cause for which these grand assemblages are held. That cause was paramount over all. It was the bond that united the persecuted champion of peaceful public meetings, and those who by means of peaceful public meetings are advancing towards the attainment of justice for every portion of the empire. It was the one heart, beating in all bosoms. The friends of Free Trade felt this; the enemies of Free Trade see it, and gnash their teeth. In reference to Wednesday's meeting, the timid had their fears, and the malignant had their hopes, that the League might somehow compromise its high position of independence of all party, and an appearance of plausibility be afforded for accusation of inconsistency. Mr. O'Connell is too much of a true-hearted Leaguer—and the League is too entirely a creation of pure principle—to give any such advantage. And hereupon the hostility of the disappointed monopolists runs rabid: all decency is outraged. Amongst the flowers of fancy culled to regale those who are pre-eminent in canting about religion and morals, we find such epithets, in one short article, as "the Irish convict," "blackguards both," "select and carefully-separated scum," "applauding disciples of teachers of assassination," "perfectly nauseous scene," and other "nastier" phraseology, which seems to indicate that the literature of "Agricultural Protection" flavours itself from the filth of the farm-yard. We are sorry that Monopoly cannot find more decorous ways of telling the world that it is very angry. The fact of its being angry we neither doubt nor regret. The League was not constituted for the complacent contemplation of bread-taxers, or to win the praises of their scribes. That the mind and language of writers should be degraded by the service in which they are employed, is perfectly natural. Church warfare was once apologized for in the House of Commons; and Monopoly makes war, like the Chinese, by "poisoning the wells" and polluting the streams of intelligence.

In the number of the *Morning Herald*, to which we are indebted for the above elegant extracts, great solicitude is expressed to ascertain the exact proportion in which the profits of manufacturing cotton are divided between the mill-owners and the work-people. Perhaps Granny is so demented as to hope that something may be found analogous to what happens in the wheat manufacture, where sometimes the landowner receives his profit of 20s. an acre, while the actual cultivator endures a loss of 8s. or 10s. an acre. If so, Granny will be disappointed. Such anomalies only happen in the Arcadia of Agriculture, the Paradise of Protection.

REVIEW.

FOREIGN VIEWS OF THE CONDITION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Revue des Deux Mondes. December—February. *Eclectic Review*, February Number.

"To see ourselves as others see us," is equally valuable to individuals, associations, and empires. A heavy press of matter prevented us from directing attention to an excellent history of the League, which appeared in the "*Eclectic Review*" for February, and we should turn to it with pleasure were it not of importance to show that the progress of "Free Trade" is not confined to this country, but that the whole civilized world takes an interest in the movement, and that philanthropists of every creed, clime, and colour pray for its success. Time was when indifference to the opinion of foreigners was paraded as a principle of policy, when members of the Legislature publicly thanked God that they were ignorant even of the French language, and when our Government was declared to be "the envy of surrounding nations." Well and wisely says the Hindoo proverb, "The snail sees nothing beyond its shell, and believes it the finest palace in the universe." England has paid too heavy a price for the self-complacency of its snails to adopt their system of indifference again, and contempt for the opinions of foreigners is now preached only by such statesmen as Sibthorp and such philosophers as Ferrand.

The reviews of English policy by M. Duvergier de Hauranne, and the statistical survey of the moral influence of commerce and manufactures by M. Leon Faucher, in the able periodical before us, are remarkable for their dispassionate examination of topics which can scarcely be named in England without awakening all the violence and even the fury of party; they seem like an anticipation of the calm judgment of posterity; and we shall, therefore, endeavour to present our readers with such a condensed view of the opinions which these able writers have formed of the general policy of the British empire, as may enable them to estimate the place which our country and its Government hold in the general estimation of Europe.

The Anti-Corn-Law League, like the Anti-Slavery Society, is one of the very few associations formed in England which neither directly nor remotely has any connexion with party politics; and, like the Anti-Slavery Society, it has to resist the machinations of all its enemies, and some of its friends, to connect its proceedings with party interests, and make its great object a party question. On one side, the monopolists, wilfully forgetting that the Corn Laws are a mushroom novelty; attempt to identify the sliding scale with the time-honoured institutions of the land, and to place the taxation of food on the same basis as Church and State; on the other hand, there are some who would make Free Trade a corollary to some organic change in the constitution—a point of faith in a long creed of which they have not themselves arranged all the articles. In order to preserve the independence of the League, we have hitherto carefully abstained from all interference with other agitations, however interesting or important, save where they come in direct contact with the question of Free Trade; and from this sound caution we shall not depart, in spite of the many tempting subjects of discussion which are suggested in the articles of the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*." Our object shall be to reproduce the opinions of foreigners, and to withhold our own; we disclaim all responsibility for their inferences or their deductions, like the Jesuit translators of Newton—"alienam coacti sumus gerere personam;" we profess merely to be the faithful interpreters of the sentiments of others; and we hold ourselves bound to give them with equal fairness, whether they accord with our own or differ from us to the widest possible extent.

Foreigners declare that what appears to them most inexplicable in our Parliamentary contests is, that party interests rather than national interests are prominent in every debate; and that the people, instead of being regarded as the body most deeply concerned in the issue, is placed in an attitude of indifference, and proposed as a prize to the conquerors. Foreign publicists have canvassed the advantages and disadvantages of this prevalence of party. On the one side they see the benefit that results from evoking popular passion on every question, great and small, which can be discussed by the Legislature; and they particularly dwell on the absurdities, at once ludicrous and mischievous, which followed from making the Parisian populace a court of appeal on questions of foreign policy. On the other hand, they perceive the danger of parties trusting too much to the general indifference of the people, and confiding in its continuance when questions are discussed in which every individual of the community has a direct and personal interest. Under such circumstances, an Opposition eager to damage its rivals on the Treasury bench may make such discordant alliances, hold out such inconsistent hopes, pledge itself to such contradictory promises, that from the moment of victory may be dated the

sure commencement of its defeat, and the hour when its strength is apparently greatest may be that in which the seeds of ruin have struck the deepest root.

An eminent French statesman, warmly solicitous for the success of the present English Administration, writing to a friend about eighteen months before its accession to office, said, "I rejoice in the certain prospect of Sir Robert Peel's obtaining power, but I much fear that the present Opposition will beat the future Ministry: too many of his friends talk as if their words did not reach beyond the Chambers; they ought to remember that Ireland has echoes." The echoes everywhere were forgotten in these party struggles; but the standers-by, though rather indifferent to the immediate issue, were alive to the principles involved in the final result, and words were spoken which were regarded as a superadding of insult to injury, and, as such, were indelibly graven on the heart.

M. de Haauranne believes that the political struggle in England is fast passing from the hands of party to the hands of the people; he sees clearly that it is a matter of very little consequence to John a-Nokes and Peter Styles whether Lord John Russell or Sir Robert Peel guides the helm, but that it is of vital importance to said Nokes and Styles whether they shall have abundance or starvation. Taking this view of the question, he looks upon the great bulk of our Parliamentary debates as little better than impertinences,—as what the Greeks used to call "exercises of the fishmarket," in which "You're another," was the most common retort and the most cogent argument. "En somme," says he, "quand le Whigs reprochent aux Tories de ne rien faire, ils ont raison: Quand les Tories se moquent du programme des Whigs, ils n'ont pas tort." In plain English, the battle lies between two parties, one of which is decidedly in the wrong, and the other as decidedly not in the right. Hence, the foreigner infers the necessity for the intervention of the great body of the people, represented in their capacity of consumers by the League, to say:—"Gentlemen, if we believe you both, we can have confidence in neither; so settle your disputes as best you may, for we are not disposed to starve while you amuse yourselves with declamation. The interchange of invective for reproach may amuse you, but the interchange of labour for food is of vital interest to us; we do not want rhetoric, but we do want employment and sustenance."

The late debate on the state of Ireland has amazed and amused our foreign contemporaries: there were no facts in issue; no one denied the startling facts in the report of the census commissioners—that two millions out of the eight contained in Ireland are absolute paupers; that the wages of agricultural labourers in the south and west of Ireland, not included in the list of paupers, average only from 2s. to 2s. 6d. per week; that law under landlord administration is invariably an instrument of oppression instead of redress; that "the wild justice of revenge" is the only justice in which the peasantry have the slightest confidence, and that the hold of the English Government on the country extends not an inch beyond a musket's range from the barracks and sentry-boxes with which the land is studded. The answer that statesmen made to all this was, "the Whigs did not remedy these evils when they were in office;" from which it was inferred that their successors need not trouble themselves about the matter. The state physician, when he comes to the bed-side of the patient, says, "Your last doctor did you no good; I advised you to dismiss him and call in me, but I have made up my mind to leave you as helpless as I found you." Well might foreigners inquire if England be a land of sanity, and this the nineteenth century, when such reasoning passes for legislative wisdom.

M. de Haauranne quotes, as an example of the determination of the English people to interfere in the mere party arrangements made in their name, the fate of the education clauses in the Factory Bill of last session. Sir James Graham's bill was received with applause by Whigs and Tories; for "when they do agree on the stage their agreement is wonderful;"—the *Morning Chronicle* exchanged compliments with the *Standard*, and the *Globe* became an echo to the *Post*. There was every appearance of the bill passing on its road in the caravan of legislation with as little discussion, after the first night, as a turnpike act or a law for the better preservation of partridges. But this quiet did not extend beyond Palace-yard: the Dissenters, and more especially the Wesleyans, saw clearly that its result would invest the clergy of the Established Church with new and dangerous power; they protested loudly and firmly; concessions after concessions in the shape of amendments were made in vain; and the agreement of the heads of party to enact a law was, for the first time in English history, melted and solved by the heat of popular indignation.

M. de Haauranne regards the successful resistance of the Dissenters to the Education Bill as a pledge of the future success of the League, though he is well aware that the attachment of the squires to

high-rent principles is far and away more powerful than their attachment to High Church principles. His grounds of confidence are, that the English farmers are not less dissatisfied with things as they are than the merchants and manufacturers; their rents are calculated at the highest price of corn which protective laws are designed to produce, but they remain invariable under all the fluctuations of price which are the necessary result of a sliding scale. He sees that fortunes have been made in England by men of every class and calling, save those engaged in agriculture; he hears the farmers themselves declare that theirs is and has been a bad business, and that it is going on from bad to worse; that tenant-farmers are sinking into day-labourers, and day-labourers into paupers; he, therefore, holds it as certain that the agriculturists will join in demanding some change, and as equally certain that any new arrangement other than Free Trade is perfectly impracticable.

Another French writer has put the question in a new and rather striking light. Having shown that the average produce of food in England is inadequate to the support of the population, and that this disproportion is continually increased by the increase of population, he demands that this fact should be taken as the base of all argument with those who protest against being dependent for food on foreigners, and that they should be asked, "what is to be done with the surplus population? What method do you intend to pursue with the numbers over and above the number you are able to feed?" He says there are but three methods—1st, starve them; 2nd, make poverty a capital crime, and hang them; or, 3rd, reduce the population to the limits of food, by periodically massacring all infants of two years old and under throughout the country. And he then shows that either of the two last methods would be infinitely more humane than the present system of gradual reduction of numbers by the lingering process of starvation.

M. de Haauranne's caustic review of the last session is of unmanageable length, else we should gladly have compared it with one of Lord Lyndhurst's annual summaries of Whig defeats and delinquencies. The only measure which he can find meriting unqualified praise is Mr. Gladstone's law permitting the exportation of machinery; and he expresses a hope that this will not be that gentleman's only claim to the title of "Free Trader," tauntingly bestowed upon him by Colonel Sibthorp. M. de Haauranne's review of Irish affairs is less complete than we could wish, and includes some notable errors. He blames the English people for having driven the Irish to raise the cry of repeal, by encouraging those who gave provocation by intemperate attacks on the Irish people and their predominant religion. He finds that the English people were taunted by certain journals with their submission to an Irish majority; that a day of fasting and humiliation was proclaimed in Yorkshire when three Irish Catholics were admitted into office; and he collects some choice specimens of Billingsgate, selected from newspapers and from the most applauded speeches of Exeter-hall, to justify the Irish in seeking for separation. But we must deny that these exhibitions were fair manifestations of the feelings of the people of England; they were "ingenious devices" of party, and employed exclusively for party objects. The very journals which poured such intemperate abuse on the heads of the Irish priests, now propose that they should be taken into the pay of the State; Lord Sandon has dismissed the wooden bible from the seat of his carriage; Lord Wharncliffe eschews reformation societies; the MacGhees and O'Sullivan are allowed "to waste their sweetness on the desert air," and no one is anxious to disturb the suspended animation of Stowell and McNeill. It is, unfortunately, too true, as M. de Haauranne asserts, that the evil these men have done lives after them; that their incendiary harangues, studiously circulated by the Orange party in every part of Ireland, and accompanied by comments harsher than even Exeter Hall would bear, have produced a bitter sense of unmerited wrong, and a consequent feeling of not unnatural alienation in the hearts of an excitable and perhaps an irritable people. It is perfectly true that Exeter Hall has done more to extend the cry of repeal than fifty corn-exchanges and conciliation halls could possibly accomplish; but we deny that Exeter Hall ever spoke the opinions of the people of England. We protest against such a libel on the justice, the fairness, and the intelligence of our countrymen; the disgraceful exhibitions of bigotry which exposed us to the ridicule of all Christendom were mere hypocritical farces got up to serve a party; and there is something like retribution in the penalty that party must pay for having availed itself of the "ingenious devices" of knaves and the senseless bigotry of fools. It is another warning to statesmen to beware of Nemesis.

We have been betrayed into comment against our will, but we could not allow such an error as that of M. de Haauranne to pass without notice. The anti-

Irish cry in England, which he not unreasonably regards as the cause of the anti-English cry in Ireland, was raised by a faction and not by a nation; we should heartily rejoice if the difference between the two had been sooner observed and more carefully explained.

The Art of Composition. By G. F. Graham, Esq. London: Longman and Co.

We have been much pleased with this little work; it is one of the best introductions to the art of English composition with which we are acquainted, leading the reader gradually onward from the formation of simple sentences to the construction of the regular essay. It will be found particularly valuable in home education, and it cannot fail to improve the parent or tutor by whom it is judiciously used, as well as the child or pupil for whose use it is primarily designed. The author has based his system of instruction on the natural laws of thought, and has rendered his work not less valuable as an aid to mental discipline than as a guide to the use of language.

It is not generally known that Lancashire has become the most populous county in the kingdom; such, however, is the fact; and Middlesex, which a short time since stood at the head in point of numbers, is now only rated third.

Liberty is not a paper that we see stuck up at the corner of a street. It is a living power which we feel within us and around us, the protecting genius of the domestic hearth, the guarantee of social rights, and the first rights.—*De la Mennais*.

THE FUNDS.

| | Nov. Feb. 17 | Mon. Feb. 19 | Tues. Feb. 20 | Wed. Feb. 21 | Thurs. Feb. 22 | Fri. Feb. 23 |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| Bank Stock..... | 104 | 101 | 100 | 104 | 100 | 100 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann. | 97 | 97 | 97 | 97 | 97 | 97 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann. | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 |
| Long An. Ex. 1860 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Cons. for Acc. | 97 | 97 | 97 | 97 | 97 | 97 |
| Ind. Dis. and 10000 | 71 pm. | 70 2 pm. | 70 2 pm. | 70 2 pm. | 65 pm. | 71 pm. |
| India Stock..... | 83 pm. | 83 pm. | — | — | — | 87 pm. |
| Belgian..... | 106 | 106 | 106 | 106 | 106 | 106 |
| Brazilian..... | 79 | 79 | 79 | 79 | 79 | 79 |
| Chilian..... | 105 | 105 | 105 | 105 | 105 | 105 |
| Columb. ex. Vene. | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Danish..... | 40 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Dutch 3 per Ct. | 101 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 |
| Dutch 2 1/2 per Ct. | 85 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Mexican, 1857 .. | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 |
| Portuguese, conv. | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 |
| Buenos Ayres..... | 38 | 37 | — | — | — | — |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 |
| Do. 3 per Ct..... | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 |
| Peruvian..... | 31 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, Feb. 19.—There was a larger supply of English Wheat at market this morning than we have had for some weeks. Much of it was in inferior condition, and for such 1s. to 2s. less was obtained. Even the best dry samples with difficulty supported last week's rates. The holders of free Foreign were unwilling to accept lower rates, and the sale was in consequence very limited. There was less inquiry for Wheat in bond. All but the finest samples of Malting Barley were 1s. cheaper. Beans and Peas of all kinds 1s. dearer. There was a good supply of English, Scotch, and Irish Oats, and the demand was not brisk, but prices were not lower than last week.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

| Currency per imperial measure. | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
| Wheat, English, Red | 45s to 55s | Peas, Maple | 28s to 30s |
| New, do. Old | 52s — 61s | Malt, Pale Suffolk and | — |
| Do., do. Old | 52s — 61s | Norfolk..... | 54s — 58s |
| New, do. White | 48s — 60s | Chevalier | 60s — 63s |
| Old, do. do. | 60s — 64s | Brown..... | 58s — 60s |
| Danish..... | 57s — 63s | Oats, English Feed | 20s — 22s |
| Stettin..... | 50s — 57s | Do. Short | 21s — 23s |
| Barley, Malting..... | 34s — 36s | Scotch Feed | 21s — 23s |
| Distilling | 32s — 34s | Do. Potato | 23s — 25s |
| Grinding | 28s — 32s | Irish Feed | 19s — 20s |
| Beans, Tick | 26s — 27s | Do. Short | 20s — 22s |
| Harrow | 28s — 30s | Do. Black | 19s — 20s |
| Pigeon | 32s — 34s | Do. Galway | 17s — 19s |
| Old Harrow | 35s — 38s | Flour, town made and | — |
| Peas, White | 28s — 30s | best country marks | 45s — 50s |
| Do., Bollers | 31s — 33s | Norfolk and Suf- | — |
| Grey | 26s — 28s | folk | 40s — 44s |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 12th to the 17th of Feb. 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 4607 | 6536 | 2456 | 1617 | 916 |
| Scotch | 695 | 3928 | 3394 | — | — |
| Irish | — | 944 | 21835 | — | — |
| Foreign | 6220 | 1287 | 130 | — | 220 |

Flour, 6937 sacks. Malt, 5492 qrs.

MARK-LANE, Friday, Feb. 23.—The arrivals of Wheat since Monday are moderate. The trade, though quiet, is firm at Monday's prices. There is a good supply of English Barley; the demand is not brisk, and Monday's rates are with difficulty supported. We continue well supplied with Irish Oats, and there is also a fair supply of English and Scotch. Prices are just the same as Monday. The duty on Wheat fell to 18s., and on Oats to 7s., yesterday.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 16th of Feb. to the 23rd of Feb., both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|-------------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat..... | 2890 | — | 600 |
| Barley..... | 5850 | 760 | — |
| Oats..... | 3070 | 14,370 | — |

Flour 4770 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT OF THE NUMBER OF QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED FEBRUARY 20, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|-----------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. |
| Weekly | 114,926 53 | 6105,788 33 | 4 60,494 19 | 6 13,302 30 |
| Average.. | 53 2 | 33 4 | 19 0 | 30 10 |
| Duty..... | 18 0 | 5 0 | 7 0 | 11 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 20.
BANKRUPTCY.

- R. BECKLEY, North Audley-street, grocer. [Jones, Gray's Inn-square.]
 R. L. STURTEVANT, Bethnal-green, soap manufacturer. [Watson and Sons, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street.]
 W. G. ROWLEY, Dover-road, Southwark, wine merchant. [Buchanan, Basinghall-street.]
 I. LUMLEY, Cornwell-road, victualler. [Parnell and Tanqueray, New Broad-street.]
 T. BRYSON, Addie street, City, commission agent. [Turner and Hensman, Basing-lane, Chesham.]
 J. C. PETRIE, Bedlington, Durham, miller. [Leadbitter, Staple-inn, Chelton, Morpeth.]
 T. WESTERN, Broughford, Devonshire, maltster. [Stogdon, Kester, Keddell and Co., Lime-street.]
 J. GLAZEBROOK, Birmingham, carpenter. [Hebbert, Birmingham.]
 R. DAVENPORT, jun., Birmingham, plumber. [Reece, Birmingham.]

DIVIDENDS.

March 12. Collier, Hythe, Kent, draper—March 14. R. Noyce, New Church-street, Lisson-grove, plumber—March 14. A. Jopp, Cornhill, ship broker—March 12. A. Wales, Spring-street, Bradwell, wood splitter—March 13. T. Weldon, Holles-street, Cavendish-square, tailor—March 13. J. H. Butterworth, Leadenhall-market, victualler—March 19. J. Graham, jun., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, spirit merchant—March 14. J. Forster and Co., Carlisle, Cumberland, bankers—March 12. R. Rowley, Bishopwearmouth, Durham, scrivener—March 12. W. Dunnett, Manchester, commission agent—March 12. J. Buxton, Manchester, builder—March 19. T. Mason, Harford, Devonshire, miller—March 13. R. T. Abbott and A. T. Tebbitt, Birmingham, wholesale tea dealers—March 13. R. Mitchell, Leicester, banker—March 15. J. Singleton, Aston, Warwickshire, wire drawer.

CERTIFICATES.

March 14. A. Scott, Cambridge-street, Golden-square, appraiser—March 12. J. Whipple, Crown-street, Finsbury, stay manufacturer—March 14. J. Turner, Grange-place, Hoxton, cabinet maker—March 12. A. A. Newman, High-street, White-chapel, saddler—March 12. J. Abbott, Amwell-street, builder—March 14. A. Blazell, Upper Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square—March 13. W. Pearson, Chelmsford, draper—March 14. J. Wheatley, Kennington-cross, livery stablekeeper—March 21. H. H. Fisher, Bury-street, St. James's, tailor—March 12. T. Pottinger, Charles-street, Manchester-square, merchant.

SCOTCH REQUISITIONS.

J. ALEXANDER, Montrose, manufacturer—A. KER and CO., Greenock, merchants—R. MARSHALL, Glasgow, tea merchant—D. GRAHAM, Kilmarnock, skinner—W. CRAWFORD, Large, Ayrshire, cattle dealer.

RAMS FOR RAISING WATER without Labour.
 where a fall can be obtained—Deep Well Engines—Pumps of every description—Buildings heated by hot water, &c. Every description of Fountains erected by F. ROE, 70, STRAND, Ornamental and House Engineer.

PROTECTION TO AGRICULTURE.—At a numerous Meeting (convened by the Tenant Farmers) of the Landowners, Occupiers, and other Friends of British Agriculture, held in the Town-hall at Wetherby, on Thursday, the 1st day of February, 1874, for the purpose of adopting such measures as may best resist the present dangerous proceedings of the Anti-Corn Law League.

The Earl of HAREWOOD in the Chair.
 It was resolved unanimously:—
 Moved by Mr. W. Hannam, seconded by the Hon. Edwin Lascelles, Resolved—1st. That the national and local burdens imposed upon the land render the maintenance of a system of protection absolutely necessary to enable British agriculture to compete with the untaxed soils and cheap labour of foreign states, and that the legislative protection which is now afforded is not more than is equivalent to these burdens, and not more than is afforded to the other productive arts of the country.
 Moved by G. L. Fox, Esq., seconded by Mr. John Rhodes, 2nd. It is with regret and indignation that we witness the increasing attempts which are being made throughout the kingdom by means of false statements, and under pretence of advocating the principles of Free Trade, to delude the Working Classes, disunite Landlord and Tenant, and to prejudice both against the best interests of the Country.
 Moved by Mr. Tennant, seconded by Joseph Dent, Esq., 3rd. That the time has now arrived when it is the duty of every one interested in Agriculture, involving as it does the welfare of all classes, strenuously to oppose the pernicious designs of the Anti-Corn Law League.
 Moved by the Hon. Arthur Lascelles, seconded by the Rev. B. Remondou, 4th. That this Meeting pledges itself to use every exertion for the maintenance of the present protective system, and that a Committee, consisting of the following persons, be now formed for this purpose, and for co-operating with any County or Central Committee in upholding the same:—The Earl of Harewood, Geo. Lane Fox, Esq., the Hon. Edwin Lascelles, Joseph Dent, Esq., the Hon. Arthur Lascelles, Thomas L. Fairfax, Esq., Geo. Lane Fox, jun., Esq., Colonel Markham, Edward York, Esq., Rev. B. Remondou, Messrs. Kell, Maughan, Gaunt, Hildale, John Rhodes, Coates, W. Hannam, J. Parkin, J. Stephenson, C. Wardman, G. Rhodes, W. Crosby, William Acoub, J. H. Downes, Tennant, Harecastle, and Allen.
 Moved by Colonel Markham, seconded by Edward York, Esq., 5th. That petitions to both Houses of Parliament, founded on the foregoing resolutions, be prepared by the committee, and sent for signature to all the townships within the district of the Wetherby Market.
 Moved by Thomas L. Fairfax, Esq., seconded by Mr. Gaunt, 6th. That these resolutions be printed for circulation, and advertised in the newspapers.
 The Earl of Harewood having left the chair, It was moved by George Lane Fox, Esq., seconded by Charles A. Fischer, Esq., and carried by acclamation.
 That the best thanks of this meeting be given to the Earl of Harewood for his efficient services in the chair this day.

SHIRTS AND STOCKS.—W. E. WHITELOCK, 166, STRAND, established twenty years, solicits the attention of gentlemen to the Shirts he supplies for 6s. 6d. and 6s. 6d. each, including washing. They are made from Mansfield's Patent Shirting, with blue linen fronts, collars, and wrists, the very best work, the Corazza and other new styles, and are superior to what are usually sold for 7s. 6d. and 8s. 6d. Also, all linen, 10s. 6d. and 12s. 6d., usual price 1s. 6d. and 1s. 6d. The measure requisite is the neck, chest, and wrist, tight. One sent as sample to any part of the kingdom free, upon receipt of a Post-office order for the amount, with 1s. in addition as part payment of carriage. W. E. W.'s Stocks are unequalled, particularly his Kevlarsting Cloth, with bows, 7s. 6d.; long ends, 2s. 6d.; and rich satin, 6s. 6d.; long ends, 6s. 6d. One sent per post free on receiving the amount, and the length and breadth required in inches. Outfits supplied for all climates at the lowest wholesale prices.

PATRONIZED AND FAVORED BY HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, HER H. PRINCE ALBERT, THE ROYAL FAMILY, AND THE SEVERAL COURTS OF EUROPE.

ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL, for the Growth and Preservation and Beautifying the Human Hair. Price 3s. 6d.—7s. Family Bottles (equal to 4 small) 10s. 6d., and double that size, 21s.
CAUTION.—SPURIOUS IMITATIONS are frequently offered for sale under a FICTITIOUS name or the word "GENUINE." It is therefore imperative on purchasers to see that the words "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" are on the Wrapper of each bottle, and on the back of the wrapper nearly 1500 times, containing 29,028 letters. All others are FRAUDULENT COUNTERFEITS. The principle on which "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" is prepared, is confined solely to the knowledge and practice of A. ROWLAND and SON, who are still at an immense expense in completing its preparation, and the amalgamation of its PURELY VEGETABLE MATERIALS renders abortive any attempt to discover its component parts.
 ROWLAND'S KALYDOR, for Improving and Regulating the Skin and Complexion. Price 4s. 6d. and 8s. 6d. per bottle, duty included.
 ROWLAND'S ODONTO, or PEARL DENTIFRICE, renders the Teeth beautifully White and preserves the Gums. Price 2s. 6d. per box, duty included.
CAUTION.—It is imperative on purchasers to see that the word "ROWLAND'S" is on the Wrapper of each article. For the protection of the Public from fraud and imposition, the Honourable Commissioners of Her Majesty's Stamps have authorized the Proprietors' Signature to be engraved on the Government Stamp, thus, A. ROWLAND and SON, 20, Hatton-garden, which is affixed to the Kalydor and Odonto. Sold by them and by Chemists and Perfumers.
 * All others are SPURIOUS IMITATIONS!!!

WORTHY OF REMARK.—The fact that many of the principal Hospitals in the kingdom—among which it is sufficient to name Guy's, St. George's, and the Westminster, in the metropolis, and the Manchester, Bristol, and Brighton Infirmary—have adopted BETT'S PATENT BRAND, in preference to Foreign, affords a sufficient guarantee to the consumers of Brandy of the extreme purity of the article; the connoisseur being, at the same time, baffled in his attempt to distinguish between its flavour and that of Fine Cognac. Price, pale or coloured, in quantities not less than Two Gallons, Eighteen Shillings per Gallon, at the Distillery, No. 7, Smithfield-barn, leading to St. John-street.

THE TOILET of BEAUTY furnishes innumerable proofs of the high estimation in which GOWLAND'S LOTION is held by the most distinguished possessors of brilliant Complexions. This elegant preparation comprehends the preservation of the Complexion, both from the effects of Cutaneous Malady and the operation of variable temperature, by refreshing its delicacy, and sustaining the brightest tints with which beauty is adorned. "Monsieur Beau, London," is in white letters on the Government Stamp, without which none is genuine. Price 2s. 9d., 5s. 6d., quarts 8s. 6d. Sold by all Perfumers and Medicine Vendors.

WEAK LEGS, KNEES, AND ANKLES.—SURGEONS in England, Ireland, and Scotland, continue to recommend BAILLY'S ELASTIC LACED STOCKINGS, KNEE CAPS, and ANKLE BOOTS; they are light, cool, and warranted to wash. Since the reduction of postage, afflicted persons in the country can have any bandage by post, for a few pence, by forwarding their measure. The particular property of the Stocking is to give constant support in varicose veins, weak, swollen, or dropsical affections of the legs, or in any case requiring equal pressure: the Knee Cap will be of great service where the knee-joint requires support, from accident to the pain of the knee, after inflammation, rheumatic or gouty affections, or in any case where, from weakness of the part, support may be required.—W. H. Bailly, 418, Oxford-street, London.

LOWDEN'S CELEBRATED COUGH PILLS, a safe and effectual cure for Coughs, Colds, Shortness of Breath, Asthma, &c. &c. They promote free expectoration, and hence prevent that accumulation of phlegm which causes a sense of choking; allay irritability, tickling in the throat, and relieve that sense of oppression, fulness, and difficulty of breathing, which nightly deprives the patient of rest.
 In Asthma and Coughs of long standing they are invaluable, and universally admitted to be the best known Medicine; in any case where they do not effect a perfect cure they afford such relief to the sufferer during the paroxysms or fits as to induce him henceforth never to be without them.
 Sold by Mr. Lowden, Chemist, 208, Fleet-street, London, in boxes at 1s. 1d., 7s. 9d., and 4s. 6d.; also by one or more respectable Medicine Vendors in each town in the United Kingdom.

STOOPING OF THE SHOULDERS AND CONTRACTION of the CHEST, so injurious in Young Persons and oppressive to Invalids and the Indrnt, entirely prevented, and gently and effectually removed, by the occasional use of the Patent ST. JAMES'S CHEST-EXPANDER, which is light, simple, easily employed outwardly or invisibly, without bands beneath the arms, uncomfortable constraint, or impediment to exercise. The great improvement it causes in the figure is immediately apparent; but the paramount benefit of this invention is its obvious tendency to prevent the incursion of consumption and other pulmonary diseases in youth, and to afford a comfortable support to the chest and back in the aged and weakly, or those who are accustomed to sedentary occupations. Full particulars may be obtained on application to Mr. A. Binyon, 40, Tavistock-street, Strand, London, by enclosing a postage stamp.

BELL'S BALM OF ROSEMARY FOR COUGHS is justly esteemed the safest and most certain medicine ever invented, and will be found to act like a charm in allaying coughs of every kind. Rosemary has long been used as a domestic remedy in cases of coughs and colds in the form of tea, or by infusing a few sprigs in Gruel and taken at bedtime. The Balm possesses the medicinal properties of the plant, which are tonic, expectorant, and diaphoretic. It acts gently on the skin and mucous membrane of the lungs and bronchial tubes, thus carrying off the disease by perspiration and expectoration. One trial will prove its extraordinary powers. As a defence to the chest, BELL'S MEDICATED TISSUE PAPER will be found invaluable. Being impervious to air, it effectually excludes cold and damp, and simply requires to be pinned and worn outside the flannel in the form of a large plaster, or tacked to a piece of silk or any other light material.
 May be had of J. Balzer, Chemist, 82, St. John-street-road, Islington; Sanger, 150, Oxford-street; Edwards, 67, St. Paul's Churchyard; and Hooper, 24, Great Russell-street, Covent-garden. In bottles at 1s. 1d. and 1/2s. 9d., and in sheets 2d. each.

FOR STOPPING DECAYED TEETH, Mr. THOMAS'S SUCCEEDANEUM, price 4s. 6d.—Patronized by her Majesty, his Royal Highness Prince Albert, and his Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent. This valuable SUCCEEDANEUM for Stopping Decayed Teeth, however large the cavity, is far superior to anything ever before used, as it is placed in the tooth in a soft state, without any pressure or pain, and in a short time becomes as hard as the enamel, and will remain firm in the tooth for many years, rendering extraction unnecessary. It arrests all further progress of decay, and renders them again useful in mastication. All persons can use Mr. THOMAS'S SUCCEEDANEUM themselves with ease, without the aid of a dentist, as full directions are enclosed.—Prepared only by Mr. Thomas, Surgeon-Dentist, 63, Berners-street, Oxford-street, price 4s. 6d., and will be sent by post to any part of the kingdom.

ARTIFICIAL TEETH.—Mr. Thomas continues to supply the loss of teeth, and has introduced an entirely new description of ARTIFICIAL TEETH, which will be found very superior to all others, as they will never decay nor become discoloured, and their perfect resemblance to nature defies detection even by the closest observer. This method does not require the extraction of any teeth or roots, or any painful operation whatever. The charges will be found less than most dentists.—Mr. Thomas, Surgeon-Dentist, 63, Berners-street, Oxford-street. At home from Eleven till Four.

LOSS OF TEETH SUPPLIED WITHOUT SPRINGS, CLASPS, OR WIRES, LOOSE TEETH FASTENED, and FILLING DECAYED TEETH WITH MINERAL MARMORATUM.
 MESSRS. LE DRAY and SON, Surgeon-Dentists, 42, BERNERS-STREET, OXFORD-STREET, continue to restore DECAYED TEETH with their celebrated MINERAL MARMORATUM, applied without pain, heat, or pressure, preventing and curing the toothache, and rendering the operation of extraction unnecessary. They also fasten loose Teeth, whether arising from age, neglect, the use of Calomel, or disease of the Gums. Incurable, artificial, or natural teeth of surpassing beauty, fixed from one to a complete set, without extracting the roots, or giving any pain, at the following Paris charges:—
 A Single Tooth £0 10 0
 A Set 5 5 0

Arranged on a principle yet unrivalled, rendering it impossible to distinguish the artificial teeth from the natural ones; answering most satisfactorily all the purposes of the original teeth in mastication and articulation, imparting to the countenance a younger and improved appearance, protecting the adjoining teeth, and remaining perfectly secure in their places.
 Artificial Teeth repaired, remodelled, and brought to their former shape and appearance.
 Artificial Palates of the most improved construction.—At home every day from Ten till Six.
 N.B. Removed from 60, Newman-street, to 42, Berners-street, Oxford-street.

CORROBORATION OF THE INNOCENT YET RELIEVING PROPERTIES OF BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS.

TO MR. FROUT, 229, STRAND, LONDON.
 Sir,—In recompense for the great benefit I have received from the use of Blair's Gout and Rheumatic Pills, I feel it a duty I have long owed to the afflicted with the excruciating torture of the Gout, to make your valuable remedy more extensively known.
 I am upwards of seventy years of age, and have, when occasion required, used them for more than twelve years past. I have at all times found nothing to relieve me but them, and my firm belief is that they are not composed of anything injurious to the constitution, as I always find, after their use, my general bodily health renewed, and my appetite considerably sharpened.
 Should you, Sir, think this statement worthy of insertion in your list of testimonials, I can with truth solemnly declare the above.
 April 16th, 1872. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
 P.S.—I will with pleasure answer any application in proof of this testimony.
 The never-failing effects of BLAIR'S GOUT and RHEUMATIC PILLS in curing every description of Gout and Rheumatism, have secured to them a celebrity unequalled by any medicine of past or present times. They not only give relief in a few hours, where the patient has been driven nearly to madness by the excruciating tortures of this disease, but restore to perfect health in an inconceivable short space of time. They are equally speedy and certain in rheumatism, either chronic or acute, lumbago, sciatica, pains in the head or face, and indeed for every rheumatic or gouty affection; in fact, such has been the rapidity, perfect ease, and complete safety of this medicine, that it has astonished all who have taken it; and there is not a city, town, or village in the kingdom, but contains many grateful evidences of its benign influence.
 Sold by Thomas FROUT, 229, Strand, London; and by his appointment by all respectable Medicine Vendors throughout the United Kingdom. Price 3s. 6d. per box.
 Ask for Blair's Gout and Rheumatic Pills, and observe the name and address of "Thomas FROUT, 229, Strand, London," impressed upon the Government Stamp affixed to each box of the genuine Medicine.

Prior to 6d., cloth gilt edges.
MRS. LOUDON'S LADIES' COMPANION
 THE FLOWER GARDEN.
 Being an Alphabetical Arrangement of all the Ornamental Plants and Flowers grown in Gardens and Shrubberies, with full directions for their culture.
 London: Published by William Smith, 113, Fleet-street.

Just published, price 1s.
PRACTICAL HINTS ON NEW AND OLD MANURES. By JOHN DODDRISEN HUMPHREYS, Esq., Author of the "Electro-Physiology of Man," &c. &c., with an explanation of the author's discovery of the governing Principles of Vegetable Growth, full information as to the use and superior advantages for Wheat, Turnips, &c., of the new manure, called "Humphreys's Farmer's Compound," as manufactured, at 12s. per cwt., by Messrs. DAVY, MACNIVEN, and Co., 100, Upper Thames-street, London.
 Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

On Wednesday next,
THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, No. 80, for MARCH.

- CONTENTS:—
 1. Shakespearean Criticism and Acting—Macbeth.
 2. Progress of Art.
 3. Knight's Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy.
 4. Stratford.
 5. The Land Tax.
 6. Niebuhr and the Classical Museum.
 7. Etruscan Monuments.
 8. British Mission to Shoa.
 9. Promotion of Architecture (with Illustrations).
 10. Earl Spencer and the State of Parties.
 Postscript and New Publications.
 Samuel Clarke, 15, Pall Mall East.

CAUSES OF, AND REMEDIES FOR, THE EXISTING DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY. BY JOHN WADE, AUTHOR OF "BRITISH HISTORY CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED," "THE HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES," &c.

THE WEEKLY CHRONICLE OF FEBRUARY
 the 24th instant will contain the First Sections of the above interesting and important Work, how first published, and which will be continued Weekly until completed.
 A LETTER to SIR ROBERT PEEL from COTTON TWIST on O'CONNELL at the LEAGUE MEETING of Wednesday night appears in the WEEKLY CHRONICLE of this Day.
 The following are among the peculiar features of the WEEKLY CHRONICLE:—
 I. The celebrated Articles on IRISH HISTORY, and the REBELLION of 1798: the only safe Guide to a Knowledge of the Irish Policy, essential to the integrity of the Empire at this important crisis.
 II. COTTON TWIST REDIVIVUS! A New Series, Weekly, of the LETTERS of COTTON TWIST, "FREE TRADE! PLenty to DO! HIGH PROFITS! GOOD WAGES! and CHEAP BREAD!"
 III. SCALPEL'S ANATOMY of the PERRAGE: forming a complete History of the Peerage of the United Kingdom, for the Information of the People.
 Sold by all News-vendors in town and country.—Office, 337, Strand.

MR. BEARD'S DAGUERRETYPE, or PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS.—These inimitable and much admired Portraits, in which further improvements have lately been effected, are taken by the Patentee, at 85, King William-street, City; 34, Pall Mall; and at the Royal Polytechnic Institution, 309, Regent-street, to whom, also, Licences are granted for exercising the Invention in provincial towns and districts.

CHINESE COLLECTION and GRAND DISTRIBUTION (admission free), value £5000, on the principles of the Anti-Corn Law League, consisting of Chinese curiosities and Parisian novelties, on April 8, at the Chinese and Parisian Magazine, 7, Old Jewry. Every subscriber will obtain a handsome prize, consisting of Chinese jars, pictures, &c., or a splendid package of French ingenuity and taste. The drawing will take place under the highest patronage. The prizes are now on show at the above establishment. Tickets, 2s. each, may be obtained by applying at above, or at the retail branches of the Chinese and Parisian Magazine, 7, Old Jewry, and corner of the Old Jewry, Cheapside; also of Hewitt and Co., 18, Philip-lane. W. Ancier and P. Ledoux, rue de Lombardie, Paris, will supply the Parisian articles, and the indefatigable exertions of the proprietors for the last ten years will furnish a magnificent collection from the Celestial Empire.
 TAYLOR, Brothers, and HEWETT, Chinese and Parisian Magazine, wholesale department, 7, Old Jewry, Cheapside.

HENRY PENNY'S PATENT METALLIC MEMORANDUM BOOKS, ruled or plain, in great variety of sizes and bindings. The advantages of this invention are, that, with pencil and paper prepared in a peculiar manner, the writer obtains all the effect of ink. The paper presents a beautiful glossy surface, over which the pencil glides without any difficulty, and the marks made by it are indelible. To be had at the Manufacturers, 8, and 9, OLD BAILEY, LONDON, and of all the principal Stationers in town and country. The trade supplied direct, or through any wholesale stationer.

CAUTION.—In order to protect the public from imitations, the name "H. Penny's Improved Patent," with the number of the book, is marked on the back of each.

TO IRONMONGERS, BRAZIERS, AND TIN-PLATE WORKERS.—For immediate disposal, an old established and respectable business in the above branches, comprising a well-stocked modern Stock from £800 to £2000, good fixtures and tools. Situated in London between 20 and 30 miles, in a large thoroughfare town, with populous vicinity. No premium required, and part of the amount may be repaid upon good security being given.
 Apply (if by letter, prepaid) to Kitchen and Moore, St. Giles's, Barbican, London.

THE AMERICAN ROCKING-CHAIR.—None are genuine unless they have a "Luck, Kent, and Cumming" patent on the bottom. This chair, so much admired by all who have visited America, for the remarkable ease, pleasure, and comfort which it affords, is imported, and for sale at the extensive Carpet and Upholstery Establishments of LUCK, KENT, and CUMMING, No. 4, Regent-street; Messrs. Hall, 68, London-wall; and WM. CUMMING and Co., 96, Aldersgate-garden. It is asserted with confidence that there is no place of furniture in use in civilized society more sought after and approved of when known. The price, 25s., with a liberal discount to the trade. Stout persons and invalids will find these chairs invaluable.

HELIANTHUS ANNUUS, FLEETWOOD'S
 celebrated SUN FLOWER SEED, produces the most beautiful OIL from its seed for Cattle and Poultry. The leaves, for cows, contain the milk, and the stalk and branches, when soaked, will make the best hemp.
 All orders to be directed to G. F., care of Mr. JAY, tobacconist, 114, Blackfriars-road.
 Sufficient to plant one Acre £0 7 6
 Ditto half do 0 4 6
 Ditto one-fourth do 0 3 0
 Post-office orders duly attended to, and forwarded to every part of the kingdom.

THE NEW LIGHT.—A GREAT NOVELTY.
 The patent CAMPHINE LAMP gives a light of surpassing softness, and purity, without any kind of grease or dirt, smoke, or smell. The lamp is simply and beautifully constructed, and can be fitted to description of lamp, pedestal, or gas fitting. It is not easily put out of action. The Camphine (also a patent) is 4s. per gallon, and is so pure that if spilt on any article of dress or furniture will not leave either stain, while it consumes so slowly that, at the cost of three farthings an hour, it gives a light equal to twelve mould candles, without any noise. It will be found far less expensive than any, and incomparably more all existing lights. To be seen burning at Rippon and Burton's (the sole and retail agents for English's Patent Camphine),—N.B. The Patent Camphine Lamp has "Rippon and Burton, Wells-street, London," conspicuously placed on its head. The public are cautioned not to be misled.

DAYLIGHT AT NIGHT! CAMPHINE
 The patent Camphine Lamp gives a rich light, surpassing in purity and brilliancy, is simple in construction, and emits no smoke or smell. May be seen burning at F. Barrett's, Gasfitter, and Lamp Warehouse, 25, Oxford-street, where a large assortment of lamps is selected from, all at the lowest possible price. Any Lamp fitted with a Camphine head. Patent Camphine, 4s. per gallon. Gasfitter, 25, Oxford-street, one door west of Bathhouse-lane.
 Mail Lamps, 11s. 6d.; Ground Glass Patent Solar Lamps, 5s. 6d.; Palmer's Patent Candle Lamps, from 5s. A most elegant and useful Table, Bracket, Slideboard, and suspending Lamp, in ornate style, at extraordinary low prices. Lamp cleaned or altered to the best style. Lamp shades, 6s.; cottons, 4d. per doz. Palmer's Patent Candle, 8d. per lb.

London: Printed (at the office of Palmer and Gifford, Old Jewry, near the Custom-house) by A. W. FAUSTON, of Barton-on-Jure, and published by him at TEN LANCET SQUARE, Saturday, February 24, 1874.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 23.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1844.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 37, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

WHAT NEXT?

The struggle with Monopoly allows of no intermission. We have to succeed by a succession of efforts against the dead weight of a power which regains its position the moment we relax. The Bread-tax is law; and the landlords command not only their dependant tenantry, but the Ministry and the Legislature. All they have to do is to secure the post they occupy. They have nothing to carry, and nobody to convince. The only success they need is that of resistance. Their best energy is the *Vis Inertia*. But with us, to pause is to be defeated. We must advance, or it is useless to have moved at all. Every advantage from past exertions and sacrifice is forfeited, unless they be followed up with similar vigour. And this applies, not only to the Council of the League, and its most prominent advocates, agents, and missionaries, but to its members generally, to the friends of Free Trade throughout the country. Their motto must still be "Onwards!" They must reckon nothing done while anything remains to do: for in that remainder consists the worth and virtue of the whole. Every thing remains, for the repeal of the Food Monopoly remains to be accomplished. Hence the occasion for continually answering the question in our readers' minds, "What next?"

For those localities which have not yet embodied their zeal in the tangible form of contributions to the great fund, which, in its full extent, is essential to the operations that have been undertaken, the reply is obvious. They have to furnish their proportion of the means of combined, and often costly, action, to the central body and moving spring of the agitation. In the northern part of the kingdom this has, in a considerable degree, been accomplished. A spirit has been manifested which the wealthy lords of the soil have, as yet, found it as vain to emulate as to abuse. They have promised to "go ahead" of our fund, and we should like to see them; always provided that the money be spent not less honestly than ours: for the purposes of a legitimate advocacy, and not for those of corruption or oppression. To the southern part of the kingdom we now look for a response to the liberality evinced in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Scotland. That is their next move; in such way and manner as the circumstances and habits of the people of each several locality may point out as most efficient. There is another work in hand, which may in some districts keep pace with, while in others it should promptly follow, the collection of subscriptions towards the fund. It is to that other work that we would now direct attention.

In the plan of the present campaign—if we may be allowed to use with impunity as military a phrase—the electoral body was indicated as the tribunal to which the League makes its appeal. We proposed to carry our cause into their court, and to ask of them the reversal of the unjust and ruinous decision of the Parliament. But the power of voters is far from being confined to elections. The time of reward or punishment only occurs at intervals; that of responsibility endures always. This is what we wish electors to make their representatives distinctly feel. Let them not quietly submit to be misrepre-

sented. If they be in danger of it, and on such a question as the Corn Laws, let them give fair warning of the consequences. Mr. Villiers's motion for the total repeal of those laws will be again brought forward this session. Free-Trade voters should memorialize their members to support it. Such a communication belongs legitimately to the connexion between a member of Parliament and his constituents. Let there be no offensive dictation, but an earnest, temperate, and decisive expression of the wishes of electors. Make the case quite plain. Leave no ambiguity as to your object. Set open no door for compromise. And let that which gives weight to your remonstrance be equally distinct. Authenticate your memorial by your signatures and addresses. There is nothing like a distinct understanding, and no mistake. Let no man who has been borne into Parliament upon your shoulders, and who may again present himself as a candidate for your suffrages whenever the tactics of party require a dissolution, talk of your names being copied from the tombstones. Members will ponder over such documents. Their seven years' lease of legislative power will not be turned into a tenancy-at-will, but the next election will present itself more vividly to their imaginations. They will think twice before coming into collision with your declared determination upon a matter so deeply affecting your interests. Neglect not this step. It is the next thing to be done. Two facts will at any rate be ascertained by it: first, the strength of Free-Trade principles in the constituency to which you belong; and secondly, the degree of sympathy and co-operation upon which you may calculate in your present representatives. A third result is yet more important than either. To get up these memorials, you must canvass the opinions of the voters in your several districts, wards, or parishes, upon the great question at issue. That canvass will be the best possible preparation, and an essential preparation, for purifying and perfecting the registration. And this is a further step in advance towards which we are tending in the progress of the Anti-Corn-Law agitation.

Into the mode and details of these proceedings we do not now enter. Directions, full and plain, according to the views of the Council, will be speedily furnished to our friends throughout the kingdom, either by means of this journal or by circular, to those with whom we are, or will put ourselves in correspondence. Our present object is to announce that such instructions are preparing, and to aid their efficiency. The declared and authentically-recorded opinion of a commanding majority of the electoral body is the aim of the League. In addition to that, and in contemplation of a general election—which, come when it may, will be a poll of the constituents upon the question of Free Trade or Monopoly—we desire the full and just registration of all advocates of our principles who are entitled to vote; and the exclusion of those whom, as we know, the monopolists have, wrongfully and in large numbers, placed upon the lists of voters. In whatever is necessary for the accomplishment of these ends we call for individual and universal co-operation. In forming committees; in collecting and giving information which may tend to substantiate a good claim to a vote, or detect a bad one; in completing a reliable report of the principles and opinions of electors; in discussing the question, amongst voters especially, so as to enlighten the ignorant, confirm the timid or wavering, convert the prejudiced, elucidate facts, and refute calumnies: in these and other modes which will suggest themselves, all can co-operate; and now is the time. Our work is not of a nature to be done vicariously. Neither subscriptions alone, nor the services, essential to success though they be, for which subscriptions will pay, can suffice for its achievement. The indefatigable toils of leaders do not supersede the active energy of those with whom they are confederated. In our multitudes, we must everywhere be up and doing. Secure in the military discipline of its influence, Monopoly may rest on the trainbands it commands; but we must raise the *posse comitatus*. "Help! help! everywhere," is our cry; the cry, not of desperation, but of anticipated triumph. Come on, and share in this great national movement, by which the worst atrocity of class legislation will be for ever abrogated. Let exertions redouble the blow already given by subscriptions, and shatter to atoms the fallacy that this is a got-up agitation, a factions and interested, a limited and vain endeavour on the part of a few to appear to be the many. We invite the experiment; we brave the test. Were it so, long ago it must have died away, instead of ceaselessly gathering strength, as it

has done. To work, then; in the moral power of your principles, and the activity of your zeal. To work, for the deliverance of the poor and needy, the recovery of industrial rights, the return of trade, commerce, and prosperity, and the defeat of class oppression and cupidity. Let every one earn his "charter and freehold of rejoicing" in the emancipation of industry by electoral integrity and patriotism. The victory will be for millions and for ages; but the needful work of the day, wherein each can help, is told in three words,—The Canvass, the Memorial, the Registration!

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Fourth Week, ending Saturday, March 2.

Parliament, this week, has afforded but little, or rather nothing, for our FREE TRADE MIRROR to reflect: but this is not owing to the Free Traders in the House of Commons. They were all in the field early with notices of motions, which would have raised abundant discussion, but have been prevented from bringing them on by causes, the nature of which we must explain.

On Mondays and Fridays, by a special rule of the House of Commons, Government business takes precedence of all other: the intermediate days, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, are given up to general purposes. Any member can raise a discussion on the occasion of the House going into a Committee of Supply, the old constitutional principle being still recognised, that the Government must at least listen to statements of grievances, if it will not rectify them, before any money is voted. Mr. Sharman Crawford has twice this session asserted this principle; and it is a very proper and very wholesome thing to keep the country in remembrance of this, its precious, ancient, constitutional right. But on account of the great difference between ancient and modern times, and the essential necessity that there exists for making due provision for the payment of our army, our navy, and our great civil establishments over all the world, a habit has arisen of not interfering with the votes of supply by anything which would stop their consideration for an indefinite period. For instance, it would be felt to be a vexatious thing if Lord John Russell, or Mr. Villiers, or Mr. Cobden, instead of making independent or substantive propositions of motions, were to raise debates, lasting for a week or a fortnight, on Ireland or the Corn Laws, on the question of the SPEAKER leaving the chair, in order that the House may go into a Committee of Supply. It is, therefore, now the general rule that all great debates should be brought on by formal propositions (of which notice has been given beforehand,) on those days open generally to the members of the House.

This rule, however, is not considered at all applicable to those debates which are very properly brought on whenever grants of money are to be voted. If Sir Charles Napier thinks that the navy is badly managed, it is very right and fitting that he should call the attention of the House to it when the Navy Estimates are to be granted. If Mr. Henry Baillie is of opinion that the regulations are defective on which pensions to our soldiers are granted, it is just as right and proper that he should bring on that question when the Army Estimates are to be voted. And so of other subjects. Mr. Hume, Mr. Williams, and Dr. Bowring devote themselves to revising the estimates generally, and questioning every item which appears to them to be of a suspicious, an extravagant, or an unnecessary nature; and far too little credit is given to these assiduous and industrious men for their care over the NATIONAL ACCOUNTS—a dry and repulsive subject to the great body of our unbusinesslike legislators.

It being, then, the rule to raise general debates on what are called substantive or independent notices of motion, Mr. Cobden, with other Free-Traders, gave early intimation of his intention to raise a discussion on that most delicate and touching point of the Corn-Law question—the interest which farmers and farm-labourers have in the monopoly of corn. This he fixed for a Tuesday; and it happened to be first on the list, so that it would have the debate of the evening. But the discussion on Ireland was going on: the Government gave up their business to allow it to be carried on continuously; and it would not only have been an uncourteous but an impolitic procedure, if Mr. Cobden had insisted on his right, and brought on one important debate in the midst of another. Nothing, in fact, disturbed the continuity of the debate on Ireland but the *Horse-racing Penalties Bill*.

And thereby "hangs a tale." Mr. Cobden's motion, having been postponed to last Tuesday, lost its order of precedence, and took rank below several other notices of motion which stood on the list. One of these was to the following effect:—

"Mr. Hutt.—That this House resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House on the Corn Laws, for the purpose

of considering the following resolution:—"That it is expedient that corn imported into the United Kingdom from the British possessions in South Africa, India, and Australasia be made subject to the same duty which is levied on corn imported into the United Kingdom from Canada."

There was some chance of this subject being brought on; and Mr. Hutt attended during the whole of the evening, in order to propose it. At the same time, the Horse-racing Penalties Bill stood for third reading, if it could be accomplished, after all the other business was disposed of; and in order to get a Corn-Law discussion put off, and at the same time to pass the Turf Bill, the following manoeuvre was resorted to.

Lord John Manners, as our readers are aware, is a son of the Duke of Rutland, and he represents Newark, in conjunction with Mr. Gladstone, the President of the Board of Trade. Moreover, Lord John is looked upon as the head or leader of a small knot of youthful pedants in the House, who received from Mr. Hume the appellation of "Young England." So far as the opinions of "Young England" can be gathered from, or judged by, the writings and the speeches of Lord John Manners (he writes pamphlets and articles), they may be thus generally stated:—

"Young England" is High Church and High Tory—but its High Churchism and High Toryism is of an antique school. Having a profound veneration for the Roman Catholic Church, it would treat the Roman Catholics of Ireland with great kindness and respect, and would willingly endow the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland with state funds. Moreover, "Young England" wants an ambassador to be sent from this country to the Pope, with a permanent residence at Rome; and it is desirous that the statutes of mortmain should be repealed, in order that MONASTIC ESTABLISHMENTS may be founded and endowed in this country. Again, it is imbued with the theocratic or "divine right" idea of government. Kings and princes are ordained by, and receive their power from, God; therefore, their hereditary rights and their persons are sacred. The Church, too, is a divine idea, not in the spiritual sense alone, but in its bodily form; its possessions are sacred and inalienable; and who puts a finger on them is a profane and sacrilegious intruder or robber. In accordance with this, "Young England" does not believe in the popular idea of government, that power proceeds from the people, or is derived from their sanction. No—all power proceeds from God, who alone ordains kings and magistrates; and, therefore, such events as the Revolution of 1688, or the American war of independence, were profanities, inasmuch as they broke in upon hereditary right, and established the popular, which they contend is not only the false but the wicked, principle of government. But though "Young England" is despotic in its notions, it would be very good to the poor people. Instead of repealing the Corn Laws, and building so many manufactories, with their tall, smoky chimneys, it would rather build monasteries, where pious, celibate persons might reside, feeding the poor, as in the olden time, with beef and bread, and administering spiritual consolation to the sick and the afflicted. Besides, "Young England" would knock down every pew in every church, in order that the rich and the poor might meet together in worship; it would fling open the doors of every cathedral, and at all hours of the day encourage the beggar as well as the rich man to enter in and perform his devotions, as they do on the Continent; and, moreover, it would establish *Saints' Days*, or Holy Days, on which shop, factory, steam-boat, or railroad might repose, and the people, as in the olden time, rush out into the green fields (after performing their devotions), and engage in all sorts of manly sports.

Such is a general idea of "Young England," which boasts of about six or eight members of the House of Commons, all of whom pass for clever youths, though some of them are rather ancient youngsters. They had a field night on Tuesday; and they prevented the discussion of Mr. Hutt's motion. It was about the detention in France of Don Carlos (whom they consider to be the lawful, hereditary, "divine-right" King of Spain); and had Lord John Manners put his motion in the shape of a question to Sir Robert Peel, the matter need not have taken twenty minutes or half an hour. But they daunted on till eleven o'clock; and then, though it was too late to bring on a motion on a subject like that of Mr. Hutt's, it was not too late to pass the Horse-racing Penalties Bill.

However, there will be Corn-Law discussions in the House of Commons ere long.

On Thursday night Mr. Milner Gibson, who had a notice for an address respecting the deficiency of agricultural statistics for the United Kingdom, attended during the entire evening in the hope of being able to bring it on; but so many previous matters interfered that he was compelled, at a late hour, to postpone his motion for a fortnight.

The *Stockport Advertiser*, with much *naïveté*, contends that "Conservative newspapers must be gratuitously supplied" to the farmers, if the landlords wish to succeed in putting down the League.

TENANCY OF LAND.—At a meeting of the District Farmers' Club, held recently at Bromsgrove, a resolution was passed, according to the *Worcester Chronicle*, "That it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting that the only sound principle for tenancy of land is that of long leases, from fourteen to twenty-one years, as indispensable to good and profitable farming; and we strongly adhere to the principle of corn rents, as being most equitable to both owner and occupier."

MEETINGS.

GREAT MEETING OF THE LEAGUE AT COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.

The usual weekly aggregate meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law League was held at Covent-Garden Theatre on Wednesday evening. George Wilson, Esq., Chairman of the Council, presiding. Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, the house was crowded a few minutes after the doors opened; and throughout the proceedings the audience manifested as great enthusiasm in the cause of Free Trade as at any previous meeting within the walls of that building. On the Secretary reading the minutes of the last meeting, the name of Mr. O'Connell was greeted with a burst of applause from the whole assembly, testifying at once their sympathy with the hon. and learned gentleman and their appreciation of his services, in furtherance of the cause of Free Trade, at the last meeting. The following, among other gentlemen, were upon the stage:—

George Wilson, Esq., chairman; Hon. Chas. Pelham Villiers, M.P.; Thomas Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; Sir Valentine Blake, Bart, M.P.; Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; Henry Ashworth, Esq., the Oaks, near Bolton; Roger Cunliffe, Esq.; R. R. Moore, Esq.; A. W. Paulton, Esq.; W. A. Wilkinson, Esq.; Arthur Pattison, Esq.; — Pattison, Esq.; Samuel Lucas, Esq.; Nelson Handcock, Esq.; William Evans, Esq., Manchester; J. Gosnell, Esq.; George Borrett, Esq., Southampton; Christopher J. Thomas, Esq., Bristol; — Phillips, Esq.; Effingham Wilson, Esq.; John McLeod, Esq.; Captain Ridout; George Crawford Heath, Esq.; T. P. Burnard, Esq.; George Scrivens, Esq., Hastings; Charles Scott, Esq.; J. Cox, Esq.; G. C. Dyke, Esq.; W. A. Smith, Esq.; W. A. Thomson, Esq.; C. Layard, Esq.; H. S. Shaw, Esq.; George Smith, Esq.; R. L. Tweedale, Esq.; John Hunter, Esq.; George Ridout, Esq.; Sir William Baynes, Bart.; John Eccles, Esq., Southampton; J. B. Scott, Esq., Manchester; Francis Scheer, Esq.; Andrew Hale, Esq., Manchester; R. Andrews, Esq., Southampton; James Wilson, Esq.; W. Ibbotson, Esq., Sheffield; H. E. Adair, Esq.; W. Thornborough, Esq.; W. M. Burne, Esq.; Adam Smith, Esq.; — Wynn, Esq., Wolverhampton.

The proceedings were opened by the Chairman calling on the Secretary (Mr. Saul), to read the minutes of the previous meeting, which having been done,

The Hon. C. P. VILLIERS, M.P., moved, and Mr. COBDEN, M.P., seconded their confirmation, which was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN then came forward amid loud cheering, and said:—Ladies and Gentlemen, a highly-distinguished member of the Administration was kind enough to inform the public that "Leaguers met in theatres;" and certainly this meeting, although perhaps not so crowded as that held last week, is a confirmation of the information which the right hon. gentleman, the Secretary for the Home Department, was pleased to give to his brother members of the House of Commons. (Cheers.) We meet again, perhaps, in greater numbers than the entire of the monopolist meetings put together during the last week. (Cheers.) And, though it might not be a very great compliment to say that we are much behind them in intelligence, at the same time I am quite sure we are much before them, when the two objects are compared, in the estimation of the generous-hearted and intellectual portion of our fellow-countrymen. (Cheers.) They have their meetings—many meetings—which we are quite willing to admit, as an indication of renewed activity and vigour on the part of the more excitable of their old political party leaders, are important. (Hear.) In point of numbers, with one or two exceptions, they have been almost beneath notice; as an expression of the opinions of the tenant-farmers they are altogether, I should say, foolish. (Loud cheers.) And why? Because, in the first instance, though the tenant-farmers were brought forward to those meetings without any spontaneous action, or the evidence of any spontaneous action upon their parts, now, at any rate, the lords and squires have undertaken to perform the duties, and to conduct and manage the meetings, which they are unwilling to intrust the tenant-farmers themselves to conduct. (Cheers.) They have had many of those meetings, and we have made no complaint that they were close meetings; because we never object to a number of our fellow-countrymen meeting together for a specific object, and passing their resolutions uninterrupted by other parties, in their own way. They have a right so to meet and so to act. (Hear, hear.) But let us compare those meetings with others held by Mr. Cobden, last year, in the agricultural districts. Twenty-eight of those meetings were held in the agricultural districts, and twenty-seven of them were open meetings. In the very teeth of the agricultural monopolists, resolutions were carried in favour of the total abolition of the Corn Laws (cheers); whilst, on the other hand, at the only open meeting which they have held, convened by the high sheriff in Somersetshire, resolutions have been passed—moved, seconded, and adopted, and petitions to Parliament founded upon them—in favour of the total abolition of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) Are we not right then in saying, that they have yet no evidence that the tenant-farmers are in their favour? (Cheers.) We last week had an opportunity of noticing the observations of a noble lord with respect to the proceedings of the National Anti-Corn-Law League. This week, a noble earl who resides in Yorkshire claims some little notice at our hands. (Hear, hear.) At a meeting held at York, Earl Harewood, who occupied the chair, is reported to have said:—"There are other views in the Anti-Corn-Law agitation than those which meet the eye of the public. What happened to a farmer the other day, in Lincolnshire or in Norfolk, I forget which? He attended a meeting, and openly stated to that meeting that he was opposed to the Anti-Corn-Law League, as every Englishman has a right to be; and the very night after making this declaration his stacks and crops were burnt. No man after that," said the noble earl, "can doubt the intentions of the National Anti-Corn-Law League!" (Groans, hisses, and derisive laughter.) The noble lord never sent to inquire who set fire to the stacks; he furnished us with no information where that act of the incendiary took place, nor even who was the party to whom the stacks belonged. No, no; there was no occasion for that. (Cheers.) His lordship was quite ready to cast the imputation upon the League. There was no occasion for his lordship to send into Lincolnshire to inquire into the subject; his lordship knew his audience, and he knew that they would believe to the very letter any insinuations or expressions made by himself against a body of men who have as great a regard for the sacred rights of property, and who are as much opposed to, and

have as great a horror at, the demoniacal acts of incendiarism as his lordship or his earlship, or any other member of the aristocracy. (Loud cheers.) He lives in Yorkshire, and he cannot direct his eye in any direction without seeing around him towns, villages, and hamlets, all indebted to manufacturing industry and manufacturing capital for their present prosperity. He cannot look around him without knowing that upon all sides, high and low, are members of the National Anti-Corn-Law League. (Hear, hear.) Does he accuse them of having set fire to stacks in Lancashire or Yorkshire? (Hear.) He sits in the House of Lords opposite the Earl Ducie, the Earl of Radnor, the Marquis of Westminster, and Lord Kinnaird: will he accuse them of having encouraged acts of incendiarism, or of setting fire to stacks in the counties I have mentioned?—or will he dare to accuse this meeting? (Loud cheers.) No such thing—(cheers)—his lordship is especially careful to make insinuations and accusations, whilst at the same time he is equally careful to be regardless of the statement of facts. (Cheers.) Since we last met we have had meetings in various places in Yorkshire—at Richmond, Knaresborough, Northallerton, and Thirsk, attended by Mr. Plint, Colonel Thompson, and Mr. Prentice, as a deputation from the League. We have also had a meeting at Colne, in Lancashire, attended by the Rev. Mr. Massie of Manchester, and by Mr. Moore, at which £200 were collected; and again at Gloucester, last Saturday, an open county meeting, to which all were invited, took place. Earl Ducie was in the chair, and the meeting was attended by more tenant-farmers than the monopolists will be likely ever to get together in the same county. (Cheers.) It was addressed by Mr. Cobden, Colonel Thompson, and Mr. Moore; and resolutions were proposed by Mr. Holland,—a large agriculturist and farmer, a large occupier and owner,—and seconded by another tenant-farmer, approving of the proceedings of the National Anti-Corn-Law League. (Loud cheers.) We shall be addressed this evening by a manufacturer, Mr. Henry Ashworth, of Turton, near Bolton (cheers); by Mr. Milner Gibson, the member for Manchester. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Gisborne, unfortunately, is detained at home by indisposition; but our excellent friend Mr. Bright is here, and will address the meeting. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) The Chairman concluded by introducing Mr. Ashworth.

MR. ASHWORTH, on advancing to the table, was very warmly received by the meeting. He said:—Ladies and gentlemen, it is no common sight to witness a manufacturer from the north leave his dwelling and occupation to appear before an audience such as this. A manufacturer has usually other employment, and is disinclined to appeal to his fellow-countrymen even when he feels himself wronged. (Cheers.) Manufacturers are opposed to agitation; they are a class who study the practical sciences and the arts required for carrying out manufacturing operations; and would of necessity be busily engaged at home, if the effects of pernicious laws would allow them to be so. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, in appealing to you in the character of a manufacturer, I feel confidence in doing so—a confidence which arises from the fact that the manufacturers as a body seek to possess nothing but their own. (Cheers.) Manufacturers are charged with making hard bargains—so are all prudent people, yourselves among the rest. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) But it cannot be laid to the charge of the manufacturers that they have a great commercial house in Parliament-street, through which they can surround the interests of the rest of the community, and make both sides of the bargain. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, manufacturers are a body who enjoy no protection; they seek to enjoy no protection; they disclaim the protective system altogether, and they ask that all her Majesty's subjects should be placed on an equal footing with themselves. (Hear, hear.) Is that an unreasonable demand? (Cheers.) The landlords tell you they must have protection—that they are entitled, in fact, to certain protection for certain purposes. I will not now remind you what those purposes are, but refer you to Lord Mountcashel and Sir Edward Knatchbull—they can tell you all about it. (Cheers and laughter.) They say also that they must have protection to enable them to compete with the foreigners. For my own part, I confess I am not yet aware in what respect Englishmen are inferior to foreigners. (Cheers.) I am persuaded that the British farmer, and especially the farm-labourer, will do as much work, and are as capable to compete with the foreigner, as any class of the community; and I am convinced that none can better compete with him than the agricultural labourer, if the landlord will only allow him to buy his food a little cheaper. (Cheers.) We find that manufacturers are exposed to foreign competition. Why should landlords be exempt? (Cheers.) I repeat, the manufacturers enjoy no privileges—they want none; they possess no advantages of machinery which are not common to all the world. (Hear, hear.) We obtain inventions and improvements in machinery from other countries,—we embody those inventions and improvements in machines of our own manufacture, and thereby give them increased practical efficiency,—and although those machines, when made in the most perfect manner, were once prohibited as exports, they can now be taken out of the country, and sold in every country in the world at as cheap a rate as we get them ourselves. The law for prohibiting the exportation of machinery was repealed a year or two ago; and though at that time we were suffering severely in our business,—though many persons thought that the export of our machinery, so superior as it was, was a course hazardous to the maintenance of our manufacturing superiority,—yet nevertheless, in the true spirit of fair dealing, the manufacturers never demurred to it, but allowed the act to pass without hesitation or restraint. (Loud cheers.) Having, then, given to foreigners all the protection we enjoyed in the superiority of our machinery (as far as we ever did enjoy any), we now claim that we should be free from all restrictions of every kind; and we take it, that since as manufactures are exposed to foreign competition, we have a right to insist that it is an act of injustice that any other class—especially the wealthy landlord class—should enjoy advantages not common to all. (Cheers.) Now, with reference to the manufacturing and other classes of the community, manufacturers are told that the home market is the most important market for our productions. I am here prepared to speak to the value of the home market as regards *our own*—the cotton trade. The cotton trade of this country is chiefly an export trade. It is shown by "Barry's Glance," that only one bale out of every seven which we manufacture is wrought up for home consumption; therefore all the cotton

ployment the cotton trade derives from every class of British subjects amounts only to one-seventh, or equal to but one day's work in a week. (Hear, hear.) This, let me remind you, is the consumption of all classes of British subjects. Now, with regard to the landlord or aristocratic class, which puts forth in such vaunting terms the value of our home trade, when we come to analyse what they give us, we find that it amounts to some fractional part of one day's work in the week, and for that we are very thankful, so far as it goes. (Cheers.) With respect to the consumption of cotton goods by other classes in this country,—for we have other consumers besides landlords,—I may tell you that the city of London, the metropolis alone, consumes more cotton goods than all Ireland; and the town of Manchester consumes more of its own manufactures than the whole county of Buckingham. (Hear, hear, hear.) We next come to the export trade. I have before told you that we export six-sevenths of all we manufacture; hence we are dependent upon foreigners for six-sevenths of all the work we do; and as that six-sevenths of all the manufactures are sold in the open markets of the world, we are unable in any way to enjoy any description of protection, even though it were offered to us. (Cheers.) Let us now look to the landlord. The manufacture, which pertains to his occupation, that of food, is a manufacture which has not an export trade. He enjoys at his own doors the very best market in the world, and more than that, has protection into the bargain. (Hear, hear.) There was a time when the food-production of this country was exported—when the landlords of this country exported their own wheat—that day is now gone by, and the population of this country now consume all they can raise, and require much more if they could get it. (Hear, hear.) Seeing, then, that our population engaged in manufactures require and consume all the food produced at home, the landlords of course have ceased to export, and have the advantage of always selling their insufficient produce in a market where the demand constantly exceeds the supply. (Cheers.) Now, as I said before, this is not the case with manufactures: six-sevenths of all our cotton manufactures are exported. Mark the consequences of this! Food is the raw material of labour, just as cotton is the raw material of the finished manufacture. It follows, therefore, that the sales of goods we send abroad are virtually as much the exports of the landlord's wheat or other produce as they are of the manufacturer's cotton. (Hear, hear.) Thus, you find that the landlords, having ceased to be merchants on their own account, have by this means thrown the conducting of their own foreign mercantile affairs upon the manufacturers, and have thus possessed themselves of a much more easy, and a great deal more profitable, medium of exchange with other countries. In this way have they saved themselves all the trouble and annoyance of converting their own farming produce into money in foreign markets. All this has been taken off their hands by the manufacturing process which I have described to you. (Hear, hear.) Thus the British manufacturer, carrying on his trade under the operation of the Corn Laws, is first compelled to pay an act-of-Parliament price for all the food which himself and his workpeople require; and afterwards, by reason of his trade being an export trade, and his goods being an embodiment of British agricultural food, mixed up in the shape of labour with cotton and other articles, he becomes the unfortunate medium of the re-sale of this same food, exposed to the competition of the whole world, in those distant markets where similar food is selling perhaps for only half the money this has cost him in Great Britain. (Cheers.) We thus find that the manufacturers have become the implements of the landlord to get rid of his goods; and, what is worse, as you will have perceived, he is made to lose one-half its cost in the process. (Hear, hear.) As a manufacturer engaged in the export trade, I may now go a little at length into that branch of the subject. You will have no difficulty in understanding one general axiom in relation to this, and that is, that imports are customers. The criterion, therefore, of the prosperity of a country is not of what it exports, but by the amount of its imports. (Hear, hear.) I repeat that imports are customers. Allow me to illustrate this more clearly. The vessel which approaches our shores laden with goods—no matter from what country she comes—is the impersonation of a foreign merchant with money in his pockets; for that cargo, upon reaching this country, is easily converted into money, and that money is then at the disposal of the agent to be reconverted into goods and sent away; consequently, the more of those vessels which come to our shores, the more customers we have for the disposal of what we make. In speaking of our imports, allow me a moment to tell you, that those goods which come from other countries to this country do not pass direct from the shore to the merchant's warehouse: they first pass the custom-house, and there they pay a revenue duty. To that revenue duty we, as Free-Traders, have no objection: it is right and proper the revenue should be raised upon goods brought from other countries; but we make this distinction—that whilst we are willing and deem it right that the revenue should be raised in such a manner, we deem it wrong that, by means of other duties imposed for the sake of protection upon food, we should be exposed at the custom-house to a duty in the shape of a sliding scale, which is not a duty for the purpose of the revenue, but a duty for the purpose of swelling rents. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, our imports ought to be free; in an enlightened country they should be free as the wind that brings them. (Cheers.) Now, suppose you were to go to some distant country—I would not needlessly offend you by saying to some part of this country—and were to observe upon the seacoast, men parading backwards and forwards, with a musket in one hand and a telescope in the other; flagstaffs here and flagstaffs there, for raising alarm; and if you were told that they were called a preventive service—a service employed by the Government for the purpose of preventing the approach of foreign vessels, and, consequently, the introduction of foreign goods—would you not declare that that was an indication of a most suicidal ignorance in that country; and that the spirit of its commercial laws was worthy only of a darker age. (Cheers.) Our own laws, I regret to say, are characterized by such a spirit: they are laws which admit luxuries—such as wines, silks, and laces, for the consumption of the great and wealthy—to come in freely from all countries on payment of the revenue duty;—laws which permit this, and yet prohibit the importation of foreign food, and those articles which more especially affect the comforts of the working classes,—all such laws are based

upon and are carried out in the spirit of injustice, and against such protective and partial laws it is, that you and ourselves complain. (Cheers.) Landlords tell us or tell you that this is a manufacturers' question. The fact is, that they find the manufacturers are very actively at work to get rid of the Corn Laws, and they therefore choose to stigmatize it as a manufacturers' question. This imputation we disclaim—it is no manufacturers' question. It is your question—it is my question—it is everybody's question. (Cheers.) I know there was a time when it was thought that this was our question; it bore hardly upon us as manufacturers, and we murmured and made an outcry about it. The more we seek into it, however, the more we find that those who are engaged in other employments in every part of the country are sufferers alike with ourselves, and in many instances even to a greater extent than ourselves. (Hear, hear.) It is, therefore, not a manufacturing or an individual question, but a general question, affecting the whole community. (Cheers.) The manufacturer complains that his business is crippled—that his workpeople are starved—and it then becomes him, and it becomes any man, to complain when he sees himself subjected to hard dealing. (Cheers.) The landlords, too, not content with having raised one cry, start another. They make another outcry, and say it is over-production that has occasioned our distress. They then pretend to calculate, and exclaim, "Why, these manufacturers would clothe the whole world." Perhaps it would be as well if they would first give us the opportunity of clothing the whole world; and, if thereby we brought disaster upon the country, it would be time enough for the monopolists to complain. (Cheers and laughter.) However, it may be as well to look at this question a little further. Suppose we could clothe the whole world, we have not yet found out the way to make calicoes everlasting: (laughter) they will wear out some time, and therefore those whom we may have trained to the wearing of clothes must sometimes want new ones. (Cheers.) Hence we should have a constant source of employment and recurrence of new business. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) It would be anticipated as rather a jocose circumstance if, at some future day, a manufacturer from Lancashire should appear on these boards, weeping like Alexander, the conqueror of old, not because he wanted another world to conquer, but another world to clothe! (Cheers, and great laughter.) At all events, amidst all his griefs, he may have this consolation, and this hope of the future, that, if he can clothe the whole world, he will, at all events, deserve to be fed. (Loud cheers.) I do not hear any body calling out that they have got too many clothes. (A voice in the gallery, "I have not;" laughter.) Cheap as they are we never hear any one grumble that they are too cheap. The landlords, the class of which we are speaking, now and then gather together, and laud themselves upon being patriots, because they have made two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. Gentlemen, upon that ground I may claim, as a manufacturer, to be a patriot also, for I can make two shirts now for less than one used to cost me. (Hear, hear.) But I deny that either the landlord or myself is a patriot or a benefactor in the matter. We both act from one cause, we have both one motive—that of enlightened self-interest. (Hear, hear.) I have alluded to machinery. That is another cry of the aristocracy. They call out about machinery, and make shrewd hints that it is at the bottom of all the mischief. I say that machinery is about the greatest blessing we enjoy. (Loud cheers.) Machinery is the surest and best guarantee for the permanence of employment, at the same time that it affords the highest rate of wages. Moreover, by machinery the body is spared from physical exertion, and the mind, which ennobles man, is brought into action. (Cheers.) This subject might be dilated on for hours, but I shall not dwell longer upon it. I have made these assertions, and will leave it to others to amplify or refute them. In proof of what I have told you, however, I will state as the result of experience that, in Lancashire, manufactures have been brought to bear, and inventions in machinery carried out, to an extent which has not prevailed in any other county in England or in any country in the world; therefore, if machinery had displaced human labour or impoverished the people, Lancashire ought, at all events, to be the poorest county in the British dominions. No one will say it is so. (Cheers.) So far from machinery having displaced human labour in that county, it has called for it to more than double the extent to which all the inhabitants of that county with their progeny, during the last fifty years, have been able to supply. (Hear, hear.) When I speak of Lancashire, I may also state that, in every county in England or Scotland where machinery has been carried out to any considerable extent, the same result has uniformly followed—employments have been created, and numbers of people have been called for to an extent larger than at any previous period, and wages have kept pace with that increase of employment. On the contrary, in those counties where machinery is not employed, where the only machinery is the spade or the plough, in every one of those counties we find what is called superabundant labour. (Hear, hear.) In Lancashire, as I have already hinted, one half of the population have been attracted thither from other places. From what other places could they come? There is no other part of the country from which to supply the hands required, except where agriculture is carried on; hence those who have come to us have come from agricultural pursuits. (Hear, hear, hear.) Now, in going through this question, as I have done for some years past, I have taken the trouble to make some statistical observations with reference to it. I pitched upon two parishes in an agricultural district, not very distant from some of our manufacturing towns, and, referring to the registers of the parishes, I found that in the course of seventy years there had been, in round numbers, about three christenings for every two funerals, YET THE POPULATION REMAINED NEARLY THE SAME. The number of houses remained the same also. In some parts of those parishes there were only the same houses that there were at the time of the Doomsday survey in the reign of William the Conqueror. Next, you will inquire what became of all those who, during that long period, were born into the world in those parishes? So far as I was able to compute, there must have been about 1000 persons who had been attracted from those parishes to some other part of the country. The people of the neighbourhood inquired, "Do you know my cousin So-and-so, or brother So-and-so?" Why, he lives at Manchester or Preston," &c.; and then I found that the people had left those parishes, and had betaken them-

selves to manufacturing employment. (Hear, hear.) I need not more than simply advert to these circumstances; but were our manufacturing towns to become engulfed in one common ruin, as I have heard so unfeelingly and unblushingly hinted at by the monopolist press, I know not what might become of those people in the event; but should they happen to survive, and to return to their native parishes, upon which they have claims, they would find themselves sadly at a loss for habitations and employments. (Cheers.) You will perceive, then, that the absence of these people from the agricultural parishes has afforded a great means of swelling the rent-roll of the landlord, and easing the burden of the rates, at the same time that their residence in the bordering towns has been the means of increasing the value of his agricultural produce. (Hear, hear.) Nor have the agricultural labourers from our own part of the country been the only ones that have come to us for employment. They have come from Ireland, and from the most remote parts of England, and, amongst other places, not a few from that favoured spot called Buckinghamshire. (Laughter.) No inconsiderable number from that locality have found their way to my neighbourhood, and some of them are now working in my service. A little incident occurred which I will for a moment detain you with the narration of. A noble lord, a friend of the Duke of Buckingham, happening some years ago to be in my part of the country, inquired if there were not some agricultural labourers who had found their way thither from Buckinghamshire. He was answered in the affirmative, and was told where he might find them. He came to our works and entered the cottage of one of these labourers. Now, speaking of cottages, you must not imagine that they are such as you sometimes see in the agricultural counties—a hut placed on the side of a hill, and covered with mud and thatch. (Laughter.) We don't make houses in that way in Lancashire. (Hear, hear.) He found them living in good houses,—the man whom he called on first was living in a stone-built house, two stories high, and with three bedrooms. (Cheers.) Perhaps I may be allowed to explain here that the manufacturing population are somewhat fastidious and delicate in their habits, and in times when they are comfortable one of their principal desires is to cultivate a propriety and delicacy of feeling among their children. (Loud cheers.) I think, therefore, you will not easily understand but appreciate the motives of these people when I tell you that they deem it indispensable to have three bedrooms when they can get them. (Hear, hear.) His lordship inquired about their comforts and their earnings, and asked if they would not like to go back to Buckinghamshire? (Laughter.) One of them said, "Oh, no, sir, I got away at last, and all the horses of the Duke of Buckingham shan't draw me back again." (Loud laughter.) His lordship inquired further how it was that he was not attached to his native place. "Oh," said he "I couldn't get £300 a year there!" Now, this sum I take it was the wages which he and his family were then receiving. (Hear, hear.) I will conclude this observation regarding the Buckinghamshire peasantry by saying that his lordship went away much gratified by this interview, observing, "Now, I'll go and have a joke with the duke." (Laughter.) But it may be asked, since so many have left agriculture and taken refuge in the manufacturing towns, has agriculture or agricultural occupations been found suffering in consequence? Does any one know that agriculture ever suffered from want of hands? I have inquired often, but never yet found any one to say that they were short of agricultural labourers in any county in the kingdom. On the contrary, every farmer and landlord complains of the burdens of the poor-rates, and of the number of idle able-bodied labourers they are obliged to maintain in the workhouse. I may add, that it is not very likely they have suffered much, for the agricultural interest has required no more hands than it had in 1821. (Hear, hear.) Thus you will perceive that, in carrying out the manufacturing industry of Lancashire and Yorkshire, we have provided occupations which are comfortable and profitable for a large class of our fellow-countrymen; whilst the occupation they have left has not suffered by their absence. (Hear, hear, hear.) Possibly some of you who have been accustomed to read the monopolist hiring writers may wonder how it is that these agricultural peasantry should find their way to the north, and be willing to encounter those mill Molochs, of whom, I dare say, you have heard with so much horror, and of their system of manufacturing, how it cripples and destroys the people, and what objects of sympathy it makes them. Bearing in mind what they have told you, I think you may reasonably inquire how those people were dealt with where they came from. (Hear, hear.) If they run away to us, who are mill Molochs, and make cripples of them, and abuse them in all sorts of ways, they must surely not have been very well treated in their own country. (Cheers.) However, there is one test remains whereby the partialities of these people may be easily proved. If the sympathy of those who call out about the abuse of the mill population be as sincere as we are led to understand, let the landed aristocracy who deem manufacturers go home and outbid us in wages; let them try whether those who came from the agricultural districts to us can be induced to go back to their Arcadian abodes and 7s. a week. (Cheers, and laughter.) I will not now detain you much longer. ("Go on, go on.") I have just given you a glimpse—an outside view of the manufacturing system—and, if you want to know any more about it, follow us home. It is not a day's journey for you—many of you are accustomed to take your excursions up the Rhine and over the Continent, which you would enjoy quite as much if you are better acquainted with the affairs of your own country, those which lie almost at your own doors. (Cheers.) It is true you may now and then hear that there is tumult and strife in the manufacturing districts. Whenever you hear that those districts are in trouble, rely upon it it is not without occasion. When restrictive laws dry up the sources of our prosperity—when our industry falls—when our people become short of food—do you think it deserves to be called criminal that the people should murmur? Need I ask you, can you find a people in the world who could pass through the endurance that the manufacturing population of the north have done during the last few years with as little outcry? (Hear, hear.) The system of manufactures has furnished as good a specimen of moral and associated strength as is to be found in any part of the world, or in any system of society, however intelligent. That system is one which is composed of men of various classes, in my own rank of life; it is not beholden

to aristocratic money for its existence; it is conducted by men of intelligence—men of proper feeling—men of skill—of enterprise—men of diligence in business—men who embark their capital, knowing that they can never look for a return of that capital except by preserving the utmost harmony and combined action between themselves and the workpeople whom they must daily employ, and who must be kept in employment with regularity and precision, or else that capital is lost for ever. (Cheers.) Now, where so much capital is embarked, where so much is left at the mercy of a good understanding, and so much depends upon cultivating mutual interests such as I have alluded to, I am persuaded you will see, and common sense and discretion will determine, that it is to the advantage of master and workmen not to engage in strife, but to co-operate and proceed side by side, in harmony and good feeling, to carry out that arrangement which is essential to the permanent prosperity of both. (Cheers.) Upon us, therefore, as manufacturers, and upon ourselves also, as the middle classes of society, devolve a most important and responsible task—a task, I trust, which will be cheerfully undertaken, to maintain the moral and social condition of our country, to preserve our social dignity, our political rights, and every institution which we deem valuable; and not the least of the duties which devolve upon us is, that of maintaining inviolate those rights of industry which so seriously affect the working classes of this large community. (Cheers.) We, therefore, as manufacturers, have taken our stand upon the broad principle of justice. (Hear, hear.) I have endeavoured to show you upon this, as many of my friends have upon former occasions, that we appeal to you in the spirit of justice and implore you to stand by your fellow-countrymen in this struggle. (Cheers.) We seek the total abolition of all those laws which restrict our industry. We seek the total abolition of all monopolies. (Cheers.) I have before told you that we disclaim any protection for ourselves; and seek to be released from protection imposed on behalf of others. (Cheers.) Our demand is, "Total repeal of all monopolies." We ask for nothing more, and will be satisfied with nothing less. (Cheers.) Citizens of London, we ask your co-operation. We ask it in this great cause which we have jointly undertaken. We have not sought it from you until we had made large sacrifices ourselves, and I now put it to you,—"Are you prepared to do the same?" (Mr. Ashworth's concluding appeal was responded to by loud and general cheering from all parts of the theatre.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward, and announced that Mr. Milner Gibson would address the meeting.

Mr. MILNER GIBSON came forward amidst great applause, and said:—"Sir, in opening the proceedings of this evening, you drew a comparison between the numbers that are assembled within these walls to-night, and those who were gathered together on the last occasion that the League held its meeting at Covent-garden Theatre. Whatever, Sir, may be said upon that comparison, I hold at least that the meeting which is now gathered together is a great and imposing assembly—(cheers)—and I say that nothing but the circumstance of a deep interest being felt in the question of the Corn Laws by the inhabitants of this metropolis would draw such a number of intelligent persons together as are now met within this building. I am delighted also to think that at the last meeting this theatre was full to repletion—that every crevice was occupied; and I rejoice also to hear that Ireland has appreciated the manner in which a British audience received that great man for whom there now exists so deep a sympathy, and upon whom the affections of his countrymen are so intently fixed. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) We also were delighted, as members of the Anti-Corn-Law League, that the representative of the opinions of the great body of the Irish people was here to tell us in person that Ireland desired the repeal of the Corn Laws, and that her population were in favour of Free Trade. (Cheers.) What, let me ask once more, can be the reason that men are found to make the sacrifice—for it is a sacrifice—of attending public meetings for the continued discussion of the same arguments on a public question? Why is it that men are willing to leave their firesides—that families are willing to attend on winter evenings—to listen to speeches on a subject that we have been told is dull and insipid, and which embodies considerations that do not interest the popular mind? Why, I say, do we all find that we are countenanced, not merely by respectable and intelligent men, but by a large portion of our fairer fellow-subjects? (Loud cheers.) What is the cause of all this, but that they perceive in the Corn-Law question something more than a dull point of political economy (hear, hear); because Free Trade contains the principles of civil liberty, which are attacked by the policy that interferes with trade, and that levies duties on the importation of food. (Hear, hear.) I say the ladies of England attend these meetings because they feel that, in supporting the Anti-Corn-Law movement, they are advancing the cause of humanity, promoting the interests of the widow and orphan, and supporting those means by which a greater amount of the comforts of life may be placed within the reach of the industrious and the needy. (Loud cheers.) These are the reasons why men make sacrifices, and ladies subject themselves to inconvenience to attend these meetings. We believe that Free Trade is the right of freemen. (Cheers.) We maintain that a free citizen is entitled to freedom of exchange; and we recognise nothing but state advantage and necessity which can entitle the Legislature to impose duties on the importation of any species of foreign goods. The Anti-Corn-Law League has been called a society attacking property—it has been designated an aggressive body. I deny the charge. (Cheers.) I say it is not an aggressive body, but a defensive association. (Renewed cheers.) The first violence was committed by those who interfered with the freedom of exchange, who imposed the yoke without assigning a state necessity. We are assembled to throw off that bondage, and to vindicate the inherent rights to which we are entitled. (Cheers.) We have been told that the societies on the other side are for "the protection of agriculture." I ask, what have they to do with agriculture? They are associations for the suppression of trade. (Cheers.) What is agriculture? It is the art of cultivating the earth in order to make it produce the largest quantity of those vegetable productions which are consumed by human beings. What, then, has that to do with putting duties on foreign importations? What connexion has it with the ascending and descending scale of graduated duties? (Loud cheers.) We are not, as I before observed, an aggressive body. The Corn-Law League—or the protection party—are the aggressors. We do not propose to meddle with

agriculture, but they are determined to interfere with trade. We contend that the Englishman has a right to be a merchant, and to have the full reward of his industry; we also admit that he has an equal right to cultivate the earth, and have the full reward of his industry; but we deny that one class has any business to interfere with another, or that any class has a right to demand the monopoly of the markets and the exclusive privilege of supplying their fellow-countrymen with food. (Loud cheers.) That, indeed, is the whole question. I say, therefore, that it is a false pretence put forward by this "Central Society," as it is called, that it is an association for the protection of agriculture. I contend emphatically that they are bound together for the destruction of trade—(hear, hear)—and the maintenance of political ascendancy. (Loud cheers.) Their association has nothing to do with the improvement of agriculture, nor the promotion of arts and sciences, nor any thing that is generous or deserving of consideration from a benevolent-minded man: it has simply to do with the maintenance of selfish interests and exclusive power. (Cries of "Hear, hear.") If, as we have been told, these Protection societies have really the good of agriculture at heart, it is remarkable that the men who take the most leading part in them are not those who have distinguished themselves for any improvements calculated to advance the prosperity of agriculture. Where are the inventions—the scientific works—with which they have favoured the world in reference to improvements in their own business? It is a striking fact that all these improvements have proceeded from agriculturists who advocate the cause of Free Trade, and repudiate the notion that they should rely upon any other resource but that of their own industry and enterprise. (Cheers.) I do not for one moment pretend to deny—and in that point I beg to express my concurrence with the remarks of our excellent chairman—that our opponents are entitled to meet together and advocate their principles freely and fairly. I agree fully in the right of free discussion in every meeting; and I maintain that those gentlemen who think that the Corn Laws are necessary for the welfare of the community are just as much entitled to their opinions as we are to ours; but what I think I have a right to complain of is this,—that they should call their societies by wrong names, and thereby mislead the public,—denominating a society which only concerns itself with trade, "an association for the protection of agriculture." (Cheers.) It seems they have expressed their determination to continue to as great an extent as ever their interference with trade. They tell us that they will not consent to a less degree of restriction upon commerce and manufactures than that which now exists. I should like them to see these great meetings, and have an opportunity of judging for themselves as to the real feeling which is growing up in the minds of their fellow-countrymen upon this question. I am desirous that they should consider whether it will be safe much longer to maintain an interference with the civil rights of man, without having any plea of national advantage to justify it, or excuse of state necessity, but simply that of saying, "We have done so before; it has given us pecuniary advantages and political power, and, therefore, we will continue to perpetuate the system." (Cheers.) I ask these gentlemen, who are such strenuous advocates for order, social harmony, and peace, to consider whether it is not dangerous to persist in a system of injustice, when that injustice is recognised by the public? I put it to them whether it is prudent to persevere in this violation of the rights of the industry of a country where men are becoming conscious of their rights, and are increasing in their determination never to cease until those rights are vindicated and fully obtained. (Loud cheers.) A distinguished nobleman has come forward within a few days, and written a letter in the public papers on this subject:—I mean the Duke of Northumberland; and, as was wittily and humorously remarked in the *Times* newspaper in commenting on this letter, "The Duke of Northumberland would have been a very dangerous man if he had not had the power of writing a letter, and putting it into the *Post* ('hear, and a laugh); but having written it, and stated the ground on which he supports the Corn Laws, he ceased to be that dangerous member of society which he might have been had he worked in secret with his Protection Societies." (Cheers.) This illustrious duke tells us, that we must not let foreign supplies into England if we mean to avoid the necessity of "compulsory emigration." (Cries of "Oh, oh," and laughter.) Now, I have heard that in ships at sea, when provisions fall short, it does occasionally happen that lots are drawn amongst the crew and passengers as to whom shall be thrown overboard; that is what I conceive to be "compulsory emigration." (Loud laughter.) But what I want to remind this illustrious duke of is this, that upon such occasions, before they proceed to throw any one overboard, they draw lots, and every one fairly takes his chance (renewed laughter); and if we are to have a system of compulsory emigration, I hope that dukes, earls, and all classes would be prepared to run the risk of taking their departure, as well as the labourer and artisan. (Loud cheers and laughter.) In fact, it appears perfectly reasonable that such a course should be adopted, because the case of the suggested compulsory emigration, and of persons being transported from England to distant climes,—not being allowed to have food brought to them in this country,—I say it will be necessary that society should exist in those distant climes in all its parts; and if illustrious dukes be necessary here, they will be equally indispensable there also. (Laughter and cheers.) Therefore, I should propose, that if ever this most horrible notion of compulsory emigration be resorted to, that at least we should impose the necessity that some illustrious dukes should accompany poor labourers and enterprising manufacturers into the distant regions of the earth, in order to maintain that social harmony which they say cannot be maintained without them. (Loud cheers.) But there is a great deal of argument in this letter of the Duke of Northumberland. He tells us that free trade in corn would have the effect of throwing the light lands out of cultivation. Now, I am not aware that it is any part of our national policy to keep burning sands and wet clay in wheat cultivation; but even if it were, and it could be shown to be the object of the Legislature by acts of Parliament to keep these lands in cultivation, I want to know how it is that in Belgium, France, and Holland,—where the burthens on land are much heavier than they are here, and where the average price of its produce is much less than in this country,—where the labourers are quite as happy, and, perhaps, more so, than ours,—

I want to know how it is that, under all these circumstances, the light lands in those three countries are kept in cultivation? Low prices, heavy taxes, and happy labourers do not put the light lands in Belgium, France, and Holland out of cultivation. Nothing of the kind. On the contrary, the cultivation is extending itself in those countries under the circumstances which I have described. As far as we can judge from analogy, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the abolition of the Corn Laws would put our light lands and heavy clays out of cultivation. The right hon. Premier, at the head of her Majesty's Administration, has said we might import guano, and other foreign manures, to put on those light lands and heavy clays, to prevent them going out of cultivation. I quite agree with him that we ought to import guano if there be Free Trade (cheers); but I must beg to inform him, and also to call your attention to the fact, that I was solicited, and complied with the request, to present a petition to the House of Commons from certain dustmen in Liverpool. (Laughter.) It was a *bond fide* petition from certain collectors of dust and rubbish in that town, who complained very much of the Prime Minister's proposal to import guano into this country. (Laughter.) They said, "No; give us free trade in corn, and then you may import your foreign manure; but we are collectors of manure in this country, and if you give protection to the landed interest, what is the reason you do not extend the like advantage to us?" (Cheers and laughter.) You see, then, in what difficulties we are involved when once we recognise this doctrine—that the Legislature has a right to interfere with trade. If we give protection to one, we must extend it to all. (Hear, hear, hear.) If we impart the advantage of Free Trade to one class, we are bound to allow the same benefit to every other; and, as the first proposition is impossible, the only alternative we have to resort to is the second. But, Sir, I have no idea that a free trade in corn would have the effect of throwing any land out of cultivation in this country; and, even if it did, we contend that it is no part of the duty of the Legislature to sacrifice the interests of the mercantile classes for the enrichment of any part of the community, for the purpose of keeping up a favourite system of husbandry, or maintaining in cultivation any description of lands. (Hear, hear.) I was told the other day by a gentleman, and I find that the same sentiment has been uttered by a noble lord at a public meeting, that there are high and important interests connected with the Corn-Law question, which remove it altogether from that position in which we would be entitled to doubt its importance, namely, that it is mixed up with certain spiritual considerations (laughter), which render it necessary for us to forget all the principles of political economy, and to look at it in the light of a question intimately connected with the religion of the United Kingdom. (Renewed laughter.) You would have thought, perhaps, that no man could have been found who would have uttered such an absurd sentiment; but I think I can explain to you how he arrived at the conclusion that the Protestant religion of England depended upon the maintenance of the Corn Law. The noble lord's statement was after the model of "The House that Jack built." (Laughter.) He began in this way:—"The Protestant religion depends upon the Established Church, the Established Church depends upon agriculture, agriculture depends upon the price of corn, the price of corn depends upon the ascending and descending scale of graduated duties." (Cheers and laughter.) So that, in point of fact, we have here an attempt to show that the Protestant Church of England, which we were always taught to believe was built upon a rock, is, in reality, founded upon nothing but the sliding scale (laughter and cheers); and that vain would be the teaching of our ministers, and the exhortations of our preachers, unless they were backed by that ascending and descending scale which regulates the importation of foreign grain. (Renewed laughter.) Now, could anything on earth by possibility be conceived more ridiculous than such an idea? If this view of the Corn Laws be true, why do they not introduce an oath to be administered to all persons upon their entrance into the British Parliament? We all declare—or at least the Catholic members of the House of Commons do, upon their taking their seats—that they will make use of none of their privileges for the purpose of injuring the Protestant religion, or "Church Establishment," or "Church as by law established;" all our legislators are required to make some declaration connected with the safety of our religion, and the Church Establishment. Now, if it be really the fact that the Church is dependent for its existence on the maintenance of the Corn Laws, we ought to have a Corn-Law oath. I will, therefore, take the liberty of putting "Corn Law" for "Catholicism," and read to you how that oath would run then:—"I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any belief in that abominable doctrine called Free Trade or common sense. (Laughter.) I do solemnly swear that it is not an article of my faith, that men should buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets. (Renewed laughter.) I do renounce, reject, and abjure as a dangerous heresy the opinion, that an abundance of food can be a blessing to a people; and I solemnly swear that I will never exercise any privilege to which I am, or may become, entitled, to disturb the Corn Monopoly in the United Kingdom as by law established." (Loud cheers and laughter.) Now, Sir, if the argument be good for anything, I would ask these gentlemen, in consistency with the course they take on other political questions—namely, that of placing their reliance on oaths and declarations—that they should give the least a Corn-Law oath. I think they have very little faith in the declaration of the Prime Minister that he does not now contemplate change, but he cannot say what may be possible. (Cheers and laughter.) There is very little security in any such promise, especially when the Prime Minister's colleague in office declared that Free Trade was common sense. I fear that the day will come,—when public opinion shall have been sufficiently formed,—when these gentlemen, who fear that the Church Establishment and the Protestant religion will be jeopardized by the abolition of the Corn Laws, will have to face the difficulties of their situation; and, take the chance of all those dreaded dangers; for, depend upon it, no minister of the crown will be found who can long maintain the interests of the aristocratic few in this country, when the great body of the community come forward, united as one man in a spirit of stern remonstrance, to demand that there shall no longer be that interference with the freedom of trade

which deprives them of the rewards of their industry, and of the fruits of the enterprise of their fellow-countrymen. (Cheers.) It would, perhaps, be unfair for me to discuss the importance of these Agricultural Protection Societies; for, as the *Times* humorously says, they have but just emerged from that alluvial mud and artificial compost in which they were generated (laughter); but this I will say, that we are far more entitled to assert that these societies have other and ulterior views, than they have a right to say that the Anti-Corn-Law League has other objects than those which it professes. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I say, we have great reason to know, from speeches that have been made, and declarations uttered in both Houses of Parliament, that there are other considerations influencing the supporters of these societies than the mere keeping up the price of corn or the interruption of trade. I am certain that there is another and an ulterior view—political ascendancy. (Loud cheers.) The poet Moore, in reference to ascendancy of this nature, especially the landed ascendancy, has said, "when you speak of it you must lay the emphasis on the first syllable, and pronounce it *ascendancy*." (Laughter.) I do not know whether I am clearly understood, but he was speaking of that landed *ascendancy* which is now aimed at by these Corn-Law Protection Societies. I ask you, the representatives of a large portion of the intelligent population of the metropolis, whether you are prepared to submit to the humiliating proposition that you are only to exist by sufferance, and that you are of necessity in this state to be placed in a secondary position—that there is to be maintained over you a landed ascendancy? (Cries of "No, no.") I ask you, would you not be less than men, and undeserving the name of Englishmen, if you consented to the proposal that there is any class in this community, however wealthy and distinguished by titles—however remarkable for any qualities, whether ignorance (laughter) or knowledge—I ask you, would it not be degrading for you to admit that there should be any class entitled to such an ascendancy? What is involved in this proposition of ascendancy? Why, that you are the property of others. (Loud cheers.) If you are not entitled to equality by the exertion of your own enterprise and industry, you are slaves; and unless you exert yourselves to throw off your chains, you deserve to be told that you are vassals. (Loud and continued cheering.) I trust that we shall see a growing spirit of independence in the community, and that we shall no longer have to complain of that servile adulation of mere rank and wealth, which has enabled the Legislature to impose these yokes on your necks. (Cheers.) I trust we shall see a recognition of the rights of freemen, and a determination to vindicate those rights, accompanied at the same time by a sacred regard to property: not property merely under acts of Parliament, but that which men are entitled to by the exertion of their industry and enterprise; not the vested interests which are created by monopoly, but those which are derived from the enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven—by the exertion of their sinews and intellects. (Cheers.) Those are the vested interests to which men have a right, which never can be interfered with justly; those are the vested interests which we are called on to protect. There is no interference with these sacred vested interests so great as the Corn Laws, and the restrictive system, which says in so many words:—"We will only allow so much trade to the commercial community as suits our convenience or pecuniary interests, and is conformable with our notion of political ascendancy; we will not allow men to have that free scope for their industry, and that full reward for their exertions, which Providence entitles them to enjoy. (Cheers.) If we do so, they may rival us some day in political power, wealth, and intelligence, or in other matters in this country; and we desire to remain the only representatives of England, considering all other classes but serfs and slaves, to be used as instruments for our power, pleasure, or convenience." (Cheers.) Freedom of trade will never be the gift of your rulers. Liberty was never bestowed freely by the governing body upon any people since the beginning of the world; liberty can only be obtained by the exertions of the people themselves. (Cheers.) Commercial freedom is within your power if you choose to avail yourselves of it; but you will never possess it unless you put forth your own hand and take it. (Cheers.) You will never see these blessings realized—peace and tranquillity pervade the world; and civilization diffused in every part of it—unless there is unrestricted commercial freedom; and you must exert yourselves zealously for the accomplishment of this great and glorious end. (Loud cheers.) It will not come to you in the chapter of accidents; it can only be obtained by steady and unflinching perseverance, and at the expense of much exertion and many sacrifices. I believe, Sir, that there is no greater truth than that contained in the old English proverb—"God helps those who help themselves." (The hon. gentleman sat down amid great applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, the member for Durham will now address the meeting. (Loud cheers.) I rejoice to make the announcement, that, notwithstanding the flourish of trumpets about the petition which was presented against his return, that Mr. Bright is still member for Durham. (Renewed cheering.) The petitioners, not having the slightest shadow of a chance of impugning the election of that honourable gentleman, have given notice last night in the House that they should abandon their petition. (Cheers and laughter.) Mr. BRIGHT then came forward amidst loud and repeated cheers. Silence having been obtained, the hon. member proceeded to address the meeting as follows:—I have been called upon most unexpectedly to speak at this meeting. The difficulty which I feel from the suddenness of the call made upon me arises in no degree from lack of matter upon which to address you; for, after all the inquiries we have made into this question, the only difficulty, whenever we stand up to speak, is to select from the abundance of matter available to us that which may be most interesting and useful. This theatre was formerly, and is now occasionally, used for the purposes rather of entertainment than instruction; but we have done something towards transforming it into a school for public instruction. (Hear.) We are a political economy association, and our worthy president occupies the professor's chair. (Cheers.) From this platform we take upon ourselves to expound certain great principles, which we believe to be of the utmost importance to the people of this country, and to instruct those who may come to hear us—and, through the medium of the press, those also who are absent—upon that great question which we believe to be essential to the wellbeing, if not the very existence, of

this empire. (Cheers.) We are not alarmed at the symptoms which have exhibited themselves lately amongst our opponents. (Hear, hear.) We never expected that that foul thing, which we are banded together to destroy, would give up its existence without a last, and somewhat violent, kick. We did not suppose that the landowners of this country, who enjoy, or some of whom seem to do so, a monopoly of ignorance upon these great questions, and of selfishness, too,—that they would give up their monopoly in the supply of bread to the people, after having enjoyed it for nearly thirty years, without a desperate effort to shake us off. But all along they have mistaken us entirely. They fancied that we were holiday-agitators, and might be content with speeches in the House of Commons, and, occasionally, large meetings, and the farce of petitioning the Houses of Parliament. (Hear.) They supposed that by standing strongly banded together, and showing what they call a bold front, that the Anti-Corn-Law League would be tired of its agitation, men would be weary of paying, and that we should give up working. I have often asserted that they have entirely mistaken us; and I promise them that, if they remain yet under that delusion, they are just as much in error now as they have ever been. They charge us with bringing the aristocracy of this country into contempt. (Laughter.) Now, of all the works of supererogation, that appears to me the most extraordinary. I have heard of aristocratic individuals who have attended some of the meetings of the League in this place, who have been moved,—not to tears, for they seldom shed tears,—but who have been affected "even to shuddering" that the anti-aristocratic feeling should be found so strong amongst the people of this metropolis. We have a reverence for that true aristocracy which consists in all that is good,—in a love of industry, in pre-eminence of intellect, and superiority of virtue (hear); this is the aristocracy to which we will bow, and which we all venerate. (Hear.) But there is another aristocracy, which may be called a bastard chivalry; an aristocracy which vaunts that it never did anything for anybody; an aristocracy whose greatest boast is, that their ancestors have been in all times, as they are now, the idlest, the largest-consuming, and least-producing portion of the people of this country. (Loud and continued cheering.) I have been often charged with being hostile to the aristocracy of this country. Well, they need not fear one so humble as I am if their cause be good, and their position sound. (Hear.) I am hostile to the aristocracy of this country in so far as they dare to trample on the order to which I belong. (Vehement cheering.) The class to which we are opposed is the idle and the noxious class of our aristocracy. They are men who are bound by none of those ties which influence other men. They are not peculiarly the examples of all that is admirable in private life (laughter), and in their public conduct and the performance of their senatorial functions I have never yet discovered anything which called on me to be particularly respectful to them. (Hear, hear.) But there are men in the aristocracy whom I have no hope of bringing into contempt. If I were to stand up here and mention such names as Spencer, Radnor, Ducie, Fitzwilliam, Westminster, Kinnaird, Howick, and Morpeth (loud cheers), how should I be greeted by this audience if I were to attempt to bring these noblemen into contempt? How should I succeed, and by what argument could I prevail on you to agree with me that these were individuals on whom you should look with scorn? What passage of their lives should I bring before you to show that they are men "ennobled but not noble?" If I were to speak of Lord Spencer, and tell you of his conduct as leader of the House of Commons, when it was allowed by almost all parties that he was too honest, high-minded, and truthful for the position which he occupied in that House; if I were to contrast his straight-forward conduct, his daring forth of the principles by which he was actuated; and if I were to contrast his conduct with that of the man who now occupies the place which he filled (hear, hear.) in that House, should I then be successful in heaping obloquy on Lord Spencer? (Cheers, and cries of "No, no.") If, again, I were to speak of Lord Radnor,—the friend of the people from his youth upwards, and to whom now, in his old age, it must be a pleasure of no common kind to see that the principles which he advocated in his early days are spreading through all the land, and taking root in the minds of millions of the intelligent of the population of this country,—how could I throw contempt on his name? And if I spoke of Lord Ducie,—who is not an agriculturist merely because he owns land, but is one in fact—a great, practical, scientific farmer—a man who has done more for the agriculture of his country than all the protection societies that ever existed or ever will exist (loud cheers),—could I heap obloquy on the name of Ducie if I were to bring forward his character and conduct before this meeting? And then, if I turn to Fitzwilliam, Westminster, Kinnaird, Morpeth, or Howick, and mention the great characteristics of these men, no man would charge me with wishing to bring them into contempt; he would rather say that I was pointing to these men,—noble amongst the people of this country, and noble from their characters and conduct,—that I was actually leading you, my countrymen, to bow down, worship, and exalt them into a higher aristocracy than any to which they have yet aspired. (Loud cheers.) Monopolist landlords, from the duke to the squire, are doing our work most effectually. If our work be to bring them into contempt. They profess to be the *born legislators* of this country. One man in the county of Surrey says, it is but reasonable that that class which owns the land should be the rulers of the country. (Cries of "Oh, oh!" and laughter.) That is but another way of saying that the class which owns the land should also be proprietors of the people. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) They are legislators, many of them by birth, and they think it a great condescension to allow any constituency to send them into Parliament. When there, they make a solemn declaration that they will legislate, without favour or affection, or a view to self-interest, but solely for the public good. If they really do so, all I can say is, that the majority of the people of this country are living in a most deplorable delusion upon that subject. The aristocracy make laws for themselves in Parliament, and admit that they do so. In private they confess freely that these laws are for themselves alone, and the indiscreet among them even acknowledge it in public. In their own counties they are stirring up every evil passion in the minds of the farmer, raising his hostility to the manufac-

turing classes, and doing to the utmost possible extent that with which they falsely charge us. They have, ever since 1815—to go no further back—practised a monstrous imposition on their tenants, and have endeavoured to spread the delusion amongst other classes of the people. They cheated their tenants in 1815, by promising them 80s. a quarter for their wheat. They deluded them in 1822, again in 1828, and lastly in 1842; and now, when the fraud of the last Corn Law is wellnigh exploded, they are trying another final chance upon the gullibility, the ignorance, and terror of the farmers, in the hope that this unjust and mischievous Corn Law may be perpetuated for some years longer. Their Anti-League meetings are sufficient of themselves, in my opinion, with an intelligent people, to procure the repeal of the Corn Law. (Cheers.) What do they consist of? Dukes and lords of all degrees, landowners and squires, county magistrates, game-preservers and game-slaughters, chairmen of quarter sessions, transporters of poachers, and the unhappy amongst the clergy of the Established Church. They put a farmer in the chair, who professes that he is "unaccustomed to public speaking"—(hear)—but, having heard so many of those fallacies for the last three or four years, he can speak a few of them, with considerable hesitation. Abuse of the Anti-Corn-Law League and of you is the staple of their speeches. The assertions which they make prove one of two things—either the utter dishonesty of the parties who make them, or the profound ignorance of the landowners of this country. (Cheers.) They held a meeting at York the other day, to counteract, I suppose, one that we held there a short time before. Lord Harewood, a large landed proprietor, was in the chair. He stated that he would not argue this question, for as to argument that was all gone by. (Hear.) "Putting aside, however," (he says) "all arguments which have been used for and against—for I will not take up your time with them—I will merely state to you that half the land of this country would be thrown out of cultivation." Now, if I were to say anything so monstrous as that at a League meeting I should never dare to come to another afterwards. Why, how happens it that, if the introduction of the produce of a thousand acres of land from abroad would throw out of cultivation an equal quantity in this country, the enclosure of millions of acres in England within the last fifty years has not thrown out of cultivation one single acre in other parts of the country? (Hear, hear.) I have here a single page of a "Farmers' Magazine," published in the year 1802, in which this argument is completely disposed of. Speaking of a treatise upon the Corn Laws, the writer says:—"The author further celebrates the effect of the Corn Laws in bringing thousands of acres in this country into high cultivation and increased productive value; but we would ask him, if he is so apprehensive of the discouragement of agriculture from the free importation of the produce of land from other countries, why is he not in absolute despair as to the fate of the old cultivated lands in this country, in consequence of the competition in the market from the produce of these new lands, which the favourable effect of the Corn Laws has brought into high cultivation, and the competition of whose produce, against that of the old lands, no Corn Laws, it is presumable, will ever be so absurd as to intermeddle with?" Lord Harewood also speaks of our *ulterior designs*. Now, if we had no *ulterior designs*, the course they are pursuing would prove the necessity for them. He says that we are merely "cotton manufacturers and millowners." That "it is cotton against corn—against the landed interest of this country!" That we are "speculators—men who grind their poor to nothing—against the farmers and landowners." He then relates a circumstance, which I believe our chairman has already mentioned, that after somebody had been at an Anti-Corn-Law League meeting in some county, but he does not know which, and opposed the League, that the very night after his stacks and crops were burnt; and he says, "No man in his senses can doubt the intentions of the Anti-Corn-Law League." Why, really, if any man in his senses can doubt their intentions, his faculties must have been asleep for the last five years; for we have been in nearly every county of Great Britain, having had probably much more than 100 meetings, circulated thousands of newspapers and millions of tracts, explaining fully what our objects are. If there be a man in his senses who is not aware what those intentions are, those senses have served him to very little purpose. But this Lord Harewood is not a fair judge. He is the proprietor of broad acres, and owns a large portion of the county of York. He knows, however, little of his land but what he sees when galloping over it. He is but slightly acquainted with the condition of the population of the county in which he lives. He is ignorant of its woollen trade, which his legislation has tended to destroy, and knows nothing of the perils by which it is now environed. He seems scarcely to be aware how much his dignity and great wealth are indebted to the very manufactures which he spurns and scorns, and which his acts of Parliament have almost involved in ruin. (Hear.) Is that man, too, a fair judge of whether a law which increases the price of corn and raises rents is just or not, when he himself is only known to the world as a very large landed proprietor? (Hear, hear, hear.) I say he is not. That any man who is a legislator of this country, having a seat in the House of Lords, being "high up" or "low down," as he may choose to say one or the other in the peerage—that he should come forward and charge us with designs so atrocious as those to which he hints, I say is monstrous and most disgraceful. (Hear, hear.) That is not conduct which will raise the character of the aristocracy in our estimation. If he dare to charge us with motives like this, why, then, I am bold enough to tell him that there are people in this country who will yet humiliate the order to which he belongs. (Immense cheers.) But there was another lord at this meeting, Lord Faversham, who asserted that the Corn Law was intended for the protection of the labouring classes—that it prevents them from having their labour brought into competition with that of foreign countries. What protection can there be to labour in a country where there is from three to four millions of paupers? If there were ten or fifteen millions of acres of good land here, which wanted nothing but ploughing and sowing to make it realize a good harvest, how could there be protection to the broad acres of Lord Faversham? There is no resemblance between the two cases. The sea encircles the land of this island. We cannot go abroad for food. The land of Lord Faversham and that of his fellow-peers does not grow enough for our supply. He has a *bond fide* "protection."

as he chooses to call it; but no law of his passing, or any enactment of Parliament, can give protection to the labourers of this country when there are three or four millions of them unemployed, and in the lamentable condition of paupers. (Hear.) In the next sentence he certainly tells a truth:—"It protects the labourers from having their labour transported from this to other nations." That is precisely what we have said. We have labourers enough, and can produce abundantly. We have millions of customers all over the world anxious for the produce of our industry; and this law protects us by shutting us out from those markets; reducing the price of every thing that we make; glutting both the home and foreign markets; giving to the landowner of this country a larger share of the produce of our industry in return for the produce of his land than he has any right to, or could have, were it not for the nefarious law which the landowners have made. In addition to those peers I have mentioned, there was another nobleman present—the Earl of Tyrconnel; but his lordship let out the cloven foot very distinctly. He said:—"Of all delusions he looked upon Free Trade as the greatest that was ever attempted to be palmed off upon a country." "It is," said he, "impossible to have Free Trade in a country so highly taxed as this is. But if we are to have Free Trade,"—there is something tells them that, after all, they must have it,—let us not have it in agricultural produce alone, but in everything that can be imported from foreign countries:—"we have said the same thing a thousand times!—but for this purpose you must come to what is called equitable adjustment. The fundholder must be content to receive 15 millions instead of 30 millions for the debt lent to the state." Evil communications corrupt good manners. (Laughter.) Bad practices soon become inveterate. The man who has once departed from the straight line of honesty is likely to wander very far, and with great difficulty does he ever get back. The Earl of Tyrconnel has been one of the class who have been spoiling and plundering the homes of millions of the industrious people of this country for at least 30 years past. (Cheers.) And now, when we have found out the wrong, and tell him he must surrender,—not disgorge, for that which is destroyed we cannot call back,—when we tell him he shall no longer persist in this injustice, the habit of spoiling or despoiling is so strong upon him, that it has become a sort of nature, and he looks round with a voracious appetite, and fixes on the unfortunate fundholder, and thinks to invite us to help him to rob that fundholder. It has been remarked of the monopolists that they must rob somebody. (Laughter.) Now, our efforts are directed to bring these almost incorrigible fellows into the line of honesty. We can tell them, and I do now in your name (hear, hear), that we will unite together with our countrymen to put down the wrong by which he supposes he profits; yet we will be no parties to help him, or any one else, to inflict any injustice or injury on any other class of our countrymen. (Loud cheers.) Then there was a squire at this meeting—Richard Bethell—and he, presuming on the simplicity of his audience, remarked:—"If there be any truth which we more firmly assert than another, it is, that all the great interests of the country are bound together, and none can suffer but the others must suffer with it. That is a truth which is established by daily and hourly experience." Well, we have said the same very often; and it is on that ground that we assert, that the wrong the landowners do to us is one which will, in the end, come upon themselves. But Richard Bethell is in the position of a man who has just taken something that he had no right to from somebody else, and when he is asked to restore it he says—"There can be no truth more plain than this, that our interests are bound up together, and that no individual in the community can suffer without every other member of it suffering also;" therefore he will not make restitution of the pocket-handkerchief. (Loud laughter.) And Richard Bethell is one of that order of whom I have spoken—a "chairman of quarter sessions." I speak of these men with a veneration I am scarcely able to convey to you (loud laughter); for I recollect, in my boyish days, having a very awful feeling come over me when I thought of men who sit on the bench to administer justice. Since I have grown up, I have found out that what they administer may be sometimes law, but there is frequently very little of justice in it. (Loud cheers.) As a chairman of the quarter sessions he says—"Has there been any diminution made in those taxes bearing especially on the agricultural interests? On the contrary, are they not daily increasing? Are not county-rates increasing, in spite of every effort to keep them down? I do not quarrel with this, for they are spent for the benefit of the country; but they form part of those expenses which fall on the agriculturists. From the situation which I occupy, as chairman of a quarter sessions, I am well acquainted with the subject, and I know that the county-rates are daily and hourly increasing. And is not that a reason why we should have a protection for agriculturists? The Anti-Corn-Law League—'unreasonable people as they are,'—do not propose that the burthens now paid by the agriculturists shall be paid by the consolidated fund; they do not wish that a single item of the taxes with which we are charged shall be placed to the public account." (Loud laughter.) He again asks, "Has there been any diminution in the taxes laid on agriculturists?" Why, that is precisely the fix in which the landowners in Parliament are now; they do not ask their tenants to petition Parliament for relief from their distresses; they are covering and concealing their sufferings as much as possible; they know that Parliament can give them no further protection and take off no more taxes from their shoulders, they all having been taken off some years ago. I believe that tax which used to be imposed on shepherds' dogs, was about the last that was abolished. Yesterday evening there stood up a member—I believe the representative of one of the Welsh counties—to propose that a bill should be introduced, exempting from toll all lime being carried to any farm to be used as manure. However, there was no one to support his motion, even on his own side of the House; they thought it was too bad, *just now* to talk of that; and, a good deal of opposition being manifested on the other side of the House, that honourable member went back into his obscurity, and nothing more was heard of his proposition. Richard Bethell, then, asks, "Are not county-rates daily increasing?" He does not think of that much, because they are spent for the benefit of the country. What an idea this magistrate has of the country. County-rates have increased

greatly, it is said, from the expenses attending the prosecution of poachers, in the preservation of game, for the sake of putting in gaol any person who travels through the fields with a dog of a particular expressiveness of countenance. (Loud laughter.) The modesty of landowners is remarkable; he thinks that we are unreasonable, because we seek not to be overcharged for our bread without proposing that out of our taxes the taxes of the landowners and the farmers should be paid. I should like to see the landowners' Minister come down with a budget, which proposed that a large sum, from the consolidated fund, should be every year voted to pay certain expenses of landowners and farmers. That would be just the same proposition which this Richard Bethell recommends, for which he blames us, and thinks it so hard, that we do not propose. Lord Beaumont was also at that meeting. (Laughter.) We have heard before of silly lords; and these Anti-League meetings seem to be got up for the express purpose of making an exhibition of all of them to their countrymen. (Cheers and laughter.) Lord Beaumont says, that "the theory of Free Trade is a beautiful one; but it is only a theory, and therefore it cannot be perfect." I always understood that such a sentiment as that would be deemed sheer nonsense. If Free Trade be a theory, and the principles of it be true and beautiful, I hold that it may be said to be perfect. We have no proof that the opposite principle is either sound, beautiful, or perfect. (Hear, hear.) We have no evidence that in this country it has worked good. We have the authority of great names in favour of our principles, and we have the sanction of Lord Beaumont in favour of the opposite principle. He says, moreover, that the manufacturers of this country are admirably protected under this system. I know not whether my friend who spoke first alluded to the non-protection of the manufacturers of this country; but as to that trade with which he and I are connected, it is a well-known fact that three-fourths of all our manufactures are exported to foreign countries; and if Lord Beaumont can tell me, or any one else, how the Parliament of which he is a member has the power to give protection to any goods in the markets of China, America, or of the Brazils, he is a much cleverer man than I suppose him or any other lord to be. He says cheap food means nothing at all but cheap labour. I could show him some hundreds of weavers in my county who would argue with him—no, I doubt if they would, for I think they would laugh at him. The monopolists talk of Poland, Russia, and every country where they fancy people are worse off than here; but they never go over the Atlantic, or point to that country where farm-labourers get 4s. or 4s. 6d. a day, with food at a very moderate price. (Hear.) They are afraid to talk of Ireland. You had the representative of all Ireland—or at least three-fourths of it—here last week. (Loud and long-continued cheering.) You heard a statement from that distinguished man relative to the rate of wages in that country, where the Corn Law has existed for 30 years, and where all the blessings that might be expected to result from high prices should be exhibited in great luxuriance. (Hear.) Then a certain Godfrey Wentworth got up, and moved a resolution in favour of the formation of a committee "for the defence of British industry." (Cries of "Oh, oh!") I believe you have heard before that the real meaning of this favourite monopolist phrase, "British industry," is, "British idleness." (Hear, hear.) That it is "for the defence of that particular class who are notorious for doing nothingness" (laughter), who have never been known to set their hands in any large numbers to useful or honourable occupations. There is another lord, whose name was mentioned last week, who does not appear to be a favourite with the audiences who assemble in this theatre; I allude to Lord Winchelsea (groans and hisses), who stated at another meeting that we were "a most bloody and revolutionary body!" (Hisses, and loud cries of "Shame, shame!"); that we are precisely the same kind of characters as the men who were notorious as leaders during "the reign of terror," in a neighbouring country. (Cries of "Shame, shame!" "It is an infamous slander.") Well, I believe that after all we are bringing on "a reign of terror" amongst a certain class. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) The man who comes to this meeting, and positively "shudders," may be said to have something of terror upon him. The light-fingered gentry experience symptoms of this terror when those men in long blue coats, who wear girdles round their waists, make their appearance. (Laughter.) We intend to carry terror into the ranks of the monopolists. We began with that intention. We did not commence our agitation proposing always to use smooth phrases. Men do not use straws to cut down oaks. We are a great deal too much in earnest to go with "bated breath and whispering humbleness" to those who trample upon the people of this country, and gently ask them to surrender the rights which they have so long deprived us of. We know well enough what the character of our opponents is—that they have clutched the existence of the people, and hold in their grasp the prosperity of the industrious classes of this empire—that they are not only profoundly ignorant of what is best for their country, but are remorseless and relentless in the cruelties they inflict upon the poor. (Loud cheers.) We are determined that, wherever we go throughout the land, we will expose the iniquities of which they are guilty, and cause every intelligent and honest man to rally round the banner which we have raised—to march with us in our campaign to overthrow that grievous wrong, the fruits of which are to be seen in the starvation of thousands, and the pauperisation of millions of the people of this country. (Loud and continued cheers.) Oh, these landed monopolists are a sensitive class! You cannot come near them but they recoil from the apprehended touch. (Laughter.) Last night a motion was brought on in the House of Commons by certain gentlemen who have a great affection for Don Carlos. About five hours of the valuable time of "the collective wisdom" was expended in a debate respecting that very respectable and unfortunate prince. There was a great indisposition to hear the speeches on the part of many members, and a still greater dislike to the debate which was expected to come on after it, upon a proposition to allow wheat to be brought to this country from the Cape of Good Hope, the East Indies, and Australia, at the same rate as that which is brought from Canada now, namely—no duty at all. Don Carlos would have been thrown overboard in their anxiety to overturn this little nibbling at the Corn Law—"hear, hear," and laughter)—but there happened to be another matter left, namely, some actions which go by

the name of "qui tam," in which certain lords and honourable gentlemen are deeply interested, connected with some matters not very reputable concerning the turf and horse-racing. It was amusing to see what sensitiveness there was with respect to this possible prospect of bringing some wheat from India and the Cape of Good Hope. Squires were seen in an attitude and posture, and with an expression of countenance, betokening little else than a conspiracy against the state. (Cheers and laughter.) They were expressing their fears to each other, they declared that if wheat and flour could be brought from India at a mere trifle of freight—all the way from Calcutta to London—when the expense was reckoned it was so trifling!—that if this project were carried out, agricultural protection would receive "a heavy blow and great discouragement." Well, now, I confess that I have a contempt—a thorough, unmitigated, unspeakable contempt—for that class of men who go into either House of Parliament and watch every motion and bill with the apprehension that, in some direct or indirect way, it would be likely to diminish their rents some small sum. (Cheers.) The ministerialist party appears more firmly compacted together; and, being thus cemented by views of self-interest, their country is of course forgotten. All that is required of them by the suffering and starving poor is left out of sight, and they are banded together only to maintain the predominance of their own interests, and the undue advantages of their own class. They appear now to be not disjoined, as they were last session, but are a happy and united family. Oh, it is delightful to see "brethren dwell together in unity." (Laughter.) You have, I dare say, frequently passed the National Gallery, and witnessed the happy family pent up in a cage in the street, in front of that building. (Hear, hear.) I saw them yesterday: there were three rats (laughter) nestling and warming themselves against the fur of a cat, which, under other circumstances, would have been their deadly enemy. A friend of mine asked the man who owns the cage and its contents how he managed to suppress their natural instincts and propensities, and make them thus tame and friendly towards each other. "Do you starve them," said he, "into compliance?" "No, your honour," the man replied, "I feeds 'em well." (Loud cheers and laughter.) There is the secret of the compactness of the ministerial Corn Law majority. One part of them is in the enjoyment of power, place, pay, and patronage, which is widely distributed amongst their followers, and spun out to the greatest possible length—new places being made wherever it can be done with any show of necessity. The rest are expecting something, and nearly all sit there quietly, anxious for the maintenance of the majority they now have, because Sir Robert Peel has promised them, or they say he has—for I confess I would not say that anything was a "promise" which the right hon. baronet said in his position of Premier—(cheers)—that Sir Robert Peel has promised them that he will maintain the Corn Laws, and the Corn Laws being the basis, as they think, of their rent-roll, they may therefore all be classed amongst that happy family which is kept together because they are well fed. (Cheers and laughter.) But there is a great insecurity amongst them: they do not believe in all the present show of power; neither do they boast in their Houses of Parliament, although they do so on the platform in some snug room in an inn at Aylesbury, Buckingham, or similar places. They boast not in Parliament: they know that there is a great rising up amongst the people of this country which will not be denied and which cannot be deluded. (Loud cheers.) They have had an exhibition of this feeling in the county of Somerset, at a meeting called by themselves (loud cheers)—at which we, who "turn the country upside down," as they say, were not present,—a meeting in a small town, attended by 4000 or 5000 of the inhabitants of that purely agricultural county; and yet it is declared on the most respectable authority, that a majority of 8 or 10 to 1 held up their hands in favour of a vote of thanks to the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Loud cheers.) In the publications which the Anti-League Societies are issuing forth to the world with so much show of importance, they assert that they are seven-ninths of the population of the country; that they have, of course, all the religion and patriotism; but the seven-ninths of the population cannot in any county probably, however purely agricultural, obtain a vote—not unanimously, but by a bare majority—in favour of the principles which these lords, squires, and landowners are fighting to maintain. Then look at this Metropolis, with 57,000 registered members of the League in London. (Vehement cheering.) "Strangers from Lancashire!" "A mere mob, who voted for Mr. Pattison;"—"none of the respectable voters gave him any support!" "The mercantile classes were not with the League!" "A voice—"Where was Mr. Lloyd?" "All these things are said, but, notwithstanding, this is on paper and in our books, that 57,000 of the inhabitants of this Metropolis have freely enrolled themselves, and paid something for the registering of their names as members of the National Anti-Corn-Law League. (Tremendous cheering.) Now, we have a great obstacle yet that we have to remove, to some extent; I would not have said much about it had we not been driven to the necessity. We find still in this country a considerable reverence for even the bad amongst the aristocracy, although your conduct may make some of them "shudder." We must get rid of that veneration. (Hear.) It is a false and worthless idolatry. (Loud and long-continued cheering.) It is bowing down to the image of Baal; it is not doing homage to worth, intellect, industry, and virtue; but worshipping idleness in pomp, and riches, whether they be gained honestly or out of the sufferings of the millions. (Vehement cheers.) I have no hostility to any good institutions of this country, nor has the League. We did not, of ourselves, voluntarily search into these matters; but we have been driven to do so by a stern necessity, and which may, at some time, drive the people of this country much further than they are now anxious or willing to go. (Enthusiastic cheering.) We obey the Government; we venerate the law when it is the embodiment of a just principle; we reverence legislators who make laws in accordance with Christian principles and the true interests of our countrymen; but this aristocracy, whom you see walking in your streets, riding in their carriages, entering their gorgeous mansions, and taking their seats in the Legislature—these men who were never known to do anything, and who scorn you because you do something honest and useful—these men, I tell you, are not worthy of your worship and your respect, and the sooner you get rid of that false and mischievous principle, which

been instilled into your minds from your childhood, the sooner you may hope that the people of this country may shake off the burthen which now presses on them, and may stand forth, as they ought to do, the greatest, the freest, and the most virtuous people on the face of the globe.—(The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic cheering, which lasted for a considerable time.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I beg to remind you that the meetings for the future will be held on the Wednesday evenings until further notice. I am sorry to have to say that, in consequence of the alteration of the arrangements, many parties who came a long distance from the country to attend here last week, not having paid sufficient attention to the announcement of the alteration, were disappointed. I propose that we close the proceedings of this very interesting occasion by giving three cheers for the gentlemen who have addressed us.

Three hearty cheers were then given for Messrs. Ashworth, Gibson, and Bright, and the meeting separated at ten minutes after ten o'clock.

GREAT ANTI-CORN LAW MEETING FOR THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER, AT THE COUNTY-HALL.

GLOUCESTER, Saturday Afternoon, Feb. 24.

One of the greatest and most important county meetings was held to day, at noon, at the Shire-hall, in the city of Gloucester, for the purpose of receiving Mr. Cobden and a deputation of the Anti-Corn Law League, in order to hear the sentiments of those gentlemen relative to the question of removing all restrictions as to a free trade in corn. The meeting was one of the most imposing and enthusiastic demonstrations in favour of Free Trade ever witnessed in this county. The Shire-hall was literally crammed to suffocation, upwards of 4000 persons being present; and hundreds went away who were unable to gain admission.

About a month ago a requisition, most numerous and influential signed, was presented to the High Sheriff, requesting him to convene a county meeting, on the subject of the Corn Laws, which that gentleman refused to comply with, alleging that the requisitionists "did not represent the feelings of the freeholders of the county." This requisition received the signatures of no less than upwards of one hundred and fifty great landholders of the county, embracing among that number two peers of Parliament, six of the members of Parliament connected with the county, and about twenty magistrates, as well as several of the most eminent practical agriculturists of the vale of Gloucester. On the refusal, the requisitionists, with the Earl Ducie and Radnor at their head, determined to call a county meeting on their own responsibility, in order to afford the tenant and practical farmers of the vale of Gloucester an opportunity of hearing the arguments of the League.

The leaders of the "Anti-League" exerted all their influence among the farmers of the Cotswold hills to induce them to refrain from attending the meeting, and not to listen to the "baldersdash" of the "Lancashire strangers." A recommendation was also given to the farmers that they should commence a system of "exclusive dealing." It was really a most gratifying sight to witness that the farmers, notwithstanding all the persuasions and entreaties of the monopolists, determined to be present at the meeting, and attended in considerable numbers. "At any rate," said one of those sturdy yeomen to a brother agriculturist, "at any rate, it would do no harm to hear what the great Parliament men had to say on free trade in corn."

Shortly after eleven o'clock the deputation from the League took their station on the platform. Mr. Cobden was received with a burst of tumultuous applause.

On the platform we noticed Earl Ducie, C. E. Handford, Esq. (the late high sheriff of the county), E. Holland, Esq. (late high sheriff of Worcestershire), C. Stanton, Esq. (brother to the member for Stroud), Mr. Cobden, M.P., Col. Thompson, and Mr. Moore, the deputation from the League, and the following magistrates of the county:—J. Whitwick, E. Kendal, L. Clutterbuck, J. Raymond Barker, L. S. Anstin, and Anthony Fowater, Esqrs., besides several other gentlemen whose names we could not ascertain.

On the motion of C. Bowley, Esq., seconded by C. E. Handford, Esq., the Right Honourable the Earl of Ducie was called to the chair amid bursts of acclamation and repeated demonstrations of respect.

His Lordship said he deeply regretted that accidental circumstances alone had deprived them of the pleasure of the presence of his noble friend, Earl Radnor, who was heart and soul in the cause. (Loud and continued cheering.) It was only at the eleventh hour that his noble friend was deprived from giving his support and countenance to this important meeting (cheers) on account of illness. He had received letters of apology from the two members for the city of Gloucester, who, however, fully concurred in the object of the meeting, as well as several other members of Parliament, who were detained in London, expecting the division on Lord John Russell's motion. (Great applause.) Several other friends of the cause and champions of Free Trade were also unavoidably absent; but, while regretting, he had only to look around him, and from the vast assemblage by which he was surrounded, which represented on this occasion the wealth and intelligence of the county, he was fully satisfied that himself and brother magistrates were perfectly justified in calling this meeting, notwithstanding the refusal of the High Sheriff to comply with the requisition. (Loud and protracted cheers.) Had he not occupied the chair, he would have embraced the opportunity of defending his conduct in giving his most cordial and hearty support to the Anti-Corn Law League. (Loud cheers.) Insinuations had been cast upon him, and some very unfair statements had gone abroad relative to his conduct ("Hear, hear," "Shame, shame.") He should, perhaps, better consult the unanimity of the meeting if he refrained from making any remarks on the subject till the close of his proceedings. (Loud cheers.) He was surrounded by a great number of influential landholders and tenant-farmers, who had been taught to consider the League as the enemies of themselves and of their interests; but he trusted that, before they left this meeting, the arguments, good temper, and gentlemanly feeling of his most excellent friend Mr. Cobden (loud cheers), would convince them that these opinions were founded in error, and based on ignorance; and that the object of the League was, not to injure the agricultural interests, but to benefit every class of the community, from the peer to the peasant. (Great cheering.) He, who was one of the largest landholders of this county, had been publicly accused of being inimical to the best interests of agriculture. He could only say for himself, that he believed few men took greater interest in promoting the prosperity of agriculture than himself. He was one of those who wished to see it flourish, and "God speed the plough" was his motto. (Tremendous cheering.) Upwards of three-and-twenty years had he been engaged in agricultural pursuits, and his entire energies had been devoted to its improvement. (Cheers.) His reason for becoming the advocate of Free Trade was, that he verily believed, from his heart and soul, while the manufacturing and every other interest would benefit by it, the interest and prosperity of the practical working agriculturist would experience the benefit of Free Trade in a tenfold degree. (Loud, long, and continued cheering.) His lordship said, having expressed these sentiments to the tenant-farmers, he would now call upon Mr. Cobden. (Cheers.)

Mr. COBDEN, M.P., was greeted with the most enthusiastic cheering from all parts of the vast auditory. The applause having subsided, the hon. gentleman said:—It always afforded him the sincerest gratification to deliver his opinions relative to Free Trade among practical farmers. (Hear, hear.) He rejoiced in doing so in the presence of such men as he saw around him; and he was happy that he had now an opportunity, for the first time, of addressing the highly-respectable and in-

telligent farmers of the vale of Gloucester. (Cheers.) He (the hon. member) would caution them, at the outset of his speech, not to take fright, or feel the least alarm at the name of the Anti-Corn Law League ("hear," and laughter)—the terrible League (continued laughter)—against whom they had been cautioned in such horrifying terms, by those who took upon themselves the high-sounding appellation and title of the farmers' friends. (Loud cheers.) He could assure the farmers of the Cotswold hills and vale of Gloucester, that the League had no cannibal propensities about them; they would neither devour the tenant-farmers nor their cattle; nor would they destroy the interests of their calling. (Cheers and laughter.) He trusted he should be able to prove to them that, by reason of the Corn Laws, the tenant-farmers were placed in an infinitely worse situation than they would be were the restrictions removed, and they had a free trade in corn. Now, he would ask them, what was the meaning of the Corn Law? It was this: it was a law to make corn sell at a higher price than it would without a Corn Law; this was admitted on all hands, and not denied by the monopolists. Well, then came the next question for the tenant-farmers. Does the price of land rise or fall with the price of corn? He would ask, would land let at the same price when corn was 20s. a quarter as when it was 80s.? (Cries of "No, no.") Well, then, if it would not, the object in keeping up the price of corn must be doubtless to keep up the price of land, or, in plainer terms, to keep up the rents of the landlords. (Cheers.) Admitting his proposition to be correct, supposing corn was raised to 100s. a quarter, the farmers could not possibly, by the remotest chance, be one bit better off. (Loud cheers.) Why, the farmers of Gloucester were not so dull of intellect but they must see this. It was no abstract doctrine; the whole question lay in a nutshell; the farmers not only got nothing by the Corn Laws, but, on the contrary, were, in point of fact, losers by this protection, unjustly so called. He was addressing practical men, and, therefore, he would illustrate his meaning. In 1815, the Legislature passed a law, after a determined opposition, for the purpose of maintaining wheat at 80s. per quarter, and from the year 1815, down to 1832, the rent of the tenant-farmers was increased, while corn in reality was only 42s. per quarter. (Cries of "Shame, shame," from different parts of the room.) Well, once more the law was altered, and the sliding scale introduced in order to keep the price of corn at 63s. or 64s., and yet, with land valued at the same price as 1835, the corn averages for the year gave a price of 39s. 4d., while in the month of December of that year the farmer was selling his wheat at 36s., or just 28s. under act-of-Parliament price. This was the injustice to the tenant-farmer: he rented his land at act-of-Parliament prices, and so when he went to pay his rent he found he had been compelled to sell his corn at 10s. or 12s. under the price which the landlord got for his land. This was injustice to the tenant; he (Mr. Cobden) would now come to the injustice to the labourer. (Cheers.) It was an awful fact that in the agricultural districts the labouring population were earning less, and were considerably worse off than in any other part of the country. He did not blame the farmers for giving so little—(hear, hear, hear)—it was no fault of theirs—(cries of "No, no")—they gave what they could afford, and what the state of competition in the labour market justified. ("Hear, hear," and cries of "That's it.") Still he understood the wages in the agricultural districts of Gloucestershire were miserably low. A statement had just been put into his hand by a gentleman, a member of the board of guardians of a neighbouring union, wherein was a statement of a man and his wife and four young children earning 8s. per week. This man applied for relief, but his application was refused, thus proving that his case was only the common state of his neighbours. Another man was mentioned, who had also a wife and four young children; his wages were 7s. per week, and he was receiving relief; and although he would not mention names, he might state that this man was working for a gentleman who made himself very conspicuous at the Anti-League meetings, and talked very loudly of protection to the agricultural labourer. (Cheers, and cries of "shame," and "name him.") Now, in the very union of which he had been speaking, the cost of maintenance in the union workhouse was 2s. 4d. per head per week; and yet here were labourers only receiving half that amount, or 1s. 2d. per head to maintain their families. Was that a case to go to Parliament for protection? Was that a state of things to be maintained by act of Parliament? (Great cheering.) Away with such cant; away with the idle and crocodile tears which pretended to flow for the interests of the labourer, while he was receiving just half the wages which it cost to maintain the pauper in the workhouse, and the criminal in the goal. (Bursts of cheering.) In conclusion, he would caution the farmers to examine the matter for themselves (hear), to endeavour to act for themselves, and to keep themselves clear of political landlords (hear, hear); and, above all things, to eschew the mis-called protection of acts of Parliament. It was said at the seaports, when a vessel was seized by the custom-house authorities, she was marked by a broad arrow; and this was called, in the cant of the ports, the devil's claw. The intermeddling of the state with agriculture was the devil's claw, and this had been on the shoulders of the farmers for the last twenty-eight years; and they might depend upon it they would never prosper until it was removed from them. (Loud cheers.)

The hon. gentleman's address, of which the above is scarcely an outline, occupied nearly two hours in delivering, and was cheered in the most enthusiastic manner throughout. On his resuming his seat, the entire meeting rose, and greeted him with three times three hearty cheers.

EDWARD HOLLAND, Esq., of Dumbleton, rose to propose the first resolution, which was to the effect that protective duties were not only injurious to commerce, but to the interests of agriculture also, and that Free Trade would promote the interest and prosperity of the whole community. Mr. Holland stated that he was a landowner and a land cultivator; the whole of his income and the support of his family were derived from the soil, and therefore if Free Trade would, as alleged, ruin the cultivator, destroy the rent of the landlord, and throw land out of cultivation, he, of all men, ought to oppose it (cheers); but, so far from that, he cordially agreed with the resolution, and cordially united heart and soul with the objects of the League. He had been a practical farmer for many years, and his opinions in favour of Free Trade were based on his own experience and observation: he had looked attentively to the proceedings of the Anti-League societies, but had found no single argument brought forward which at all shook his previously formed opinions. The Corn Laws, while they were framed ostensibly for the benefit of one class, did no real good to that class, at the same time that they were an injustice to the other classes of the community. (Loud cheers.) He cordially proposed the resolution.

Mr. JOSEPH HUNT, of Almondsbury, a practical tenant-farmer of great experience, seconded the resolution. (Loud cheers.) He had long been opposed to the Corn Laws. He was convinced they were no benefit to the tenants, and were only designed to raise rents and to place the tenantry subservient to the political domination of the landlord. (Cheers.) If he needed anything to fortify his opinion on the Corn Laws, it was the fact of the best practical agriculturists in the kingdom entertaining the same views. There was the noble Earl Ducie—(loud cheering)—one of the first practical men of the day—his name had always been held up as the best landlord in the county. (Cheers.) His lordship's tenantry were the most thriving tenantry in the county—(cheers)—and yet he was heart and soul a repealer. Then there was Earl Spencer—(protracted cheering)—a man whose opinion on agricultural matters was quoted far and wide—he was a repealer; and he had himself heard the Pro-Corn Law member for the western division of the county say that he could not get over the fact of Earl Spencer being in favour of repeal. (Cheers.) He (Mr. Hunt) believed that with Free Trade the cultivation of the land would be improved—the produce of the land would be increased—the independence of the tenant secured, and his prosperity greatly augmented. (Cheers.) He could fully bear out what Mr. Cobden had said about the agricultural labourers—their wages were miserably low, and yet the farmers could not pay more. In

his own parish hundreds of families lived on 7s. per week—their fare was worse than that of the pauper—whole families of grown-up children slept in one room, to the total disregard of the decencies of life, and to the total destruction of feelings of propriety and morality. (Cheers.) It had been said the land had to bear peculiar burdens, but it should also be said the farmers had peculiar exemptions (cheers); and if the farmers' windows were untaxed, and his riding horse and his dogs free of duty, it was not to benefit him, but that he might be able to pay higher rent to his landlord. ("Hear," and cheers.) He cordially seconded the resolution, believing that a repeal of the Corn Laws would improve the prospects of the tenant-farmer, and promote the physical, moral, and social condition of the labourer. (Cheers.)

On the resolution being put, two persons made their way to the platform, and moved a counter-resolution; the design was evidently to obstruct the business of the day, but the resolution was put, and carried by an overwhelming majority, only about a dozen hands being held up against it. The result was received with loud cheering.

C. E. HANDFORD, Esq., moved a vote of thanks to the deputation who attended from the League. He fully concurred in the object of the meeting and the principles of Free Trade. (Cheers.) As an instance of the increased value of land under the Corn Laws, he could state what occurred within his own experience: an estate in the county of Gloucester was purchased about a hundred years ago, for a certain price; it was not situated near a town, and had no other adventitious advantage, and yet that estate had been sold lately for a sum ten times as large as the purchase money a hundred years ago. (Cheers.)

C. STANTON, Esq., of Stroud, seconded the motion. He contended that Free Trade benefited the manufacturing interest, and that it would also benefit the agricultural interest.

The motion was put, and carried with only two dissentients. The noble CHAIRMAN having presented the vote of thanks in due form to the deputation,

Col. THOMPSON and Mr. MOORE briefly returned thanks. Earl Ducie having left the chair, and the same having been taken by L. Clutterbuck, Esq., a vote of thanks was proposed to the noble lord, and carried by acclamation.

Earl Ducie, in returning thanks, said he must take that opportunity of refuting an insinuation which had been cast upon his motives by a gentleman signing himself "A Vale Farmer;" that insinuation was, that he (Earl Ducie) had property in the neighbourhood of Manchester, and that he supported repeal to enhance the value of his own property. He need scarcely give that charge his flat contradiction. (Tumultuous applause.) The bulk of his property was in an agricultural district, and he should scarcely go to injure that in order to improve any small interest he might have in Manchester or elsewhere. He advocated Free Trade because he believed it would benefit agriculture, and improve the condition of the people generally; and because he felt with Lord Grenville, that everything was injurious to the country which impeded the free current of natural industry. (Loud cheers.)

The proceedings closed about five o'clock, having occupied nearly six hours, and was one of the fullest meetings ever remembered in the county of Gloucester. The Earl Ducie, Mr. Cobden, and the Deputation were loudly cheered on their way from the hall, mingled with a few hisses.

The agriculturists who attempted to interrupt the harmony of the meeting, experienced the most signal and inglorious defeat.—*Morning Chronicle.*

GLOUCESTER.

On Friday se'night a public meeting of the inhabitants of Gloucester, called by the mayor, assembled in the Shire Hall to consider the question of the Corn Laws, and to hear Mr. Cobden and other gentlemen, as a deputation from the League. The deputation consisted of Mr. Cobden, Colonel Thompson, and Mr. Moore, and these gentlemen were accompanied into the hall by Lord Ducie. The meeting consisted of nearly 2000 persons, and the advocates of the League met with a very gratifying reception. Samuel Bowley, Esq., was called to the chair, and read letters from the two members for the city, expressive of their concurrence in the objects of the meeting, and regretting that they could not attend it. Colonel Thompson was the first speaker, and he was followed by Mr. Cobden and Mr. R. R. Moore. In the course of a most argumentative and convincing address Mr. Cobden alluded, in a strain of cutting sarcasm, to the discreditable proposition made by Mr. John Long and Mr. Samuel Baker at the meeting of the Agricultural Protection Society, for the adoption of the system of exclusive dealing; and he showed that, as two could play at that game, it would not be quite a safe experiment to make, more especially as the custom of the many for articles of consumption was of more benefit than the custom of the few, if there were to be a banding into opposite parties of monopolists and anti-monopolists, the latter would be found to be the strongest party. In Stockport and in Salisbury the monopolists had tried this game, and had had woful cause to repent of it. An individual, who was announced as Dr. Lamb, came forward for the purpose of confuting Mr. Cobden; but a more ludicrous failure was, perhaps, never before witnessed in a public meeting. The total amount raised in the meeting was £50 10s., being exactly double the amount raised at the public meeting last year, and a large addition to the list is expected. Thanks were moved to the deputation and to the chairman, and some highly-complimentary allusions were made to Earl Ducie, after which the meeting separated.

COLNE.

A public meeting, preceded by a tea-party, was held in the Baptist Chapel, Colne, on Monday, the 19th ult. (J. R. Walton, Esq., in the chair), to promote subscriptions to the Great League Fund. At previous meetings considerable interruption had been occasioned by the intrusion of persons following Feargus O'Connor's policy. Admission was, on this occasion, by tickets, which the applicants paid for. The weather was exceedingly unfavourable; its inclement severity prevented many from attending who had anticipated the meeting and made arrangements for it. About one hundred persons assembled, nearly the half of whom were ladies, many of whom had taken an active part in making provision for the entertainment of guests, and by whose cheerful and cordial sympathy in the objects of the meeting, the proceedings were enlivened and rendered unexpectedly, and beyond all precedent, successful. The Rev. J. W. Massie, and K. R. R. Moore, Esq., attended as a deputation from the Council of the League, by whom and by the Rev. Mr. Jones and Mr. Smith (a manufacturer), as well as by the chairman, the audience was suitably addressed. The contributions, from a 4d. to £20, were sent in during the latter part of the proceedings with great spirit in almost every variety of sums. Not only in most cases were the former contributions doubled, but additional subscriptions were made by the same parties so as to raise the amount to the sum which was to be announced—half-crowns, crowns, ten shillings, pounds, three pounds, five pounds, ten pounds, and twenty pounds,—were severally repeated till the whole amounted to £201 14s., besides £45 subscribed at the Burnley meeting by contributions from Colne. It is expected that this town and vicinity will produce more than double their contributions of last year, and that at least three hundred pounds will be sent from Colne to the Great League Fund. This will be another great fact.

A national testimonial to Rowland Hill, in the shape of remittances of postage stamps, is in progress.

Mr. Cobden is now a Burgess of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Dundee, Kirkcaldy, Montrose, and Cupar-Fife.

Within the last half century rents have trebled, the price of wheat has doubled, and agricultural wages remain about the same. The landlord is, therefore, the only party who has benefited by the Corn Laws.—*Lancaster Guardian.*

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, February 28, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | |
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| Nathaniel Buckley and Sons, Carr Hill, Mosley, near Manchester | £200 0 0 |
| A Friend, per J. Gadsby | 50 0 0 |
| A Friend, per do. | 10 0 0 |
| Mr. Higginbotham, 167, Chapel-street, Salford, Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Stephens, 11, Bridge-street, Manchester | 1 1 0 |
| A determined Enemy to the accursed Corn Laws, Nether-ton, by Glasgow | 1 0 0 |
| Two Friends | 10 0 0 |
| A Friend to universal Free Trade, Leominster | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Scard, East-end, Warminster, Wiltshire | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend to Purity of Election | 0 10 0 |
| A Farmer attending the market | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 0 5 0 |
| Ditto | 0 5 0 |
| Ditto | 0 5 0 |
| Ditto | 0 5 0 |
| Ditto | 0 10 0 |
| Ditto | 0 12 6 |
| X. Y. Z., Market-street, Abergole, North Wales | 1 0 0 |
| John Jones, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Allen, Chudleigh, Devonshire | 0 5 0 |
| Mrs. Davison, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Miss Breays, do. | 0 2 6 |
| E. Petherick, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Allen, for his seven children, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 3 6 |
| Edwd. Penton, Spring-vale, Over Darwen, Lancashire | 0 11 0 |
| Jeremiah Parkinson, do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Entwistle, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 3 0 |
| Thos. Bancroft, bookkeeper, Denholme, near Bradford | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Marriott, Westgate-end, Wakefield | 10 0 0 |
| Henry Clarkson, Westgate, do. | 2 0 0 |
| A Friend at Barnsley, Yorkshire | 0 10 6 |
| Joseph Sherlock, jun., 82, Skude-hill, Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| A. Thompson, Temperance Hotel, Louth | 0 2 6 |
| Jacob Gainsley, Kenwick Toll-bar, near do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 3 8 |
| Rev. George Robson, Lauder, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 3 0 0 |
| Wm. Edwards, builder, Brook-street, C.-on-M., Manchester | 25 0 0 |
| Small sums from Edale, Derbyshire | 0 7 9 |
| William Petty, Bank-street, Oldfield-road, Salford, Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| P. F. Willert, Booth-street, Manchester | 10 0 0 |
| George Foster, Sables, Lancashire | 200 0 0 |
| Goodier, Krauss, and Co., Pool-fold, Manchester | 30 0 0 |
| G. E., per Mr. Royle | 5 0 0 |
| Joseph Carruthers, 36, King-street, Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| J. T. | 2 0 0 |
| C. Viltman, 10, Booth-street, do. | 5 0 0 |
| H. P. Ree, 11, Nicholas-street, do. | 10 0 0 |
| G. Horsfield, 3, George-street, do. | 20 0 0 |
| Edw. Amies, 57, New Church-st., Paddington, London | 1 0 0 |
| The Workmen of Vernon, Marchant, and Edge, 2, David-street, Manchester | 2 8 9 |
| John Moore, 23, Rutland-street, C.-on-M., do. | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Gatenby, 23, Portland-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Thos. Gatenby, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Vernon Kitchen, 18, Oxford-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| George Bailey, Brunswick-terrace, Plymouth | 5 0 0 |
| John Williams, King-street, Caermarthen | 0 2 6 |
| Jones and Phillips, do. | 1 0 0 |
| G. and R. Shankland, do. | 0 5 0 |
| William Norton, do. | 1 10 0 |
| Henry Norton, do. | 1 0 0 |
| C. B. B. Norton, Greenhill, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Miss Tucker, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. K. Norton, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Geo. Bagnall and David Charles, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Marshall, Horsforth Hall, near Leeds | 40 0 0 |
| Thos. Perkins, Union Mill-road, Wolverhampton | 1 0 0 |
| Z. Taft, Wesleyan minister, Sandiacre, Derbyshire | 2 10 0 |
| Mrs. Taft, do. | 2 10 0 |
| Dennis Currie, Wallace-lawn, Ayr, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
| T. P. Buckingham and Friends, Frinabury, Strood, Rochester, Kent | 2 0 0 |
| T. Mander and Friends, George Inn, High-st., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Godfrey, 22, Gibraltar-place, Chatham | 1 0 0 |
| Hamel Medley, New-road, Chatham | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 3 6 |
| A. Jones, Brougham-place, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Turner, High-street, Strood | 0 3 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 2 0 |
| Henry Wallworth, 24, Higher Temple-st., C.-on-M., Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| John Seddon, Brightmet, near Bolton | 5 0 0 |
| Lawrence Alty, Colden Works, near Chorley | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Holt, Turton, near Bolton | 2 0 0 |
| William Taylor, Dale-street, Little Bolton | 0 6 0 |
| Andrew Knowles and Sons, do. | 10 0 0 |
| John Bamer, Bagley Mills, near Bolton | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Neave, Forton-road, Gosport | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Boville, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Jas. Blake, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Rev. T. Tilly, Forton, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Rev. G. Silby, High-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Jas. Perkins, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Wilson, do. | 0 2 6 |
| T. E. Ward, draper, Tipton | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Heavilside, 4, Finkle-street, Stockton-on-Tees | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. Richard Tyner, Armitage, Standish, near Wigan | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Stewart, Cupar, Fife, per George S. Tullis | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. P. Price, Gloucester | 5 0 0 |
| Joseph Hunt, Almondsbury, near do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Holbrow, Norfolk-terrace, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Wyles, Westgate-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| W. H. Barrett, Oxford-street, Cheltenham | 1 0 0 |
| John Forster, Beaufort-buildings, Gloucester | 1 0 0 |
| James Palmer, Westgate-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Broad, Southgate-street, do. | 0 10 0 |
| R. Callis, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Samuel Bowly, do. | 10 0 0 |
| W. Price, Southgate-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| Thos. Dobbin, Southgate-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Barrell, Westgate-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Dr. Davis, Barton-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| E. Waring, 6, Spa Villas, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Messrs. Mann, Eastgate-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| C. Washbourne, Westgate-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| H. State, corner of St. John's lane, do. | 0 2 6 |
| H. A. Whitehead, Lower Northgate-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Jas. Taylor, Worcester-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| E. Pollard, St. Aldate-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. W. Hughes, Norfolk-terrace, do. | 1 0 0 |
| W. Washbourne, Southgate-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Snow, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Powell, Westgate-street, do. | 2 0 0 |
| Jesse Sissons, do. | 1 0 0 |
| C. C. Pilfold, merchant, do. | 0 10 6 |

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| A Friend, Gloucester | £1 0 0 |
| Thos. M. Sturges, do. | 1 0 0 |
| W. Higgs, 2, York-buildings, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Jas. G. Francillon, do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. P. Kimberley, do. | 2 10 0 |
| George Beard, pin manufacturer, do. | 1 0 0 |
| E. L. Kendall, merchant, do. | 1 0 0 |
| G. H. Edwards, Littleworth, do. | 1 0 0 |
| James King, Eastgate-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| W. Bird, shipchandler, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Charles Higgs, Upton St. Leonard's, near do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. R. Heane, wharfinger, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Savory, 1, Rye-croft-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. V. Ellis, King-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Paul, Worcester-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Edwin Sturges, do. | 2 0 0 |
| John Hatcher, Marlwood Grange, near Thornbury, Gloucestershire | 1 0 0 |
| J. Grimes, Southgate-street, Gloucester | 0 10 0 |
| W. Jones, builder, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Geo. Gough, Bridge-end, Westgate-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| C. F. Cheven, 30, Oxford-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| W. H. Green, Wooton, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Barham, do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. T., do. | 0 4 0 |
| W. Burford, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 1 2 6 |
| Greig, Watson, and Greig, 2, Falkner-st., Manchester | 20 0 0 |
| Robt. H. Warden, 22, Rook-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Evett, Market-street, do. | 0 2 0 |
| Lanworthy and Wainshaw, Fountain-st., do. | 1 1 0 |
| James Alsop, 18, York-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| F. Thorpe, 16, Rutland-street, C.-on-M., do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Wilkinson, 80, Deansgate, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Thomas, Ripon, Yorkshire | 2 2 0 |
| Thos. Southam, Park-lane, Higher Broughton, Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| J. Brackenbury, at Mr. Watson's, Swan and Salmon, Grantham | 1 0 0 |
| W. Lang, Topsham, near Exeter | 1 0 0 |
| John M'Ewen Gray | 1 1 0 |
| Angus M'Pherson, 142, South-street | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Greig, St. John-street | 1 1 0 |
| Robert Cairnie | 1 0 0 |
| James Morton, George-street | 0 5 0 |
| John Burges, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thos. Richardson, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| George Turnbull | 0 5 0 |
| David Murie | 0 5 0 |
| Robert Morton | 0 10 6 |
| Andrew Richardson | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Bryson | 0 2 6 |
| Alexander Allan | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Jamieson | 0 2 6 |
| Huntingtower Workpeople | 1 15 9 |
| Small sums | 0 2 0 |
| Mrs. John Jackson, 10, Woodbridge-st., Clerkenwell | 1 0 0 |
| Miss Eleanor Jackson, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Miss Frances Jackson, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Workmen at W. H. Draper | 0 10 0 |
| Mr. Jackson's H. M. Levesque | 0 10 0 |
| Mr. Johnston, 63, Bridge-lane, Spitalfields | 1 1 0 |
| George Edmett, Maidstone | 1 0 0 |
| J. Z. Williams, 9, Lambeth-road | 0 5 0 |
| Major-General Sir Burges Camac | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Barkley, 13, Little Tower-street | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas F. Gibson, 22, Spital-square | 10 0 0 |
| William Drake, Walthamstow | 10 0 0 |
| W. H. Meudham, Bishopsgate, Englefield-green | 5 0 0 |
| James Hunter, 110, Fenchurch-street | 5 0 0 |
| Mrs. Coxan, Upper Mall, Hammersmith | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Nichols, 79, Lombard-street | 1 1 0 |
| X. Y. Z. | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Trayler, 5, Bloomsbury-market | 0 5 0 |
| G. Somers, 49, Adam-street, Portman-square | 0 2 6 |
| David Cawthra, Brighouse, near Huddersfield | 1 0 0 |
| James Mitchell, Raistrick, near do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Butcher, 55, Turmill-street, Clerkenwell | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Henry Thompson, 16, Northwick-terrace, in addition to 10s. 6d. previously subscribed | 0 10 6 |
| Master Henry Hugh Thompson, do., in addition to 10s. 6d. previously subscribed | 0 10 6 |
| Miss Charlotte Elizabeth Thompson, do., in addition to 10s. 6d., previously subscribed | 0 10 6 |
| Master James Stratten Thompson, do., in addition to 10s. 6d. previously subscribed | 0 10 6 |
| Charles Wood, Stock Exchange | 5 0 0 |
| John Mark, wool merchant, Selkirk | 1 0 0 |
| John Redrop, Bishopstrow, near Warminster | 1 0 0 |
| A Free Trader | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Henderson, Kirkcaldy, (second contribution) | 0 9 0 |
| James Squires, New Invention, near Willenhall, Staffordshire | 0 10 0 |
| John Burdett Parry, High-street, Hereford | 1 0 0 |
| S. P., jun. | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Bartlett, Great Russell-street | 0 4 0 |
| Henry Carlos, 26, Great Sutton-street, Clerkenwell | 0 5 0 |
| John Cutting, 269, Oxford-street | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Cutting, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Clutterbuck, Newark-park, near Wootton-under-Kedge | 1 0 0 |
| William Bolding, 60, George-street, Euston-square | 0 2 6 |
| J. Stevens, 20, Cross-street, Blackfriars-road | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Elgee, 4, Cross-lane, Lincoln's-inn-fields | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel P. Manser, Hoddlesdon | 1 0 0 |
| John Warner, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Collins, 32, Nelson-square, Blackfriars-road | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Frearson, Hawkey-street, Oxford-street | 0 10 6 |
| Mrs. Hannah Larkins, 13, Whitechapel | 1 1 0 |
| Miss Hannah Larkins, do. | 1 1 0 |
| J. S. Bennett, 4, Mount-street, Whitechapel | 0 2 6 |
| George Webb, 111, High-street, Whitechapel | 1 1 0 |
| James Raymont, 125, Cheapside | 0 2 6 |
| G. Shaw, 19, Windmill-street, Finsbury | 0 5 0 |
| H. and E. Sheffield, Church-lane, Whitechapel | 2 2 0 |
| Wm. Peacock Johnson, 48, St. Martin's-lane | 1 0 0 |
| Mary Johnson, 48, St. Martin's-lane | 1 0 0 |
| George Bailey, Hen and Chickens Inn, Great Suffolk-street, Borough | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Huggins, Glenarb, Ireland | 1 1 0 |
| J. J. Thornley, London | 1 0 0 |
| Alfred Burton, 9, Castle-street East, Oxford-street | 1 0 0 |
| A Newlander | 0 2 0 |
| George Chowne, Great Western Railway-station, Paddington | 0 2 6 |
| Richard Wilson, 120, Fore-street | 0 5 0 |
| David James, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Alexander Boswell, Leven, Fifeshire | 1 1 0 |
| J. Scott, Kelso | 1 0 0 |
| A real Free Trader in Devizes | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Bardsley, 20, New Bridge-lane, Stockport | 1 0 0 |
| Moulin à Vapeur, A few flaxdressers | 1 0 0 |
| Capécure, Wm. Ramage | 0 2 6 |
| Boulogne-sur-Mer, (Robert Ramage) | 0 2 0 |
| Small subscriptions | 19 11 0 |
| A. Clarke, Filature du Lin, Capécure, Boulogne-sur-Mer | 1 0 0 |
| Westleys, Doctors' Commons | 3 3 0 |
| The Tamworth Bull | 5 0 0 |
| C. P. V. | 6 0 0 |
| Rhodes, near John Jones | 1 0 0 |
| Middleton, Thomas Blane | 1 0 0 |
| Launceston, William Jones | 1 0 0 |
| do. Evan Jones | 1 5 0 |
| do. R. Haworth | 0 10 0 |
| do. John Collinge | 0 10 0 |

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|---|--------|
| T. Lloyd, College, Brecon | £1 0 0 |
| Small sums, Brecon Independent College | 0 10 0 |
| William Brown and Son, Kirkgate | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade, per G. R. | 0 5 0 |
| Peter M'Craw, 35, Constitution-street | 0 7 6 |
| John Saunders, Mitchell-street (ad. subscrip.) | 0 4 6 |
| Thomas Watson, 33, Bridge-street | 0 3 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 0 2 6 |
| From the Workmen of John M'Nair, brewer | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend, per Andrew Wight | 0 5 0 |
| From the Workmen of J. Mithven, per G. D. | 0 2 7 |
| Rev. James Harper, D.D. | 0 10 6 |
| Robert Drover | 0 4 0 |
| Walter Simpson, 41, Shore | 0 5 9 |
| Seven Workmen, per Jas. Alexander, grocer, Kirkgate | 0 3 0 |
| From one who can't spare more | 0 2 0 |
| Thomas Congleton | 0 2 6 |
| Free Trader | 0 5 0 |
| C. Chadwick, 14, Citadel | 0 4 0 |
| R. H. Jun., 9, London-row | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| D. P. | 0 5 0 |
| Good Speed (second subscription) Edinburgh | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, 60, Charlotte-street | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to the Cause, poor but willing | 0 2 6 |
| Six Recruits, per H. Dalgleish | 0 3 0 |
| Thomas Wailes, 2, Shore | 0 5 0 |
| William Grant, Elbe-street | 0 7 6 |
| Alexander Grant, Eastfield | 0 4 0 |
| William Gavin, Dock-gates | 0 10 6 |
| Robert Goldie, 6, Citadel-street | 0 10 0 |
| James Marshall, 6, Couper-street | 0 2 6 |
| John Gibson, plumber | 0 10 0 |
| Mathew Watt, baker | 0 5 0 |
| John Dalrymple, 28, Bath-street | 0 5 0 |
| Allan M'Naughton | 0 10 0 |
| Thomas Weir White, at T. White's, dyer, Tolbooth-wynd | 1 0 0 |
| James Smith, Weir's-cloze | 1 0 0 |
| J. Mason, foreman with Mr. Innes, and fellow-workmen | 0 3 6 |
| John Naismith, grocer, Hillhouse-field | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Warden, 31, Bath-street | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Cameron, 1, Bath-street | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Wallace, grocer, 8, St. Andrew's-street | 1 0 0 |
| James Paton, foreman with Mr. M'Pherson, plumber | 0 6 0 |
| John Fleming, baker, 33, Duke-street | 1 0 0 |
| John Miller, of Miller and Arthur's | 1 1 0 |
| John Lyall, 1, Bridge-street, North Leith | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas M'Kenzie, 46, Bernard-street | 0 2 6 |
| Charles Smith, 3, Duke-street | 1 0 0 |
| J. B. Kerr, 4, Tolbooth-wynd | 1 0 0 |
| From Merrylees, cork manufactory | 1 0 0 |
| David Smith, builder, 7, Glover-street | 1 0 0 |
| George Stenhouse, 11, Albany-street | 1 0 0 |
| David White, Dock place | 0 5 0 |
| A Highlandman and two Recruits | 0 3 6 |
| A Friend to the Cause | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Dawson, colour merchant | 2 2 0 |
| Maitland Jenkinson, Hillhouse-field | 1 0 0 |
| James Anderson, rectifier | 1 0 0 |
| John Fulton and Son, Shore | 1 1 0 |
| Small sums, under 2s. 6d. | 1 5 4 |
| Wm. Thompson, Market-street, Fisharrow | 0 2 6 |
| Peter Wilkie, fisher, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Wm. Brooks, sen., Musselburgh | 0 2 6 |
| James Milne, weaver, Fisharrow | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Wilson, surgeon, Musselburgh | 0 10 0 |
| The men in Mr. Aitken, jun.'s, workshop | 0 4 0 |
| Andrew Miller, currier, Musselburgh | 0 3 0 |
| Charles Forbes, Mill-hill, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Hume, grocer, Fisharrow | 0 2 6 |
| Peter Hume, grocer, Tranent | 0 2 6 |
| Alexander S. Munro, Cumpie-lane, Fisharrow | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Cleghorn, weaver, Musselburgh | 0 2 6 |
| John Thompson, Market-street, Fisharrow | 0 2 6 |
| The Son of a Tory, but afraid to speak out | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 0 10 6 |
| Peter Taylor, baker, Musselburgh | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Spears, baker, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Sinclair, Esk Side, Fisharrow | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 0 5 0 |
| John M'Gillway, teacher, Fisharrow | 0 5 0 |
| George Dudgeon, fisher, Musselburgh | 0 2 6 |
| James Burns, Wellington-place, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Croll, draper, Fisharrow | 0 2 6 |
| John Hay, baker, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| David Malcolm, Musselburgh | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| Alexander Allan, wright, Musselburgh | 0 2 6 |
| James Forrester, grocer, do. | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| James Bridges, W.S., Bell-field, Musselburgh | 0 5 0 |
| Peter Anderson, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Andrew Stewart, baker, do. | 0 5 0 |
| A Grubber, per Wm. Scott, Fisharrow | 0 2 6 |
| The Rev. M. W. Livingston, Musselburgh | 0 5 0 |
| The Rev. J. Watson, Pinkie Burn, do. | 0 5 0 |
| A Farmer's Son, rackrented | 0 2 6 |
| A Free Churchman | 0 5 0 |
| A. Elly, gardener, Beggar's-bush, Musselburgh | 0 5 0 |
| Small sums from Musselburgh, under 2s. 6d. | 4 1 7 |
| William Vallage, Portobello | 0 10 0 |
| Henry Calder, do. | 1 1 0 |
| H. M'Callum, do. | 0 10 0 |
| John Borthwick, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Alex. Brown, do. | 0 10 6 |
| George Wilson, do. | 0 10 6 |
| William Hill, do. | 0 10 6 |
| Joseph Pearson, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Andrew Fairbairn, do. | 0 5 0 |
| From a Friend, do. | 0 3 0 |
| From a Friend, do. | 0 3 0 |
| William Baillie, do. | 1 1 0 |
| John Christie, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Miss Syme, do. | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade, do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Goodall, grocer, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Trough, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Hepburn, smith, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Alexander, not the First, do. | 0 5 0 |
| William Drew, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Reid, do. | 0 5 0 |
| William Ramage, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Robert Kerr, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Watt, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 5 0 |
| William Guthrie, do. | 0 5 0 |
| William Ross, do. | 0 5 0 |
| A Final Blow at Monopoly | 0 5 0 |
| A. Wilson, Portobello | 0 5 0 |
| Mrs. J. Rathbon, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Andrew Banks, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| J. F. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 0 |

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|--|--|-----|----|--|---|---|---|--|---|---------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|---|---|
| Rochdale, Seventh remittance. | Robert Kelsall, Town Meadows | 450 | 0 | 0 | Bridport. | Joseph Gundry | 450 | 0 | 0 | Miss Gibson, Hyde-park House | 450 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | James Leach, St. Mary's-gate | 10 | 0 | 0 | | T. C. Hounsell | 10 | 0 | 0 | | William G. Gibson, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | Robert Taylor Heap, Castlemere | 10 | 0 | 0 | | William Hounsell | 5 | 0 | 0 | | James Goodall, banker | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | John Pollitt, Old Market-place | 0 | 10 | 0 | | Joseph Hounsell | 5 | 0 | 0 | | William Straton, millapinner | 2 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Nottingham, Third Remittance. | Charles Paget, Ruddington, near | 50 | 0 | 0 | Bridport. | William Colfox | 5 | 0 | 0 | Alexander Mann and Son, manufacturers | 2 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | George Bradley and Son, Park-street | 50 | 0 | 0 | | Edwin Nicholletts | 5 | 0 | 0 | | David Lumgair and Son, do. | 1 | 11 | 6 | | | |
| | D. Parley, Fletcher-gate | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Alfred Nicholletts | 1 | 0 | 0 | | William Johnston, banker | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | A Friend | 1 | 1 | 0 | | William Battiscombe | 3 | 0 | 0 | | Alexander Smith, millapinner | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | Wm. Clarke, Castle-terrace | 1 | 0 | 0 | | J. P. Stephens | 5 | 0 | 0 | | Andrew Binney, banker | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | Several Coal Agents | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Silvanus Stephens | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Robert Miln, merchant | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | G. Parkin, Hockley | 2 | 2 | 0 | | Henry Stephens | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Charles Spink, millapinner | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | F. T. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | J. B. Good, Bridport Harbour | 1 | 0 | 0 | | A Lady, per William Gibson | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | Livingstone and Cheetham, High-pavement | 5 | 0 | 0 | | James Brown, Burton, near | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Patrick Ritchie, manufacturer | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | A Friend | 5 | 0 | 0 | | Rev. R. E. B. Maclellan | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Wm. Salmund, jun., do. | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | A Friend | 15 | 0 | 0 | | Thomas Ewens | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Charles Anderson, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | Joseph Cleaver, Plicher-gate | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Jeffery | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Samuel Renny, millapinner | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | Copeland and Son, Hounds-gate | 5 | 0 | 0 | | W. C. Tucker | 1 | 0 | 0 | | James and John Anderson, writers | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | Henry Massey, Clumber-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Hayward and Sons, West Chinnock, Somerset | 10 | 0 | 0 | | A Friend to Free Trade | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | William Morley, Exchange | 1 | 0 | 0 | | James Williams | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Fair Play | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | Mr. Williamson, Leen-side | 1 | 0 | 0 | | J. C. Lea, Charnmouth | 5 | 0 | 0 | | William Cargill, shipowner | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | Mr. Robbins, South parade | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Miss Colfox | 1 | 0 | 0 | | David L. Cargill, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | S. Hollins, Hound's-gate | 10 | 10 | 0 | | John Rendall | 1 | 0 | 0 | | William Salmund, coal merchant | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | A Friend | 10 | 0 | 0 | | John Suttill, Pymore near | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Alexander Sluggie, millapinner | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | T. Herbert, Park | 30 | 0 | 0 | | Joseph Bridgeman | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Thomas M. Hossason, shipowner | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | David N-w, Clumber-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | | Robert Turner | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Bailie Wightman | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | Thomas Hopkins, Friar-lane | 15 | 0 | 0 | | George Ewens | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Andrew Lawson, millapinner | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | John S. Burnsall, Bridle-smith-gate | 1 | 1 | 0 | | Mrs. Amy Stephens | 1 | 0 | 0 | | David Corrar and Son, manufacturers | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| | J. J. and J. Wilson, Angel-row | 30 | 0 | 0 | | Mr. Gunn | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Garland and Simpson, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| George Gill, Park | 20 | 0 | 0 | John Bennett | 1 | 0 | 0 | James Webster, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | | | | |
| Beattie and Berkin, Marygate | 10 | 0 | 0 | William Tucker | 1 | 0 | 0 | Douglas Fraser, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | | | | |
| Thomas Keely, Friar-lane | 10 | 0 | 0 | Joseph Bartlett | 0 | 10 | 0 | Flaxdressers at Renny, Sons, and Co.'s manu- factory | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | | | | |
| Dickinson and Rames, Poultry | 2 | 2 | 0 | Mr. Prince | 0 | 10 | 0 | Workmen at Renny, Sons, and Co.'s work, at Panbridge Bleachfield | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | | | | |
| James Kirkwood, Langwith, near Mansfield | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Stenbridge | 1 | 0 | 0 | George Canning, millapinner, £5, less £1 al- ready remitted to League | 4 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | |
| John Anderson, South Bridge | John Anderson, South Bridge | 0 | 5 | 0 | Leigh, near Man- chester, 2nd Remit- tance. | Mrs. Isherwood, West Leigh New Mill | 1 | 0 | 0 | James S. Paterson, grocer | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | John Anderson, St. Patrick-square | 0 | 7 | 6 | | John Isherwood, Tildesley | 0 | 10 | 0 | | William S. Durie, grocer | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | Mrs. Alexander, Home-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | | Mrs. Borthwick | 0 | 5 | 0 | | Patrick Wilson, bookseller | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | A Friend to the Cause | 0 | 2 | 6 | | Mrs. Bomford | 0 | 5 | 0 | | William Andson, merchant | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | Alexander Aitken, 22, Gardner's-crescent | 1 | 1 | 0 | | Mrs. Cocker | 0 | 5 | 0 | | Curriers in George Gibson and Co.'s employ | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | William Alexander, 76, Clerk-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | G. Robinson | 0 | 5 | 0 | | Tanners in do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | A total Repeater | 2 | 0 | 0 | | James Cocker | 0 | 2 | 6 | | David Peacock, jun., coal merchant | 0 | 10 | 6 | | | |
| | K. E. Banks, 4, East Adam-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | | Second subscription from the workpeople em- ployed by Jones, Brothers, and Co. | 2 | 11 | 0 | | John Peat, shipowner | 0 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| | William Bailley, 5, Warton-crescent | 0 | 7 | 6 | | Ashton-under- Lyne, Eighth Remittance. | James Glossop | 1 | 1 | | 0 | William Lindsay, manufacturer | 0 | 10 | 0 | | |
| | William Buchanan, 12, Heriot-row | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | Henry Gartsale | 4 | 4 | | 0 | James Borthwick, grocer | 0 | 10 | 0 | | |
| | Better late than never | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | Thomson Howorth | 1 | 1 | | 0 | James Anderson, merchant | 0 | 10 | 0 | | |
| | James Carrick, 21, Castle-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | Ossett, near Wakefield, Second Remittance. | Wm. Gunson, shoemaker | 1 | | 0 | 0 | D. F. Ormond, ironmonger | 0 | 7 | 6 | |
| | J. Clark, 41, Cross-causeway | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | | David Clayton, clothier | 1 | | 0 | 0 | William Gibson, tailor, Townhead | 0 | 5 | 0 | |
| | William Crow, 1, West Richmond-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | Joas Wilby, manufacturer, Green | 1 | | 0 | 0 | J. Smith, grocer | 0 | 5 | 0 | |
| | Mrs. Craig, 392, Lawn-market | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | John Humble, chemist | 1 | | 0 | 0 | John Jolly, hosiery | 0 | 5 | 0 | |
| | J. H. Chisholm, 23, London-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | | Joseph Brooke, joiner | 1 | | 0 | 0 | William Walker, grocer | 0 | 5 | 0 | |
| | John Dalrymple, 1, Gardner's-crescent | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | Workmen at T. Turton and Sons, Spring-works | 20 | | 17 | 6 | An Ardent Repeater | 0 | 5 | 0 | |
| | S. Dunbar, 41, Dundas-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | | H. E. Hoole, Green-lane-works | | 10 | 0 | 0 | George Ritchie, watchmaker | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | George Dickenson, 15, Drummond-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | E. Butterell, Shales-moor | | 0 | 10 | 0 | Phillip and Smith, merchants | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | James Dymock, Nicolson-square | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | | | S. Chapman, 97, West-bar | | 1 | 0 | 0 | Alexander Nicol, merchant | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | James Gray, 103, High-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | | Workmen at T. Sheldon and Sons, Trafalgar-pl. | | 1 | 0 | 0 | William Petrie, manufacturer | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | Thomas Gourlay, 129, Canongate | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | | | Workmen at Kenyon and Co.'s, Willey-street | | 3 | 4 | 6 | John Galloway, plumber | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | John Hutton, Elder-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | Eccles, Shorrocks and Co., Darwen, near | | 200 | 0 | 0 | John Barry, druggist | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | George Knight, 15, St. Andrew-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | | William Eccles, Lower Darwen, near | 100 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Ducat, baker, Townhead | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Lowe, 150, High-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | T. and R. Eccles, do. | 50 | | | | | 0 | 0 | Alexander Reid, tobaccoist | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| John Law, 1, Earl Grey-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | John Sharples, jun., Brown-street | 5 | | | | | 5 | 0 | David Milne, dyer | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| John McQueen, 29, West Nicolson-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | Mrs. Thomas Eccles, Lower Darwen, near | 5 | | | | | 5 | 0 | Thomas Lyon, shoemaker | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| H. Macfarlane, 19, Dundas-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | Robert Baron, Clayton-street | 5 | | | | | 0 | 0 | David More, shipmaster | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| L. Macintosh, 31, Northumberland-street | 1 | 1 | 0 | James Grime, Church-street | 1 | | | | | 10 | 0 | Stewart Gellatly, bookseller | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| Dr. Wm. Peattie, 57, George-square | 1 | 0 | 0 | Alexander McKie, John-street | 1 | | | | | 0 | 0 | James Adam, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| Thomas S. Phillips, 329, High-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | John Shorrocks, Paradise-street | 1 | | | | | 0 | 0 | Mrs. Mann, confectioner | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| T. Pringle, 3, West Cross-causeway | 0 | 2 | 6 | John Alnsworth, Strawberry Bank | 2 | | | | | 0 | 0 | Thomas Forbes, merchant | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| R. W. Warriston-crescent | 1 | 1 | 0 | James Atkin, Water-street | 2 | 2 | | | | 0 | James Cargill, merchant | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| J. Reid, 53, Frederick-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | James Rae, John-street | 1 | 0 | | | | 0 | Robert Ireland, shoemaker | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| Mr. Robertson, 279, High-street | 0 | 7 | 6 | John Forster, Water-street | 1 | 0 | | | | 0 | Adam Roy, painter | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| Hugh Ross, 2, High-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | James Lawson, James-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | Alexander Anderson, ironmonger | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | |
| John Richardson, Royal Exchange | 0 | 5 | 0 | John Bushby, Penny-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | William Leithhead, spirit dealer | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | |
| R. Rankin, Rankellor-street | 1 | 1 | 0 | Robert Raiton, Nab-lane | 2 | 0 | 0 | | | James Kilgour, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | |
| Mrs. Robertson, Reid's-court, Canongate | 0 | 2 | 6 | Peter Pickering, Church-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | A Lady, per William Gibson | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | | |
| Wm. Syme, 4, Rutland-place | 0 | 5 | 0 | Mrs. Wm. Eccles, Spring Mount | 10 | 0 | 0 | | | George Gleig, shipowner | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | | |
| John Smart, 1, Queen-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | Hanson Dewhurst, Winter street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Charles Middleton, shoemaker | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | |
| J. H. Stott, 12, Niddry-street | 0 | 10 | 6 | E. S. Ashton, Over Darwen | 5 | 0 | 0 | George Kidd, ropemaker | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | |
| J. A. Smith, East Adam-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | R. S. Ashton, do. | 5 | 0 | 0 | James Jenkins, machine maker | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | |
| Peter Stevenson, Lothian-street | 0 | 10 | 6 | James Shorrocks, Prince's, do. | 2 | 0 | 0 | David Key, Shore Dues' Office | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | |
| P. Sinclair, 12, St. David-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Edward Bates, plumber, &c., do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Dick Johnston, spirit dealer | | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | |
| John Strachan, 2, Amphian-place | 0 | 2 | 6 | George Hartley, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | John Gibson, tailor | | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | | | |
| John Taylor, 11, St. James's-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | Mrs. A. Pimbley, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | William Smart, flaxdresser | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | | |
| T. G. 46, South Bridge | 0 | 5 | 0 | John Foulding, coal merchant | 5 | 0 | 0 | "Sine qua non" | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | | | | |
| R. Winter, 1, Jamaica-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Liverpool, 12th Re- mittance. | James Harvey, 5, Catherine-street | 100 | 0 | 0 | John Gouck, founder | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | |
| J. O. C. Whitton, Lothian-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | | Geo. Clydale, 63, Great Richmond-st. | 0 | 3 | 0 | Thomas Small, brewer | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | |
| James Wilson, North Bridge | 0 | 10 | 0 | | John Kind, 1, Church-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | D. and W. Scott, drapers | 1 | 1 | 0 | | | | | |
| Miss Willshire, 11, Portland-place | 1 | 1 | 0 | | J. Kennedy, Clarence Foundry, Love-la. | 10 | 0 | 0 | David Chapel | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | |
| S. Young, 17, George-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | | Thomas W. Robinson, 80, Grove-street | 5 | 5 | 0 | Mr. Dickie, ship builder | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | | |
| Thomas Angus, 125, Rose-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | | Thomas Atkinson, Grasshopper | 1 | 0 | 0 | William Stephen, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | | | |
| Rev. James Kirkwood, 16, Gayfield-square | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | William Proctor, Moor-lane | 1 | 0 | 0 | John Webster, blacksmith | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | |
| Small sums | 0 | 7 | 0 | | | M. Parkinson | 0 | 1 | 0 | Alexander Raffen, plumber | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | | |
| Archibald Foote | Archibald Foote | 10 | 0 | | | 0 | Benjamin Dockray | 3 | 0 | 0 | Captain Duncan | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| | Alexander Watson | 5 | 0 | | | 0 | Miss Dockray | 1 | 0 | 0 | Thomas Leslie, shipowner | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| | C. H. Miller | 3 | 0 | | | 0 | T. F. Bateman, Halton Park | 3 | 0 | 0 | James Stormont, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| | James Birnie | 2 | 12 | | | 6 | Wm. Satterthwaite, jun., New-street | 1 | 1 | 0 | James Peter, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| | David Birnie | 2 | 12 | | | 6 | G. Fox | 0 | 5 | 0 | James Hay, grocer | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| | George Paton | 2 | 0 | | | 0 | Mrs. Heathcote | 1 | 0 | 0 | David Jardyne, baker | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| | James Paton | 2 | 0 | | | 0 | A Friend, per J. Moss | 0 | 7 | 6 | James Winton, tailor | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| | Charles Birnie | 1 | 11 | | | 6 | Anonymous | 0 | 10 | 0 | Flaxdressers at Inch Mill | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | William Dorward | 1 | 5 | | | 0 | D. for Registration | 0 | 10 | 0 | Millwrights and Spinners at do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | John Paton | 1 | 0 | | | 0 | Satterthwaite and Barrow | 10 | 0 | 0 | William Dove, blacksmith | 0 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| | George Gordon, jun. | 1 | 0 | | | 0 | John Chambers, Blanket-row | 1 | 1 | 0 | George Barry, brewer | 0 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| | James Spence | 1 | 0 | | | 0 | | Sir William Lowthrop | 10 | 0 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | John Muckart | 1 | 0 | | | 0 | | A. C. L. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Thomas Nicoll, vintner | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | John Ingram | 1 | 0 | | | 0 | | Workmen at the Cotton-mills | 5 | 12 | 0 | George Walker | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | David Greig, writer | 1 | 0 | | | 0 | | A. B. C. | 2 | 2 | 0 | James Cooper, wood merchant | 0 | | | | |

| Sundry Workpeople | £ | s | d |
|--|----|----|---|
| J. Bowker | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Hunt, Hockley Abbey | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Burgham | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| C. Humphrey | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| C. Lawson | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. H. Ryland, Oozels-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Frederick Ryland, Waterloo-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| George Phillips | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| William Reeves | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Smith and Kemp, Brearly-street | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| James Hawley, Bromsgrove-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Charles Lloyd, sen., do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Harrison, Brown-street | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| John Grew, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Brown, licensed victualler, Sherlock-st. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Butler, High-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Melby, 29, Digbeth | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Jameson, 36, do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Paul, 35, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Asindler, 24, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Well-wisher | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Taylor, 8, Digbeth | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Jenkins, 6, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| W. F. Beale, Bradford-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Matthews, 36, Ren-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Edward Jones, Read-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Nicholls, Digbeth | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Well-wisher | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| X. Y. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Milner, Union-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Heath, Mass-house-lane | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Gammon, Dale End | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Phillips, 17, Dale End | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Wood, 142, Moor-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Heaven | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Abbott, 24, Moor-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Owen, 23, do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Lilley, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Samson, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Hampson Aston, Mass-house-lane | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Myers, Bullring | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Richard Barlow, Newhall-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Thomas Short, Friday Bridge | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Hedfern, Whittall-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| M. Bellinge, Newhall-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| A Repeater | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend to Repeal | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward Lucas, Mount-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. and W. F. Hall, Newhall-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Griffin, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Lea and Son, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Tinsley, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Pearson, Lionel-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. Langton, do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Hewson, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. Bromsgrove, Gunden-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joseph Fouke, Edmund-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. Lee, Edmund-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Barlow, Great Hampton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Button, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Mills, Kenyon-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Meeling, Kenyon-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Saml. Aston, Wharstone-lane | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Tyrer, Braunstone-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Workmen of Thos. Aston, 74, Northwood-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Herbert, 98, Lichfield-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joshua Rooke, Hatchett-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joseph Gibson, Weaman-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Poolton, Horse-fair | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John White, druggist, Horse-fair | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Charles Hallam, grocer | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| W. Wheeler, Hockley-hill | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| T. R. T. Hodgson, Hockley-hill | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Temple, Great King-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Antrobus, Hockley-hill | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| George Bentley, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| R. Rahone, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Griffin, Great Hampton-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| D. Campbell, dyer, Great Hampton-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Taylor, do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Hargrove, do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Bowles, jeweller, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. Flint, clock case maker, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Smith, 28, do | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Barnes, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| W. Darby, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Lawden, jun., do | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Hall, Northwood-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Fallford, Great Hampton-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Smallwood, brassfounder, Gt. Hampton-rv. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Baker, do, do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Perkins, pawnbroker, Great Hampton-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Yates, butcher, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| T. Westwood, steel pen maker, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| M. Westwood, do, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Shelton, bone turner, Poultry, Bell-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Hinton, Great Hampton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Stokes, John-street West | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Kendrick, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Whitehouse, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Webb, Great King-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Ingle, Hockley-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Fullford, Harford-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Beckett, do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Sydney Smith, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Workmen of J. Hardy, Great Hampton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Workmen of Mr. Hargrove, Great Hampton-street | 0 | 11 | 0 |
| Workmen of Mr. Jos. Collins, Hockley-place | 2 | 4 | 9 |
| Workmen of Henry Fielding, Great Hampton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Workmen of T. Lawden and Son, do | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Workmen of Moore and Sabin, Mary Ann-street | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Workmen of Wm. Mitchell, St. Paul's-square | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Smith and Horstall, Oxford-street | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Workmen of S. Whitfield, Oxford-street | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| Thos. Partridge, Oxford-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Davis and Lee, do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward Collins, Bordesley-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| H. Allcock, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| E. Hancock, Trent-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Weale, Oxford-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| W. Vaughan, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| H. Spilbury, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| E. Wells, do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. E. Richards, Maiden-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Joseph Walker, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| R. Wallace, Oxford-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Harrison, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| David Holmes, Broad-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Roberts, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. Cox, salt warehouse, do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Miss Bellis, 96, Suffolk-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Edwards, 113, do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Whitehouse, 120, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Ault, Hen and Chickens, Broad-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Goose, 31, King Edward-place | 1 | 0 | 0 |

Birmingham, Second Remittance—continued.

| | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| W. and C. Wynn, Suffolk-street | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Johnson, Weighing Machine, Old Wharf | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Richard Barrett, 24, Bristol-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Kingston, Old Wharf | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mr. Hillier, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| The Work-people of J. B. Hollingshead, Ford-rough-street | 2 | 7 | 8 |
| J. Tongue, Parade | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| E. Butcher, Summer-row | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Ann Lees, do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Master of Class Legislation | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. B. Nettlefold, Broad-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward Vernon, butcher, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Richard Slater, Broad-street | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| T. Adams, Cambridge-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Smith, Cambridge-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. Halliday, King Alfred's place | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Samuel Messenger, Broad-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Whitfield, Summer-row | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| James Verum, 1, Livery-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Briggs, Smallbrook-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Baldwin, Bradford-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Van Wart, Son, and Co., Summer-row | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| H. H. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| John Hinks, steel pen manufactory, Bucking-ham-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Small subscriptions, collected by a Lady | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Johnson, Lee Bank, Edgbaston | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. B. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Small subscriptions, at James Edmunds's, Hen and Chickens, Constitution-hill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Job Wilkins, 45, Moor-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| David Bentley, Ashbourne, Derbyshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Workmen of Timmins and Son, Hurst-street | 1 | 2 | 10 |
| Sundry small subscriptions | 3 | 1 | 10 |

ANTI-CORN-LAW-MEETING, THIRSK.
ADDRESS TO FARMERS.

On Monday, the 26th ult., agreeably to public announcement, Colonel Thompson, A. Prentice, Esq., and T. Flint, Esq., attended at this place to address the farmers and farm-labourers on the influence of the Corn Laws on their interests. A few days before a placard was issued, signed by J. Crompton, Esq., formerly M.P. for Ripon, brother to Crompton Stansfield, Esq., M.P. for Huddersfield, and also to Sir T. Crompton, formerly M.P. for Thirsk, announcing his intention to be present at the meeting, to hear what arguments could be adduced in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws, and inviting farmers, and especially farm-labourers, to attend, "as the measure was fraught with most mischievous consequences to a district so purely agricultural as that around Thirsk." Two other gentlemen also announced their intention to be present; and in consequence it was proposed to Mr. Crompton that he should preside at the meeting. This he declined, but it was announced to him and his friends, immediately on the arrival of the deputation, at half-past one o'clock, that they would be glad to arrange the order of the proceedings with him. Whilst waiting for this interview, Mr. Crompton and his friends filled the room taken by the League, and, after a short address from Mr. C., adjourned to the market-place, into which Mr. C.'s break, or dog-cart, was wheeled. The deputation, considering this proceeding quite unwarrantable and uncourteous, placed a waggon in the spacious yard of the inn, and an audience being collected, Colonel Thompson commenced speaking. In a minute or two Mr. Crompton's vehicle was wheeled back into the yard, opposite the waggon of the League, and Mr. C. commenced addressing the meeting, and interrupting Colonel Thompson, amidst the groans of the majority, and the cheers of a small knot around him, consisting of his farm-labourers, who, it was currently reported, were set at liberty for the day, and had their wages paid. After some altercation, and a spirited remonstrance on the part of the deputation at the indecency of adjourning their meeting before they were present, and whilst, in fact, they were in momentary expectation of an interview with Mr. Crompton and his friends, the deputation agreed that the speakers should address the meeting from the window of the inn. Before, however, the arrangement was made, Colonel Thompson had expressed, in indignant terms, to Mr. Crompton and his friends his opinion of the uncourteousness and unfairness of their conduct, and his determination not to speak, but to appeal to the public through the press, and to state that he was prevented speaking by "brute force." This probably induced the Pro-Corn-Law gentlemen to come to the arrangement just named.

Col. Thompson presented himself at the window, and was received with a burst of cheers: he proceeded to address the meeting in his clear, bold, and manly style, which instantly silenced the band that had been supporting Mr. Crompton in his interruption by clamour. He told them that he was the grandson of a farmer, but he doubted if any one of them, burdened as they were with protection, could ever make his grandson a lieutenant-colonel, for, if they were instrumental in robbing the community to put money into the pockets of the landowners, they would find no outlet for their families, which would thus be reduced to poverty. He warned them not to delay, because justice, which might be satisfied now with the repeal of the Corn Laws, would not, if there was much longer obstruction, be satisfied with less than compensation for twenty-eight years' robbery, by a bounty upon importation for the same period. (The gallant colonel was heard throughout with marked attention, and was loudly cheered at the conclusion of his speech.)

Mr. Crompton then presented himself at the window, and was received with hootings from one part of the meeting and cheers from his own tenants and labourers. He began by saying that he expected more from the great gun—the great itinerant orator of the League—who had given them nothing but stale jokes. He went on to abuse Mr. Cobden and the League for spreading disaffection and sedition throughout the country, and said they called the farm-labourers clothhoppers and thickheads, when speaking of them at Leeds, but praised them as intelligent men when they spoke to them in the country. These League men had been joined by the Marquis of Westminster, of whom, as he did not wish to be scurrilous, he would not say more than that there was a shrewd suspicion as to the motive that induced him to join the League; and as for Lord Ducie, he had advised with George Robins, and sold a great estate as soon as he knew that Sir Robert Peel was to stand firm on the Corn Law, for his lordship knew that he could then get a good price. As for Earl Spencer, he was a very good man, but he knew little and cared little about anything beyond fattening cattle, and lived comfortably amongst his bulls and oxen. What would the repeal of the Corn Law do for Thirsk, where there was not one single article of manufacture carried on? He now paid 12s. a week to his labourers, but if corn was reduced in price, so would wages; for farm-labourers never were paid worse than when corn was at 4s. 6d. a bushel (Cries of "No, no!") He hoped nobody from that neighbourhood would go to Bradford or other towns where the population was so reckless, that if a man got 18s. a week he would spend most of it in drink. (Groans.) (Mr. Crompton's speech was very badly received, and his abuse of the League excited strong marks of disapprobation from all the meeting, except the tenants and labourers whom he had brought with him. He retired amidst jeers and hootings.)

Mr. Prentice, on presenting himself at the window, was received with hearty cheers by two-thirds of the meeting. He said that Mr. Crompton had complained that Col. Thompson's speech contained nothing more than stale jokes; but he was sure the meeting were convinced that it contained a great deal of argument which Mr. Crompton had not answered, and could not answer. (Laughter.) The League was accused of calling farm-labourers clothhoppers; but the accusation came with a bad grace from a man who called the

working population of Bradford reckless drunkards. (Cheers.) He had said that there was not a single man in Thirsk who would benefit by a repeal of the Corn Laws, forgetting that there were 5000 inhabitants who had mouths and bellies—5000 consumers of food who were not producers of food. He had also said, that wages never were lower than when wheat was 4s. 6d. a bushel. "Now," said Mr. Prentice, "I ask him, before you all, what wages were then?" (Mr. Crompton, in great excitement, hesitated some time, and then said, "ten shillings.") "Ten shillings," said Mr. Prentice, "ten shillings, when wheat was at 4s. 6d., and twelve shillings when it was at 9s. Why, the labourers' wages would go nearly twice as far in the purchase of food in the former case; and yet, here was Mr. Crompton telling them they would be ruined by low prices." (Loud cheers.) Mr. P. then went on to refer to a speech by Mr. Morley, at the Pro-Corn-Law meeting on the previous Monday, where he had stated that a fall of 1s. 6d. a bushel, where land growing thirty bushels an acre was rented at 30s., would cause a loss of 15s. an acre, even if the land was rent-free. Let them try the Corn Law by this rule. The law of 1815 promised 10s. a bushel, and farmers entered into engagements in that belief; but for thirteen years the average was only about 8s. 6d. Here, then, farmers would be paying rent out of capital, not out of profits. In 1828 the new law promised 8s., but the average realized was only 7s. Here, again, the farmers would, for thirteen years more, be losers, even if they had their land rent-free. Was not this enough to account for the downward progress of farmers for twenty-six years, and all the ruin and destitution that had befallen them? They had been sold up by thousands, and all this distress had been occasioned by the Corn Law, which had promised what it did not fulfil; and yet these landowners behind him were urging farmers to adhere to this system, which had been all ready so ruinous. Mr. P. then went on to show that the so-called protection they received was protection only when they had nothing to sell, and no protection at all when they had anything to sell, the duty being 20s.; and they had no corn in their stackyard and nothing, or very little, when they began to put their sickle into the wheat, and to thresh out to prepare for the payment of their Michaelmas rents. He would appeal to the entire meeting, farmers as well as farm-labourers, was there a single man amongst them to say that they owed any increase of either capital or comfort to such laws as these? (Cheers.) The previous speaker had not succeeded in showing that they had; and he did not believe that Mr. Rutson, who was to follow, could show that the condition of the working agriculturists was benefited to the amount of one farthing by all the protection which had been thrown around them. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. W. Rutson followed Mr. Prentice, and dwelt at considerable length on what he seemed to regard as a most unjustifiable attempt on the part of the League to disturb the harmony of landlords, tenants, and labourers. Deprecation of such interference, imputations on the motives of the itinerant agitators, solemn warnings addressed to farmers and labourers against listening to the doctrines and fallacies of the League, constituted the staple of Mr. Rutson's address. He drew a contrast betwixt the condition of the inhabitants of the manufacturing and agricultural towns, much to the disadvantage of the former, though he failed to bring forward any proofs as to wages which would bear out his assertion.

Mr. Flint followed, and vindicated the right of himself and co-Leaguers to visit Thirsk or any other town of the empire, and to promulgate their views on any subject bearing on national interests. After commenting on some statements of Mr. Rutson as to the state of labour in America, and justifying the conduct of the Manchester spinners in curtailing the weekly duration of labour to prevent or check a speculative rise of cotton, which proceeding Mr. Rutson had condemned as harsh and tyrannical, Mr. Flint proceeded to show from official British and Prussian documents, that the opinion expressed by Mr. Rutson as to the price of wheat under Free Trade was most erroneous. That gentleman had said that wheat would then be 35s. per quarter. Mr. Flint proved that from 1816 to 1837, wheat had averaged 29s. at Berlin; 28s. 3d. in the whole Prussian dominions; and 34s. 3d. free on board at Dantzic; and that 8s. for freight, insurance, &c., was the lowest charge at which the traffic could be carried on. But he contended that under Free Trade wheat would rise in Prussia, perhaps, 10s. per quarter, certainly not less than 5s.; and he showed that our large imports in 1816 and 1817, 1829, 1830, and 1831, and again in 1839, 1840, and 1841, had caused an advance of from 10s. to 15s. per quarter on the average of those years in Prussia, as compared with years in which we had no need of their corn. He also showed that Canada wheat, at 3s. 6d. per bushel on the banks of Lake Erie, would stand at 56s. per quarter, duty paid, at Liverpool. Mr. Flint, therefore, ridiculed the statement of Mr. Morley at the meeting of the preceding week, viz., that wheat would fall 12s. per quarter, and that no rent could be paid. Mr. Flint then proceeded to show that the alleged special burdens on land were not special or peculiar, and that the plea for protection put forward by Mr. Baker of Chelmsford, on the ground of indirect taxation paid by the labourers, farmers, and landowners, meant that the consumer of corn, in addition to his own taxes, should pay those of the agricultural classes. He further maintained the right of all producers to dispose of the fruits of their industry wherever they thought fit so to do; and denounced the Corn Law as an infringement on that right. The dependence of agriculture on the prosperity of manufactures he proved, by showing that, since 1811, the manufacturing districts had absorbed upwards of two millions of the population of the agricultural; and he maintained that large importations of foreign corn would not displace British grain, but would enable the millions who "rejoiced in potatoes" or fattened on oatmeal, to get substantial beef, pudding, and wheaten bread. Mr. Flint concluded by saying that imputations on the motives of the League advocates had been lavishly thrown out by Mr. Rutson, but he challenged him to show that any leading man in the League had not, even from the first, maintained that a repeal of the Corn Laws would benefit all classes, and not only our own country, but the world at large; and he claimed for them credit for their avowed motives, just as he admitted the sincerity of Mr. Rutson. (Mr. Flint concluded amidst general cheering.)

Immediately after Mr. Flint had concluded, Mr. Crompton inquired if the deputation intended to propose any resolution, and was answered "No." They came to state their views, and would leave the public to decide on their truth or falsehood; they were quite satisfied with having thrown them out. Mr. Crompton then said, "Well, but we'll propose something;" and accordingly he proposed, "That a repeal of the Corn Laws would be injurious to the farmers and farm-labourers;" and instantly put it to the meeting, without a second. A considerable number of hands were held up, but there was so much confusion that it is doubtful whether the meeting knew what was proposed. Apparently, more hands were held up for the resolution than against it; but on Mr. Prentice proposing three cheers for the League, they were heartily given by at least two-thirds of the meeting. This fact, coupled with the earnest attention to and friendly reception of the deputation by the meeting, and the unwilling hearing given to Mr. Crompton, leave no room to doubt that, had the meeting correctly understood Mr. Crompton's proposition, it would have been negatived by a great majority.

EVENING MEETING.—A Mr. Harper—the same individual who attempted to interrupt the meeting of the preceding week, and who tried the same game at Knareborough—gave a lecture in the large room of the Piece Inn, in which he endeavoured to show that the Corn Laws benefited farmers, and especially farm-labourers. Some idea of his fitness for the task may be formed, from the fact that he asserted manufactures produced 350 millions per annum, of which five millions only were exported, and 845 millions consumed by the agricultural classes. The lecture was a tissue of similar absurdities, and excited the derision of that portion of his audience which consisted of the burgesses of Thirsk, though he was cheered by the farmers who had invited him to give the lecture to counteract the League deputation. At length he found it impossible to proceed; and Mr. Rutson, a

farmer—who had expressed his determination to oppose the deputation at the afternoon meeting, but whose courage failed—then proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman, Mr. Tweedy, a shoemaker, and an intelligent and respectable bourgeois of Thirsk. He said, in reply, "That he did not think he was under any obligation to the gentleman for proposing a vote of thanks, for they had put him in the chair when no one else could be got; and he must further say, he did not think the lecturer had proved anything whatever,"—he might have added, except his own ignorance of the whole subject. Three groans were then proposed for the lecturer, and given with hearty good will; and he made a hasty retreat with his farmer patrons, to console himself and them for his ridiculous failure. Three cheers were then given for the Anti-Corn-Law League.

THIRSK.—A large and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of Thirsk was held on Monday evening week, in a large room at the Three Tuns Hotel. Mr. Prentice, of Manchester, and Mr. Plint, of Leeds, attended as a deputation from the National Anti-Corn Law League, for the purpose of examining into the dependence of the prosperity of the tenant-farmers and farm-labourers on the existing Corn Laws, and to show the manner in which a repeal of those laws would affect the agricultural and the manufacturing classes. Mr. John Baker, draper, on the proposition of Mr. Smith, of Thirsk, was called to the chair. The chairman, in opening the meeting, made a judicious speech, showing that the best remedy for the evils affecting the farmers was to derive from giving a free outlet to our manufactures, and by adopting an improved system of agriculture. Mr. Prentice followed the chairman in a powerful speech, developing the evil effects of the Corn Laws to the farmer and the farm-labourer; he was succeeded by Mr. Plint, in a long, argumentative, and effective address, bearing upon the history of the Corn Laws and the manner in which they operated on the rent of land, and on the general interests of society. Before the meeting separated, a vote of thanks was given to the deputation, and three cheers were given for the chairman, and three for the League.—*Leeds Mercury.*

PONTERFRACT. February 23.—A meeting was held in the Town-hall in this borough, yesterday evening, on the Corn-Law question, when Mr. Plint, of Leeds, in an eloquent and effective speech, successfully advocated the principles of Free Trade. Some of his statements were unceremoniously denied by Mr. Clough, the agent of Lord Mexborough, but he was triumphantly refuted; and the meeting attended to the remainder of the lecturer's speech with evidently increased interest. At the conclusion, Mr. Clough, who had before wished to enter more fully into the question, was permitted to address the assembly. His arguments and assertions were replied to by Mr. Marton:—this gentleman, in a quiet and effective manner, exposed his fallacies, to the satisfaction and amusement of the people assembled, who, very good humouredly, yet in a way not at all to be mistaken, manifested their feelings in favour of Free Trade; showing that the views which many of them had previously held on the subject of wages were no longer entertained. After votes of thanks, &c., were passed, three hearty cheers were given for the Anti-Corn-Law League, after which the meeting separated. Should the League persevere in bringing the subject before the electors of the borough, their efforts will be crowned with success, Pontefract will be rescued from the grasp of monopoly, and two members will be returned to Parliament at the next election, the undoubted advocates of a system of liberal and enlightened commercial policy.

NORTHALLERTON.—On Tuesday evening there was a meeting at Northallerton; the audience was numerous, being partly agricultural and partly manufacturing, and was addressed by the deputation, Colonel Thompson, Mr. Prentice, and Mr. Plint, as well upon the effect of Free Trade upon wages and the employment of labour, as upon the interest of farmers and landlords. Questions were invited, but none were asked; and the meeting separated.

KIRKHAMPTON ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.—At a meeting of this association, on Friday evening last, Mr. William Kaye moved the following resolution:—"That, as our forefathers, in the times of the Tudors and Stuarts, put down and abolished for ever all monopolies granted by those monarchs, so we pledge ourselves anew never to relax in our endeavours to put down and repeal for ever all monopoly laws, especially those of corn and sugar, enacted, the one at the point of the sword, and both for the express purpose of benefiting individuals at the public expense. We, moreover, identify ourselves with the National Anti-Corn-Law League, and vow allegiance to that body so long as Free Trade is their end and aim." The resolution was carried amidst tokens of enthusiastic approbation.—*Leeds Mercury.*

YORK. February 22.—The monopolists have had their meeting. Fifteen hundred circulars had been sent to the most influential parties in the county, and about 300 assembled, and subscribed upwards of £2500. The meeting was composed almost entirely of landowners, parsons, and Tory citizens: there could not be more than 60 or 70 tenant-farmers present, and these, from their appearance, were large capitalists. Earl Harewood, £200; Lord Feversham, £200; Lord Beaumont, £100; Major Yarborough, £100; Lord Hotham, £100; Duke of Leeds, £100; several others £100's, and £50's, and £20's, &c. The tenant-farmers subscribed from £1 to £5, and few even reached this amount. Committees are to be formed in the three ridings, and a central one for the county. Subscribers of £20 are eligible as members of central committees, and subscribers of £1 and upwards, of the riding committees. I ought to state, this is the market-day for sale of cattle, &c. I and Mr. Taylor went into the fair this morning, and distributed 400 or 500 of "Lloyd's Letter," "Rand's Speech," &c., to as many farmers, yet out of all these only 60 attended the meeting, showing that they set a slight value on the landlords' protection. A Mr. Rand, manufacturer, (stated to be brother of Mr. Rand, of Bradford), supported one of their resolutions; and other two persons, calling themselves manufacturers, likewise took part in the proceedings.—*From a Correspondent.*

"PROTECTION" MEETING.—A meeting, professing of tenant-farmers, was held at Great Marlow, in Buckinghamshire, on Wednesday, the 21st ult. Raymond Barker, Esq., in the chair. In addition to about twenty farmers, there were a dozen esquires, as many tailors and drapers, three brewers, four lawyers, and several small tradesmen connected with the town, in all about one hundred persons. The chairman, who has always been a strong political partisan of the Duke of Buckingham, began the meeting by expressing his great alarm at the Anti-Corn-Law League. He was sorry to observe the increased efforts of the "monstrous horridum," as he described it. That they were supported by men of high rank, and with large resources, it could not be denied; the greatest energy, therefore, was called for to counteract the efforts of their opponents; and there was no doubt that this might be easily effected, if the tenants would unite as one man to oppose them. The present low prices of wheat arose, said Mr. Barker, from the duty having gone down to one shilling last year. [This is not true, but anything will do in poor Bucks.] He, Mr. Barker, had lately met with a member of the League, who told him that he had no idea they would have been able to rouse the farmers as they had done, and that, if the farmers were true to themselves, there would soon be an end of the League. The eyes of all are upon you (said Mr. Barker); and I will here observe, this is expressly a meeting of tenant-farmers, but they will be obliged to any landlord or tradesman who will assist them to maintain protection.—Mr. Gibbons, of Bledlow, the son of a woollen-draper, but now a farmer, proposed the first resolution, and indulged in the old stale calumnies against members of the League, which form much of the staple stock of the speeches delivered at these meetings. I rejoice (said Mr. Gibbons) that the doctrine that farmers should not talk politics is passing away, and that we are to be allowed to speak out. I say, the minds of farmers must not continue to be what Mr. Bright has said they are, "like a sealed book—that you cannot get anything out of, nor yet drive anything into." I have read the League tracts and their newspapers; I have been to Drury-lane Theatre; and I hope you will, one and all, take a lesson from Mr. Cobden, and support your principles, and with them the present Ministry.—Several speakers followed, in whose speeches abuse of the League was indulged in, and the cruelty

of the manufacturers was the prominent feature; but there was no allusion to the barbarous treatment of the poor children shut up in the Bledlow Ridge Union Workhouse, with the particulars of which Mr. Gibbons is well acquainted—nothing said of the five poor little miserable who were seen huddled together on one pallet, without any other covering than a sheet around their shoulders—nothing of the dreadful condition of the child who lay with its bed rotting under it, owing to continued saturation and the accumulated filth in which it lay—nor of the neglected condition of the greater part of the inmates of this last resort of the destitute. The meeting concluded with the appointment of a committee consisting of six esquires, two lawyers, four farmers, one parson, three brewers, and a tailor. The meeting lasted one hour and a half, and your reporter only heard one cheer during the whole course of its proceedings—a cheer which reminded him of a donkey on a rainy day with his ears hanging down.—*From a Correspondent.*

TO THE TENANT FARMERS OF HERTFORDSHIRE.

BROTHER FARMERS,—I cannot refrain from offering a few observations upon your recently-established Agricultural Protection Society in this county.

Having attended the meeting at St. Alban's, on the 2nd of February (which may be appropriately termed a meeting held for the purpose of abusing the Anti-Corn-Law League), and listened in vain for any argument in favour of the Corn Laws, or any hope of amelioration in the present *Rackrent and Tenant-at-Will* system, from the various noble and influential speakers on that occasion, I wish to ask you, seriously, do you consider that any *real* advantage will be gained to the interests of your order, or the welfare of your families be promoted, by vituperating that, or any other great body of your fellow-citizens, who are equally interested with you in obtaining good and equitable laws for all classes of their countrymen?

The pursuit of farming, like all other occupations, is a matter of income and expenditure, and, to be successfully carried on, must yield a profit upon an average of years; to promote which, either the returns must be increased, or the outlay diminished, and the balance may be as effectually inclined by lessening the weight in one scale as by increasing it in the other.

Believing that, under a healthy system, the land would ably support landlord, tenant, and labourer, I am persuaded that it is incapable of bearing the additional weight of land and law agents, auctioneers and middle-men, with the feudal privileges of *vert and venison*, with an increased rent-charge for tithes, income-tax, &c. &c., and with the greatly depreciated value of stock, at commercial rents, and insecure tenures. But, from the tone of the speakers at St. Alban's, one might imagine that farming was a most lucrative pursuit, that you were a prosperous and happy race of men, and were likely to continue so, were it not for the agitation of the Corn-Law question.

But what are the facts? During the last 25 years, how many *bond fide* tenant-farmers are there in this county who have doubled their capital? How many could realize as much capital now as they could then have commanded, were they about to relinquish the pursuit of farming at the present time? How many have been able to educate their children and to promote their prospects in life with equal advantages to those classes engaged in other pursuits, who were possessed of a proportionate amount of capital, skill, and energy? It is notorious that the farmers have prospered the least of any class of capitalists under the present false and vicious system of protection—for the perpetuation of which you are now so loudly clamouring. Surely it would be prudent to consider well the actual worth and real cost of the Corn-Law sliding scale to your own class, as well as the injuries it inflicts upon the other productive and industrious classes in this country, with whom many members of your own families are intimately connected, before you venture to take upon yourselves the odium and responsibility, the impression of wrong and injustice, which pervades the minds of the reflecting portion of this great community, and the storm of moral indignation which may naturally be expected to break forth against all *prohibitory laws*, whenever the next periodical season of scarcity occurs? Nothing great or good appears to be produced or to flourish under the false principle of protection. Nature understands her own operations best. Think you, would the noble and majestic oak at Panshanger, in this county (so greatly admired), have attained its giant trunk and its magnificent proportions, had it been placed under the protection of some paltry greenhouse? What kind of benefit do your growing crops derive from the *protection* of the ash-trees which prevail on most farms in this county? Do you not find that a pernicious and baneful influence has sapped and undermined the fertility of the soil, leaving you a stunted and worthless crop beneath their shade? In the same manner does the false principle of Corn-Law Protection operate on your interests, and destroy the independence and welfare of your order. How many families once engaged in the cultivation of the soil have now sunk to a state of dependence? And, in the face of all these facts, an unnatural competition still exists to obtain the occupation of land, without a chance of procuring fair terms, by leases at corn-rents, upon an equitable basis, or any security from the ravages occasionally inflicted upon the farmers' crops by game preserves. Not a word was uttered by your various speakers on this point, and yet I know that many of you could unfold a tale thereon. I have personally suffered to some extent by game. For three successive years the damage sustained on a farm less than 400 acres was assessed by competent persons at £100 per annum. And what recompense did I obtain? Not one farthing. It was a customary thing. I know a labourer whose widowed mother some years back successfully occupied a small farm with the assistance of her son, but, in a fatal hour to her, a game-preserver happened to procure the occupation of some woods on which part of her land abutted. The result was the destruction of one-fourth of her crops, and, despite all remonstrance, in four years the loss of a whole year's produce was thereby sustained, which ruined her; and the ruthless hammer of the auctioneer disposed of her stock for rent, and completed her unhappy doom. There have been many similar cases, but you have now all your present attention directed against the Anti-Corn-Law League, and could even join Mr. C. Phillips and Co. in arraigning the estimable Earl Spencer, the Washington of British agriculture, the pilot whom I would choose to steer me o'er the rough ocean of agricultural distress, who has done more than any man (excepting the late venerable Earl of Leicester) to promote the real welfare and independence of the British farmer. This is worthy of your consideration, speaking in terms which you cannot misunderstand, more than you do the sneers cast upon

you for educating your children too expensively, and the intimation to send your sons to the plough, and your daughters to milk your cows, instead of learning music and dancing, so kindly given to you by one of your protectionist landowners present.

I hope that those generous and high-minded landlords in this county, who have never taken any unfair advantage in the sunshine of prosperity, will be met by a corresponding degree of gratitude and affection on your part in the hour of trial. It is our duty, and our highest interest, thus to meet them. But I cannot believe that you will be ever asked (by such men) to surrender your conscientious integrity, your principles, and opinions (all that distinguishes the freeman from the slave), and to fetter the future exercise of your judgment upon all public questions, by inducing you to sign documents for any such purposes, as rumour reports, but, for the honour of human nature, I hope without foundation.

The case of the labourer was also strongly recommended to your notice, with a suggestion to pay him liberally, but not a word was said whence the extra funds for that purpose were to be derived. I maintain, that unless *more* is produced from the soil, or the claims upon the produce (in behalf of the land and tithe owners, rate and tax collectors, &c.) is lessened, that the industry of the labourer can never obtain a *larger proportion* of the fruits of the earth, to reward his toil. I never heard a single speaker propose to yield anything for *that purpose*, therefore, I conclude that you are expected to furnish the means of increasing his wages. Can you do so, under existing circumstances? In cases of illness, accidents, or contingencies, the position of the labourers is distressing to contemplate. You must be aware of this, coming frequently into contact with many scenes of privation and destitution. Inquire of the collector of poor's rates, whether the children of the distressed ratepayers have sufficient bread? The following is a correct weekly outlay of a labourer's wages, in this parish, with a wife and three children, which may help to demonstrate the fact of a sufficiency of food being within their reach; clothing is a very hopeless matter indeed:—

The weekly Outlay and Expenditure of a Labourer who obtains 9s. per week, when employed:—

| | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------------|----|----|
| ½ oz. of tea | 0 | 1½ |
| ½ lb. of sugar | 0 | 2 |
| ½ lb. of butter | 0 | 2½ |
| ½ lb. of candles | 0 | 3½ |
| ½ lb. of meat | 0 | 7 |
| ½ bushel of flour | 4 | 8 |
| 1 fargot for baking ditto | 0 | 5 |
| Rent | 1 | 6 |
| Firing | 1 | 6 |
| | 9 | 8½ |

He is obliged to stint the above quantity of food occasionally.

In cases of deficiency of work, or illness, I shudder to contemplate the wretched scene—the union-house, breaking up their home, or starvation. Talk of over-production, indeed! why, there is scarcely a cottage whose inhabitants are not miserably deficient of food, clothing, and furniture. Take the case of a young family, dependent solely upon the earnings of the father, an agricultural labourer; enter the dwelling and examine the interior; inquire diligently as to the weekly expenditure, and you will find that a sufficiency of bread is not within their power of compass. As to other necessary articles of consumption, such as tea, coffee, sugar, &c., they are generally purchased in such miserably small quantities, and often of wretched quality, as to afford very limited means of support. Now, how can the means of procuring the social comforts of such families be enlarged by restricting the supply of food or clothing?

If we cannot extend the range of our sympathies to the industrious classes of our countrymen from the impulse of humanity, let us do so from motives of policy and justice, being well assured that what is morally wrong will never prove practically beneficial; and whatever we may sacrifice to justice and humanity, will be amply repaid by security to our property, and respect and attachment to our persons and families.

Farmers of Hertfordshire! You have stood between a fierce and uneducated peasantry and the landowners; you have borne the brunt of their bad passions; your property has been exposed to theft and to destruction; and you are now called upon to support the present system, with all its evils and injustices. Recollect that every grievance you labour under is a part and parcel of this system. The law of distress for rent, the unfair laws relating to landlord and tenant, the absolute and uncontrolled expenditure of the county-rate, the evils of the game-laws, and the insidious working of the agency system, are all identified with the Corn Laws. I rest assured that reflection upon these matters will not fail to lead you to a sound and healthy conclusion.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,

C. H. LATTIMORE.

Wheatthamsted-place, Feb. 13, 1844.

A WEEK IN WINDSOR FOREST.

By a STRANGER.

No. I.—A Journey to Prince Albert's Farm.

When in Windsor lately on business, I happened to see a notice of a new work called the "Prairie Bird," by the Honourable Charles Augustus Murray, author of "Travels in North America."

I had read Mr. Murray's travels among the red men of the American forests with much pleasure and profit soon after it appeared; and was now pleased to find that he had not then exhausted all his matter; and that the refinement of the court of her Majesty the Queen of England, in which he is Master of the Household, was not incompatible with the authorship of a work descriptive of personal adventures amongst the uncivilized tribes of the new world.

There is no reason why Mr. Murray, bred though he was amid the luxuries of the British aristocracy, should not have gone into the regions of the prairie and the wild man. Energy of mind and body and self-denial formed in him a sufficient reason for his doing so. But it is not common to find a traveller emerging from polished society to make his residence in the far wilderness, and after that returning to fill the distinguished place which Mr. Murray does in Windsor Castle, depicting to the world his knowledge of savage life from the very centre of civili-

zation; therefore, we are ready, in hearing of a new work from his pen descriptive of the wilderness, to reflect, remark, and make contrasts.

I was within a few hundred yards of that most regal of the palaces of the Queen of England, Windsor Castle, and within the length of a forest tree of the Master of the Household himself—for he was passing along the street from hunting with the royal hounds—at the moment of my first reading the announcement of his new work; and at once there was a stream of ideas running through the mind, one suggesting another, and each leading the way to a successor.

There was the surmise of what led Mr. Murray to travel so far, and linger so long among the Indians? If to gain an acquaintance with the lowest subjects of human civilization, as he was already acquainted with the highest, did he content himself with what he saw at the distance of seven thousand miles; or did he, since his return from among the red men of the American forest, associate with, and form opinions of, the happiness and habits of the white-faced men of Windsor Forest, who live within the distance of a run with the hounds of Windsor itself? There was next a question to this effect: are we not always seeking to know, and are we not better acquainted with, the personal and family condition of Hindoos, Hot-tentots, Caribs, Patagonians, Red Indians, and the many other tribes and races of wild men, than we are with the civilized? And again: are those of us who read and write books, and who make and administer laws for the good of the public generally, but for the good of the poor particularly (as we are so ready to say and swear to), not as ignorant of the home, and habits, and measure of happiness of the English labourer as of any other creature, biped or quadruped, known within the geographical limits of the globe? Of the New Zealander, the American Indian, and the wild tribes of every region, do we not know of their hunting-grounds, their lairs, their trails, their war-cries, their scalping-knives, and their pipes of peace? Do we not know of what they eat and drink? with what they are sheltered? with what leaves, mats, skins, entrails, horns, bones, heads, and shells they are covered and ornamented? Thanks to the natural energy of Englishmen, to commercial enterprise and religious zeal, we know all those things and many more. But do we know as much of the common inhabitant of Windsor Forest? Of what is his hut and its furniture made? What is his rent? Is it annually as much as the fifteenth part of the original cost of the cottage, or is it a one-hundredth part? Of what material are his clothes made? How many beds in a family? how many blankets on the beds? and how many shirts, and shoes, and changes of other garments for each wearer? What do such articles cost? from whom are they purchased? by whom are they made, and at what price? What does the inhabitant of the forest live on? How much bread, meat, butter, vegetables, coffee, sugar, and other articles of native and foreign produce does he use in a day, a week, a month, or a year? What is his income? Are his wages fixed, or do they rise and fall with the prices of food? Has he always enough to eat, or near enough? or has he more than enough? Is he warmly clothed? or can he be so if he chooses? Whether does he eat most bread when he pays a high price for it, or when he pays a low price? When bread is dearest does he buy most cloth? Does he buy least, or does he buy any at all? When he gives his daughter to a husband, what does he give with her? Does he give anything? We know what the American Indian gives; and we know that he has most skins wherewith to clothe himself and family when he has most of the flesh of the animal he hunts to feed on. But we are either wholly ignorant of the manner in which the native labourer of Windsor Forest, and of England generally, lives, or we are so perverse when we come to reason upon subjects within the reach of our own personal knowledge, that we cannot and will not agree as we do when the clothing and food of the far-distant savage form the topic of our consideration.

Such were a few of the subjects which were suggested by place and circumstance, as already related. For myself I do not believe now, and did not then, that the adverse opinions of public writers and statesmen on the condition of the English labourer, and the causes that promote or retard his happiness, arise so much from their inability to reason justly, nor from their determination to be perverse with each other, as from their being almost all unacquainted with those details of his family affairs which make him comfortable or otherwise. With this opinion strongly fixed in my mind, I resolved that, as soon as I could afford time from business, I would put my hat on my head, button my coat, take hold of my stick, and set out on a journey of several days through and around Windsor Forest.

I did so. I walked through the market-place of Windsor towards the east, and left the town behind me on the morning of the 14th of February, 1844. It was not a perilous adventure on which I was bound, but it was not without its excitement even at the very outset; as I soon found myself at a loss which of several roads to take to get into that southern part of the forest where I intended to go, and still more so to determine which direction was south and which north, which east and which west. It was a dull, foggy morning; and the fog was so frozen on everything above and below that the feeble day was, at ten o'clock, creeping slowly from the darkness, with the night still clinging to it, so frost-struck and paralytic it could scarcely move, so dim it could scarcely see. Every tree and twig and blade of grass, and solitary straw upon the road, had its covering of white hoar. The fine spring weather of a few days before seemed to have been suddenly deprived of life, and all nature was now in white mourning because it had died young.

I had just left the last house of Windsor on my left hand, and had a gateway on each side, one of which, to my right, admitted the traveller or pleasure-seeker into the Great Park. It formed the termination of that most magnificent approach to Windsor called the Long Walk. The gate on the left hand admitted to the castle, which crowned the elevation gradually rising from this spot. The castle was distant from this gateway between three and four hundred yards.

Turning from the road on which I stood, and which would have led me to Frogmore, Runnymede, Egham, Staines, and ultimately to London, I turned to the right, intending to penetrate into the Great Park and the forest by the Long Walk. I intended to visit the farm cultivated by his Royal Highness Prince Albert, but first found it necessary to inquire my way. I saw two gentlemen approaching from the Frogmore-road, and I asked them where the Prince's farm was; they said they never heard

of the Prince having a farm, so could not tell. A man driving a cart came up, and I asked him. He said he had certainly heard that the Prince had a farm, and he believed it was somewhere in the forest or in the park, but he "could not tell where it was, nor what road to go, not him; not if he were put to it ever so, he could not tell; cut his head off he could not." So he drove on. Another traveller approached from the Frogmore direction; and, as he wore a smock-frock and seemed more local-like than any of the others, I asked him; but he did not live in "them parts," so could not tell where the Prince's farm was; but he hoped I would not be offended at him if he asked me for a little assistance to get a little bit of something to eat; he was very hungry, was looking for work, could not get none, and was regular hard up; he would not tell me a word of a lie, not him; he had walked all yesterday and tasted nothing; so help him God, he was dying.

Having parted from him, a stout lad or under-sized man, I could not discover which, approached me from the same direction, with his head in the interior of a large copper kettle. It was bulky and heavy, and I concluded that he could not have travelled far with it, and that he must belong to the neighbourhood. I asked him which was the way to the Prince's farm; and a voice from the interior of the kettle responded, "Which farm?" "Prince Albert's farm," I replied. "Ay," continued the voice in the kettle, "but which of the Prince's farms? there be's Flemish Farm over by Spittal, and Norfolk Farm before you come to Virginia Water; and there is the Dairy, and the Wheeler's Yard, and Cumberland Lodge. All them are farms, as you may say—at least they keeps cattle, and cows, and horses, and haystacks at them."

"Which of them is nearest to us now? Which of them is the Prince's farm?" "Which of them be nearest to us now? The Dairy be's nearest to us now, and it belongs to the Queen. The farthest off is Norfolk Farm, and that belongs to the Prince; it belongs to him, as we may say; it is farmed by him, and he shoots the rabbits on it; but it belongs to the Crown. And there is Flemish Farm, not so far away; it is also the Prince's farm, and belongs to the Crown."

Thus spoke the voice in the kettle; and it was moving away, but I detained it a minute longer to ask which way I should go to Flemish Farm. It said, "try Spittal," and moved on, and refused to say more.

A little girl was at the gate at the head of the Long Walk, and I inquired of her the way to Spittal, and found that to go there I must return and go through Windsor; but, on farther inquiry, she said I might get to Flemish Farm by another way. And, finding there was no hindrance to my going in any part of the park or forest that was not enclosed, I entered and proceeded on my journey of discovery.

To those who have never visited this part of England it may be agreeable if I give a rough outline of the general appearance of the country, of the produce and population of which I shall hereafter have occasion to speak in detail.

At the present day the circumference of Windsor Forest is said to be about five-and-twenty miles. In other days it was much more; and in the early days of George IV. it was less. That sovereign caused large spaces of open heathy land to be planted and enclosed; and now there is a fine thriving cover of young oaks rising up. In some parts there are firs, but oak predominates.

There are many gentlemen's seats, with gardens and enclosed meadows and farm fields in the forest. Windsor Great Park constitutes probably a third, or between that and a half of the whole. In travelling by the roads or on the pathways, or on the grassy surface where the woods are pathless, a stranger will not know when he is in the park or out of it, save by the lettered boards which he occasionally sees nailed upon a tree, intimating that this is the boundary of the park. Neither do the farms, and barns, and farm-houses distinguish which is park and which is forest. They are met with in both. There are, however, several villages in the forest, and the open land is more generally under cultivation there than in the park. Sunning Hill and Winkfield are the principal villages; but there are cottages, found singly and in clusters, in every direction. The population, for a rural one, may be called dense.

The roads that intersect the forest are numerous, and the green drives and rides among the shady oaks more numerous still. It is said that, within the confines of the forest, there are five hundred miles of drives and walks. Probably this is true; but, whether so or not, they are certainly ample enough to all visitors, and intricate and tedious enough to those who are strangers and on foot.

The surface of the country is undulating. There are no high hills and deep valleys; but there is the chalky rock on which Windsor Castle stands, a hundred feet above the level of the Thames, the wandering water of which, seen from the terrace, comes like a vagrant through the broad woody country, and bends its way to touch at Windsor, and loiter for a brief period in the meadow below the castle. There are other elevations of similar height throughout the forest, bearing upon their heads the giant oaks of every generation from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Victoria. In the levels and hollows the same aged veterans are seen, sometimes with their bald and branchless heads among the timber of younger days. Such is the oak of Herne the Hunter, seven or eight hundred yards south-east from the castle. There is also the Long Walk, skirted on each side with a double row of lofty elms of the reign of Queen Anne. This noble avenue is two miles and three quarters in length.

I proceeded along it and came near to what is called the middle gate; there I inquired the way to Flemish Farm, and was told that to go direct to it I must turn out of the avenue and go across the open park, farther than I could see, by where I saw the herds of deer with their antlers between me and the sky. I was about to do so, but an open carriage with postillions, which had come from the castle, was driving rapidly up, and I was told that it was just possible that the Prince might be in it, going towards Virginia Water on a shooting excursion. I lingered with the intention of lifting my hat to his Royal Highness, should he be there, but on its approach there was no one in it that at all resembled the portraits; by which alone I could have known him; so I concluded that he was not in it, and pursued my journey in search of Flemish Farm.

By journeying westward among the deer, with now a rabbit and now a hare starting up and running a few hundred yards before me—where they, in some cases, sat down, and in all cases took it so easy as to show that they were not used to enemies in that part of the park—I came to a road on which several people, on foot and in light carts,

were travelling to and from Windsor. I asked some of them where Flemish Farm was, but none could tell me. There were farm fields in view, however. Westward from me, on an upland rise of half a mile, there were undoubted features of agriculture. In a field, partly ploughed and only partly visible, two persons were spreading manure; and nearer me were two fields ridged, and apparently bearing young wheat. Nearer still was a field in which six men were cutting drains, with heaps of tiles within the enclosure, and some hundred bundles of furze and heath, which had been brought there to cover the tiles previous to filling in the earth upon them.

There was now a sudden thaw upon the ground: the sun was out; the hoary whiteness of the frost was gone, and everything was dripping wet. I got across a low grassy hollow and a ditch in the bottom of it, where the water was running and brawling. It was probably dry in summer, for, though noisy now, it bore the proportion to other streamlets which the child does to the man when it gets upon a chair and cries, "Look at me! See how big I am!" It skirts the field under process of being drained, and the colour and quantity of its water, drawn from the drains, showed that they were not made unnecessarily.

A close fence of upright palings, to keep out the hares and rabbits, enclosed this part of the farm. I went round to a gate which was open, and went across the field to the drainers, as well as the wet and exceedingly tenacious clayey soil would let me. Upon inquiry I found that I was now upon Prince Albert's farm, and that I was speaking to his Royal Highness's workmen. In about ten minutes one of them asked another what o'clock it was. He replied it was within a minute of twelve; whereupon the other said he thought so, for his belly had been telling him it was twelve for a long while. He called to a man in another drain that it was twelve; and that one immediately quitted his spade, as did all the others, and went to a bundle of the heath which lay about, and took from it a bag or handkerchief, which contained his dinner.

As each worked in his own drain, and the drains were seven or eight yards distant, he had put his dinner down where he began in the morning to work; and thus the six men were at some distance from one another. I kept moving about, and saw that they had each a piece of bread, some of them baker's bread and some of them home-baked, of about the size of a twopenny loaf. Some of them had a piece of cooked bacon, and one or two had cheese. The quantity of bacon or cheese I did not at that time clearly perceive, as they did not seem willing that a stranger should see what they were eating. I have often noticed before this that workmen do not hesitate to show what they are eating if they have a good round lump of anything; but they will conceal it, or go out of the way to eat it, if it is very small. Subsequently I learned that those on the Prince's farm were not exceptions in this respect. After a few minutes I sat down on one of the bundles of heath near one of the men, who told me that they worked by the piece; that their wages ran to about twelve shillings a week; they and other workmen in the park were allowed to earn as much as fifteen shillings a week if they could, but not more; that was a rule laid down by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. Formerly workmen had made higher wages at piece-work, but they were not now permitted to do so; they had all their working tools to find and keep in repair; and working so much among water as they were, they, to keep dry feet, needed to be shod in a superior manner. They said, that reckoning all that was needed by them over what a ploughman needed, and their lost time in very wet or frosty weather, they did not earn more than the common wages of the neighbourhood, twelve shillings a week. Out of this they paid two shillings and sixpence a week for house rent, and some of them three shillings a week, besides taxes, which, on an average of several years, amounted to fifteen shillings a year.

Observing that I was writing some notes while talking to this man, the others came near to ascertain what I was talking about. I told them that I was making some inquiries about their wages and manner of living. "Living!" said one of them, "it can't be called living; it is nothing better than a *linger*. Here we are eating our dry crust without anything to moisten it but a drink out of the ditch as runs there; and we working from morning to night. No, sir, we don't *live*, we only *linger*."

"But," said I, "you have better wages than most other labourers in England. In Dorset and Wiltshire, and all down that way, wages are less by four or five shillings a week than the wages of this neighbourhood."

"But," replied one of the men, "they don't pay 2s. 6d. and 3s. for their houses as we do." "Perhaps," said I, "you have good gardens along with yours?" "Good gardens!" they all exclaimed at once, "you should see them; three rod of ground! that's all the garden as belongs to we." I inquired where they lived, and they replied, Egham Wyke, two miles and a half from where we then were.

Intending to go and see their houses in the course of a day or two, I then left them, and proceeded up the fields, beyond which, in a hollow, I was told I would find the homestead at Flemish Farm. I proceeded in the direction intimated, and, meeting some men and horses going out to plough, I halted to look at them, and saw that they yoked the horses three to each plough, ahead of each other, each man who held the plough having a boy to drive.

AGRICULTURE.

VASSALAGE OF THE TENANT-FARMERS.

"A central society, for the protection of British agriculture, has been formed, to be managed by a committee, to consist of twenty landowners and twenty tenant-farmers. Here, then, for the first time that we are aware of, are the tenant-farmers placed in a situation to protect their own interest. We note this as an event which will be regarded at some future day as forming a new epoch in the history of the tenantry of this kingdom. It is constantly stated by landowners that they consider themselves and their tenantry 'to be in one boat'; but it almost always, if not always, occurs that the landowners take the officer's place whilst the tenantry only man the boat."—*Mark-lane Express*, Monday, Feb. 26, 1844.

The above extract from the columns of the most astute organ of the monopolists, and the only one which has the slightest sympathy with the tenant-farmer, is sufficiently significant. The tenants have been indeed the galley-slaves by whose toil and sacrifices the gilded bark of landlord domination has been

rowed for the last thirty years. Let us glance at some of the causes of this degrading vassalage. During the war land was constantly rising in value, mainly from the rapid growth of our manufacturing industry throughout that period, rents were universally doubled and trebled, and in many districts they exceeded those of 1792 by four and five fold. Tenants took leases and conducted their business in a more enterprising way than had hitherto been known in husbandry, and their profits partook of the improvement. But over and above the rise in the value of land, and the increase of farming profits, which occurred from the advancing wealth, population, and commercial industry of the nation, the landowners and the occupiers derived an additional advantage from the fortuitous circumstances of the times. During the twenty years preceding 1814 there were an unusual number of deficient harvests, and the extraordinary state of Europe and the events of the war rendered importations of corn from abroad difficult, precarious, and expensive. Not only, therefore, were there at times actual and serious deficiencies of corn, but the fears of the public naturally outran the occasion, and enhanced prices beyond the ratio of the deficiency. This occasioned a further and factitious value to be given to agricultural produce, and poured vast accessions of wealth into the pockets of both landlord and tenant, at the expense of the rest of the community, and that cause was in constant operation down to 1813. About 1810-1812, when prices were at the highest, a very general arrangement of rents took place. Many old leases had then fallen in, and the vast competition for farms which existed compelled the old tenants to give extravagant rents or to surrender their farms to others. But the peace which immediately succeeded removed all that portion of the price of corn which was caused by our exclusion from the Continent, and, being accompanied by a productive season, agricultural prices fell considerably. Landlords and tenants became alike alarmed; for the one class had adapted their style of living, and charged their estates with burdens, on the expectation that the very highest range of prices had become permanent; and the latter had entered into engagements to pay rents calculated by the same scale. With only a partial comprehension of the combination of causes which had produced their recent and extraordinary prosperity, and in that spirit of selfishness which half information is too apt to beget, both classes agreed to the experiment of attempting to maintain in future the high prices of past years by means of an artificial scarcity, created by law. The landlords, however, had by far the clearest view of the subject, for they avowed, in 1815, that their chief purpose in passing the law of that year was to keep up rents. Possibly their law may have had that effect, though it has been doubted by many persons well acquainted with the management of landed property; but for the tenants it was a most fatal measure. Instead of an adjustment of rents and outgoings to natural prices, they struggled to obtain artificial prices by means of "protection," and they have constantly failed in doing so. The tenants strove manfully to meet the exorbitant war rents; and, though many sunk in the unequal conflict, some of them in part have succeeded, by raising increased produce from their land. Yet all were at the mercy of their landlords, who have doled out to them eleemosynary aids in the form of ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent. of abatement on their rental. There was no reduction of rent to the extent we have mentioned; but landowners and stewards, treating the depression as temporary, and relying, or pretending to rely, upon their Corn Law to ultimately force up prices to the act-of-Parliament rate, made these provisional abatements as matter of grace and favour. On many, perhaps on most estates tenants did not know until the rent day what per centage would be "thrown back," and were obliged to make all the exertions and sacrifices requisite to secure the whole rent. The moment prices got up, as in 1816-1817, and in 1839 and 1840, the per centages were withheld, and the full rents exacted.

Thus, in addition to the lingering habits of feudalism, which remain in all the relations of landlord and tenant, the farmer was in the position of a debtor, occasionally unable to satisfy an imperious and capricious creditor. This extinguished everything like independence in the great mass of the tenantry, who hung upon the lips of the steward and trembled at the nod of the landlord. Leases and secure tenures—the foundation of all agricultural improvements—became out of the question, for tenants would not venture on leases unless they could have had their rents largely and permanently reduced, while landlords always watched the grain markets with a view to clutch every shilling of rent for which an approach towards act-of-Parliament prices gave an excuse.

That such has been the condition of the great body of the English tenantry under the Corn Law will be admitted by all who have known anything of the rural districts; and the accuracy of our picture is fully borne out by the statements and admissions made by landlords and tenants at the recent Pro-Corn-Law meetings.

And this is the state of things in which tenant-farmers are asked to form "Central Protection So-

cieties" to uphold the Corn Law! True, it is something new to see lords and landed grandees and squires ostentatiously professing to follow the lead of the tenant-farmers; and we by no means say that hereafter the tenant-farmers may assert some real share, some really potential voice, in the discussion of questions in which the interests of agriculturists are involved; but to treat the solemn farce which was performed at the Freemasons' Tavern, and in the Duke of Richmond's back parlour, as indicating any independent action on the part of the farmers is absolutely ludicrous. The farmers are merely made the stalking-horses behind which the landlords seek to maintain the monopoly they believe so essential to their own interests and their own power; and the only advantage likely to accrue to the farmers by the recent movement is the opportunity it affords them of learning the absolute silliness of the arguments by which their aristocratic "friends" strive to support their Corn Law.

THE RIPENING OF OPINION.

MR. BOSANQUET AND THE PROTECTIONISTS.

We said, from the first outbreak of landlord ignorance and Anti-League virulence in Essex, that nothing could more surely promote the objects of the Free Traders than the formation of Pro-Corn-Law Associations. The greatest practical difficulties with which the advocates of Free Trade had at one time to contend were the apathy and want of information amongst the tenant-farmers, and the absence of all tangible arguments in favour of the Corn Law on the part of the landed classes, by whose silent votes monopoly was maintained. Both these difficulties have been removed by the protection societies, for the farmers have been compelled to take an active share in the movement, while the quantity and quality of the assertions and would-be arguments which the squires have adduced in aid of their monopoly have disclosed before the whole world the utter weakness of their case. With this part of the subject we shall have plenty of opportunities to deal. But there has been another most beneficial effect of the Pro-Corn-Law movement. Amongst the owners of land there are many sensible and reflecting men who have doubted the policy of restrictive laws, but whose tone of mind or political associations and connections had made them unwilling to take any part in the great economical struggle of the day. Practically their influence was given to the monopolists, and by their silence and inaction they allowed their monopolist fellow-landowners to speak in all public affairs on their behalf. But the Pro-Corn-Law agitation has rendered such apparent neutrality—though real support of monopoly—no longer possible, as all the landowners are now urgently called upon to step forth and, by purse and in person, to take part in the effort to uphold a doomed monopoly.

The result has been that many sensible though quiet owners of land have been forced to declare their unwillingness to "march through Coventry" with such a band, and we shall day by day find the number of such reasonable men increasing. Thus, in Hertfordshire, where, under the guidance of Lords Salisbury and Essex, common sense has been perhaps more outraged than in most other districts, we find an application to Mr. G. J. Bosanquet, a landowner and magistrate of the county,—a gentleman with a large estate in land, and a Conservative in politics,—to become a member of the "Herts Agricultural Protection Society," has drawn from him an admirable letter in favour of free trade in corn, addressed to the secretary of the Protection Society, in which he says:—

"The step which has recently been taken by a number of gentlemen belonging to the agricultural interest in this county, in forming an association, and raising funds, for the purpose of protecting the cultivators of the soil against certain dangers with which they are supposed to be threatened, renders it necessary for every one who is in any way connected with land, but who may not be disposed to join this society, to state plainly and explicitly why he declines to do so."

And he adds:—

"I have long had my doubts as to the policy of a system of legislation, the effect of which is to give an artificial price to the first necessary of life, and thereby to interfere with the free course of industry; and although the complicated nature of the question, and the feeling that a great many very clever practical men entertained different views respecting it, may at times have induced me to mistrust my own opinions, the more I have reflected upon the subject, of late, the more confirmed those opinions have become, and the more convinced I am of their correctness."

Now, this is the language of a man who thinks before he acts, but who possibly, but for the stimulus offered by the protection movement, might not have acted at all. It is by influencing such men that we mainly rely for carrying this great question of Free Trade; it is the mind, the unprejudiced thinking portion of the educated classes of the community which must decide when the question shall be carried, for of its final and not very distant success the maddest monopolist can now scarcely doubt; and in acting upon that part of the public, and advancing its opinion in favour of Free Trade, we have valuable allies in protection societies. Hear what Mr. Bosanquet says as to the effect of Corn Laws on the farmers. After alluding to the embarrassments those laws occasion to trade and their tendency to destroy markets, he says:—

"I believe, also, that the benefits they confer upon the cultivators of the soil are very much overrated, and that they would, in many respects, be better without them; and I cannot but think it is a very short-sighted policy on the part of the members of the agricultural body to express their exclusive claims to protection so urgently, and to treat with contumacious arrogance portions of their fellow-countrymen, who are engaged in occupations which create an extensive demand for the productions of the soil. The loss of so numerous a body of consumers would be sincerely felt by them, and no amount of protection would keep up prices under such circumstances. Convinced as I am that the prosperity of the agricultural interest depends very materially on that of trade and manufactures, it appears to me to be the obvious policy of that body to give every encouragement to manufacturing skill and industry, instead of throwing obstacles in the way of it, in order that the great

natural advantages which this country possesses over others may be turned to the best account; and our manufacturers enabled to compete successfully with the foreigner in the numerous markets which our extended commercial relations are every day opening to us."

Of the foreign competition fallacies, or fallacies, so industriously urged, he says:—

"With regard to the dangers to be apprehended from foreign competition in the article of native produce, I cannot but think they are much exaggerated, and not to be put in competition with the immense advantages which would be reaped from a more perfect freedom of trade. A more abundant and regular supply of corn would create an increased demand for that commodity, and thus prevent any great fall of prices. The best security the British farmer can have is his own industry, and the natural fertility of the soil he cultivates. If he would only trust to that—if he would turn his whole attention to the improvement of that inexhaustible fund of wealth, instead of leaning constantly on the staff of protection, which always appears to me to be slipping away from him just when he wants it most—he would soon learn that he was able to walk alone, and need not live, as he does now, in a state of perpetual apprehension, either of being knocked down by the foreigner, or of having this frail support weakened by some meddling on the part of Government."

Will not the farmers of Hertfordshire contrast these reasonable and moderate sentiments with the vague assertions and fierce vituperations of which the speeches of their lordly leaders at St. Alban's consisted?

That Mr. Bosanquet is one of those who, but for the Pro-Corn-Law movement, would have been quiescent, the following, his concluding, passage renders obvious:—

"It is with much regret that I am compelled to separate myself on this occasion from so many friends, for whom, personally, and for whose opinions I cannot but entertain feelings of the greatest possible respect. I only hope that the system of protection they are desirous of upholding may be less detrimental to the farmer than I fear it will ultimately prove to be, and that it may not have the effect of leaving him with plenty of corn in his barns, and plenty of fat cattle in his yards, but with few customers to buy either the one or the other."

If it were possible that the Pro-Corn-Law agitators could attain their object—which it is not—of inducing the British nation to submit much longer to a monopoly of food to keep up rents, the farmer's condition would be far less happy than is implied in the last passage of Mr. Bosanquet's letter; for, instead of "leaving him with plenty of corn in his barns, and plenty of fat cattle in his yards," but no customers; rents calculated at monopolist prices, and customers becoming yearly more impoverished, would, by means of the law of distress, and the aid of lawyers, land agents, and auctioneers, quickly transfer the corn and the fat cattle from the barns and yards of the farmer into the pocket of his landlord.

We may mention, also, that in Wiltshire that true-hearted nobleman, Lord Radnor, is weekly addressing the farmers of that county in the columns of the local papers in favour of Free Trade. Now, as his lordship is admitted on all hands to be one of the very best landlords in the county, and is entirely bound up in interest with the landed classes, the farmers will soon begin to compare his well-reasoned letters with the delusive rhodomontade of the monopolists.

Another fact occurring in the same county also speaks volumes. Mr. Arkell, a tenant-farmer, whose essay on draining obtained the £50 prize of the Royal Agricultural Society, is also weekly addressing his brother farmers on the question of Free Trade, and exposing the fallacies of the high-rent gentry.

THE PROSPECTS OF MONOPOLY.

If packed meetings of not very sagacious country gentlemen and their dependents, and lengthy reports in the *Morning Post*, could rally the failing monopoly of food, it might undoubtedly linger on for some little time longer, but the symptoms of approaching dissolution are becoming imminent. Our readers will have seen the signal defeat the Corn-Law men met with at the county meeting in Somersetshire; and at a Gloucestershire county meeting they did not venture to show fight. In fact, they dare not venture on a public meeting anywhere, and even in their own packed meetings they are careful to prevent anything like discussion. Now, for a party, which claims to advocate the interests and to express the wishes of the tenant-farmers and agricultural labourers of England, to be unable to show themselves at any open county meeting does bespeak egregious weakness or a bad object. That they feel themselves utterly unable to face an open meeting the following passages from the letter of a monopolist "freeholder," published in the *Dorset County Chronicle*, will show. He writes with some candour and much simplicity to explain the causes of the Free-Trade triumph at Bridgewater, and in so doing he says:—

"In the first place a great mistake was made in calling a public meeting at all, and I am given to understand such would not have been the case but for the part which Sir T. B. Lethbridge had already taken, rendering it imperative upon those who felt keenly on the subject to give their support at all hazards."

But, it seems, not only is it necessary to exclude the public to secure a successful Pro-Corn-Law meeting, but the farmers, for whose especial benefit this outcry is alleged to be made, must be marched to the meeting as if it were a county election, for the "freeholder" tells the monopolist public of Dorset—we suppose he does not imagine the Free-Traders read these revelations—that—

"The second mistake, yet more grievous than the first, consisted in the total absence of all system, method, or organization. The simple announcement, by advertisement in the different papers, was not sufficient notice to those more immediately interested. Farmers are too much given to pay attention to their own concerns to find time for the perusal of newspapers, and the consequence was, in many instances, an entire ignorance that a meeting was to take place at all, and in others what the precise object of the meeting really was."

In other words, unless whipped up to the mark by the landlords, the farmers treat the Pro-Corn-Law meetings with mighty indifference. Yet a good many farmers were confessedly present.

"Notwithstanding the disadvantages alluded to, though I have attended many public meetings of this county in Bridgewater and elsewhere, I have never before seen a more highly respectable and influential body of farmers than stood upon the Cornhill on Friday last."

Now, as the Free-Trade petition and resolutions were carried by ten to one, did it not occur to this "freeholder" that the "respectable and influential body of farmers" must have been either active or passive parties to the decision? Let us see how this worthy proposes to "rectify the mistake."

"The question now is, the best mode of rectifying the mis-

take which has been committed. Let any twelve influential gentlemen in this county, with such a man as Sir A. Hood at the head of them, call a meeting at any given place of the gentry, clergy, tenants, and freeholders who are favourable to Protection and desirous of upholding the existing Corn Laws, and I think such a call will be responded to in a manner worthy of the county and the cause."

Here is a full admission that the monopolists have no chance except in a packed meeting of those "favourable to the existing Corn Laws." We heartily wish the monopolists joy of their position; it is undoubtedly worthy of their "cause," and the arguments by which they seek to support it.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our notices to correspondents must be deferred until next week.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

We receive letters from different correspondents, containing complaints of irregularity in the delivery of the LEAGUE Newspaper. We can assure our friends in all parts of the country, that the utmost possible attention is paid to the transmission of the LEAGUE from this office; and whenever any of our Subscribers suffer disappointment from not receiving their copy in due course, the delay or non-delivery will almost invariably be found to arise from some irregularity in the Post-office; and we recommend in all such cases of disappointment, application to the Post-office at once.

GREAT LEAGUE MEETING.

The Weekly Meetings of the League will, in future, be held on the Wednesday in place of the Thursday Evenings as heretofore.

The next WEEKLY MEETING of the LEAGUE will take place in COVENT GARDEN THEATRE, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, March 6th.

The Hon CHARLES PELHAM VILLIERS, M.P., will take the Chair at Seven o'clock.

The meeting will be addressed by several Members of Parliament, and W. J. Fox, Esq.

Cards of admission may be had on personal application at the Central Office of the League, 67, Fleet-street, during Monday and Tuesday; no application by letter can be attended to.

The Entrance to the Dress Circle will, in future, be at the Private Box-door on the Queen's Side, in Hart Street.

The Cards of Registered Members only, will, as heretofore, admit to the Pit and Galleries of the Theatre.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, March 2, 1844.

Two circumstances occurred on Thursday, which are both very illustrative of the honesty of the pretence that any alteration of the Corn Laws must throw a large quantity of land out of cultivation. One is, the renewal of Lord Worsley's proposition for a General Enclosure Bill. The commons are yet, it seems, worth having. His lordship reckons the profitably-reclaimable land in England at nearly a million and a half of acres, and in Wales half a million more. In the county of Surrey alone there are said to be 60,000 acres, "that would amply repay the expense of cultivation." How this consists with "protection" being at the lowest possible point is a topic his lordship did not argue, nor did he advert to the ruinous effect of this competition with the land already in cultivation. The corn grown on these new soils will be duty-free, we presume; it will not be taxed as foreign corn; and the injury, if any, must, therefore, be pretty much the same to the cultivator of the old land as if these same acres were in France, and the produce imported for the cost of cultivation.

The other occurrence to which we alluded is the meeting of the Irish Waste Land Improvement Society, of which the Earl of Devon is chairman. We take the following summary of the report from the Times:—

"The report, which it is but justice to say was extremely clear and simple, was then read. Some of the advantages accruing to the society's tenants may be deduced from the following statement:—During the prevalence of the extreme distress mentioned in the Report of the Irish Poor-Law Commissioners, the 1800 persons located on the society's estates not only supported themselves, but effected considerable improvements on their holdings. None of them were necessitated to come harvesting to this country to make up their rents, and they made great progress in rotation crops, in the cultivation of green crops, in the collecting and saving of manure, in draining, liming, and gravelling, and in building cattle sheds, with a view to the introduction of house-feeding."

And, again:—

"In speaking of the future prospects as well of the society as of its tenantry, Colonel Robinson reports as follows:—

"I feel well assured that, if the landlords will let fair reclaimable waste lands on moderate terms, and be content to receive an increase of rent at fixed periods, in proportion to the society's progress, the capital required to be invested by the society would be small with respect to the number of acres to be reclaimed; and tenants, being admitted at very low rents for the first few years, to rise progressively afterwards, would find it their advantage to

hold farms under the society, and by the rapid increase in the extent and value of their improvements and property, in combination with the more general improvements of the society, become gradually and certainly in a condition to pay, with ease to themselves, such rents for their lands as would ensure a good return to the society's investment, and a desirable augmentation of income to the head landlord."

These improvements are on a small scale, but the fact is plain that, not the law's protection, but the landlord's moderation, is the condition of success. These 1800 persons at once supported themselves. For that purpose "protection" is no help. It is a drawback. And yet they at once surmount the difficulty, and realize a surplus. There is nothing in the way of the prosperity of farmers and labourers but the exaction of landlords and the impoverishment of customers. We go no further, at present, into the merits of either the Irish Society, or Lord Worsley's Bill, than to point out this plain bearing upon the question before the public. It disposes of the rhodomontade about making the kingdom a wilderness; and it shows that, to a large extent, the landlords are conscious of the fallacy by which they would cajole the public.

REVIEW.

A Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late William Taylor, of Norwich. By J. W. Robberds, Esq., F.G.S. London, Murray.

William Taylor, of Norwich, possessed great influence in the literary world during the course of his long life, but his writings having principally appeared in periodicals, posterity will probably remain ignorant of the amount of his services, and perhaps wonder at the frequent mention of his name in connexion with the master-spirits of his age. He was the first to introduce the modern literature and philosophy of Germany to the English public. It is to his example that reviewing has taken so high a stand in authorship, and that such essays as those of Macaulay, Southey, Jeffrey, and Milman have taken the place of the dry abstracts and hesitating criticism which characterized the magazines and reviews of the last century. Living on a moderate income in a provincial town, surrounded by a select circle of friends, ardently devoted to study, and constitutionally indisposed to the excitement and turmoil of political controversy, William Taylor's even tenor of life affords few incidents on which a biographer can dwell. He was one of whom it could emphatically be said, "the man must be sought in his works;" and though these works are like the Sibylline leaves, dispersed abroad in long and cumbrous series of periodicals, like these same leaves, they are worthy of being gathered, not only as illustrations of the past, but as guides to the future.

Passing over the continental education of William Taylor, which brought him acquainted with those great productions of Germany which he subsequently expounded to his countrymen, we find him in 1788 recognised as an eminent linguist and profound scholar by so eminent a judge of mental power and cultivated faculties as the late Sir James Mackintosh. Writing at this period to a friend, he says:—

"I can still trace William Taylor by his Armenian dress, gliding through the crowd, in Annual Reviews, Monthly Magazines, Athenaeums, &c., rousing the stupid public by paradox, or correcting it by useful or reasonable truth. It is true that he does not speak the Armenian, or any other language but the Taylorian; but I am so fond of his vigour and originality, that for his sake I have studied and learned his language. The Hebrew is studied for one book, so is the Taylorian by me for one author. He never deigns to write to me but in print. I doubt whether he has many readers who so much understand, relish, and tolerate him, for which he ought to reward me by some of his manuscript esoterics."

The circumstances of England at this period were such as to produce a marked effect on an ingenuous and powerful mind, which was equally raised by natural endowments and varied acquirements above all the motives which induce men to sacrifice principle to party.

"In this year the centenary of the Revolution was celebrated throughout England with an unusually fervid enthusiasm. It occurred at a period when the public mind was sensitively excited by the great changes which had recently been effected in France, and which were regarded as the commencement of a new and happier era, not only for the people of that country, but for the whole human race. The horrible events, which afterwards converted these anticipations into alarm and despair, existed then only in the prophetic sagacity of scheming statesmen, who knew how to accomplish their own predictions and make the consequent dependency of generous minds a temporary bar to the progress of popular rights. It has since been fashionable to sneer at the philanthropy which conceived and exulted over the glowing visions of those days; but the lapse of half a century has somewhat calmed the passions, which in their brief hour of overbearing triumph could turn into ridicule some of the best feelings of human nature. The hopes thus contemptuously derided have been more coolly judged; the efforts thus contumeliously denounced have been more justly appreciated. Most of the immediate objects for which those benevolent spirits then struggled in vain, have been sanctioned by the growing intelligence of the age, and achieved by the irresistible potency of the national will. It cannot then be unreasonable to assume, that their higher

views of social improvement, which have been scouted as chimerical, may be also attained by pursuing that system of general education and that course of impartial government for which they contended."

This promising aspect of affairs soon changed; a cry of alarm was raised through the land; war was declared against France, and a still fiercer war against what were called French principles—the excesses of the Jacobins, whom the terror created by the declarations of the allies had invested with political power; so that in fact the apology made for the war was taken from the atrocities which the war itself had occasioned. Taylor was not duped by this pretext; in the very midst of the fever which Burke's "Strictures on the French Revolution" produced, he addressed the following sonnet to Mackintosh, in acknowledgment of a presentation copy of the "Vindiciæ Gallicæ":—

"Brave youth, thou, foremost of the patriot throng,
Kneel yet awhile, and scoop with deeper shell,
And boldly quaff, and bathe thy glowing tongue,
In the pure spring-head of my hallow'd well.
While yet conceal'd the mouldering trunks among,
Where Error steeps in mist her twilight cell,
And Superstition's reptiles crawl along—
But for the chosen few its waters swell.
My name is Truth—soon the blast roars amain,
Fires, lightning-kindled, the tall oaks emblaze,
Avenging thunders crash, while Freedom's fane
Arises radiant from the smoking plain.
Huge columns thou must rear—thy future days
A nation's thanks await—the Sage's praise."

The Abbé Barruel was one of the most unscrupulous alarmists of that age of senseless terror in some, but of dishonestly-affected alarm in a great many more. This voluminous pamphleteer, in his "Memoirs on Jacobinism," announced that he had discovered an atrocious and extensive conspiracy against the thrones and altars of Europe, and he included among the plotters the harmless sects of the Illuminati and the Swedenborgians. To this charge William Taylor made the following conclusive answer:—

"There are in most countries, which allow any toleration, two diametrically opposite classes of sects. The one of these tends to more religiousness than is established by law; affects greater industry of observance, and greater scrupulosity of conscience, than fall to the average share of other men; and willingly lengthens its creed by hyperbolical articles of belief, and willingly amuses its leisure by supererogatory rites of devotion,—a class, which with respect to morals is puritanic, with respect to rites is superstitious, and in regard to doctrines is credulous. The other and freer class tends to less religion than is claimed by the magistrate; it affects a negligence of observance which avoids the temple, and a robustness of conscience which despises peccadillos; it is continually narrowing its creed towards an almost hair's-breadth tenacity, and curtailing its worship of some (as they deem it) superannuated holiday; comparatively speaking, in morals it is libertine; in ritual, lax; in doctrine, sceptical. To the former of these descriptions of sects some have referred the Swedenborgians, and to the latter the Illuminés. Sects so different are naturally hostile, and ill adapted to coalesce and co-operate. When the Puritans had rebelled against Charles the First of England, his cause was soon espoused by all the libertine sects; and of late, when the libertine sects had in general declared for the French Revolution, they soon repelled and drove into the arms of Government the faithful zeal of the Methodists and of the vital Christians. The religious instincts operate in Germany as here. Go among the Puritan sects,—they are alarmed at the dissoluteness of the age, and the growth of infidelity; they seem to expect that the world itself will shortly be consumed with its present inheritors. Go among the libertine sects,—they are alarmed at the prolific breed of fanatical extravagance; they quake at the threatened intolerance of sour asceticism; and they seem to expect the barbarous docility of new Attilas to the designing Leos of triumphant superstition. To confound these antagonistic forces is not the part of judgment, and to describe them as conspiring is to err against probability."

"After quoting some other instances of mistranslation, the charge of conspiracy elicited the following ingenious argument:—'An analogous though hostile body-spirit (*esprit de corps*) has, in all Catholic countries at least, distinguished the philosophers and the jesuits—there the rival leaders of heretical and orthodox literature. To the natural operation of this spirit the Abbé Barruel gives the name of *conspiracy*. In his sense of the word, Popery was established in England by a conspiracy of Christians, in France by a conspiracy of Non-Christians, and Christianity itself was founded by a conspiracy of apostles and presbyters. The institution of Christianity and the abolition of Popery have, nevertheless, been eventually useful to mankind. Body-spirit is no doubt an equivocal virtue, yet no sect has ever thriven without it. It is an extension of the principle of fidelity in friendship to a more numerous description of friends. As we applaud the man, who with some sacrifice of impartiality defends the character of his friend when attacked, or rescues him from the weight of impending poverty at an expense which he would not bestow on the equal distress of some more useful man, of some celebrated poet or philosopher, personally unknown,—ought we harshly to blame him, who, in proportion to the importance which he attaches to the views of his sect or party, becomes the general panegyrist of its friends and the general antagonist of its foes? English philosophers, as Mr. Burke very justly observed, have never been gregarious. They have consequently never been efficient. They have fallen singly, by the pin-stabs of old women, unaided. Body-spirit often arises from a benevolent sense of the importance of a cause: but it has still oftener been founded by the chieftains of sects on the vindictive passions of human nature. Is has most usually and most powerfully been excited by ascribing it in a high degree to the adversary, which never fails to beget a counter-spirit of retaliation. This game is now playing with considerable success by the anti-jacobins of England, who are endeavouring to give a paper currency to the

once startling doctrines of passive obedience to the church and divine authority of the King; they seem to deem public opinion the creature of mechanical agency; and they impute conspiracy against the public constitution and religion to every admirer of Dr. Adam Smith and Mr. Gibbon."

A great portion of these volumes is occupied by the correspondence between William Taylor and Robert Southey, the late poet-laureate, and Quarterly Reviewer. The correspondence began before Southey had become renegade to his early principles, and produced "Visions of Judgment" to do as much mischief as his "Sapphics Dactylics" and "Wat Tylers." These letters show the point of weakness in Southey's character: his inordinate vanity required to be fed with the belief that he was a leader in every movement which he pleased to join; and when he found that the general public would not receive his interminable epics, he went over to the smaller but less scrupulous party, ever ready to gain the support both of the vain and the venal. But though all the world perceived that Southey had abandoned the principles of his youth, the poet-laureate seems never to have made the discovery himself: to the last he regarded himself as perfectly consistent, and he armed himself with a panoply of abstractions, by which he trusted to reconcile the most opposite and contradictory opinions. He joined in lamenting the Shearshes and other United Irishmen as martyrs, and he opposed the concession of any privileges to the Irish people. Taylor bore with all his friend's vacillations, but never abstained from protesting against his new opinions. He sometimes pointed out to him subjects for composition, and suggested hints for their treatment which it would be well for the fame of Southey if he had followed.

"The History of Portugal is a neat subject; it involves the commercial education of modern nations, as that of the Medicean dynasty does their literary education. The colonial system, and all that constitutes the exterior policy of Great Britain, is but a refinement of Portuguese undertakings, just as all the modern schools of poetry and art have run for models to Florence and to Rome. The relation which each country bears to the progress of universal civilization constitutes the cause and measure of its interest in universal history. To bring out in local history the facts and men and sweeps of event and general tendencies which influence the whole, constitutes the grand art of the historian. Individuals are not estimated by their positive but by their relative value; and we inquire much and long only about those who, like the seons in the pteroma, not only once partook but still influence the condition of humanity."

In the year 1801 Taylor wrote to Southey, announcing what he believed to be the course of policy about to be adopted by the English Government towards Ireland. The bigoted obstinacy of George III. prevented Mr. Pitt from adopting the course which Taylor anticipated; but no one can now read the passage without regretting that such an announcement was premature by more than a quarter of a century.

"The King's speech on Tuesday is to announce the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, and Popish Penal Laws. I grudge to Pitt the honour and popularity of so wise an innovation. By not acceding earlier to the repeal, he has needlessly occasioned a rebellion in Ireland, and murdered in civil war half a million of the people. It is comforting to find that at length philosophy subdues folly, and that, after kicking against her arguments eight or ten years, and sacrificing, to resist her, the lives and fortunes of millions, the doughtiest champions of superstition and slavery, the loudest clamourers for anti-jacobin torism, truckle to her will and execute her decrees."

Taylor visited France on the peace of Amiens, and his picture of society in Paris, when in its transition state from republicanism and infidelity to a new alliance between church and state, is valuable, not only as a graphic sketch of the crisis, but as a historical picture of a period which had no parallel in the annals of the human race.

"The French write in huge letters on those buildings, confiscated to the profit of the nation, LIBERTE, EGALITE, and other such words. It is curious that on the pavilion where Bonaparte resides should occur the word *Equality*, and where his guard and soldiers sleep the word *Liberty*. He governs wisely, I believe; but people are so much afraid to comment on his government, that Paris is quite another Venice. The allegiance of the army is very equivocal: a lieutenant was arrested while I was there for undertaking to shoot Bonaparte on the parade, and a general for undertaking to raise the troops in case of the assassination. A whole regiment was ordered to San Domingo for refusing to accept consecrated colours at the hands of the Chief Consul. The army is very anti-christian: sacrilegious songs are sung at camp, the *Guerre des Dieux anciens et modernes* is read there, and the late restoration of the old religion is unwelcome to the military. That was again an important moment during my stay, to see, not the resurrection of Christ merely, but of Christianity itself, celebrated in the very temple where the goddess of Reason had occupied the altar of the east-out Mary, and profaned the carpetings of holy tapestry for which Le Brun and Le Sueur had taken the designs from the Acts of the Apostles and the biographies of Jesus. The procession was not in good taste: military music, soldiers on foot, hack-coaches full of common-councilmen, military music, soldiers again and again, coaches full of legislators, military music, soldiers on horse-back, some Catholic ambassadors, Bonaparte and his wife, and other carriages of the family and of the consuls, and again military music and soldiery; soldiers lined the bridges and the quays, and you would have taken the whole show for people setting off for a review. I wanted

to have seen the goddess of Reason tearing her robe of sackcloth and powdering her tresses with ashes, and carrying a penitential taper before a moving train of Magdalenes; and fathers of families leading their grown-up children to the altar to receive, now for the first time, both at once the long-interrupted sacraments of baptism and confirmation, while hoary bishops were calling down, with folded hands and wet eyes, the forgiveness and benediction of Heaven, and young acolytes were sweetening with incense the warm over-breathings of thronging devotion: but neither the people, nor the priests, nor the soldiers, seemed to be up or down to the occasion. Religion, however, is become the order of the day: the Jew lumberers exhibit at their windows the old-high candlesticks, purchased of the church-robbers, with the pikes; pious women buy these candlesticks and present them again to the church: crucifixes sell, and crosslets glitter on the necks of the ladies. The *Esprit de Geron* and other books of casuistry undergo new editions; the book-stalls are covered with what we should call tabernacle-classics: Chateaubriand's *Genie du Christianisme* is become the *ten* book: to write on religion is the task of hack book-makers; the very farce-writers of the Boulevards turn their quills to *Entretiens de l'ame fidelle avec Dieu*. Popery is returning with all its trumpery; indulgences are posted up in the churches, and the paltriest twopenny-half-penny woodcuts of Christ or the Virgin are wafered against the walls as the pious gifts of the Widow So-and-so to this church (I am describing what I saw at Montmartre for instance): even convents are re-occupied, as at Bruges that of English nuns. Protestantism seems to be becoming a genteeler religion than the Catholic, and evidently feels strengthened by the *Concordat*; at Arles and at Cuen two large congregations have originated almost spontaneously. The *philosophes* are all tongue-tied; under the name of professors, conservators, lecturers, &c., every writer and writerling of name has a salary from the Government and instructs the people. It is a Chinese constitution: merit, talent, are sought and lifted, but it is from within by the higher mandarins, not from without by the people: in both countries the atheistic sect occupies the mandarinship."

When Malthus's work on Population appeared, Taylor wrote a review of it, in which he forcibly combated the opinion that agriculture is more profitable to a state than commerce.

"Agriculture is an ephemeral, a dependent source of prosperity: a Babylon can grow up in a Mesopotamia of shepherds before the plough is invented, but husbandry cannot dispose of any surplus produce until industry have first built her cities of commerce and manufacture and provided the consumer with an income to offer at market. Our author is historically as well as theoretically mistaken in proclaiming agriculture to be a more permanent source of prosperity than commerce. . . . Agriculture has every where been the consequence of a contiguous market resulting from commercial industry. Manufactures precede husbandry. The oldest countries are the best cultivated. Norfolk, where the worsted manufactures began, has little waste-land, poor as its soil is. Lancashire, where the cotton-manufactures are recent, has comparatively little enclosure. The peat-bogs of Ireland will not be improved until the rise of large towns shall furnish to the farmer such customers as may replace to him the expense necessary for rendering them productive."

In a review of "Royou's History of the Lower Empire," we find the following remarks, which are peculiarly valuable at a time when hierarchical pretensions have been put forward in greater strength than at any period since the days of Gregory, Innocent, and Boniface:—

"The great lesson which the reigns of the Byzantine princes are adapted to teach and to enforce, is the importance of a total abstinence in the magistrate from theological interference and dogmatism. Let him strictly respect the political equality of religious sects, and not unlock the gates of advancement to the select or the alternate favourites of controversy. Whatever implies in the magistrate an opinion ought to be shunned as a badge of partiality and a harbinger of injustice. For want of this precaution the Constantinopolitan crown became the football of patriarchs and priests, and was tossed to new dynasties and upstarts, not for the imperial virtues of military excellence or legislative wisdom, but for preaching to seditious attroopments about the fractions of the Trinity, or heading the statueries in riots of the iconoclasts. The emperors who lent an ear to the alarms and apprehensions of their clergy became eventually the puppets of their patriarchs, and sullied their hands in the innocent blood of the zealous but ignorant pupils of fanaticism. Their empire weakened by division, their away reviled by the persecuted with hereditary obstinacy of discontent, the intolerant sovereigns have all descended with unfavourable tinges to posterity, and miss their natural chance for a lenient civility of estimate. A real feebleness of mind is, however, implied in the magistrate's anxiety about symbolic formulas; so true is the observation of an historian of our own times,—*religiosa dissidia nix unquam nisi sub imbecilli imperio floruisse deprehendit*."

We have been too much pleased with the suggestions in his "Review of the Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor," to withhold them from our readers. He proposed:—

"To station among them a class of teachers, who might receive from some metropolitan society, and promulgate in their halls of meeting, information favourable to the physical and economical amelioration of the families of the poor. It is desirable for every little cluster of villages to possess a man who sets the example of the domestic virtues and of skill in the household arts of life; who dispenses willingly instruction to the unlearned; whose heart renders him an acquaintance of the poor, and whose head of the rich; who delights in the discovery of obscure merit, and in ensuring its natural reward; a scatterer of those better aims of counsel and recommendation, which help not for the moment only, but for life; a mediator of benevolence, a confidant of remorse, a healer of human ills, a consoler of adversity, an angel of hope even to the dying. To teach the art of living wisely, as far as respects this world, is probably more within the competence of the established than of the methodist clergy; but it is perhaps to country surgeons that one ought preferably to look. Men of accomplished medical educations cannot at

present afford to settle in the country; they could not repay themselves the capital vested in their qualifications. Of course the health of the people suffers from the ignorance of rural practitioners. If a salary, with the annexed condition of promulgating useful information with regular publicity, were allowed by Government to country surgeons,—to one, suppose, in every hundred,—the expense of an accomplished education with a view to country residence might safely be incurred. The loss of health from ignorance is very considerable, especially in the poorer classes; and there would be no injustice in levying a slight per centage on the title in behalf of a class of public instructors, a sort of medical establishment, who would assist the clergy in a branch of teaching for which their education does not adapt them."

We must make room for two noble passages, describing the importance of commerce. The first is from a description of the growing prosperity of the Prince of Wales's Island.

"The real lamp of Aladdin is that on the merchant's desk. All the genies, white, olive, or black, who people the atmosphere of earth, it puts in motion at the antipodes. It builds palaces in the wilderness and cities in the forest, and collects every splendour and every refinement of luxury from the fingers of subservient toil. Kings of the east are slaves of the lamp; the winds blow and the seas roll only to work the behest of its owner."

The second is from a description of the attempt to form a settlement on the island of Bulama, on the coast of Africa.

"What remains for national consideration is, the expediency of reviving a disposition to form settlements in Africa. This is the only quarter of the world in which British language and British commerce have struck no root: to which the advantage of our laws, the benefit of our protection, the civilizing influence of our manners, our intercourse, and our literature have not been extended. It is the bed of a soil which we have not attempted to cultivate; the atmosphere of a climate which we have not endeavoured to purify; the home of a barbarism which we have not sought to dissipate; the seat of a slavery which we have not taken steps to abolish. Let us try. The solid pyramids of African antiquity attest the possibility of labour in vain; let the hollow warehouses of modern industry demonstrate the possibility of labour to advantage. The first roads will only be accessible to the keel; but the next to the camel and the elephant; to fleets will succeed caravans; to a coasting trade, internal traffic."

Some of the hints in the following brief passage are worthy the consideration of "one-ideaed" reformers.

"It is mortifying to see these would-be reformers behaving like bishops at a council,—intolerant to every aberration from their own confined creed; and while they are complaining of the exclusive spirit of the state, themselves getting up an interior ostracism to defraud principle of its confessors and the poor of their advocates."

We have selected from the rich stores of Taylor's writings those passages which best illustrate the depth of his philosophy and the strength of his philanthropy; those who wish to know more of him as an author and as a man should obtain Mr. Robberds's volumes. They are equally creditable to the author and the subject; the biographer writes to the heart, because he writes from the heart, and he wins esteem for himself by the proofs he affords of his own power of appreciating the beauty of truth in conception and power in expression.

Morality is the most powerful means of the production of wealth.

The precept of doing as we would be done by involves the least practical repression of the powers of exertion in man.

Energetic usefulness is a debt to society, a test of sincerity, a passport to reward.—W. J. Fox.

Liberty is the bread which nations ought to earn by the sweat of their brow.—De la Mennais.

THE FUNDS.

| | Sat. Feb. 24 | Mon. Feb. 25 | Tues. Feb. 27 | Wed. Feb. 28 | Thurs. Feb. 29 | Fri. Mar. 1 |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|
| Bank Stock | 195½ | 195½ | 195½ | 195½ | 195½ | 195½ |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann | 98 | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann | 101½ | 101½ | 101½ | 101½ | 101½ | 101½ |
| 3 per Ct. Ann. new | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ |
| Long An. Ex. 1860 | 12½ | 12½ | 12½ | 12½ | 12½ | 12½ |
| Cons. for Acc. | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ | 97½ |
| Ex. Bille | 69 pm. | 69 pm. | 69 pm. | 69 pm. | 69 pm. | 70 pm. |
| Ind. Bds. und. 10000 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| India Stock | 106 | 106½ | 106 | 106½ | 106½ | 106½ |
| Belgian | 106 | 106½ | 106 | 106½ | 106½ | 106½ |
| Chilian | 79 | 79½ | 79½ | 79½ | 79½ | 79½ |
| Colomb. ex. Venes. | 131 | 131½ | 131 | 131½ | 131½ | 131½ |
| Danish | 89 | 89½ | 89 | 89½ | 89½ | 89½ |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ |
| Dutch 2½ per Ct. | 53½ | 53½ | 53½ | 53½ | 53½ | 53½ |
| Mexican, 1837 | 31½ | 31½ | 31½ | 31½ | 31½ | 31½ |
| Portuguese, conv. | 46½ | 46½ | 46½ | 46½ | 46½ | 46½ |
| Buenos Ayres | 34 | 34½ | 34 | 34½ | 34½ | 34½ |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 23½ | 23½ | 23½ | 23½ | 23½ | 23½ |
| Ho. 5 per Ct. | 33½ | 33½ | 33½ | 33½ | 33½ | 33½ |
| Peruvian | 31 | 30½ | 29½ | 30½ | 30½ | 30½ |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, Feb. 26. — The supply of English Wheat this morning was very short, and last week's prices were readily obtained. The demand for Foreign was slow, at last week's rates. There was a good supply of Barley, and all, except the finest samples for malting, were 1s. cheaper. No alteration in Beans and Peas. The arrivals of English, Scotch, and Irish Oats, though not very large, were more than equal to the demand. The sale was slow at a decline of 6d. from this day week.

B. H. LUGAN and Son.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 18th to the 24th of Feb. 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 3214 | 2941 | 4491 | 1871 | 903 |
| Scotch | — | 2996 | 3400 | — | — |
| Irish | — | 779 | 17763 | — | — |
| Foreign | 600 | — | — | — | 310 |

Flour, 7247 sacks. Malt, 6783 qrs.

Wheat, English, Red New... 45s to 55s
Do, do, Old... 45s to 55s
New, do, White... 45s to 55s
Old, do, do... 45s to 55s
Dantz... 45s to 55s
Baltic... 45s to 55s
Barley, Malt... 45s to 55s
Distilling... 45s to 55s
Grinding... 45s to 55s
Beans, Tick... 45s to 55s
Harrow... 45s to 55s
Pigeon... 45s to 55s
Old Harrow... 45s to 55s
Peas, White... 45s to 55s
Do, Bolders... 45s to 55s
Grey... 45s to 55s

MARK-LANE, Friday, March 1.—The supplies of Wheat, Oats, and Barley since Monday are moderate. The trade in all grain is exceedingly dull, and the little business doing is at Monday's prices. There was no alteration in the duties yesterday.

Account of Corn, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 16th of Feb. to the 23rd of Feb., both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|-------------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat..... | 2870 | — | 1850 |
| Barley..... | 5980 | — | 830 |
| Oats..... | 2870 | 7710 | — |

A WEEKLY REPORT of the NUMBER of QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE of CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED FEBRUARY 27, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. |
| Weekly Averages.. | 110,070 55 1 | 99,037 33 7 | 52,632 19 7 | 13,815 30 4 |
| Aggregate Averages.. | 52 11 | 35 5 | 19 2 | 29 11 |
| Duty..... | 18 0 | 5 0 | 7 0 | 11 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

BANKRUPTS.

C. B. DAYLEY, Abingdon, Berks, draper. [Ashurst, Champsade.
T. HODSDON, Harrow, Middlesex, butcher. [Poole and Gam-
len, Gray's-inn-square.
W. H. CHAPLIN, Inworth, Essex, bricklayer. [Bell, Bedford-
row; Mayhew, Coggeshall, Essex.
W. SCOTT, Regent street, wine merchant. [Clark, George-
street, Manly-house.
T. GREENING, Worcester, surgeon. [Robinson, Bromsgrove.
T. GRIFFITHS, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, draper. [Mid-
dleton, Stone; Hodgson, Birmingham.
G. COPAGE, Wolverhampton, victualler. [Phillips and Bol-
ton, Wolverhampton.
R. PADDON, Hartlepool, Durham, chemist. [Wilson, Hartle-
pool; Meggison and Co., King's-road, Bedford row.
E. BRASS, Taunton, Somersetshire, grocer. [Trenchard, Taun-
ton; Terrell, Exeter; Whitaker, Lincoln's-inn-fields.
J. GOSB, Devonport, draper. [Crosby and Compton, Church-
court, Old Jewry.

DIVIDENDS.

March 21. J. Furze, Panmure, Devonshire, victualler—March 21.
J. R. Beer and H. Bantick, St. Thomas the Apostle, Devon-
shire, coal merchants—March 21. T. Trapp and T. P. Trapp,
Church-street, Southwark, tallow chandlers—March 19.
W. Mays, Brigstock, Northamptonshire, feltmonger—March 19.
W. Tomlinson, Green-lanes, Stoke Newington, tavern keeper—
March 19. J. R. Hitchcock, New Sarum, Wilts, hosier—March 19.
W. Howarth, Swaffham, Norfolk, wine merchant—March 19.
J. Bates, Three Colt-street, Limehouse, grocer—March 20.
J. L. Fernandez, Wakefield, Yorkshire, corn merchant—March 20.
J. R. Potter, J. Potter, and J. Potter, Manchester, cotton spin-
ners—March 21. E. B. Bayley, Pendleton, Lancashire, stuff
printer—March 20. H. Denzlie, Bridport, Dorset, grocer—
March 20. H. Thompson, Liverpool, merchant—March 20. J.
Cowherd, Huggill, Westmoreland, miller—March 20. J. Heslop,
Morpeth, Northumberland, grocer.

CERTIFICATES.

March 19. S. H. Angier, Philpot-lane, bookseller—March 21.
E. Brain, Rodney-street, Pentonville, copper plate printer—
March 21. H. Steinger and J. Steinger, Cateaton-street, ware-
housemen—March 19. R. Evershed, Purborough, Sussex, tim-
ber merchant—March 22. T. Digby, Lower Clapton—March 26.
G. Barnes, Portsea, luncheon—March 19. Jenkins, Symond-
street, Chelsea, cowkeeper—March 21. W. Hubbard, South
Shields, pawnbroker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

J. M'ARTHUR, Linlithgow-bridge, Linlithgowshire, black-
smith—A. WILSON, Paisley, grocer—J. CAMPBELL, Edin-
burgh, baker—J. M'LEOD and CO., Edinburgh, linen-draper.

RAMS FOR RAISING WATER without Labour.
where a fall can be obtained—Deep Well Engines—Pumps of every
description—Buildings heated by hot water, &c. Every description of
Fountains erected by F. ROE, 70, STRAND, Ornamental and House En-
gineer.

IN a Select ESTABLISHMENT for Young Ladies,
situated in a healthy part a short distance from Town, there are
VACANCIES for ONE or TWO PUPILS, on moderate terms. Masters
of eminence attend the School, and the Pupils receive, as far as possible,
the comforts of home combined with the discipline of School. A vacancy
occurs for a Half-Boarder.—Letters, free, to J. H., care of Mr. Wickham,
League Office, 68, Champsade.

CARPETS.—Persons desirous of purchasing
BRUSSELS CARPETS, of the best quality, will find a splendid
selection at the Establishment of W. CUMMING and CO., 98, Hatton-
garden. Being warehousemen, and very extensive buyers, they have de-
termined to charge a single carpet at the wholesale price. A large stock
of Kidderminster, Venetian, and other Carpets. Agents for the new do-
mestic luxury, "The American Rocking Chair."
W. CUMMING and CO., 98, Hatton-garden.

TO MANUFACTURERS.—The Advertiser, who
has for several years been engaged in the Commission Trade, doing
business with the Wholesale and Shipping Houses in London, principally
in the Silk, Silk Handkerchief, Printed Dress, and Shawl departments, is
desirous to ENTER into an ENGAGEMENT with a Manufacturing House,
either on Commission or at a Fixed Salary. Please address A. B., care of
Messrs. Palmer and Son, 18, Paternoster-row.

FOR all Disorders of the Stomach, STIRLING'S
PILLS are particularly adapted, being prepared with the sulphate of
quinine, extract of camomile flowers, and the most choice stomachic and
aperient drugs of the Materia Medica. These Pills were patronised by the
late Sir W. Blizard, and many other eminent medical men, who knew their
composition, and strongly recommended them, not only for their general
efficacy in cases of sudden illness, but likewise for their invaluable prop-
erties in all stomach and liver complaints, and for persons of a plethoric
habit, subject to drowsiness, dimness of sight, loss of memory, giddiness,
&c., and as a preventive of apoplexy, paralysis, &c. Children and persons
of all ages may take them at any time, as they do not contain mercury, nor
any ingredient that requires confinement or restriction of diet. Many
healthy aged individuals, some of them upwards of seventy and eighty years
of age, take them two or three times a week, by which they remove the
causes that produce disease, and keep off the infirmities of age, retaining,
in a surprising degree, the energy, vivacity, and cheerfulness of their
youthful days.—Prepared only by Stirling, Pharmaceutical Chemist, 84,
Whitechapel. Sold in boxes at 1s. 1d., 2s. 6d., 4s. 6d., and 11s. each. Ask
for Stirling's Stomach Pills, and be sure the name is engraved on the
stamp.

Just Published, No. 3 of the
ANTI-MONOPOLIST, Religious and Political.
Price 3d., stamped.
London: G. and T. Dyer, 24, Paternoster-row; Newcastle-on-Tyne, F.
Sanderson, 15, Collingwood-street.
P.S. On sending three postage stamps to F. Sanderson, it will be for-
warded to any part of the United Kingdom.

Now ready,
THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, No. 80, for
MARCH.

- CONTENTS:—
1. Shakespearean Criticism and Acting—Macbeth.
2. Progress of Art.
3. Knight's Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy.
4. Stratford.
5. The Land Tax.
6. Niebuhr and the Classical Museum.
7. Etruscan Monuments.
8. British Embassy to Shoa.
9. Promotion of Architecture (with Illustrations).
10. Earl Spencer and the State of Parties.

Postscript—Van Sanden—The Corporation of London—The
New Duty on Coal, &c.
Samuel Clarke, 13, Pall Mall East.

TO BRITISH ADVERTISERS.—
The Proprietors of "WILLMER and SMITH'S EUROPEAN
TIMES" beg to solicit your advertising patronage. Their "European
TIMES," which has now obtained by far the largest circulation in the
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Ceylon. Macao. Singapore.
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Dunkirk. Washington.
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And to all the principal News Rooms and Club Houses in England,
Ireland, and Scotland.
"WILLMER and SMITH'S European Times" is prepared and published
expressly for transmission by all the steam-ships leaving England for the
above parts of the eastern and western world.
WILLMER and SMITH, Liverpool.

MR. BEARD'S DAGUERRETYPE, or PHO-
TOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS.—These invaluable and much-ad-
mired Portraits, in which further improvements have lately been effected,
are taken by the Patented, at 85, King William-street, City; 34, Parliament-
street; and at the Royal Polytechnic Institution, 209, Regent-street. By
whom, also, Licenses are granted for exercising the invention in provincial
towns and districts.

CHINESE COLLECTION and GRAND DISTRI-
BUTION (admission free), value £5000, on the principle of the Art-
Union, in prizes, consisting of Chinese curiosities and Parisian novelties, on
April 8, at the Chinese and Parisian Magazine, 7, Old Jewry. Every sub-
scriber will obtain a handsome prize, consisting of Chinese jars, pictures,
&c., or a splendid package of French ingenuity and taste. This division will
take place under the highest patronage. The prizes are now on show at the
above establishment. Tickets, 6s. each, may be obtained by applying as
above, or at the retail branches of the Chinese and Parisian Magazine, 41,
Fleet-street, and corner of the Old Jewry, Champsade; also of Hewitt and Co.,
18, Philip-lane, W. Ancier and P. Ledoux, rue de Lombardes, Paris, will
supply the Parisian articles, and the indefatigable exertions of the proprie-
tors for the last ten years will furnish a magnificent collection from the Ce-
lestial Empire.
TAYLOR, Brothers, and HERWET, Chinese and Parisian Magazine,
wholesale department, 7, Old Jewry, Champsade.

CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE.—If the direct writ-
ten testimony in favour of the purity and perfection of BARRY'S
PATENT BRANDY, given, after analysis, by three of the most eminent Chem-
ists of the day, needed any confirmation, it will be found in the fact, that
it is employed, in preference to Foreign Brandy, under high medical direc-
tion, in many of the principal hospitals, infirmaries, and other public in-
stitutions in the kingdom; among which it may suffice to name Guy's,
St. George's, and the Westminster Hospitals in the metropolis; and the
Manchester, Bristol, and Bath Infirmary. Distillery, No. 7, Smith-
field Bars, leading to St. John-street. Price, pale or coloured, in quan-
tities not less than Two Gallons, Eighteen Shillings per Gallon.

THE NEW MANURE.

HUMPHREY'S FARMERS' COMPOUND, pos-
sessing superior advantages to any manure yet offered to the public.
It is rich in the Phosphates, Silicates, and Nitrogen, with certain new
agents, so as to prove most economical and effective for Wheat, Barley,
Pulse, Potatoes, Meadow Land, &c. Being manufactured on a new princi-
ple, this Manure will not wash off the soil like guano, or the salts; but,
with the lasting qualities of the "Home-made," combines the most energetic
fertilising chemical agents; adapted to all the purposes of Husbandry and
Garden Culture, and unrivalled as a Top Dressing for all Spring Crops.—
21s. per cwt. Wholesale Agents, DAVY, MACMURDO, and CO., 101,
Upper Thames-street, London.

THE AMERICAN ROCKING-CHAIR.—None
are genuine unless they have "Luck, Kent, and Cumming," painted on
the bottom. This chair, so much admired by all who have visited Amer-
ica, for the remarkable ease, pleasure, and comfort which it affords, is just
imported, and for Sale at the extensive Carpet and Upholstery Establish-
ments of LUCK, KENT, and CUMMING, No. 4, Regent-street; Carpen-
ters' Hall, 68, London-wall; and WM. CUMMING and Co., 98, Hatton-
garden. It is asserted with confidence that there is no piece of furniture
in use in a civilized society more sought after and approved of when known.
The price, 25s., with a liberal discount to the trade. Stout persons and In-
valids will find these chairs invaluable.

THE TOILET of BEAUTY furnishes innumerable
proofs of the high estimation in which GOWLAND'S LOTION is
held by the most distinguished possessors of brilliant Complexions. This
elegant preparation comprehends the preservation of the Complexion, both
from the effects of Cutaneous Malady and the operation of variable temper-
ature, by refreshing its delicacy, and sustaining the brightest tints with which
beauty is adorned. "ROSEMARY SHAW, London," is in white letters on the
Government Stamp, without which none is genuine. Prices 2s. 9d., 5s. 6d.,
quarts 8s. 6d. Sold by all Perfumers and Medicine Venders.

WEAK LEGS, KNEES, AND ANKLES.—
SURGEONS in England, Ireland, and Scotland, continue to re-
commend BAILY'S ELASTIC LACED STOCKINGS, KNEE CAPS,
and ANKLE BOOTS; they are light, cool, and warranted to wash. Since
the reduction of postage, afflicted persons in the country can have any band-
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property of the Stocking is to give constant support in varicose veins, weak,
swollen, or dropsical affections of the legs, or in any case requiring equable
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rheumatic or gouty affections, or in any case where, from weakness of the
part, support may be required.—W. H. Bailey, 418, Oxford-street, London.

STOOPING OF THE SHOULDERS AND
CONTRACTION OF THE CHEST, so injurious in Young Persons and
oppressive to the invalids and the infirm, entirely prevented, and gently and
effectually removed, by the occasional use of the Patent ST. JAMES'S
CHEST-EXPANDER, which is light, simple, easily employed outwardly
or inwardly, without bands beneath the arms, uncomfortable constraint, or
impediment to exercise. The great improvement it causes in the figure is
immediately apparent; but the paramount benefit of this invention is its
obvious tendency to prevent the incursion of consumption and other pul-
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and back in the aged and weakly, or those who are accustomed to sedentary
occupations. Full particulars may be obtained on application to Mr. A.
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THE NEW LIGHT.—A GREAT NOVELTY.

The patent CAMPHINE LAMP gives a light of surpassing
softness, and purity, without any kind of grease or dirt, except the
description of lamp, pedestal, or gas fitting. It is not easily put out
by draft. The Camphine (also a patent) is 4s. per gallon, and is so pure
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while it consumes so slowly that, at the cost of three shillings
hours, it gives a light equal to twelve mould candles, without any
it will be found far less expensive than any, and incomparably
all existing lights. To be seen burning at Rippon and Burton's (sole
sale and retail agents for English Patent Camphine).—N.B. The
Patent Camphine Lamp has "Rippon and Burton, Wells-street, Great
street," conspicuously placed on its head. The public are cautioned
all not so marked.

DAYLIGHT AT NIGHT! CAMPHINE!

The patent Camphine Lamp gives a rich light, surpassing
purity and brilliancy, is simple in construction, and emits neither
nor smell. May be seen burning at F. Barnett's Furnishing Ironmongery
and Lamp Warehouse, 25, Oxford-street, where a large assortment may be
selected from, all at the lowest possible prices. Any Lamp Lamp may be
fitted with a Camphine head. Patent Camphine Lamp Spirit, 5s. 6d. per
gallon. Observe, 25, Oxford-street, one door west of Rathbone-place.
Hall Lamps, 11s. 6d.; Ground Glass Patent Solar Lamp, from 2s. 6d.;
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Table, Bracket, Slideboard, and suspending Lamps, in ornola and
at extraordinary low prices. Lamps cleaned or altered to the sole
principle. Lamp shades, 6s.; cottons, 4d. per doz. Palmer's Patent Candle,
6d. per lb.

BELL'S BALSAM OF ROSEMARY FOR

COUGHS is justly esteemed the safest and most certain medicine
ever invented, and will be found to act like a charm in allaying coughs
of every kind. Rosemary has long been used as a domestic remedy in cases of
coughs and colds in the form of tea, or by infusing a few sprigs in gin
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the plant, which are tonic, expectorant, and diaphoretic. It acts gently on
the skin and mucous membrane of the lungs and bronchial tubes, the
carrying off the disease by perspiration and expectoration. One trial will
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at 1s. 1d. and 2s. 9d.; and in sheets, 2d. each, or lined with silk, 1s. each.
N.B. The paper can be sent by post.

**PATRONIZED AND SANCTIONED BY HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN,
H.H. PRINCE ALBERT, THE ROYAL FAMILY, AND THE SE-**
VERAL COURTS OF EUROPE.

ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL, for the Growth

and for Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair. Price 4s. 6d.
7s. Family Bottles (equal to 4 small) 10s. 6d., and double that also 21s.
CAUTION.—SPURIOUS COMPOSITIONS are frequently offered
under a FICTITIOUS name or the word "GENUINE." It is there-
fore imperative on purchasers to see that the words "ROWLAND'S
MACASSAR OIL" are on the Wrapper of each bottle, and on the back of the
wrapper nearly 1500 times, containing 29,024 letters. All others are FAL-
SULENT COUNTERFEITS. The principle on which "ROWLAND'S
MACASSAR OIL" is prepared, is confined solely to the knowledge and
practice of A. ROWLAND and SON, who are still at an immense expense
in completing its preparation, and the amalgamation of its PURELY VE-
GETABLE MATERIALS renders abortive any attempt to discover its com-
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and Complexion. Price 4s. 6d. and 8s. 6d. per bottle, duty included.
ROWLAND'S ODONTO, or PEARL DENTIFRICE, renders the Teeth
beautifully White and preserves the Gums. Price 2s. 9d. per box, duty in-
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CAUTION.—It is imperative on purchasers to see that the word "ROW-
LAND'S" is on the Wrapper of each article. For the protection of the
Public from fraud and imposition, the Honourable Commissioners of the
Majesty's Stamps have authorised the Proprietors' Signature to be engraved
on the Government Stamp, thus, A. ROWLAND and SON, 20, Hatton-
garden, which is affixed to the Kalydor and Odonto. Sold by them and by
Chemists and Perfumers.

* * All others are SPURIOUS IMITATIONS! * *

FOR STOPPING DECAYED TEETH, Mr.

THOMAS'S SUCCEDANEUM, price 4s. 6d.—Patronized by Her
Majesty, his Royal Highness Prince Albert, and her Royal Highness the
Duchess of Kent. This valuable SUCCEDANEUM for Stopping Decayed
Teeth, however large the cavity, is far superior to anything ever before
used, as it is placed in the tooth in a soft state, without any pressure or
pain, and in a short time becomes as hard as the enamel, and will remain
firm in the tooth for many years, rendering extraction unnecessary. It
arrests all further progress of decay, and renders them again useful in
mastication. All persons can use Mr. THOMAS'S SUCCEDANEUM
themselves with ease, without the aid of a dentist, as full directions are
enclosed.—Prepared only by Mr. Thomas, Surgeon-Dentist, 68, Berners-
street, Oxford-street, price 4s. 6d., and will be sent by post to any part of
the kingdom.

ARTIFICIAL TEETH.—Mr. Thomas continues to supply the loss of
teeth, and has introduced an entirely new description of ARTIFICIAL
TEETH, which will be found very superior to all others, as they will never
decay nor become discoloured, and their perfect resemblance to nature
defies detection even by the closest observer. This method does not re-
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Surgeon-Dentist, 68, Berners-street, Oxford-street. At home from eleven
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LOSS OF TEETH SUPPLIED WITHOUT

SPRINGS, CLASPS, or WIRES, LOOSE TEETH FASTENED,
and FILLING DECAYED TEETH with MINERAL MARMORATUM.
Mons. Le DRAY and SON, Surgeon-Dentists, 42, BERNERS-STREET,
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A Single Tooth 20 10 0
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Arranged on a principle yet unrivalled, rendering it impossible to dis-
tinguish the artificial teeth from the natural ones; answering most satisfac-
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imparting to the countenance a younger and improved appearance, pre-
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Artificial Teeth repaired, remodelled, and brought to their former shape
and appearance.

Artificial Palates of the most improved construction.—At home every day
from Ten till Six.
N.B. Removed from 60, Newman-street, to 42, Berners-street, Oxford-
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FRAMPTON'S PILL OF HEALTH.

Price 1s. 1d. per box.

**THIS excellent Family PILL is a Medicine of long-
tried efficacy for correcting all Disorders of the Stomach and bowels,
the common symptoms of which are costiveness, flatulency, spasms, loss of
appetite, sick headache, giddiness, sense of fullness after meals, dimness of
the eyes, drowsiness, and pains in the Stomach and Bowels. It produces
a torpid state of the Liver, and a consequent Inactivity of the
Bowels, causing a disorganization of every function of the frame, which
most excellent preparation, by a little perseverance, be effectually cured.
Two or three doses will convince the afflicted of its salutary effects. The
Stomach will speedily regain its strength; a healthy action of the
Bowels, and Kidneys, will rapidly take place; and, instead of heat,
heat, pain, and jaundiced appearance, strength, activity, and renewed
will be the quick result of taking this medicine according to the di-
recting accompanying each box; and if taken after too free an indulgence in
they quickly restore the system to its natural state of repose.**

Persons of a FULL HABIT, who are subject to headache,
drowsiness, and singing in the ears, arising from too great a flow of
the head, should never be without them, as many dangerous symptoms
be entirely carried off by their immediate use.

For FEMALES these Pills are most truly excellent, removing all
distressing headache so very prevalent with the sex; the
of spirits, dulness of sight, nervous affections, blotches, pimples,
tousness of the skin, and give a healthy and juvenile bloom to the
As a pleasant, safe, easy aperient, they unite the recommenda-
tion of mild operation with the most successful effect, and require no
diet or confinement during their use. And for ELDERLY PERSONS
will be found to be the most comfortable medicine when the
Sold by T. Frampton, 329, Strand, London. Price 1s. 1d. and 2s. 6d.
and by the Vendors of Medicines generally throughout the Kingdom.

Ask for FRAMPTON'S PILL OF HEALTH, and observe the
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London: Printed (at the office of Palmer and Son, 18, Paternoster-row,
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street; and published by him at Ten Lanes, 10, W. 17, W. 17,
Saturday, March 2, 1844.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 24.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1844.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

WHY NOT HOLD COUNTY MEETINGS?

Nothing is more remarkable in the Pro-Corn-Law movement than the fact that the monopolists can nowhere hold an open meeting. In Somersetshire they were signally defeated in a county meeting; at Aberdeen, from their temerity in attempting an open meeting, they met with the same fate; at Northwich, in Cheshire, they were driven from the Market-hall to "the large room at the Crown," and at Chesterfield their opponents, according to the statement of their own organ, constituted so large a proportion of those present that the monopolist resolutions, if passed at all, were passed in dumb show. Nor do the actors at these meetings hesitate to admit, that it is only by rigid exclusion of all discussion they can carry their resolutions, or even secure unanimity amongst themselves. Thus, at Chesterfield, the person who proposed the first resolution said—"Their object was not to discuss the propriety of a fixed duty, or the duties of a sliding scale; they left that to wiser heads." And the same nervous anxiety to prevent the orthodox monopolists of the sliding scale falling foul of the heterodox monopolists of the fixed duty is exhibited by all the prominent speakers at these meetings. So, on the same occasion, when Mr. Sayer and Mr. Hurst of Chesterfield endeavoured to move an amendment, they were stopped at once by the Chairman, who said, "they were not met to discuss the reasonableness or otherwise of the Corn Laws, but to do a specific act,—to agree to a petition, and to adopt certain resolutions,—any interference with that intention, by way of endeavouring to prevent it, would not be permitted." Again: Mr. Harford, at Bristol, said "he was perfectly willing, when the report of the proceedings should go forth to the public, to have it said, that he for one had borne a part in a packed meeting." Now, the monopolists have a perfect right to meet in any way they please, and the Free-Traders who constitute the League invariably discountenance any attempt to interfere with these meetings, called, as they are, for a special object, and which are essentially private meetings.

But how is it, if there be a shadow of truth in the round assertions made in every such meeting, that the landlords, the farmers, and the agricultural labourers are interested in maintaining the Corn Laws, that the protectionists can only meet with closed doors, and can only pass their resolutions by closing the mouths of every individual who would "discuss the reasonableness or otherwise of the Corn Laws?" How is it that all this—we suppose we must in courtesy call it—agitation is confined to the country, and usually the most retired and rural locality of each county? Where is the Central Protection Society in London? As yet we have had only Mr. Doran Maillard's exhibition at Freemasons' Tavern. And what do the high and mighty agitators think of the success of that feeler? Indeed the disavowal by the *Morning Post* of that experiment upon the gullibility of the working men of the trades' unions may be taken as a sufficient answer to the question. But where are the "farmers' friends," who have undertaken to persuade the practical middle classes of the metropolis that a nation is to grow rich by setting

each class to rob every other class? As Mr. Villiers wittily said, "The Duke of Richmond takes the chair daily in his own parlour, and the Duke of Buckingham sits opposite him;" and this, as yet, has been the sum and substance of the metropolitan high-rent agitation.

But do we say the monopolists are wrong to meet with guarded doors? Do we pretend that they are not wise in their generation to prevent all kind of discussion even in their own packed meetings? Do we hint that the noble dukes are not acting the part of discreet leaders by keeping in their own mansions rather than by facing the outspoken men of London? Far from it. On the contrary, we admit the prudence—for their own objects—of the course they have pursued; but we may be permitted to add, that they have forgotten one precaution, the neglect of which we suspect will mar all—they have not excluded the reporters!!

Now, if we had it simply announced, that at such a time and such a place certain dukes, earls, lords, baronets, and squires had met in conference with so many occupying farmers, and that the strongest reprobation of the acts of Free-Traders and of the principles of Free Trade had been there expressed; that efficient means for making farmers rich and prosperous without reducing rents or increasing production had been resolved on; and that so much money had been subscribed by the grandees, present and by proxy, to "put down the League" and the "pestilent doctrines of Free Trade," possibly upon the principle that men are very apt to take—though often erroneously—the unknown for the magnificent, the Free-Traders might have trembled at the mysterious resolves of a dominant oligarchy. But, alas! all this the too faithful reporters have spoiled. The lordly and worshipful monopolists have spoken, their speeches have been recorded, *Post-ed*, and instead of making the Leaguers tremble, they have made them laugh. Take, for example, the following gems of reason and reasoning from the speech of Lord Sondes, at Lynn, in Norfolk. With that power of penetration—that faculty of seeing further into a millstone than common men can—which the nominal and apparent possession of a certain quantum of land is supposed to confer in this country, Lord Sondes said, "He had from the commencement considered the League the most dangerous association ever formed, which, in order to gain hidden advantages to carry out some unseen object, conspired to ruin their fellow-subjects; for he maintained the Anti-Corn-Law League must have some other object than the repeal of the Corn Laws: their proceedings proved it." Such is lordly eloquence! Now, if demonstrating that Free Trade would increase the profits of capital and the wages of labour, add to the productiveness of our own soil, and greatly augment the public revenue,—and all this the Free Traders of the League have demonstrated;—if they have cast aside all party preferences,—if they have sunk all political differences of opinion in order to unite in one strenuous effort to obtain a free trade in corn,—it certainly does require the penetration of a Sondes to discover that their real object is not their declared one, and that they seek to ruin "their fellow-subjects" by augmenting all the acknowledged elements of national prosperity. But away with such nonsense; nonsense which could only proceed from men who have been fenced by the peculiar privileges of caste from all real knowledge of the world; who are the spoiled children of society, whose intellects have never outgrown their babyhood, mere breeched believers in "Jack the Giant Killer," and such nursery tales. Again, as a specimen of landed-lordly reasoning, this redoubtable Lord Sondes said, "They (the League) had excited the people in the north, so that the Government was obliged to put them down. He believes, however, the good sense of the people would keep the League down." To ordinary understandings the second sentence seems to answer the first, and the first to be a reply to the second; doubtless this is a landlord way of reasoning. But if the "good sense" of the people will "keep down" the League, the NONSENSE of the landed aristocracy seems to be giving itself a great deal of superfluous trouble. Possibly, however, there is a "hidden" meaning in these lordly revelations which it is not given to the industrious classes to understand. Let it be remembered, however, that these speeches, this double-distilled silliness, is addressed to the industrious classes. Oh, why do not the monopolists, in mercy to themselves, in justice to our national character for common sense, exclude the reporters?

But there is another reason why the monopolists, if they were wise, would exclude the reporters. In

every meeting it is broadly asserted that agricultural wages in this country rise when the price of corn is high, and fall when it is low; and upon that assertion the most extravagant conclusions are founded. We have shown, in another column, that directly the reverse of this is the fact. Wages, measured in corn and comforts, real wages, invariably increase as the price of corn decreases, that is, where the labourers do in fact receive anything as wages. But there may be a sense, and there are circumstances, in which the monopolist assertion is *apparently* true. That is, if the pittance of 6s. or 7s. a week—which is paid to the agricultural labourers of Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Buckinghamshire, and other peculiarly landlord-ridden counties—can be called wages, and where the peasant—whose right to be saved by society from starvation is recognised alike by Christianity and by law—is habitually upon the verge of destitution; where the way in which he supports himself and his family upon his so-called wages is a mystery and a miracle to his more fortunate fellow-countrymen; where, as the Rev. Mr. Osborne says is the case in Dorsetshire, "the relief given by a board of guardians to the family of a man who, from illness or accident, is rendered unable to work, exceeds by some shillings his earnings when he works," in such sense, and under such circumstances, wages, as they are called, possibly may rise and fall with the rise and fall of the price of corn. But, even then, they do not rise in the same proportion, for 1s. to 1s. 6d. a week is the greatest advance the west country serf receives in periods of the highest prices; while, assuming him to consume the same quantity of bread, the advance would not meet by one half the additional cost of his food. Neither do his wages fall ever below the average rate. Oh no; for it is a matter of surprise to boards of guardians—who can go to the best markets for what they supply to the poor, while the poor themselves go to the very worst—how the labourer, *earning the average wages, contrives to support his family*. The guardians can't do it so cheaply by some shillings a week!!!

Verily the day will come when the landowners may wish their tongues had been blistered before they drew attention to these things. Could a man of sense and humanity stand up at this moment before the European public, and declare himself a Wiltshire or Dorsetshire landowner, and an advocate for enhancing the price of bread by a legislative scarcity, without feeling his cheeks tingle with shame?

FREE-TRADE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina, one of the ablest, most earnest, and consistent Free Traders of America, has just published a letter, declining to stand as a candidate for the Presidency. Every friend of Free Trade throughout the world will regret this decision. When nations shall choose for their rulers enlightened statesmen like Mr. Calhoun, who looks forward to the triumph of Free Trade as "the harbinger of a new and brighter and higher civilization," the world may have hopes that the millennium of "peace on earth, goodwill to men," is approaching.

The Free-Trade triumph of the electors of London has given new life and hopes to the Free Traders all over the world. Mr. Calhoun says, in reference to it—"I, who upheld it against monopoly and plunder in the worst of times, and braved the menaces of administration and opposition when backed but by a single state (South Carolina), will not, cannot abandon the glorious cause now, when its banner waves in proud triumph over the metropolis of the commercial world."

We extract the following from his letter:—

"Be your decision what it may, I shall be content; but I regard it as due to the occasion, to you and myself, to declare that, under no circumstances whatever, shall I support any candidate who is opposed to Free Trade, and in favour of the protective policy, or whose prominent and influential friends and supporters are. I hold the policy to be another name for a system of monopoly and plunder, and to be thoroughly anti-republican and federal in its character. I also hold, that so long as the duties are so laid as to be in fact bounties to one portion of the community while they are oppressive on the other, there can be no hope that the Government can be reformed, or that its expenditure will be reduced to the proper standard.

"Were I, with the evidences before me, to say otherwise of my course, it would be practically to declare that I regard the protective policy to be an open question, so far as the party is concerned; which I would consider, on my part, a virtual abandonment of the cause of Free Trade. That can never be. I have done and suffered too much for it, when its friends were few and feeble, to abandon it now—now, when the auspices everywhere, on this and the other side of the Atlantic, proclaim the approaching downfall of protection, and the permanent triumph of Free Trade. I, who upheld it against monopoly and plunder in the worst of times, and braved the menaces of administra-

tion and opposition when backed but by a single state, will not, cannot abandon the glorious cause now, when its banner waves in proud triumph over the metropolis of the commercial world. No: I shall maintain immovably the ground I have so long occupied, until I have witnessed its great and final victory, if it shall please the Disposer of Events to spare my life so long. It will be, indeed, a victory—the harbinger of a new, and brighter, and higher civilization."

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Fifth Week, ending Saturday, March 9.

During the past week some discussion has taken place, both in the House of Commons and in the leading morning newspapers, on a subject of more importance to the public at large than at first sight they might think. We allude to the wishes expressed on both sides of the House, and by both sides of the Press, for shortening the debates. The cry now is, that Parliament, or at least the House of Commons, speaks too much; that not only members but the public are wearied by these interminable discussions, lengthy speeches, and frequently adjourned debates; and it is boldly and broadly asserted that, if we wish to preserve the public interest in parliamentary proceedings, there must be shorter debates, smarter speeches, and fewer speakers.

It is unquestionably true that there is more talk in the House of Commons now-a-days than in those palmy times when the House was almost as easily managed as a Select Vestry. More individual members take part in debates, longer speeches are made, they are also reported at greater length than they used to be; and to read a full report, even of a single night's discussion, as given in the *Times* or the *Morning Chronicle*, requires some amount of time and perseverance. Hence has arisen the practice of giving summaries, or brief abstracts of the debates, in order to enable people in a hurry to get an idea of what has been said and done, without the necessity of wading through deep and dense columns of small type; and as it is impossible to read all the speeches, fretful folks are apt to anathematise the debates, and to compensate the annoyance given to their own self-importance, by declaring that what they have not read must, therefore, not be worth the reading.

But graver evils arise from the length of the debates. The art of speaking, like the art of poetry, does not come as natural as walking to every man; and facility in pouring out a string of sentences will no more make an orator, than cleverness in jingling rhymes constitute a poet. Parliamentary oratory ought to be a measuring standard of the national intellect. It should be the medium through which the noblest and most commanding minds reach the feelings as well as the understanding of the people; by which the highest political truths, conveyed in the choicest language, should be lodged, not alone in their brains but their hearts; the great engine for wielding national will and power. But if everybody tries to speak, whether he can speak or no, the art of oratory will be degraded to the habit of talking; people will become insensible to "thoughts that breathe, and words that burn," because they will miss them in the crowd of cold, lifeless words by which they are governed; and they will lose the habit of looking to Parliament for that political instruction without which no nation can long maintain its spirit and its freedom. Then, to all this, add the obstruction to business—the wasting of the session in fruitless debates and endless talk—and the apathy which it must engender, even in our representatives themselves, who will lose all interest in the performance of their duties.

There is some truth, and more plausibility, in ideas like these; and there is a strong disposition to take advantage of what is supposed to be a prevalent opinion and feeling, in order to abridge, if not the freedom, at least the length, of Parliamentary speech. "Shorten the debates!" exclaims the *Times*, "and let every Wednesday be a holiday." "Ay, do!" re-echoes the *Chronicle*, itself the greatest sinner of the press, in giving the debates at great length; and it instructs members in the best mode of constructing short speeches, proposing, at the same time, with apparent gravity, that no member should be allowed a standing in the newspapers who had not got a standing in the House—that is, that no member should be reported who was not recognised as a speaker in the clubs and coteries. And then Mr. Williams, the member for Coventry, complains that four-fifths of the session is usually spent in idle talk; whereupon the ministerial members cheer loudly, the translation of the cheer being,—"But for you and your fellows we would get through our business with silent celerity, with little trouble, and small talk!" Honest Mr. Brotherton, too, the recognised time-keeper of the House, grieves over long speeches, and would put a check upon legislative loquacity; and so, we suppose, the feeling will spread, that Parliament does talk too much, and ought to hold its tongue a little more.

Now, admitting the evils of the present system,—confessing that many members speak when they have nothing to say, and frequently do not stop their speeches when all they have to say is exhausted,—still we look with suspicion on this combined movement to abridge Parliamentary debate. It would, no doubt, be very convenient if the House of Commons were once more reduced to that happy state of discipline, when, to adopt Mr. Tierney's phrase, each member would belong to one of two great parties—"Her Majesty's Government," or "Her Majesty's Opposition." Then, all debates would be arranged between the Treasury and the clubs; on occasional "field

nights" nobody but the "officers" of each party would be allowed to speak; the business of the "privates" would be simply to cheer, to vote, and never utter a word, unless they had an occasional petition to present, or were concerned with some local Paving and Lighting Bill; and when the game was played out—when parties were changing places—when "Her Majesty's Government," passed, in due order of rotation, to the Opposition benches, and "Her Majesty's Opposition," as its turn had come, to the Government benches,—then the clever fellows, who had done all the talk, should, as a reward for their "much speaking," get much place and patronage. Under such a system, if any member broke through the conventional arrangements of the two parties, he would be coughed or groaned down within the House, and "sent to Coventry," at the clubs; or, if he were a determined man, not to be put down, he would be tolerated as a sort of fugleman, scattering his jokes, or displaying his oddities, while the parties were arranging their troops, and the leaders preparing to fire off their great guns.

Who is the author of the greatest check upon executive government which has been achieved in modern times? Was it a man with the philosophic grandeur of Burke, the brilliancy of Canning, the stately declamation of Macaulay, the sparkling rhetoric of Shiel, or the flowing elocution of the present Prime Minister? No! It was a man who, when he first appeared in the House of Commons, had a provincial accent, a confused vocabulary, whose figures of speech were the very antipodes of his figures of account, "a mock at Tattersall's and Brookes's," and a sneer at St. James's." When he began his career, now many years ago, the public accounts were in a most shameful condition. They were made the cover for every extravagance the most unprincipled, for every job the most rank. Heads of departments relied on their subordinates for effectually puzzling the estimates; and as the national accounts were too mysterious to be understood, and too intricate to unravel, the national money was easily obtained, and profusely wasted. But our man addressed himself to a task more herculean than cleansing the Augean stables. Pelted with stinging jokes from witty Canning; flouted by every underling of the Treasury; sneered at by clever but pert Stanley; the butt of the House, and the horror of all fashionable circles; he, year by year, continually took his pencil, looked after the "tattle of the whole," waded through dreary piles of figures, questioned every item, divided the House against every extravagance. At last public opinion began to stare upon the Treasury; clerks of departments, in making up their accounts, became afraid that they might be seen through the loopholes which JOSEPH HUME had struck in their walls; columns of figures became more straight; jobs were compelled to skulk into closer concealment; extravagance trembled at every annual granting of the supplies, and furiously declared Joe Hume to be a terrible bore; but, bore or not, he has performed for his country a greater service than the creation of the Thames Tunnel; he has reformed the whole accounts of the Executive, established the principle that the country has some right to information on the mode and manner in which its money is expended, and made publicity the rule instead of being the exception. Honour to JOSEPH HUME. You may not approve of all his political opinions, nor even of all his economy; but by dint of speeches, which neither Murray nor Longman would think of collecting and binding up into handsome octavo volumes, he has brought about practical changes as important and lasting as any achieved by the most eloquent man, with the exception of Burke, that ever appeared in Parliament.

Again, if it were the rule not to allow a new member a "standing" in the newspapers until he had gained a "standing" in the House, would not Mr. Cobden have experienced a most serious obstruction in rising to his present deserved eminence as a public man? We have heard all his speeches since he entered Parliament in the autumn of 1841—have marked every stage of his Parliamentary progress. To those who are not in the habit of witnessing and watching it, there seems something inexplicable in the idea, that a man accustomed to address public audiences out of doors should feel awkward or timid in first addressing the House of Commons. So it is, however; and those who require an explanation must be content with a very vague one—the tone of the House is different from that of any other audience. Mr. Cobden, when he first entered the House, was eyed suspiciously; the Anti-Corn-Law League was then but in its infancy; and the general feeling on the Ministerial benches seemed to be, "Oh, he may do very well to excite a set of vulgar Manchester fellows, but he won't do for us!" Never was there a more determined effort to put a man down. At first, in the rapidity of speaking, some of his phrases were perhaps not very felicitous or correct; and though the instances were few in number, they were eagerly seized upon, and an effort made to turn him into ridicule. Nay, who can forget that Ferrand was unchained and let loose upon him, dragging the details of his business before the House? Above all, who can forget that Sir Robert Peel, in an evil moment for his own reputation, attempted to extinguish him by an imputation of the foulest nature? Every effort failed—the man was literally propelled upwards by these attempts to put him down: not by intrusive conduct—not by bullying—not by vulgarity—but by clear, pungent common sense (that commonsense so uncommon), by force of intellect and exquisite tact, he subdued the House of Commons, and compelled it to give him a high place in its ranks. One great excellence he has—he only speaks when he has something to say, and then he says it in the tersest way, and at the fitting opportunity.

For all the reasons we have given we must protest against any attempt to abridge the debates, if that abridgment is to be effected by a loss of liberty, or by returning to the old mere party warfare of former days. Rather let us "bear the ills we have" than "fly to others that we know not of." Every man who, in his political conduct, acts on the apostolic maxim of "speaking the truth in love,—in season and out of season," will be apt to be considered a bore by those who do not wish to listen to his preachments; but had speeches are better than bad legislation. It may be true that everybody cannot read all the speeches spoken in the House of Commons; and it is wearisome to sit them all out. But then every constituency is interested in the speech of its own member,—a species of political education very different from the silent system of former days; and, amid all the multitude of speeches, great orators will always command the attention which their abilities deserve.

The first regular Free-Trade debate of this session was

brought forward on Thursday night by Mr. Labouchere. The subject, as our readers are aware, was our commercial relations with the Brazil; and Mr. Labouchere stated the case with great clearness and ability. We were glad to hear him quote the *Economist* as an authority for some of his statistical statements; and still more pleased to see that the Liberal members around the right hon. gentleman indicated their appreciation of its value by loud cheers on the mention of the name of that valuable periodical.

The case, as stated by Mr. Labouchere, resolves itself into this:—A vast and fertile country, with a population now amounting to seven millions, has three great articles of production (not to mention innumerable others), sugar, coffee, and cotton wool, ready to be poured into this country at a reasonable rate, by which our greatly-increasing population might receive abundant supplies at a cheap rate, and yet that very cheapness would increase wages by the additional employment which the exchange of Brazilian produce for our manufactured goods would create. Yet cotton-wool is the only article we admit at a reasonable rate; on Brazilian sugar we lay a duty of three hundred per cent., and on coffee two hundred per cent. We persist in this policy, in the face of the fact that, with our increasing population, the consumption of sugar in this country is decreasing; and in the face of another fact, that our merchants, unable to bring home return cargoes from the Brazils, are compelled to send their ships on circuitous voyages;—ay, and in the face of another great fact, that the quantity of slave-grown sugar which we import is regularly increasing, which we refine in bond in order to evade the duty, and then send out to our West India colonies, and elsewhere, for consumption.

This strong case was met by Mr. Gladstone in a way which Mr. Bright well characterized as so many smooth, unmeaning words, glibly thrown together. The Government are actually going to make some alteration in the sugar duties; their intentions were indicated by Lord Sandon, who, on Thursday night, said that 63s. for protection is perfectly absurd. They feel, as in the case of the old sliding scale, that the differential sugar duties confer the "odium of too much protection;" but, instead of boldly dealing with the subject on sound principles, they are about to give us a new sliding scale for sugar as they gave us a new sliding scale for corn. Ashamed immediately to avow this, both Mr. Gladstone and Sir Robert Peel declared that they would hold their tongues about any contemplated alteration, for what is to be proposed in April was not fitting to be spoken of in March!

The whole defence, on the showing both of Mr. Gladstone and Sir Robert Peel rests on this—that by increasing the cultivation of Brazilian sugar we will increase the slave traffic between the Brazils and the coast of Africa. Lord Palmerston remarked that Ministers have now shifted their ground; formerly it was slavery in the Brazils—now it is the slave trade. For Mr. Gladstone expressly said, that if we could stop the slave trade he would not care about slavery, but would admit the slave-grown sugar of the Brazils on the same terms as we admit the slave-grown cotton of the United States.

During the two speeches of Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Gladstone the House was thinly attended. There was a very fair muster on the Opposition side during Mr. Labouchere's speech, and even on the Ministerial side there was a decent attendance of moderate men, who listened quietly; but at the magic hour of seven o'clock nearly every Ministerial member fled to dinner, and Mr. Gladstone spoke to all but empty benches on his own side of the House; there being, till past nine o'clock, not more than twenty on the Ministerial, and at least forty on the Opposition benches. About ten o'clock, those who had dined, but had heard nothing of the debate, came down to vote. Mr. Milner Gibson, in his bold, pithy way, put the case on its proper footing,—that of a concealment of monopoly by the thin veil of a horror of slavery. Then rose Mr. Bright, who broke through the mere conventional proprieties of the House, and at once linked sugar and corn together as twin monopolies, whose fruits were the pauperism of the United Kingdom—Ireland, England, Scotland. The word "corn" set all the members who had just dined into convulsions of horror. What has corn to do with sugar? "Question!" they bawled out. "That is the question," replied Mr. Bright. Colonel Sibthorp shouted. Unearthly voices were heard. One contented, yet discontented monopolist, up in the side gallery, threw himself back on his seat, shut his eyes, and emitted every kind of modification of "hear, hear!" from a grunt to a yell. The general desire was to get Bright down—don't let that odious Leaguer talk of corn in connexion with sugar. But Bright was not to be put down; he spoke his speech, and it lashed Sir Robert Peel into a passion; for, though Sir Robert Peel affected to be very jocular on commencing, and declared that he would preserve a very moderate tone, he was internally raging with passion. He would not imitate the tone of Mr. Bright—oh, no!—yet, unable to restrain himself, he ventured to raise a cheer, by resorting to a miniature performance of the same ungenerous artifice which he formerly practised towards Mr. Cobden. He insinuated that though Mr. Bright was a member of the Society of Friends, yet, unlike the Friends, he would rather have cheap sugar than put down the horrors of slavery! Mean, ungenerous, and we are sorry to add, we think, deliberate perversion. Lord Palmerston, with great spirit, defended Mr. Bright, and rebuked Sir Robert Peel, and after ably showing that all this horror of slavery was the cant of monopoly, the House divided, when 132 Free Traders supported the motion against 205 monopolists.—Majority 73.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING AT DURHAM.—We hear that a requisition to the High Sheriff of the county of Durham is in course of signature, requesting that he should call a public meeting of the freehold and other inhabitants of the county, to petition the Legislature for the removal of all restrictions on trade, and for the repeal of the bread-tax. In the event of the sheriff summoning the meeting, it is expected that John Bright, Esq., M.P. for the city of Durham, will be present to expose the fallacies of the advocates for a tax on the importation of foreign grain.—*Newcastle Advertiser*.

TITLES.—Title and ancestry render a good man more illustrious, but an ill one more contemptible. Vice is illustrious, though in a prince; and virtue contemptible, though in a peasant.—*Adrian*.

GREAT MEETING AT COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.

The usual aggregate weekly meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law League was held on Wednesday evening in Covent-Garden Theatre. The house was filled by an audience comprising, as usual, many thousands of the most respectable and intelligent of the inhabitants of the Metropolis, showing that the frequency of these vast assemblages causes no diminution of interest in the great question which brings them together. The same good order, and attention to the speakers which has hitherto prevailed, characterized the audience.

The following gentlemen were observed by us on the platform:—

Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P.; John Temple Leader, Esq., M.P.; T. M. Gibson, Esq., M.P.; Sir Valentine Blake, Bart., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; Dr. Bowring, M.P.; Robert P. Collier, Esq.; James Chadwick, Esq.; Eccles, P. A. Taylor, Esq.; T. A. Shaw, Esq.; W. A. Wilkinson, Esq.; Samuel Harrison, Esq.; Samuel Lucas, Esq.; John Ashton Yates, Esq.; Cornelius Nicholson, Esq.; of Kendal; R. W. Cole, Esq.; Joseph Ivimey, Esq.; Joseph Fenwick, Esq.; Robert Clark, Esq.; Colonel Tucker, Thomas Carr, Esq.; Frome, Henry Esq.; Colonel Clark, Esq.; E. J. Salisbury, Esq.; Thame, Esq.; Cowden Clark, Esq.; John Tuxar, Esq.; Richard Andrews, Esq.; Southampton; John Tuxar, Esq.; Beverley; Norman Wilkinson, Esq.; Butterworth, Esq.; Rochdale; W. E. Hutchinson, Esq.; Leicester; William Stevenson, Esq.; Dr. Mascher; W. Roberts, Esq.; Rochdale; L. D. Bradford, Esq.; Manchester; R. G. Welford, Esq.; Arthur Pattison, Esq.; Wm Lockett, Esq.; Manchester; James Brotherton, Esq.; Manchester; F. Cordingley, Esq.; C. O. Boyse, Esq.; Henry Russell, Esq.; Capt. Dawson; Henry Lancaster, Esq.; Henry Edward Krie, Esq.; John Jones, Esq.; F. H. Toone, Esq.; Adam Smith, Esq.; W. Ibbotson, Esq.; Sheffield; W. A. Thomson, Esq.; Buffalo; W. Hannay, Esq.; J. P. Burnard, Esq.; W. E. Hutchinson, Esq.; Leicester; Rev. John Pyer, Devonport; John McLeod, Esq.; J. N. Collins, Esq.; J. Cox, Esq.; James Banner, Esq.; E. Patterson, Esq.; R. L. Tweedale, Esq.; Martin Thackeray, Esq.; Henry Lloyd, Esq.; Thomas Hubback, Esq.; &c.

At seven o'clock, the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P. (in the absence of George Wilson, Esq., who was attending a meeting at Manchester), took the chair amidst much applause.

Mr. SAUL (the secretary,) then read the minutes of the last meeting, which, on the motion of Mr. BRIGHT, M.P., seconded by Mr. LEADER, M.P., were confirmed by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said:—Gentlemen and ladies, the chairman of your conspiracy, I regret to say, is unable to attend this evening—"hear, hear," and laughter)—and I have, in consequence, consented to become criminal in his place (renewed laughter); but I am happy to learn that it is not for the purpose of being innocent or idle himself that he is absent from his post to-night (hear, hear): on the contrary, I hear that he is attending a meeting of very special conspirators in the country—"hear, hear," and a laugh)—of men who have no fear of dukes before their eyes, and who, I believe, have no more respect than ourselves for what I see, the squire term "a cherished institution of the state," which, as you know, is the law which provides for the necessities of great men out of the necessities of poor men. (Loud cheers.) Your chairman is, I hear, at Manchester to-night, presiding in the great hall, which has been built there for the express purpose of conspiracy (laughter), and where the men of Lancashire do meet, and regularly combine, for the purpose of making trade free and bread abundant (cheers); where they endeavour, as we do here, to propagate the principles of Sir Robert Peel (laughter), and get credit for that sort of household wisdom which he thought it wise to preach on his coming last to power—(hear, hear, hear)—which, if I mistake not, amounted to this, that when people have occasion to purchase what they want, they should not pay more for it than they need (a laugh); and when, on the contrary, they want to dispose of what they have, not to take less for it than they can get. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) These, if I mistake not, are the principles which Sir Robert Peel, in an ungarded moment perhaps, ventured to say that he did not hesitate to declare he believed were true (a laugh); and which one might have thought, if an oracle of less note than the first Minister had proposed, would have been believed. (Hear, hear.) Yet, I fear, if history is fairly written, posterity will learn that what agitated British society most, and what chiefly engaged the attention of the British Legislature in the middle of the nineteenth century, was the difference of opinion about this simple rule, grave doubts being asserted of its wisdom, and graver difficulties being offered to its adoption. (Hear, hear.) The organ of the Government, only two days since, devoted a column to its discussion, and then concluded, that if Sir Robert Peel ever said it he never meant it. (Loud laughter.) His disclosure of the doctrine, however, is what has brought on him the charge of treachery by his friends; it is really what has caused discord in the Conservative family (laughter); and it is this which has drawn so large a portion of the peasantry into the field of agitation. (Hear, hear.) It was at a meeting the other day that some squire said it was to expose and refute for ever this "fraudulent theory" that he had spoken out. (A laugh.) It was to crush this "pestilential fallacy" that some lord said he had come to St. Alban's. (Laughter.) It is to protect the peasantry from this poison that the Tory papers say they see with deep satisfaction that the Duke of Richmond takes the chair, at his own house (loud laughter), and the Duke of Buckingham sits opposite to him (continued laughter); it was on this account, in fact, that "the great chiefs," as Queen Pomare calls her Richmonds and Buckinghams, have leagued together to suppress your rival body. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, however little chivalrous, and very ludicrous, this occupation and position of the nobility of England may appear, yet we must remember that they have at present the best of the joke (hear, hear); and that it is far less ludicrous to enforce the rule of buying dear and selling cheap upon others, than to submit or to assent to it ourselves. (Hear, hear.) We must not be idle, therefore, because they are foolish (hear, hear); and we must not lose the great advantage they are giving us by the course they are pursuing. What they call "speaking out," is just what we want them to do, and which, while they had the sense to leave their cause in Sir Robert Peel's hands, was never done. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Our cause was so plain, men would not believe it was rejected on its merits only; and while Sir Robert conducted their defence, no one did exactly know what he meant, or what we meant. Some thought we attacked

the church, some thought the colonies, and some the constitution; and the result of a discussion was rather to mystify than clear the mind upon the matter (laughter); but now, it seems, they repudiate Sir Robert's help, and have served us by taking their cause into their own hands, by becoming their own counsel, and having themselves for clients, which, as you know, is not always thought the wisest thing to do. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) By the line they have been lately taking, they bid fair to aid us, as an author in Swift's time is said to have helped himself, who wanted much to draw the public notice to some view he took of public matters, but in which, for some reason, though he wrote a pamphlet about it, he did not succeed. The notion then struck him that he would write another in answer to himself; and the line he took in the reply was to heap every kind of abuse upon himself, to impute the vilest motives to himself, and charge himself with every crime of which man could be guilty, and which he did to such degree, that shortly the world began to ask what this was that had been written, against which so much was said ("hear, hear," and laughter); and, as the story goes, the town was for some time divided between the enemies of the author and of the supporters of his work. (Laughter.) However, his object was then accomplished, his work was read, and a general verdict was given in his favour. (Cheers and laughter.) Just what we expected would follow from the vehement abuse which these great men are pouring upon the League. (Hear, hear.) There are thousands who, above want themselves, and not too much alive to the wants of others, have never given this matter of the Corn Laws a thought, but are awakened by this cry of fire, and thieves, and murder, which the nobility and gentry have raised in all the counties ("hear, hear," and a laugh); they are those whom we may count as converts, when they discover that the hubbub is all owing to some classes of industrious men seeking to sell their wares where they can get most for them, and buy their food where they can pay least for it (hear); and that the disturbance is caused, in fact, by those who deal in food, and have monopoly in the sale. (Cheers and laughter.) The more people they awaken to a consideration of the subject, the better will it be for the League: for, abuse the League as they may, charge it with crimes as they will, sooner or later the whole community will see that this is the question after all, and that the subject of the dispute is just as I have here described it. (Cheers.) That they will go on in just the course they are doing I sincerely trust, for nobody can better know than those who have had to fight this matter, of what use it is that they should throw aside the mask, that they should put off all disguise, and no longer cloak their cause with false pretence. (Hear, hear.) They now come boldly forward and rest upon the strength of might, and with open weapons bid us all defiance. They have wisely driven from their agricultural societies the friends of agriculture, and have converted them into what perhaps they were always meant to be—only landlord's clubs. (Hear, hear.) They have manfully thrown all their old pleas overboard, and have come to the conclusion of the *Morning Post*, that the great duty of the landlord is to take care of himself (laughter and cheers); and perhaps also to that of the *Morning Herald*, that they should seize the present moment to get money for a future fight. And I see, at a great meeting held for the county of Surrey, that their objects and intentions have now assumed a clear and definite appearance of this kind. It was summoned, as usual, for the protection of agriculture; the spokesman selected on the occasion to represent the landlord interest was a Mr. Drummond, a large proprietor and a man of great ability. He saw no necessity for reserve, and he, as they call it, spoke out on the occasion. He seems to be a loyal man, as the landlords are when things go right ("hear, hear," and a laugh); so he enters at first into some speculation about the support of the Throne, and he tells the meeting on what the Throne must not rely, that is, on manufactures, railroads, and the funds. (Laughter.) There is no reliance there, he says; and the stock on which he says it can alone depend, is horses, cattle, pigs, and sheep. (Loud laughter.) However, he then proceeds to the business of the meeting: I have here a report of what he said; he deliberately told the meeting that he came there, and that they came there, for the purpose of protecting his and their own interest as landowners; and he knew, and they knew, that that interest was, that corn should be dear (hear); and the real question which they had come that day to discuss was, how they could make corn dear; and whether what they were about to propose would have the effect of making corn dear. If it would, he was satisfied; but if not, he had an amendment in his pocket which he would propose. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear," and laughter.) Now, this was all clear, distinct, and unequivocal; this was the object of all protection meetings, as announced by a great and leading landowner. (Hear.) I do now really hope that, when anybody sees a flourishing account of a county meeting, decked out as usual with dukes, barons, and baronets, he will remember the speech of Mr. Drummond as the honest and candid commentary on all such meetings (hear); and I do trust that those among our friends who are fastidious as to the manner in which this question should be argued, and who object to such views being imputed to our opponents, will see and confess that there has been no exaggeration in what has been said. (Cheers.) I trust that the people, who know that the landlords of the country are the rulers of the country, will not be surprised in future when they hear that foreigners in every country view with suspicion and mistrust those professions of excessive zeal on our part to spread the gospel in the most distant parts of the world, and of excessive sympathy with the sufferings of the working classes of other countries where slavery exists, when they see that with all our anxiety to christianize savages and emancipate slaves, so regardless are we of the precepts of that gospel at home, and of the sufferings of the poor that we have amongst us, that for the purpose of raising their incomes our rulers are daily engaged in devising modes for rendering the food of the poor dear and difficult to attain, apparently regardless of the evidence which hourly offers itself of the misery and death they produce, and all the other hideous consequences of their policy. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I have to apologise for making these observations: my duty to-night was more properly to introduce to your attention gentlemen far abler than myself to discuss the question; I will now call upon Dr. Bowring to address the meeting. (Loud and general cheering.)

Dr. Bowring, M.P., on coming forward, was greeted

with loud plaudits from all parts of the theatre. He said:—Ladies and gentlemen, if it were possible that, in advocating the great cause that brings us together, there could come over us at any moment a feeling of wavering or of discouragement, the presence and co-operation of a meeting like this would drive all doubts and despondency away. We are again and again taunted with our failure; and yet, week after week, encouraging and enthusiastic multitudes come together to declare in our behalf that "they never fail, who strive in a good cause" (loud cheers)!

"When the heart and the mind,
And the voice of mankind,
Unite in communion,
Who—who shall resist that broad union?"

With my honourable friend who has just spoken, I agree that we have reason to congratulate ourselves that our adversaries are at last appearing in the field, and that the war of words and strife of argument have commenced. We have hitherto been combating with shadows, but at last we see something like a substance to grapple with. And I rejoice in it, my friends,—I rejoice that, at last, the pressure of necessity has forced our adversaries into the open field of combat, and that we are now standing face to face in the broad sunshine of truth. Who can doubt where the victory of truth will be? I rejoice that we shall now have an opportunity of meeting our opponents with some chance of being listened to by them. (Hear, hear.) The word "protection" has been again and again brought forward, and the phrase "independence of foreign nations," frequently reiterated. Now, we do not object to any man "protecting" himself, or being as independent as he pleases of the other communities of the globe; but what we require, demand, and insist upon is this, that he shall not attempt to "protect" us according to his interpretation of protection. (Cheers.) Let him be as independent as he will. Let him go and live with the Australian savage, and eat dirty grub for his breakfast, and undressed shellfish for his dinner, and we will not complain. (Cheers and laughter.) If such a man choose to be ignorant, let him say, "I will not learn to read from books, because books are made of rags that come from Italy; I will not be taught to write with ink, because ink is made of the gall of Alop-po;" but we, who are determined to be instructed, we who will have pens and paper and ink, insist upon the privilege—the high and noble privilege—which enables us to invite other lands to come to us with their contributions, and to offer to them our contributions in return. (Cheers.) Time was, my friends, when in this country, too, the people were rude savages, wholly independent of other nations, who, instead of wearing garments, covered their bodies with yellow and red ochre, and, instead of comfortable homes, made their huts of hurdles and their roofs of fern-leaves, rejoicing, perhaps, in their independence of foreign lands. I do not complain of the man who says, "I will feed on an aboriginal cabbage (loud laughter); I will make my pies and puddings of aloes and haws and blackberries, because they are the produce of my native soil; and God forbid I should go to the south and introduce grapes and plums and peaches and all the beautiful produce of a benignant sun." ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Let such a man be delivered over to his own mode of enjoyment, but what business has he to interfere with my enjoyment? (Cheers.) A man may choose to be independent of foreign nations, and say, "I will stork a staff in the sand, and I will watch hour after hour the progress of the day when the sun is shining;" or, if the sun was not shining (as it does not always in a climate like England), he might, perhaps, do what I have seen pursued among the Arabs—he might hang up a pitcher and fill it with water, and make an exceedingly small hole in the bottom, and so by watching drop by drop he might measure the moments from the rising to the setting of the sun. But if intelligence and civilization and attention and the noble intellect of man should produce that wonderful combination which we call a watch, the fine iron of which shall have been imported from Sweden, the gold from Africa or Asia, and the precious stones which often adorn it from various parts of the world, is he to deny to me the privilege of carrying about me the means from hour to hour of tracing the progress of the day? (Loud cheers.) Let him wallow in his ignorance if he pleases; let him deny to himself every enjoyment that is unwelcome to him; let him sit in a hovel to which nothing but his native land shall have contributed the materials; let him have his oak table, and his dinner on a trencher, with a hole in it for his salt; and let him serve himself with his finger, for instrument of gold and silver he shall have none. What matters it to me, or to you, if he choose to dress himself in garments of coarse wool; if he declare that he will wear nothing, will enjoy nothing, but the indigenous product of his native land. No doubt I should mourn over his degraded taste,—I should wonder greatly at his backwardness; but what business has he to interfere with me?—with me who have that which other nations are willing to receive, and for which they will be grateful, and in return for which they will be delighted to offer me the produce of the universal world? (Loud cheers.) And this is the history of civilization—this is the history of commerce; in this consists the great victory of man over distance and clime, and by which man has made the wide universe, with all its wealth, subservient to his mind, and tributary to that activity which gives new intelligence to all, and from which all derive new intelligence. (Cheers.) Why, when, in a country like this, I see the poor labouring man at his loom, rising ere the sun rises, and retiring to rest long after the sun has descended, I see in that being—that virtuous, that honoured, that honourable being—one who is spreading the bonds of amity and friendship over the universal world (loud cheers); that which he produces bringing to all around him, ay, and to all above him, enjoyment, which, without him, never would have reached our native land. (Cheers.) If we are anything,—if we are great, and great we are,—if we are influential, and influential no doubt we are,—it is because we have made ourselves dependent upon other nations; and to the extent to which we have made ourselves dependent we have made them tributary to ourselves. (Loud cheers.) It is indeed, lamentable, in days like these, to hear the strange infatuated language with which men sometimes talk of the foreign relations of our country, while there is not one man amongst them all who despises and so crumples our foreign commerce, that from morning to night is not himself an enjoyer of the advantages which that foreign commerce has brought to him. (Cheers.)

All that he hath, all that he eats, almost all that he drinks, everything with which he clothes himself, almost every decoration in his dwelling, he owes to foreign commerce. (Cheers.) And I confess I should like nothing better than that such men should be condemned to the punishment of having their own principles applied to their own passion of being made independent of foreign nations, and should be confined to such articles as existed before the artisans and manufacturers and merchants of England made her name illustrious equally through the civilized and the uncivilized world. (Cheers.) I should like to strip from their backs the garments they have received from foreign lands, and I venture to say they would walk in your streets in nakedness. ("Hear," and laughter.) I should like to take from their tables, also, the contributions from other countries, and I venture to say that two or three days would behold them in a state of starvation. (Cheers.) I should like to take from the backs of their wives and daughters the grand and beautiful things which they have received from foreign countries, and I am quite certain they would not venture to show themselves in Houndsditch or St. Giles's. (Cheers and laughter.) No; it is from the dependence of man upon man that our virtues and our felicity equally spring. (Cheers.) I can understand well the theory of those who teach us that if we cross a brook, or wander over a mountain, there we are no longer to deal out love but hatred—there we are no longer to find a friend but an enemy—there we are to seek, not to benefit, but to destroy. But that is not our theory—those are not the principles which we desire to advocate, for Free Trade is connected with the diffusion of human happiness. (Loud cheers.) Free Traders deem it their most high and most honourable mission to remove the mass of misery where they find misery, and to develop happiness where they see any means of doing so. (Cheers.) Our attention is often called to what is passing elsewhere; and our thoughts have been lately directed to that great ocean, the Pacific, over which I hope the magnificent bark of Free Trade ere long will float in all its majesty (renewed applause); and I think, as I have duties elsewhere, I cannot better conclude what I have said than by giving you a tale of the South Seas to laugh at or to cry at, just as you please. (Cheers.)

"I'll tell you a tale of the southern seas,
You may laugh at, or cry at, just as you please.
Scant was the growth of the bread-fruit tree,
On the beautiful Isle of Owyhee,
While, gift of Heaven, it richly grew
O'er the sunny fields of Wahoo;
And it seemed as Nature had placed the isle
In reach of each other's verdant smile,
That what'er was wanting on either shore,
From the other might swift be wafted o'er.
The Wahooan nymphs arrayed
In trinkets by Owyheean made;
While Owyhees well fed should be
By Wahoo's sweet bread-fruit tree.
But, alas! even happy isles like these
Have a people upon them called Grandees;
And where there are lords, I need not say,
Things will go on in a lordly way."

Heard you that cry, whose withering sound
Saddens the sunny prospect round?
From a million of voices it sings on high,
'We starve—we starve!' their fearful cry!
Know you what, midst such fertile scenes,
That awful voice of Famine means?
Oh! hat to me—in Owyhee,
There were lords and squires of high degree,
Who in bread-fruit held large property—
And of all afflictions, ill, and vices,
Thought none so dreadful as low prices;
Wherefore they held it just and meet
That the world should not too cheaply eat,
Nay, deemed it radical insolence
To wish to dine at a small expense;
And swore, for the sake of themselves and heirs,
That, happen what might with other wares,
No bread should be less dear than theirs.
In vain the Owyheean said,
'My lords, we must respect your bread,
But, with all due reverence for your graces,
Would rather have cheaper from other places.'

"In vain from the Wahooan shore,
Barques, filled with bread-fruit, winged them o'er.
'Twas vulgar, cheap, and taxed must be
Before 'twas fit for good company;
Nor must the poor devils swallow a bit,
Unless he swallowed a tax with it.
And what said the lords of Owyhee,
And the Owyheean squirearchy,
In defence of their joint gentility?
Why, they said that they and their squire before 'em
Had shone in the senate, camp, and quorum;
Had all been rich, had managed to get,
As became their station, deep in debt;
And thought it hard that men of reading,
Who had cost themselves so much in breeding,
Should now fall victims to cheap feeding,
Shorn of their beams of wealth and state,
To help low fellows to masticate:
'How little,' said they, 'the thoughtless poor
Can know what the suffering rich endure,
In bringing up dozens of young grandees—
In paying off horrible mortgages—
In saying nothing of assignees, leasers,
And an endless quantity of more of these
'Heavy things that end in *ees*.
And though (as honest Figaro says)
If a gentleman owes, and never pays,
'Tis just the same, be it great or small,
As if he, in fact, owed nothing at all;
Yet, somehow, unless one *something* pays,
Lenders are shy of one, now-a-days.'
In short, if the bread-tax once was gone,
These lords and gentlemen 'couldn't get on';
And they were hinted, awfully,
That if e'er in the Isle of Owyhee,
Bread, pudding, in price should humble be,
All was o'er with the aristocracy;
One penny, saved by clods who dine,
Being sure to bring all nobles to nine.
Meanwhile, that cry, that dreadful cry,
'We starve, we starve,' rose loud and high,
'Till—that was the upshot, all shall see,
In the second canto of Owyhee."

After the recitation of this humorous satire, from the pen of Thomas Moore, which was constantly interrupted by bursts of laughter and applause, the hon. gentleman next introduced Mr. Leader, M.P. for

to the meeting.
LEADER, Esq., M.P., on advancing to the stage was received with tumultuous applause.

to the old arithmetic process of "bringing

He said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I must first congratulate you upon the altered and improved position of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and of those great, those fair and intelligent meetings which assemble in this theatre to hear what the Council of the League and its friends have to say. (Hear, hear.) When I had the honour of appearing before you on these boards last year, the League was an object of contempt with its opponents, was a thing to be sneered at, laughed at, and ridiculed; but now things have quite changed with the League and its opponents. The League has now become an object to be feared, to be hated, to be called, as it was last night, a dangerous conclave. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) The League has now become worthy of being opposed by an Anti-League, an Anti-League composed of great dukes, and lords, and squires, with a slight sprinkling, as an auxiliary force, of Conservative operative associations. (Cheers and laughter.) Now, we must examine for a little what sort of power this Anti-League is. They tell us, and they tell us in a very boasting way, that if the Anti-Corn-Law League can raise £100,000, they can raise £200,000 with equal facility. Perhaps they can. They have, no doubt, got plenty of money. It would be very hard, indeed, if they had not. (Cheers.) They are rich, I dare say; and they are rich because they have had protection for years; they are rich, because they have compelled the people to buy their goods at a high price; they are rich, and they are growing richer, but they are growing rich at the expense of the community; and if they stop not, but continue to protect themselves, they will put money in their own pockets; but whilst they become themselves rich, they will make the community poor. (Cheers.) Of money, therefore, I dare say they will have plenty. They will get up county meetings, because in many counties they possess so large an extent of land that they can do just as they please. (Hear, hear.) And they will, no doubt, have plenty of meetings at Freemasons' Hall. (Cheers and laughter.) By-the-by, I wonder very much that the Anti-League should have met at Freemasons' Hall. I wonder they were not afraid of a word of such an ominous sound. (Laughter.) I should have thought a word having anything of "free" in it must have reminded them of Free Trade. (Loud laughter.) For my part, I should like to see some of the Anti-League gentlemen here. I think it would be much better than having the talk all one way. They could then offer their arguments, and the Anti-Corn-Law party could hear them, and, I am sure, would give them a fair hearing; that, I should think, would be much better than that each party should have its own meeting, even though one met at Covent-garden Theatre, and the other at Freemasons' Hall. (Cheers.) Now, I suppose that they have plenty of money, that they have county meetings, that they have Freemasons' hall meetings, and that they will have plenty of Conservative operatives to explain the state of the country to them; but I doubt very much whether, with all these means and appliances to boot, they will be able, ay, even in a year to get as much influence as the Anti-Corn-Law League can exercise in a week. (Cheers.) And I will tell you why; because I conscientiously believe that the arguments and statements of this League are founded upon truth; and because I as conscientiously believe that the arguments and assertions of the Anti-League—the agricultural gentlemen—are founded upon fallacies, and upon bad reasoning based upon those fallacies. (Cheers.) Now, what are the general arguments—you cannot indeed call them arguments—topics made use of at these meetings? Why, really, to listen to them, or to read them, one might fancy that they proceeded from some Squire Westerns, in their after-dinner talk, one hundred years ago; one can hardly believe that the esquires and the great landed proprietors of this country, in the 19th century, should deliver themselves in such a way—full of nothing but intemperate abuse of Free-Traders—calling them villains and ragamuffins, and hinting in a peculiarly country gentleman-like way to their listeners, that it would be a very picturesque sight to see an Anti-Corn-Law man stuck up to his chin in a horse-pond. (Laughter.) At those meetings they are not satisfied with attacking Free Trade, but they must also show their dissatisfaction with the Government, and for every bold, straightforward blow which they plant in the breast of the Anti-Corn-Law League, they give an equally severe backhander to Sir Robert Peel. (Cheers and laughter.) And I will tell you why: because (though I do not think Sir Robert Peel is the best possible Minister for Free-Traders) he is a great deal better than his supporters—a great deal better than those gentlemen of the Anti-League, whose language at their meetings, indeed, clearly proves that they have no confidence in him, and that they only support him for fear of being driven to measures of Free Trade by a more liberal Ministry; and, judging from the specimens of such men as we have had, we may readily conceive what we might expect from them if they had everything their own way. (Cheers.) Now, let us consider for a little the actual state of the country as it would be under these Anti-League gentlemen. I am not inclined to set one class against another, to excite the manufacturers against the landowners, or to say anything that would set land against trade; because I believe that both must stand or fall together, and because I believe their interests to be so interwoven that what is bad for the one must ultimately be bad for the other, and what is good for the one must ultimately be good for the other. (Loud cheers.) But whenever any particular class set themselves up as the especial protectors of the poor, or of the agricultural labourer, or the farmer, it is but fair that we should inquire what real pretence they have to that character. (Hear, hear.) One may see a little what the landed gentry mean by "protection of the poor," from the acts which they are constantly getting passed in the Legislature. At this present moment there is a bill before Parliament, brought in by some of the friends of agriculture, which I think pretty clearly shows what is the meaning of their "protection to the poor." It is called an enclosure bill—that is, a bill for enclosing common lands and commons in the country, in order, as the landlords say, to bring more land into a better state of cultivation, and thus to confer advantages upon the poor of the neighbourhood. Now, what is the real state of the case? There is a good article in the *Times* of yesterday—a very good article about it—which states the case with tolerable clearness and a great deal of force. The bill was brought in by Lord Worsley, and I have not a word to say against that nobleman. He is a liberal man, and one of the best of his class; but in this case he is mistaken. (Hear, hear.) In the county with which he is connected—Lincolnshire, and the neigh-

bourhood—his bill might be of use, because there is a great deal of uncultivated land which might be very much improved; but the bill for the whole country would be a serious evil to the poor who have common rights, and to the public generally who receive any advantages from commons. (Cheers.) In a letter in the *Times* a correspondent asks, "Why does not some one in the House of Commons prevent the bill from passing?" The reason is, the landlords have such a majority in that House, that it is quite impossible to prevent any bill from passing which they desire to pass. (Cheers.) With respect to this very enclosure bill, for example, seven or eight years ago I opposed Lord Worsley on this very subject, and what was the utmost I could gain from the House of Commons? Why, that within a certain distance of certain great towns commons should not be enclosed: that was all. Yet we see every year attempts made to enclose Hampstead Heath or Blackheath, while the landlords tell you it is all for the benefit of the poor. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) I should like to know what would be the benefit to the poor if Hampstead-heath were covered with houses? It would be very good for the lord of the manor, who would get a greatly increased rent-roll; but it would be very bad for those who like fresh air, and who wish to enjoy their common rights upon the waste lands of the country. (Hear.) Now, that is a specimen of what landlords call protection—protection which they, or at least the more politic amongst them, say is not for themselves, but for the farmers and the poor. Their protection, in the case of agricultural produce, is precisely of the same character as that which they extend to the poor in the enclosure of commons (hear, hear); and you may depend upon it that in every enclosure the rich men of the parish get the lion's share, whilst the poor man gets little or nothing but the mere talk of "protection." Just so it is with the laws relating to the import of corn: the real protection is to the purses of the landlord, and the comforts or conveniences, in any respect, either of the farmers, the farm-labourers, or the community at large, are wholly disregarded. (Cheers.) In short, the protection afforded by landlords to the poor is exactly like the protection afforded by a strong nation to a weak one; that is to say—the strong nation reaps all the advantages, and expects the weak nation to be excessively grateful for all that which it does not get, but which it sees the strong nation reaping to its cost under the generous and disinterested pretence of protecting it, the weak one. (Loud cheers.) Now, we hear a great deal said at these Anti-League meetings, and I really wonder that gentlemen have the face to make assertions, about the League agitating solely for the purpose of bringing down wages in the manufacturing districts; and they hold up the manufacturers of this country as monsters of cruelty and iniquity, who, in every act of their lives, dream only of lowering wages. 'Why, the manufacturers' profit does not depend nearly so much on low wages as upon a plentiful demand for their goods; and as for the working man himself, it is notorious that the price of bread does not at all affect wages. Wages are affected really and truly by the supply and demand. If there be more hands than there is work for them to do, of course wages must be low; and if there be more work to be done than hands can be found to do it, I need not tell you wages must be high. (Cheers.) And the real truth is, that if by throwing open trade we could increase the demand for goods, wages must in consequence rise, because there would in reality be an increased demand for labourers. (Hear, hear.) Then, just let us consider the improvement that must arise in the comfort and well-being of the community from the difference in the price of bread. Whenever bread is very high in price, the working man is obliged to spend the greater part of his wages in obtaining the real necessities of life, of which bread forms a large item; but when bread is low, the working man is able to spend all the difference between the high and low price of bread upon other articles. By that means he increases the demand for, and by the demand, the price of, goods; by that means, also, he increases the demand for labour; and thus there is a general diffusion of prosperity, which acts and reacts throughout the community at large; so that, high or low, the price of bread is the cause of more misery or prosperity than any other cause which I can imagine. (Cheers.) But we are told that in this country the representative system is so well and so wisely arranged, that the power, being in the hands of the agricultural classes, they ought to have a predominant influence in the Legislature. (Hear, hear.) We are told that it would not be advisable—that it would be unwise—to do anything to deprive them of any portion of the power they possess; and that if they will not yield, it is impossible anything can be done to make them do so in a legal way at the call of the people; and that they would not enrich themselves at the expense of the community. From Parliament, therefore, there is little to be expected at present. Are we, then, to despair? I say, far from it. I say, everything shows that the cause of Free Trade is making rapid advances; that our arguments are gaining converts in every district of the country, and even in high places; and that in the Legislature, and in the very Government itself, there is an inclination towards Free Trade. (Cheers.) Even last year, we had an instance of it in the Canada Corn Bill. Now, as corn may be imported from Canada at 1s. per quarter duty, I should like to know why we may not have it from every other British colony at the same rate. (Hear.) But there is another advantage in the Canada Corn Bill, in addition to the admission of the principle, and that is, that it is possible our neighbours, the Americans, will smuggle a great deal of corn into Canada, and that we shall get no small quantity of American wheat at the idea of dian. Now, the landlords are very angry at the idea of this, because they pretend that one of their great reasons for upholding the Corn Laws is, that we should not depend upon foreign countries for the supply of the necessities of life; they are equally angry, though the supply comes from the colonies; and the reason is, to that landlords do not so much object to foreign as to cheap corn; and whether it be colonial or foreign corn, if it is cheap it must be bad, and it must be a bad law which enables it to come in cheaply. (Cheers.) Now, in the course of next week, the question of the Corn Laws will be discussed again in the House of Commons, and what result, and what will be the course of the debate, I suppose you pretty well know. (Hear, hear.) Our worthy and respected friend Mr. Cobden (loud cheers) will introduce the subject with his usual perspicacity and talent. (Cheers.) He will this year, as in former years, put the case so clearly before the House, that the members of that

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House, if they are not interested against him, and if they vote conscientiously, will vote with him. (Hear, hear.) He will make a speech so full of sound argument, so happily illustrated, so ably delivered, that there will really not be a word to add to his statements; a speech which must carry conviction to the breast of every disinterested man. (Cheers.) But what will happen? Some country gentleman will get up, and, if he does not call Mr. Cobden a ragamuffin to his face (laughter), he will insinuate that he is nothing better than an ignorant man, and that, as he is not possessed of many acres of land, he is not a fit man to develop the policy to which the House should agree, or to introduce alterations into the existing laws of the country. After that, we shall have some more friends of a repeal of the Corn Laws,—Mr. Villiers, or Dr. Bowring, or Mr. Gibson (loud cheers),—who will add force to the statements made by Mr. Cobden. Then, on the other side, a number of country gentlemen, abusing the League, and the supporters of the League, calling them a set of ill-bred ragamuffins, and that no importance is to be attached to anything they say, their efforts being directed to overturn the church, the constitution, and all our revered institutions. (Cheers and laughter, occasioned by the honourable member's imitation of the manner of Sir Robert Inglis.) These gentlemen will also say that, as long as they have a seat in the House, they are determined to stand by the throne and the altar—and the Corn Laws. (Laughter.) Then, probably, we shall have some determined enemy of manufactures, like the member for Knarborough (hisses, and laughter), who will get up and deliver a most violent philippic against every man who ever was a manufacturer, or ever was connected with manufactures; or whoever had anything to do with the trade or commerce of his country; forgetting that these country gentlemen themselves owe one-half of their fortunes to manufacturers; for I will venture to say, that, since the introduction of manufactures upon a large scale into this country, the value of landed property has been doubled. (Cheers.) Well, after a night or two of debating, as they call it—where the argument is all on one side, and the personalities on the other—Sir Robert Peel will rise and make a most plausible ministerial speech. He will probably speak for three hours, but you must not suppose that in those three hours he will tell you anything (laughter and cheers); for, I assure you, of all the men I ever heard speak, Sir Robert Peel appears to me to have the most singular facility of being able to talk a long time, and yet, at the end of his speech, to leave his audience in doubt as to the side to which his opinion inclines. (Laughter, and cheers.) He appears to be a most happy illustration of the witty saying of a great French diplomatist:—"That language was given to man in order to enable him to conceal his thoughts." (Laughter.) After all this we shall have a division, and, as a matter of course, the numbers will be pretty much as they were last year. Now, when you consider all that has been done since last year on the subject of the Corn Laws,—when you remember all that has been said and written,—when you remember the number of meetings where resolutions in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws have been unanimously carried, even in country districts,—when you remember the number of farmers themselves who have been converted to our doctrine,—is it not surprising that in the House of Commons you do not find one single convert. (Hear.) And why? It is because a man's interest is generally a great deal stronger than any reason that can be adduced against it, and will generally enable him, if he cannot conscientiously support his opinions, to find some fallacious or frivolous way of doing so which coincides with his own interest. (Cheers.) The question, then, as concerns the House of Commons, is settled for this year; the case is before a *packed jury* (loud cheers); or rather, one may say that the House of Commons are actually judge and jury in their own case (loud cheers); but that is no reason why we should despair of succeeding. I dare say there are many here who remember the carrying of the Reform Bill. That was a much more difficult thing to effect, because in that case there were men sitting, not only for their own seats, but returning actually ten or twelve members each, and having consequently all the influence of the country in their hands. Yet, they yielded to a well-conducted and vigorous agitation when they found that the conviction amongst the middle classes was greatly against them, and that public opinion was becoming so strong that it could no longer be safely resisted. (Cheers.) But, unhappily, it appears to me to be the great misfortune in all English legislation, that reforms are conceded too late; they are conceded when they do not bring with them the advantages which the people have a right to expect; they are conceded when the evil has so far eaten into the vitals of the nation, that the remedy comes too late to restore it to that state of prosperity in which it might have been placed had the remedy been sooner applied. (Cheers.) We may see this illustrated by looking to one or two instances of modern legislation. Look, for example, at the case of Catholic Emancipation. I ask you, and I would ask any intelligent and disinterested man, whether if Catholic Emancipation had been carried at the time of the Union Ireland would have been in her present miserable state? Whether if, according to Mr. Pitt's plan, when the union of Ireland and England was effected, the Irish Catholic establishment had been paid, and Catholics had been really emancipated, Ireland would have been in her present condition? On the contrary, I affirm, that instead of being as she is,—poor, miserable, and convulsed by agitation,—I believe she would have been, and would now be, as prosperous, happy, and contented as Scotland is at this present moment. (Cheers.) Another example is to be found in the granting the Reform Bill. If the Reform Bill had been carried twenty years, or, as it ought to have been, fifty years sooner, the advantage derived from it would have been infinitely greater than it has been. For my own part, I do not see what advantage we have from it now (cheers, and laughter), for, though the House of Commons is called a reformed House, they will not listen to the voice of the people, neither will they give you what you ask for with so much reason and without violence; they will not even give you a repeal of those laws which make the necessities of life dear to the poor man. (Cheers.) In fact, I am afraid that, in this agitation against the Corn Laws, we shall have to wait some time before we can bring the reformed House of Commons to reason. But if by any combination of circumstances, the Government and the aristocracy, in the course of years, are driven into the repeal of the Corn Laws, they will then have to say that, in past

times having refused mercy, they have been terrified into doing justice to the people (hear); and the advantages to be derived from the repeal of the Corn Laws then will not be one-tenth of what they would be now, or would have been two or three years ago (cheers); for one of the results of keeping up the protective system has been to prevent our making commercial treaties with foreign nations. Whenever a foreign treaty is proposed with France or Portugal, or Spain or Brazil, we are answered, "No; repeal your Corn Laws, repeal your extravagant tariff, and then we will negotiate with you; but so long as you have a protective system in England, as you have grown rich and prosperous, no doubt you have derived benefit from it, and we will follow your example" (cheers); so that one consequence of this protective system being kept up by landlords is, that the country is daily losing its markets in foreign nations. (Hear, hear.) But whenever the repeal of the Corn Laws comes—whether we get it in a year or two, or have to wait a longer period—of this I am certain, that the agitation commenced by the Anti-Corn-Law League has done essential service in diffusing information and enlightening the people upon this subject. (Loud cheers.) Whenever the repeal of the Corn Laws comes, men will be able to say, and to say with truth, that the attack upon the protective system was first commenced by the Anti-Corn-Law League; that they first produced all those horrid and damnable truths which bear against the system; that they were, of course, hated for it; that their diligence collected their details, while their eloquence displayed them; that though their steps were clogged by disappointment and difficulties, yet that they inflicted upon the system of protection a deadly blow, from which, by the blessing of God, it never recovered. (The hon. gentleman on resuming his seat was greeted with most hearty and universal cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said:—A gentleman will shortly address you, who is the son of a very staunch friend of our cause, Mr. Collier, the late member for Plymouth, and a gentleman who was himself a Free-Trade candidate for the borough of Launceston.

Mr. R. P. COLLIER came forward amidst considerable cheering and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I entreat your attention for a short time to a stranger, whom nothing but the strongest sense of the necessity and duty of agitating the Free-Trade question would have brought before you. Gentlemen, we live in no common times, and this is no ordinary agitation. We are now transacting an important passage in the history of our country. The present struggle of monopoly—which I believe to be its death struggle—is naturally a violent one; and I consider that the present time renders it imperative on every Free-Trader, if he be a true man, to come forward and lend his assistance to the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Loud cheers.) I am one of a large class of Englishmen—of whom, I doubt not, there are many here present—who detest agitation, but whom, nevertheless, certain circumstances will compel against their inclinations to become agitators. I would infinitely rather address myself to the reason of Parliament than their fears, did I see the slightest chance of success, if I was aware of any one concession which they ever made to reason, unbacked by some popular demonstration. Gentlemen, reason has been said to be the characteristic of man; but I think there hardly could be found a philosopher fanciful enough to designate reason as the characteristic of Parliament. (Cheers and laughter.) A demonstration appears to be the last thing that affects a Parliament. Argumentative speeches appear to be the signal for retiring to dinner; a long chain of reasoning usually leads to the counting out of the House—the profoundest speeches of Burke, which can perish but with the language, were addressed to empty benches. Yet, ears deaf to the mild accents of reason and persuasion have shown themselves not insensible to the loud and angry voice of the English nation. It is notorious that the inhumanity of negro slavery, the injustice of Roman Catholic exclusion, the rottenness of Gattin and Old Sarum, were apprehended by the nation long before they became evident to Parliament; experience points to pressure from without as the only agent to which reformers can look. Sir Robert Peel thought proper to taunt Mr. O'Connell with having addressed himself to the Irish people, rather than to Parliament; but I ask whether Sir Robert Peel, in his heart of hearts, believed that the eloquence of Mr. O'Connell, if addressed only to Parliament, would have produced the slightest effect towards the removal of any one of the grievances of our unfortunate sister kingdom (loud cheers), had he not been backed by the thunders of the Irish nation? I ask, if Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright, addressing Parliament for five years would have obtained five votes? and yet their arguments have been appreciated by millions of their fellow-countrymen. Without, however, proceeding now to inquire into this unfortunate predilection of our rulers for everything that is rotten in the state, and their detestation of everything which is renovating—their extraordinary blindness to grand principles; as far as the present question is concerned we have the declaration of Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, of what indeed it needed no ghost to tell us, that the opposition to the repeal of the Corn Laws is a selfish, interested, and sordid opposition. (Hear, hear.) I believe, from my heart, that the landlords are mistaken; I am satisfied that they do not see their true interests. They forget the fact that commerce is the greatest of all fertilizers of the earth: they import into this country bone dust and guano, excellent and serviceable manures; but the most that bone dust and guano can do, is to raise corn and crops; whereas, commerce makes the barren places of the earth produce Manchesters and Liverpools (loud cheers); and, I ask, do Manchesters and Liverpools add nothing to the value of the land on which they stand, as well as that which surrounds them? Has the rental of Lancashire not increased within the last fifty years; and would it not have increased, and gone on increasing, though corn had been no more than 20s. a quarter? Our commerce, restricted even as it has been, has called up thriving cities from barren heaths. Is there any reason to suppose that were all the dams thrown down, and its full and fertilizing tide left to flow freely over the country, that we should not see new towns and villages rising out of the earth, and then would nothing be added to the rent-roll of the land? (Cheers.) I am convinced that a more comprehensive view would open to the eye of the landlord sources of rent, in the increased demand for land consequent on commercial prosperity, fuller and less exhaustible than those derived from the foul reer-

voir of monopoly;—sources pure and uncontaminated, unembittered by the tears of their countrymen. But the landlords are not acquainted with political economy; it has been hitherto a degraded science—matter of trade and commerce have been considered as dry and uninteresting. Aristotle, moreover, was not acquainted with political economy; they have, therefore, not thought fit to teach it at our schools or in our universities; I am convinced that the most useful of all societies would be a society for the propagation of economical knowledge among the landlords. (Cheers and laughter.) But the nation cannot wait until the landlords perceive their true interests; the people of England cannot starve while their convulsions are growing. Gentlemen, you have tolerated monopolies too long; your ancestors would not tolerate monopolies; you would not tolerate monopolies under that name, but you do so under the appellation of "protective duties." But monopolies, like all unjust things, have had their day; that day is now closing, and their sun is fast setting. You, men of London, assembled weekly at Covent-garden Theatre, announce to monopolists of every sort and kind, in terms not to be mistaken, that it is time for them to set their house in order. It is now sixty years since those principles for which we contend were first demonstrated by Adam Smith in his immortal work. For sixty long years have those principles mainly dwelt in the unsubstantial regions of abstraction—a sufficient time, surely, one would think, to satisfy the most abstract of philosophers, even Mr. Baring himself. (Laughter.) Since that time the attention of the country has been directed to a thousand questions, some trivial and some important; and you have overlooked those monopolies which have been silently and secretly preying on the vitals and the best interests of the country. While your attention has been otherwise engaged landowners and sugar dealers have been allowed to pass laws for their own exclusive benefit; to please them you have converted the foreign ploughman into a manufacturer, because you refused to take his corn in exchange for your clothing, which he was willing to have bought of you. Their policy has raised up mills and factories on spots destined by nature for the corn-field and the vineyard. You have sown dragon's teeth all over the Continent, which have sprung up in a harvest of competitors who have excluded you from markets which might have been all your own. (Hear, hear.) At length came a succession of bad harvests; and then the eyes of the country became opened to the fact that our population had been increasing at the rate of 1000 a day for more than twenty years, while we had taken no thought to procure an increase of food. Pale, hungry countenances glared on us on every side; the cry of suffering millions went forth infuriated by the pangs of hunger and the arts of demagogues, in too great pain to be reasoned with, clamouring against their knew not what, accusing machinery as the cause of their distress, and invoking the demon of Chartism to their rescue. All this state of things presented, as it were, in a picture, before the eye of every Englishman, startled the most apathetic, and forced on the most unthinking the conviction that such vast and enormous distress, in a country destined by nature to be the most flourishing in the world, argued some gigantic error of legislation. (Loud cheers.) At this juncture the energetic apostles of Free Trade went forth on their mission. They pointed out the cause of that distress in our ruinous commercial policy; they showed us that the first principles of political economy are not to be violated for centuries with impunity, or without drawing down upon a nation a just and awful retribution. (Hear.) Those principles we have at length rescued from the dust and silence of the book-shelf; we spread them before Parliament, and demand if they are refutable? If not refutable, we demand a reason why they have not been, and why they are not acted on? And what reply do we get? We are answered by the sneer of a supercilious majority of a Parliament which mocks rather than represents the nation. (Cheers.) I rejoice that the squirearchy has fairly hunted Sir Robert Peel out of the vague cover of his favourite generalities, into the open field. I am glad that we know what we have to expect from him. I rejoice to see that he has "nailed his colours to the mast"—to the mast of protection fixed to the rotten, sinking vessel of expediency. (Hear, hear.) The declaration of Sir Robert Peel has fairly divided the country into two parties; and it is well that all men know on what ground they each take their stand. We, Free-Traders, are one party, and we contend for unlimited freedom of importation, on the ground that whatever is imported adds to the wealth of the country. By the nature of things nothing can be imported except in exchange for something of less value which we export, and by the difference of that value the wealth of the country increased. (Loud cheers.) We would therefore add to the wealth of the country, in order to provide for its increasing population. And what would our adversaries do? Why, they would prevent the wealth of the country increasing, in order that that which exists may be unfairly and unequally divided. With regard to the principles for which we contend, and to the fact that commerce enriches a nation, there can scarcely be said to be two opinions. On one side we have the profoundest thinkers, the best writers of our language, the periodical press, reviews, newspapers, and magazines, the authority of the Premier, and the leader of the Opposition; and we have, I may say, the authority of every man in the kingdom capable of understanding the subject. What have we on the other side? Why, there is the *Morning Post*. (Laughter.) I must say, gentlemen, that those articles in the *Morning Post* headed "Protection to Agriculture" are really the most melancholy things in the world to a believer in the progress of the human intellect. It is not probable that any number of that journal should survive for any length of time, but suppose some number to arrive at distant posterity, we will say in the shape of the cover of a book, or the lining of a trunk, or something of that kind, how might the future historian be misled! He would be sorely puzzled about dates. He would say—"Is it possible that such things could have been written after the time of Adam Smith, Ricardo, M'Culloch, and Malthus?" He would be inclined to place the present age a century behind its time in the career of civilization. I maintain that the keeping of the *Morning Post* is a dangerous practice; it should be carefully burnt; or, if it is preserved, let it be bound up with its antidote—*Punch*. (Loud cheers and laughter.) But I think principles which can find no better advocates than the *Morning*

Post, and such of the squirearchy who swear by the *Morning Post*, may be considered as fairly abandoned by all rational men. (Hear.) The fight, then, is a contest between principle and expediency: we argue for a great principle; our adversaries for a miserable exception. But no two of our adversaries appear agreed upon what footing of expediency they rest their cause. One man says, agriculture must be protected on account of the burdens upon land; and yet that man annually refuses to accede to Mr. Ward's motion to inquire into those burdens. Another says—"Without the Corn Laws you will not be able to pay your taxes;" that is to say, in order to enable us to pay one tax we must submit to another. (Laughter.) This appears to me a most extraordinary argument. Why, you levy duty only on that quantity of corn which is imported. If you import two millions of quarters, at 5s. duty, you obtain £500,000 revenue; but, suppose twenty millions of quarters to be in this country, the price of each of these quarters is raised by 5s., and a tax of £5,000,000 is inflicted on the country. Well may we say, therefore, "Remit to us the tax of five millions to the landlords, and we will furnish the wherewithal to pay the £500,000 to the state." Then, again, we hear other persons declare that the Corn Law is a labourers' question. They say dear bread is the best thing in the world for the agricultural labourer. Now, how stands this question? You are all aware that, from the best authority, it is stated that the agriculturists are at present one-third of the population of the kingdom. They have been more, but now they are one-third; they have not increased for more than twenty years, and they do not increase now. Do we suppose that these landlords and farmers, and labourers are rigid disciples of Mr. Malthus? (Laughter.) No; they are not so: but manufactures and commerce have drawn off the surplus population from the land; therefore, these gentlemen will be singularly benefiting the agricultural labourer, if they impoverish these manufactures which take off the surplus population from the land and prevent its being flooded by an overflow of pauperism. Then, again, we have other parties who use, I think, more serious, honest, and convincing arguments. I allude to Sir Edward Knatchbull. (Laughter.) I must say, that he appears to have offered at least the most sincere argument I have heard in defence of the Corn Laws, when he said that the landlords would not be able to pay their mortgages and marriage settlements; but, for some unaccountable reason, this argument appears now to be entirely dropped, and we hear nothing more of it. The arguments, however, in favour of the Corn Laws waxing somewhat threadbare, and, being considerably damaged by Free Traders, in a lucky moment they have hit upon a new and inexhaustible mine of arguments, as good, if not better, than the old ones: this mine is abuse of the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Laughter.) They appear to consider that to convict the League of the smallest inconsistency is the same thing as proving the justice and utility of the Corn Laws. They say, "Oh, Mr. Cobden said so and so, at such and such a place; and Mr. Fox said something different at another meeting—therefore the Corn Law is a good thing." (Laughter.) They say "the League are a low, unprincipled, revolutionary, incendiary body—therefore the Corn Law is a good thing." The League authorizes the burning of haystacks, and the assassination of Prime Ministers—therefore the Corn Law is a good thing." (Laughter.) This is the kind of logic with which the miserable farmers are deluded by those whom unfortunately they have been led to respect. But doctrines even worse than these have been promulgated, which have been alluded to by Mr. Villiers. I saw some time ago a letter in the *Morning Post*, which produced a much greater impression on my mind than most things I read in that journal: it is signed by a member of Parliament, and addressed to the farmers of Essex; and the writer warns them, not only against the importation of foreign corn, but also against producing too much at home. (Hisses, and cries of "Shame.") He said: "Beware of over-production! the more you produce, the lower will be your prices." We have always considered that one most beneficial feature of the agitation of the League has been the stimulus it has given to agriculture. Meetings of farmers have been held; philosophers have penetrated into marl-pits; learned professors have analyzed manures; experiments have been made; agricultural shows increased; Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel have addressed the farmers on the necessity of taking care of themselves, and resorting to improvements in agriculture; and, at all events, the men of Tamworth have been indebted to the League for that incomparable Bull of which we have heard so much. (Loud laughter.) But, says this member of Parliament, all these are worse than useless; the more corn you raise, the less will be the price of it. Why, I verily believe, that if that man were in a besieged town, and possessed the only acre on which corn could be grown, he would only cultivate one-half of it, on the speculation of obtaining more than a double price. It is true his fellow-citizens might be starving around him, but all these would be only so many proofs of his favourite scarcity of corn. That hon. member, in walking the streets of the metropolis, may see, at every corner, in the faces of wretched objects, abundant evidence of the scarcity of food which he recommends. Hardly a newspaper is to be met with which does not contain some account of death from destitution. Every one of these is a proof of that scarcity which this man has the effrontery to recommend. The League is accused of being revolutionary; they may smile at such an accusation; but what say you to such doctrines as these? The sure way to revolutionize men is to starve them. I denounce this unfeeling monopolist—I will call him by no milder name—who preaches starvation on principle—this disseminator of doctrines which array in arms against them the first principles of human nature, self-preservation—I denounce that man and his crew as the apostles of revolution. (Cheers.) Among our adversaries there is also a small class of men—of very respectable and excellent individuals—who labour under a complaint which I characterize by no other term than "the reciprocity monomania." These men appear to think that the surest way to ruin this country on the part of foreigners is to combine and inundate us with their goods, and to take none of ours in return. Gentlemen, we have heard of killing with kindness, but I think this is carrying on the experiment on a larger scale than I ever heard of before. But Mr. Cobden has dealt with this, which we may consider as forming the extreme rear of that motley and heterogeneous army of crusaders against the League marching to battle under the banner

of the redoubtable *Post*. (Laughter.) And the mode in which they would combat with us is altogether worthy of them; they would attack the tradesman through loss of custom and exclusive dealing. But how do the doctrines of Free Trade shew out in comparison! We do not advocate the exclusive benefit of any one class; we would enrich the whole country in order to provide for our increasing numbers; we would take that protection from the farmer to which he has never had a right, which has been his bane, and acted as an opiate on British agriculture, the proceeds of which have been swallowed up in rent. We point the attention of the farmers to the state of the protected interests throughout the world. There is the planter of Jamaica, with a protection of 150 per cent. against all the globe, producing less sugar now than he did thirty years ago. Then there is the Mauritius, with the greatest amount of protection of any of our colonies, invariably complaining of distress. (Hear.) On the other hand, we would point his attention to the free and industrious manufacturers of Switzerland, the most flourishing in the world, enjoying the greatest prosperity in defiance of hostile tariffs. (Hear.) We would point his attention to the false prophets who have ever been deluding him, who predicted the most ruinous consequences from the reduction of the duty on wool, precisely as they do now with reference to the abolition of the Corn Laws. We will direct him to the state of the silk trade, of which it was stated in 1825, that Mr. Huskisson would be the utter ruin; and yet, in 1831, his carriage was dragged into Macclesfield by the weavers of that town. We will demonstrate to him, moreover, that it is impossible to remain as we are. There are but two roads before us,—the one leading to ruin; if we hesitate long the choice may no longer remain to us. Foreign nations are now looking with a watchful eye upon the Free-Trade movement. Our fatal election of monopolists in 1841 was mainly instrumental in causing the tariff of America. The Brazilians are now looking to us, and the Ministry are pursuing the fatal policy of alienating from us their market. (Hear.) Everything now depends on the people of England. Gentlemen, if you allow yourselves to relax in your exertions on account of a temporary revival of trade, produced by one or two good harvests, you will be assisting the monopolists in turning the blessings of Providence into a curse, and making good men pray for dearth. (Hear.) But I will not believe this of you. When I look to the footing of demonstration on which our principles rest—to the eternal principles of justice on which our cause depends—when I behold the energy and ability of its principal supporters—when I see these assemblages of the men of London weekly in this vast theatre, sufficient to appal the heart of the stoutest monopolist—when I see the array on one side, truth, justice, talent, energy, numbers, determination, and the exhibition of ignorance, selfishness, and gaudy coronets on the other—I will not persuade myself to believe that an unprincipled Minister and a tyrant majority will be suffered to perpetrate the ruin of their country. (The hon. gentleman sat down amidst loud cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN then stated that Mr. Fox would address the meeting. Mr. W. J. Fox came forward amidst prolonged and enthusiastic cheering. Silence having been restored, he proceeded to address the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman, many allusions have been made this evening—some most felicitously by yourself, Sir—to the associations which are now forming in different parts of the country, and which are at this time engaged in establishing in the metropolis their "*Central Anti-League*." But in those allusions one particular view has not been taken, or, at least, it has been but slightly glanced at, which is, to my apprehension, the most important in which they can be contemplated. In those Anti-League Associations I see one of the greatest triumphs that this League has achieved, one of the most remarkable indications of its rapid and successful progress. (Hear.) For what are they? They are a confession that the public voice must at last decide this great question of the repeal of the Corn Laws. They concede that even Parliament is not the ultimate tribunal for the settlement of this point; but that there is a greater power which has to be conciliated by persuasion, and by the semblance, at least, of facts and arguments. (Hear, hear.) In those associations we have dragged the landed aristocracy of Great Britain to the bar of public opinion, and made it plead there. (Cheers.) Their resolutions and speeches are all addressed to the public ear. These inheritors of ancient titles that have descended almost from the Norman Conquest—these lords of Parliament, and possessors of the broad lands of England, with all their pomp of station and of office—these men, the farmers' masters, clergymen's patrons, the supporters, or deemed so, of whatever is rich, varied, grand, and lovely in art or science—this great and proud body confesses that it is put upon its defence; that an indictment has been found against it; that it must answer for its doings to the public; that it must plead in a court where "not guilty, upon my honour," will never be admitted, but where valid arguments and substantial facts must show its case if it has one, or consign it deservedly to general reprobation. (Loud cheers.) What can we desire better than to bring matters to this issue? We have the aristocracy now—the monopolists—where we have always wished to find them: in a position in which they must submit to certain awkward cross-questioning like other people, who have to hold up their hands at the bar—where former deeds and doings may be gone into, where the history of class misgovernment for class interests may all be exposed to the public gaze and canvassed according to its true merits—and where the question may be put to them which has been found so awkward by many personages at the bar of justice:—"Pray, were you ever in trouble before?" (Cheers, and laughter.) Whether their answer be in the affirmative or the negative, unless they get well through the matter, they will be very likely to be in trouble again ere long; for, if their obstinacy prevent the just and speedy settlement of this question, the time may come when the question will be enlarged, and indemnity for the past will be coupled with security for the future. (Cheers.) One must look with elation on exertions which are made in a new sphere (laughter); and I would in all friendliness, as one who may have seen something more of popular agitation than many of the titled personages who are now engaging in it, suggest to them some matters which may be worthy of their consideration; and one especially which is, that they should take care not to under-

rate the understandings of the public to the extent to which they seem disposed, no, not even of any class whatever. The people of this country, if they have not the advantage of instruction in Latin, Greek, and mathematics by college tutors, have yet eyes, ears, and brains, and are not so easily imposed on as some seem to think, by that species of logic or rhetoric which is known by the name of "Humbug." Some observations in reply to us have been thrown out in the shape of a small paper which has been given away by thousands, and which were distributed, I understand, to almost every working man who entered Freemasons' Hall on the memorable 4th of March, which is an exhibition of that kind of disregard of the intellect of the working people of this country which I had in view. Now, there are many matters in this paper, which is headed "The Corn Laws," printed and published at the "Church and State" office, No. 342, Strand, and which professes to be rather a catalogue of facts than anything else. It contains matters which must be very trite to such an assemblage as this. I will read a few of these facts as a specimen of the manner in which the young agitators—these new-fledged demagogues—enter upon their novel functions. The paper is headed, "Facts are stubborn things." The first fact is this: "According to the census of 1831, there are in the United Kingdom 2,470,411 males above twenty years of age employed in agriculture; and 710,531 in manufactures. Seven-ninths of the population are dependent on agriculture, and two-ninths on manufactures." Setting aside all other deductions from this most extraordinary classification, why, it would occur, I should think, to almost every journeyman weaver as he entered Freemasons' Hall and looked at this paper, that this calculation threw the whole of Ireland into the scale of agricultural population. Well, take it on that ground. What business, then, have the monopolists to talk of the agricultural interest? For, if their assumption be right, we have a majority of that agricultural interest in our favour; we have had, I say, the voice of the Irish people pronounced here by their acknowledged leader,—and re-echoed by your sympathies on a very recent occasion—declaring that they were heart and soul with us in this cause of a repeal of the Corn Laws. (Vehement and prolonged cheers.) And why should they not be? A perilous subject is this Ireland to the agricultural monopolists' interest: for there the Corn-Law system is exhibited in full blossom. Why, the soil in that country seems to grow landlords like potatoes! (Laughter.) I have heard of many a tenant who has four to his own share; all of them squeezing something out of the produce of his daily toil until perhaps he has come—a labourer and a beggar—to this country to obtain wherewith to pay the rental of his own potato patch. (Cries of "Shame.") Pursue the system there, and it will be shown as bringing humanity down to the lowest stage of distress and want,—as inconsistent with all social order and human comfort and enjoyment; as a state of things which ought not to be endured an hour longer than any people could shake off the yoke. Ireland is a demonstration of the futility and mischievousness of the landlords' system, and of the fallacies which our new agitators have endeavoured to thrust into the minds of the credulous. (Loud cheers.) Another of these alleged facts is, that every quarter of wheat introduced into the country supersedes just as much labour as would be required to produce it at home. Why, surely that depends on how it is introduced. There might be some feasibility in such a statement as this if the land grew such quantities of food that every individual in every locality had as much as he could consume; but while there are millions "rejoicing," as it is called, "on potatoes,"—multitudes, able and willing to work, but who have no means, by any thing that they could produce having a sale in this country, to earn the food they need,—why, how glaring, how cruel and insulting a falsehood is this to the honest man who would win his food from the foreigner! (Cheers.) Another of these facts is, that in Prussia land can be rented at 1s. 3d. per acre, and that wheat is sold for 14s. 9d. per quarter; and that the labourers' wages are 5d. per day. Now this, I think, was not a wise thing to tell the workmen of London; still less prudent to speak in this manner to the tenant-farmers and agricultural labourers through the country. There are very many of them who would deem it no great mischief if the lands were rented at 1s. 3d. per acre, instead of from 18s. to 30s. (Hear.) It would be just as fertile, and certainly would not return less profits; and the condition of the labourer would be never the worse, if here, as in Prussia, he could earn the annual rent of two acres of land in the course of a week. (Cheers.) Another fact is, that "agricultural wages in England are regulated by the price of wheat, the value of a day's labour for the last hundred years being one peck of wheat." This is said on the face of authentic records of wages, and the price of wheat, which show that the weekly wages of the farm-labourer, as measured in pints of wheat, have varied from 63 to 96; and that, as to the mechanic and artisan, their wages have remained exactly the same when wheat was at 52s. as when it was at 105s. per quarter. It will never do to trifle thus with the working classes of this country. (Hear.) This may be called—and to a certain extent it is—a middle-class agitation. I am sorry that there should be any deduction from the unanimity of the working classes in their support of it—(hear, hear)—because it is pre-eminently *their* question; and more deeply cause it is pre-eminently the rights of industry which are at stake in that assertion of the rights of industry which the League is so determinedly making. (Hear, hear.) But, with all my regret as to the deduction of their support, I think it becomes this meeting, the British people, and the aristocracy especially, to render the respect which is due to the character and intelligence of the working people of this country. (Cheers.) Their errors, in some measure, have leaned to virtue's side. The worst fault ascribed to them of late years has been an excessive eagerness in the pursuit, and too little scrupulousness in means for the attainment of political rights; that they were more impatient than was prudent of being in a slave class, and not members of a free community; that they wished to realize at once what is called the great maxim of our constitution, that no one should be taxed but by his own consent. (Hear, hear.) The fault, if it be such, has something in it which is truthful, praiseworthy, and honourable; while in their indomitable energy, their patience under that toil which no people on the face of the earth can endure as they do, from week to week and year to year; in their teachability, and the progress which they have made in the use of the different means of knowledge which have

been placed within their reach; in the number of men eminent in our literature, and in the annals of science, which have sprung from their ranks; in all that belongs to the history of the working classes of this country,—I say that they have shown themselves, not only strong in arm, but sound in head, true of heart, deserving of the sympathy of all, and especially of respectful treatment for their minds and interests from the aristocracy. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) But, to return to our subject. I said that we have now got the aristocracy at the bar of public opinion. They take great pains to assume the world that their position is one of "self-defence." (Hear.) I believe that scarcely one Anti-League has been formed in any place throughout the country, which has not set forth in its first resolution that it is merely "a defensive body." In the selection of this word "defensive" there is perhaps something skilful, because men are naturally inclined to look favourably upon those who merely defend themselves. But yet there is a further question to be put to these gentlemen. Having thus told us that they only act on the defensive, they must submit to be asked—"What is it, then, which you defend?" (Hear, hear.) Why, the thief in the streets acts on the defensive when he knocks down the man whom he has robbed. (Laughter.) If it should appear that they are defending as their right that which is the produce of our wrong—if it should turn out that what they really mean to defend is our money in their pockets—why, defensiveness then loses its former favourable association. (Cheers.) However gallant may be the stand made by a body in such a cause as this, it can bring with it no glory. (Hear.) There will be no niche in the columns of history—no wreath assigned by the poet of future ages—to those who shall have defended to the last the spoils which they had extorted from industry; nor can they be entitled to any more favourable regard because their defence was not made with the struggle of the battlefield, but by acts of Parliament, which they were enabled to pass by corrupting or intimidating voters, giving the landowners themselves power to lay a tax on the food of the community. (Loud cheers.) But they are not satisfied with being brought within the meaning of the proverb to which our Chairman alluded, of a man being his own client; but in this self-defence they have pushed forward others. At one time it is tenant-farmers who take the chair, make the speeches, and propound the resolutions: for in this vigorous self-defence all means are adopted. In self-defence they associate; for this purpose they organize themselves in a manner which they had previously described as *illegal*. (Hear, hear.) In self-defence they correspond with other societies, and in self-defence they even venture to county meetings like that at Somerset, and get soundly beaten—all in self-defence. (Loud cheers, and laughter.) But, to make amends for the meeting to which I have alluded, another was held at Bristol, which was to counterbalance the effect produced at that of Bridgewater. (Hear.) Well, upon this latter occasion a tenant-farmer was placed in the chair. What was the best thing which he could find to say? Why, that the farmers of England were capable of competing with the foreigners of any other country, *provided they only started upon fair ground* (laughter); that it was hardly just that they should proceed upon such a race with a heavy weight upon their shoulders, having to compete against those who had comparatively nothing to carry. If the farmers of England have a heavy weight of taxation upon their shoulders, I should like to know who laid it there? (Hear.) Who are the authors of the burthen of which they complain, but those very landlords whom they are coming forward, or are pushed forward, to screen from the attacks made upon them. Who is it that has oppressed the farmers thus unequally and heavily? Not the Anti-Corn-Law League assuredly; there is not one member of that body in Parliament who would not readily give his vote for an equalization of the farmers' burdens if such equalization be really necessary. It is from the side of the House on which the Free Traders sit that inquiry has been demanded as to what these burdens on land really are; while the farmers' masters—if I may not call them farmers' friends—are the parties who have pertinaciously resisted such inquiry. (Hear, hear.) But if the burdens are equal, surely it is not by levying another tax on the consumer that the farmer will be enabled to run his race. If our debt be heavy—if the impost which it requires be such as to press heavily on industry—it should bear upon all classes alike; and that which should be spared to the very last is, poverty with its requisition of the necessary means of supporting human existence. (Loud cheers.) I cannot imagine that the tenant-farmers willingly or cheerfully allow themselves to be put forward upon these occasions. (Hear.) It is an ungracious task, in which they have little interest, however loudly they may cry out at these one-sided meetings—for two opinions are never allowed at them—and whatever protestations they may make. They remind me of a scene I once witnessed in an infant school, where the children, having been well patronised, were taught a parody on a song then much in vogue—

"Home, sweet home!"

I saw the master fix his knuckles into one of the little one's heads, telling him to sing out louder; while the poor thing did with a most dolorous voice and rueful countenance:—

"School, sweet school,
There's nothing like school!"

(Loud laughter and cheers.) Were the tenant-farmer free to express the feelings of his heart, I cannot help thinking that something like this would appear in the features of many a farmer, who at these Anti-League associations has to sing out,

"Protection, sweet protection,
There is nothing like protection."

(Cheers and laughter.) The tenant-farmers not being strong enough for the work imposed on them, there comes forth a miller to the rescue. A considerable stress has been laid in different newspapers, both metropolitan and provincial, on a letter of Mr. Biddle, who is described as the largest corn-dealer and miller in the West of England. His testimony is to this effect. He goes through the lists received from his correspondents of the price of wheat in the different parts of the Continent—at Odessa, Alexandria, and so on—and then sums it up thus:—"In sorted wheat quite as high as the quotations I have received for the last month; still I find the average to be about 31s. 3d. per quarter, being somewhat under 3s. 11d. the imperial bushel; and this," he states, "includes freight and all other expenses except the duty." "Now, gentle-

men," he says, "the plain question is, can you grow wheat at this price, and live? The League will reply, 'Oh, but, the prices will rise abroad.' Do not listen to such deceptive nonsense; the extra thousands upon thousands of acres that would be brought into cultivation would soon fully counteract the extra demand. Only let the foreigner find a regular cash market for his corn, and I will almost defy you to say how cheap he will grow it. Look at the great continent of America: that country alone can spare land enough to send us the produce of more acres than is grown in England." What, is it really so, that 25s. is the difference of price per quarter of wheat made to us by the Corn Laws? Are the landlords really taxing us to this extent? They talk of exaggeration in the statements we make here: no allegation of ours has ever charged upon them a grosser fraud and more extensive and onerous imposition than is here taken up in the way of their defence, and set forth to show how much spoil there is for them to rally round. (Cheers.) Why, if they have done this—taking the average income, as is stated by Mr. McCulloch, of the people of England at about £17 per annum—they have levied a poll-tax of 20s.; an income-tax on that average of six per cent., three per cent for Sir Robert Peel and the Government, and six per cent. for the landlords and the Corn Laws; and they have levied this as a poll-tax, pressing more heavily the lower you descend in society, until at last it makes its invasion upon those necessities which are essential to the very support of our existence. This is their defence, gentlemen! (Loud cries of "Shame.") This their apology for agitation! Good Heavens! What, then, would they regard as an accusation if this is their defence? (Loud and continued cheering.) And when is it that this is done—under what circumstances? Why, at a time when the price of food is not being so inordinately high as it frequently has been, has caused a revival of manufactures to a certain extent,—enough to be the subject of boast by those who wish to uphold the cause of monopoly,—when yet, under these favourable circumstances, with the winter passing away, we cannot take up a daily paper without seeing something about the destitution in the metropolis, enough to wring any compassionate heart! Why, only within the last two days we read that the Bank of England, the East India Company, the Worshipful Companies of Mercers and Grocers, have during the past week each subscribed the liberal sum of £200 in aid of the fund of the Bishop of London's Association for Visiting and Relieving the Poor at their own Dwellings. The gross amount of the fund of this association is now, we hear, above £20,000; and little enough too for the purpose for which it is needed. At the same time an institution at Mile-end reports to its subscribers that 3500 adult persons have been visited at their homes, and that there are 5000 more to be visited, and if possible relieved, if the society can but obtain pecuniary means equal to the emergency. With all this going on, we are yet told, as a defence of the Corn Laws, that they cost the country a larger sum annually than is needed to relieve all this destitution! Why, though I would not willingly consent to any compromise whatever on this momentous question (hear), yet there is one form of compromise that might make me pause; and that is, if leaving the bread-tax upon all who are in such a situation of life that they are secure from the pinchings of want,—if the bread that is doled out at the poorhouses and by charities; the food of the working classes, and the bread that is intended to feed those who make up the various items in the great total of destitution,—if that could be let into the country free of all duty, I should then say that we might well pause, and think whether in this concession there was not something that had a claim on the consideration of humanity. As it is, there is no relaxation of the monopoly of the great on the plea of charity. Out of this £20,000 which was collected for the Bishop of London's fund for the relief of destitution in the metropolis, if it be all given away in bread, we cannot reckon a smaller sum than £6000 as bread-tax taken on behalf of the landed aristocracy. (Loud cries of shame.) You cannot disentangle the bread-tax from the charity. There is no subscribing to one without swelling the gains of the other. You are really giving your shillings and your pence in this charity to the nobility of the country (hear); and for every 14d. that you subscribe for the starving shirt-women and other poor of the metropolis, you give 6d. to the Dukes of Buckingham and Richmond. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Wretched, indeed, must the cause be when the articles of its defence let us into such a scene as this,—showing the splendour of ducal palaces, rendered more gorgeous by taxation on the food that is doled out at the neighbouring workhouse. (Renewed cheering.) Men who make such infringements on what are justly deemed the rights of their fellow-subjects should bethink themselves,—when they come to plead their own cause, and ask, if not for justice, at least for mercy, in that court of public opinion,—they should look well to it how they deal out justice and mercy to others. They allow not the plea of ignorance of the law in those on whom the law lays its iron hand. They excuse not on the ground of the value of the thing taken, the attempt to take it, if it is connected with their property or pleasure. It was only three or four days ago that the papers reported a case of poaching at the petty session at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in which three men were charged with having fixed a net on a Sunday, not having a game certificate. This was the offence, but it was got up into four parts. They were first charged with having a net; they were then accused with doing the act on a Sunday; they were then charged with a trespass in the pursuit of game; and they were lastly charged with an assault on the game-keeper. These three men were each, in a summary mode, by the magistrates, themselves perhaps interested in this very case, sentenced to a fine of £5 each for three offences out of the four, and £2 each for the remaining offence, and in default of payment they were sentenced severally to three months' imprisonment for each of the first two offences, and to two months for each of the other offences, making in the whole a fine of £31, or ten months' imprisonment, for each of these three men. (Loud cries of "Shame.") If such a righteous measure of punishment for desiring to taste the rich man's bird, what should be the measure of punishment for taking by wholesale the poor man's bread? (Vehement cheering.) The penalties in that case, I think, ought not to be less heavy than those legally incurred, but which will not tell on the parties who have incurred them, by betting at horse-races, which has lately been made the subject of legislation. For penalties do not reach those who were described by one of the members of their own senate, as "gentle-

men whom this house would not wish to see convicted." (Hear, hear.) There is another caution I would give our fellow-agitators and conspirators in their new attempt; and that is, to avoid such exhibitions as one which took place the other day at a meeting of the Newton Abbot Agricultural Society. This was not an Anti-League Association. It was neither more nor less than the annual ploughing match. The high sheriff of the county was present, and a peer and some members of the Lower House formed part of the company. There were thirty-nine ploughs in the field, and men were called upon to contest for various prizes. Amongst other things on the ground was a waggon surmounted with flags, upon one of which was inscribed, "Protection to Agriculture," and on each side of this waggon there were three cannons. Such may be the ultimate argument of monopolists, as they have been said to be of sovereigns. (Hear.) It may be that at the present moment, were there not such things as cannons, muskets, and bayonets in the country, the delay of right and justice would not be continued so obstinately as it is. (Hear, hear.) But still, I say, it is not prudent in 30,000 people,—for the owners of the land amount to no more—even though the rest of the community may be taxed for the purpose of paying the soldiery to fire artillery,—it is not prudent in the thousands to remind the millions of such a contest as this. (Loud cheers.) We have better weapons than all the cannon they can muster, whether in ploughing or on fields of battle (cheers): there are arms which swords cannot reach, against which military manoeuvres are quite harmless. There is a power in society, spread as it were through the atmosphere we breathe, and which an electrical touch may bring down at once with a force that nothing can resist, whatever its array of antique state or its boast of physical force. (Immense cheering.) They have appealed to that; but I would advise them well to mark the symptoms of public opinion; let them watch the indications of the way the tide is flowing; let them ask where the conversions are. It was remarked by one of the speakers this evening, that there had not been a single conversion to Free Trade in the House of Commons. Has there been a single conversion to monopoly out of that assembly? (Hear.) Do we not find, even in the ranks of the nobility, that from week to week still some fresh name is announced—all coming from the monopolist camp—giving, in their adhesion successively to the cause of Free Trade; showing that opinion is flowing on like the tide, that it cannot ebb, and that its resistless course can only end in the attainment of its object. Let them mark, in another direction, the result of calling any meeting that is open to all comers; let them grow wise by the experience of Somerset, and add to that by the experience recently gained at Freemasons' Hall. (Laughter.) I believe they dare not, in any part of the country, give fair play, and have open meetings. Why, they dare not even hold open agricultural meetings, nor trust the tenant-farmers with the expression of different opinions upon the question of Free Trade or Monopoly. (Hear, hear.) If they talk of their strength in Parliament, let them mark the course of opinion in reference to the Legislature; let them note the silence of both Houses on subjects upon which nobody out of Parliament is silent; let them observe the contrast which those assemblies present to the feeling out of the House, their silence being only to be accounted for upon the supposition that those who wish to uphold the present system feel that "the least said is soonest mended;" and that they by no means are in the way to win popularity by being the friends, or saying anything in favour of, monopoly. Let them note, too, the way in which the mention of the Legislature is received at public meetings all over the country. (Hear.) I have never been present upon any occasion, at any public meeting, however great the distance from London, where the announcement made this year of the determination of the League not to petition the present House of Commons any more was not received with shouts of responsive acclamation. (Cheers.) And is this a wholesome or safe state of things for those who live in a land where the Government, if it exist at all, must be based upon public opinion? There can be no hesitation in the mind of any lover of his country in assenting to the statement that this division of feeling should be abated as soon as possible, and remedied in the only way in which it can be—by conceding the claims of charity and justice, and adopting the policy of those measures which are demanded by the advocates of Free Trade. (Hear, hear.) Here, then, upon the ground now taken by our opponents, we are content to contest the question in future. With them we go to public opinion: as they have appealed to it, by its decision they must abide. (Cheers.) We go with them to Opinion—the Ruler of the world;—Opinion, which is the breath of the body politic, without which it soon sinks in the death of despotism, or becomes a mass of corruption;—Opinion, which anticipates the province of history, and which glorifies those whom unjust verdicts may condemn (tremendous cheering);—Opinion which, while it can irradiate the dungeon, strikes cold apprehension into the bosom of the powerful sophist, fearing that in history he may only find himself "damned to everlasting fame;"—Opinion, which gives its worth to whatever is most highly prized, without which the Crown is but wood and velvet, and coronets, mitres, and Georges are worth just as much as they will fetch at the pawnbrokers';—Opinion which, when it refers to the great elementary principles of truth and justice, rarely, if ever, mistakes;—Opinion, to which the Monopolists have now appealed, by which they must stand or fall; and which has already, and does now by your voices, pronounce the Corn Laws a false policy, a base fraud, and an atrocious crime, which ought to be obliterated for ever from the statute-book of this country. (Mr. Fox sat down amidst prolonged and most enthusiastic cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN then declared the proceedings terminated, and the meeting dissolved.

A letter to the farmers of Worcestershire addresses them as follows:—"The Worcestershire Agricultural Protection Society will take your *light sovereigns*; and remember, every twenty shillings given will pay you fifty per cent. in the dissemination of truth and the advocacy of your cause."

The largest quantity of waste land in any county of England is in the North Riding of Yorkshire, there being no less than 132,815 acres of common or waste land out of 1,897,592. The total of waste land in England and Wales is 1,800,232, out of the total of 8,616,115 acres of land of all kinds.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, March 6, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

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| Salford, small sums per Mr. Larkin | £0 16 9 |
| Levi Wood, Frome, Somerset | 5 0 0 |
| Sam. Oller, Urmeton, near Manchester (a labouring man) | 0 2 6 |
| G. A. Inglis, Dunfermline, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
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| John Duncan, writer, Stonehaven, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
| An Overlooker | 0 5 0 |
| Potter, Brothers, Lloyd-street, Manchester | 20 0 0 |
| John Watt, Cheapside, Kilmarnock, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Rankin, King-street, do. | 2 0 0 |
| John Stewart, Regent-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Hugh Paton, do. | 1 0 0 |
| David Alexander, King-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Andrew Aitken, Portland-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Taylor, Bank-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Muir, Portland-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Alexander Brown, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A. J. Bruce, do. | 5 0 0 |
| Sir J. C. Fairlie, Bart., Fairlie House, by do. | 3 0 0 |
| James Donald, Portland-street, do. | 2 0 0 |
| Charles Hood, King-street, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. McAdam, Greenholm, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Lawson, Portland-street, do. | 1 1 0 |
| George A. Duncan, Clark-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Wilson, Tichfield-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Allan Strang, Portland-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Purvis, Cheapside, do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Mathie, King-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Brown and Howie, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Thomson, rope spinner, do. | 0 15 0 |
| Wm. M'Whirler, draper, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Hugh Roxburgh, confectioner, do. | 0 4 0 |
| Joseph Dickie, seedman, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Lymburn, shoemaker, do. | 0 10 0 |
| John Clark, Langlands-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Hargreaves, Bridge, Baddens, Lancashire | 1 0 0 |
| Patrick Cavan, banker, Ayr, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Holland, 86, Grosvenor-street, Manchester | 5 0 0 |
| Thos. Norton, 41, Rutland-street, C.-on-M., do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Milles, Bridge-street, Peterborough | 0 10 0 |
| George Custer, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Pool, 237, Deansgate, Manchester | 0 10 0 |
| Wm. Atkinson, South Parade, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Mark A. Young, Aytoun-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. B., do. | 1 1 0 |
| Lewis Levy, 103, Oldham-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Edwd. Morison, 67, Thomas-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Barlow, 7, Dantzic-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Chas. Edwd. Bond, Faulkner-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| A. H. Midwood, at Carlton & Co.'s, Mosley-st., do. | 0 5 0 |
| T. R., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Robt. Lowe, 6, Upper Medlock-st., Hulme, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Smith, 21, Devonshire-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thos. Denbigh, at Carlton & Co.'s, Mosley-st., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Stanning, Halliwell, near Bolton, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums | 0 4 0 |
| Mr. Siblethorn, Messrs. Leese, Kershaw, and Co., Manchester | 20 0 0 |
| Mr. Bakeman, do. | 5 0 0 |
| Reles, Brothers, Victoria-street, do. | 25 0 0 |
| Thos. Cooke, St. Mary's-gate, do. | 1 0 0 |
| William Burnett, Bradshaw gate, Bolton | 0 10 0 |
| James Wharton, do. | 0 2 6 |
| George Bell, Derby-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Haworth, Higher Bridge-st., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. Jas. Whitehead, Alnworth, do. | 10 0 0 |
| Wm. Forbes, Sefton Arms, St. Helen's | 1 0 0 |
| George Hargreaves, Underbank, Bacup | 0 5 0 |
| Jas. Ogden, Ridgill-lane, Staleybridge | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Brewer, Church-street, Midhurst | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Barnard, do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. R. W., do. | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend, West-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| William Gadd, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Henry Court, June-lane, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Bowles, North-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, per do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thos. King, North-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Martin, North-street, Midhurst | 0 5 0 |
| Thos. Martin, sen., Eastbourne | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to the cause, Midhurst | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to the League, do. | 0 2 6 |
| do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| Mrs. Hill, North-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Miss Hyde, do. | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend to the League, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, R. C., do. | 0 5 0 |
| James White, do. | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend to the Cause, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Henry Grist, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Chas. Reed, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Rev. James Eaton, do. | 0 5 0 |
| William Len, Bumbold's Hill, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums | 0 2 0 |
| Friends to Free Trade | 20 0 0 |
| Kvan Leigh, Ashton-under-Lyne | 10 0 0 |
| Fraser, Leeds | 1 1 0 |
| Walker, Smith, and Co., Bury, Lancashire | 200 0 0 |
| Samuel Mason, do. | 5 0 0 |
| James Hocking, do. | 2 0 0 |
| A Friend, Darwen, Lancashire | 2 0 0 |
| Henry Lightbown, Market-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Walmley Preston, Bolton-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| G. H. Openshaw, Vale Mill, do. | 1 1 0 |
| John Place, manufacturer, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Place, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Hodgson, Huddlesden, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Cowell, bookkeeper, do. | 0 3 0 |
| J. Carlisle, Darwen-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Jas. Holden, Market-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robt. Smith, Bridge-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Isherwood, Duckworth-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thos. Rawcroft, Bridge-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Preston, Hollins, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Clegg, Duckworth-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Jas. Lightbown, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Edwd. Cucknell, Bolton-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thos. Fish, Back Duckworth-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Workman, do. | 0 0 6 |
| Rml. Gregson, Market-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Benjamin Gregson, Duckworth-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Knoch Hargreaves, blacksmith, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Gregson, Market-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Henry Lees and Brothers, Cromford-st., Manchester | 40 0 0 |
| John Christian, Gilling, near Richmond, Yorkshire | 1 0 0 |
| W. Hancock, Market-place, Wivelscombe | 1 0 0 |
| J. B. Clarke, North-street, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Thos. Newton, Market-place, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Matthew Hodge, Church-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Edwd. Lansdowne, High-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Burton, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Brewer, do. | 0 2 6 |

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| John Dorch, Golden-hill, Wivelscombe | £0 2 6 |
| Robert Stone, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Benjamin N. Colliard, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Newton, Golden-hill, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Henry Larcombe, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Lacey Colliard, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robt. Howell, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Lewis, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Stone, West-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| W. Robinson, Golden-hill, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Richards, Church-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums | 0 18 0 |
| George Brown, coal merchant, Sleaford, near Edinburgh | 1 0 0 |
| J. P. Heane, surgeon, Gloucester | 1 0 0 |
| Alfred Gould, Barbaran House, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Davies, shipbroker, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Pressly, wireworker, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Ben. Bonnor, solicitor, do. | 0 5 0 |
| J. McClymont, farmer, Balsagart, Maybole, N.B. | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Brown, banker, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Walter Andrews, writer, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Rev. John M. Thomson, do. | 1 1 0 |
| James Main, baker, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas McCrorce, farmer, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas McIlraith, merchant, do. | 0 2 6 |
| James McClure, mason, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Gendie, merchant, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Andrew Baird, do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Rennie, innkeeper, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. McFarlane, surgeon, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Stillie, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Mitchell, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robt. Allen, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Hugh Crawford, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Mitchellson Porteus, do. | 0 3 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 3 0 0 |
| S. N., Manchester | 0 5 0 |
| R. Parkinson, 81 A, Market-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Higginson, 48, Travis-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Summerfield, 94, Ormond-st., C.-on-M., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Samuel Pearson, 26, Dale-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Airey, 26, Brewer-street, Port-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| W. Rothwell, 36, Dale-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Parry, Ashton-road, Openshaw, near do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Rawson, 5, Aldred-street, Salford, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Daniel Slater, Ordsall lane, Regent-road, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Reuben Gill, St. Mary's-gate, do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. M. Cavafy, Ionides and Co.'s, Greek-street, do. | 5 0 0 |
| James Symons, Duke-st., Stretford-road, Hulme, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Evans, Stretford-road, Hulme, do. | 5 0 0 |
| Harrison and Sale, Barnes-street, do. | 10 0 0 |
| Daniel Percival, 24, King-street, do. | 20 0 0 |
| J. F. Pettigrew and Sons, Back George-street, do. | 0 1 0 |
| Small subscription, do. | 15 0 0 |
| James Peirce, 45, Fore-street, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Cunningham, Brentford | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. M' Rae, Beddington-corner, Mitcham, Surrey | 0 2 6 |
| John Evans, 31, Newcastle-street, Strand | 2 2 0 |
| James Hendry, Cambridge-terrace, Hyde-park | 0 10 0 |
| A Reader of the Bible, do. | 1 0 0 |
| C. Turner, Sun Hotel, Southampton | 1 0 0 |
| John Hawkins, 2, Hanover-crescent, Brighton | 1 0 0 |
| W. A. Rogers, Alton, Hants | 1 8 0 |
| Free Trade Association of Shepton Mallet, second subscription, per W. Richardson | 10 0 0 |
| Giles Iles, tenant-farmer, Clapton, near Berkeley, Gloucestershire | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. Francis Muir, Leith | 1 0 0 |
| David Ewart, 13, Finch-lane | 1 0 0 |
| "Instead of a new bonnet?" | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Gatto, 9, Hanway-street, Oxford-street | 1 0 0 |
| Dr. Hutton, Galashiels, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Foster, Brooklands, Cambridge | 1 0 0 |
| Frederick Pattison, 574, Old Broad-street | 10 0 0 |
| Arthur Pattison, 573, Old Broad-street | 10 0 0 |
| Mr. Harman, carpenter, Highgate | 0 2 6 |
| David Dignam, 5, Carlton Cottages, Brunswick-st., Dover-road | 0 2 6 |
| George Reed, Burnham, near Bridgewater | 2 0 0 |
| H. R. W., Hastings | 0 10 0 |
| "Nine is a square number," Hastings | 0 10 0 |
| { J. and W. Archibald, manufacturers.. | 3 0 0 |
| { Hunter and Donaldson, merchants | 1 0 0 |
| { Andrew Dawson, Mar-street | 1 0 0 |
| Alloa, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Lowrie, Dalkieth | 1 0 0 |
| George Newsome | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Wilson | 0 10 0 |
| John Whitaker | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Wilson | 0 5 0 |
| Robert Keighley | 0 7 6 |
| Joseph Parker | 0 5 0 |
| Jeremiah Hudwell | 0 5 0 |
| William Thompson | 0 2 6 |
| William Bailey | 0 1 0 |
| Frank Ubad | 0 3 0 |
| Robert Bleakley, Aylsham | 1 0 0 |
| George Birch, 13, Platt-terrace, Somers-town | 0 2 6 |
| P. R. Collier, Plymouth | 5 0 0 |
| H. Grant, Pleasant-row, New-road | 1 0 0 |
| W. Harrison, Hadlow, Kent | 1 1 0 |
| Small subscriptions | 9 11 0 |
| Rochdale, { John Fenton, Crimble | 100 0 0 |
| 8th Remittance. { Richard Whitworth, Yorkshire-st. | 5 0 0 |
| { Squire Barlow, tea dealer, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Cornish and fellow-workmen, Wall-bridge Mills | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Trueeman and fellow-workmen, Southfield Mills | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Denton and fellow-workmen, Thrupp Foundry | 1 10 0 |
| H. Hooper and fellow-workmen, Pitchcombe Mills | 1 0 0 |
| E. H. Durden, do. | 2 0 0 |
| John Ferrabee and Sons, Thrupp Foundry | 5 0 0 |
| B. Bucknall, King-street | 1 0 0 |
| C. B. Tanner and Friends, Thrupp, near Stroud | 1 15 0 |
| Rev. John Ewen, Hobkirk | 2 2 0 |
| Jas. Turnbull, Galahaw | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Scott, Karlstone | 1 0 0 |
| John Stone, Laidlaw's factory | 1 0 0 |
| James Dalgleish, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Alex. Law, woolsorter | 1 0 0 |
| Jas. Miller, warehouseman | 1 0 0 |
| Andrew White, baker | 1 0 0 |
| James Inglis, spinner | 1 0 0 |
| Andrew Rome, Mr. Elliot's factory, in addition to 2s. 6d. | 0 17 3 |
| John Rule, Wm. Wilson and Son's factory, in addition to 12s. 6d. | 0 7 6 |
| Neilson & Co., Kirkland, second subscription | 5 0 0 |
| John Gibb, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Jas. Peter, do. | 1 0 0 |
| D. Trail, for self and weavers of Kirkland Works | 1 1 0 |
| Alex. McIntyre, for self and flaxdressers of do. | 1 1 0 |
| Alex. Morris, for self and workmen employed in the spinning mill, Kirkland | 1 8 0 |
| Mr. Watson, manager, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Ross | 0 3 0 |
| Rbenezer Martin, Millbank, by | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Symington, Bleachfield Mill, for self and 11 other subscribers | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Bruce, for self and three other subscribers | 1 0 0 |
| James Steele, for self and eight other subscribers | 1 0 0 |

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| An Empty Stomach | £1 0 0 |
| Andrew Anderson, painter | 1 0 0 |
| David Littlejohn, merchant | 1 0 0 |
| John Alexander, jun. Abercrombie | 1 0 0 |
| James Bremner, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Friends at Millbreck | 1 0 0 |
| James Gregory, tailor, Knutsford | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Walter Edgar, Hight-street, Crieff, N.B. | 0 2 6 |
| Alex. M'Donald, do., do. | 0 2 0 |
| John Spencer | 4 0 0 |
| Robert Carswell, Lonsdale-place | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Perry, Keckle-grove, near | 2 0 0 |
| Henry Dobson | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. J. B. Sheppard | 1 0 0 |
| George Wattlesworth | 0 5 0 |
| W. Handleson | 2 0 0 |
| J. A. Tulk | 1 0 0 |
| Edwd. Thomas, Cleator, near, 2nd subscription | 1 0 0 |
| Cleator Mill, { James Williamson | 0 4 0 |
| 2nd subscrip. { Thomas Burns | 0 4 0 |
| { Malcolm Christie | 0 4 0 |
| { Samuel Bleakley | 0 4 0 |
| { James Meek | 0 4 0 |
| J. M'Clellan, Lowen Works | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums | 0 5 0 |
| John Ashton, Bewsey-street | 3 0 0 |
| Jos. Crossfield, Bank-quay | 50 0 0 |
| Thos. Haddfield, Buttermarket-street | 25 0 0 |
| A Friend, per Peter Rylands | 0 10 0 |
| Wm. Milner, Sankey-street | 5 0 0 |
| Mr. Tate, do. | 2 0 0 |
| Marshall and Co. | 590 0 0 |
| John Waddingham, Cookridge-street | 50 0 0 |
| Joseph Bateson, Park-cross-street | 10 0 0 |
| R. and T. Harrison, 46, Hunslet-lane | 2 2 0 |
| W. E. Hepper, Wortley | 1 0 0 |
| J. A. Ikin, Park-row | 8 8 0 |
| Maurice Jarvis, Basinghall-street | 2 0 0 |
| H. J. Marcus, do. | 2 0 0 |
| R. and J. Mortimer, Neville-street | 1 0 0 |
| Geo. Palfreyman, Briggate | 0 10 0 |
| G. Piesch, 168, Wellington-street | 10 0 0 |
| J. W. Smith, 1, Briggate | 5 0 0 |
| R. Varley and Co., near Wellington-street | 10 0 0 |
| Joseph Wilson, Duke-street | 0 5 0 |
| William Wilks, stonemason | 1 0 0 |
| John Kenworthy | 5 0 0 |
| Joseph Ogden, manager, Failsworth, near Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Brooks, grocer, Scott-field | 0 5 0 |
| Job Lees, Greenacres, near Manchester | 5 0 0 |
| Jacob Ratcliffe, Bank | 5 0 0 |
| John Haigh, spinner, Waterhead Mill, Greenacres, near Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| Hiram Robinson, shopkeeper, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Lees, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Schofield, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Thowlis, agent, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Hardman, agent, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Turner, hosier | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Holt, waste dealer, Greenacres, near Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| James Nichols, grocer, Lees-road | 0 2 6 |
| John Dronsfield, waste dealer, King-street | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade, Portwood | 3 3 0 |
| Mrs. Woolley, Market-place | 1 1 0 |
| Henry Robinson, Millgate | 2 0 0 |
| Charles Robinson, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Munro, Lancashire-hill | 1 0 0 |
| Ephraim Hallam, Shaw-heath | 3 3 0 |
| Thos. Goulden, surgeon | 2 0 0 |
| James Southworth, Edgeley | 2 0 0 |
| Mrs. Southworth, do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. J. Moody, Poplar-grove | 3 2 0 |
| Mrs. Moody, do. | 0 10 6 |
| Messrs. Fernley's workpeople | 3 0 0 |
| William Robinson, Unicorn Inn | 1 1 0 |
| John Hurst, Mill-lane | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Stewart's workpeople | 4 0 8 |
| William Charlesworth, Wellington-road | 3 3 0 |
| Isaac Lomas, 16, Castle-street | 1 0 0 |
| William Williamson, jun., Wellington-road | 10 0 0 |
| William Williamson, sen., Cale-green | 2 0 0 |
| John Torkington, Gt. Portwood-street | 1 1 0 |
| William Baddeley, Market-place | 1 1 0 |
| Samuel Smith Taylor, Wellington-rd. South | 1 1 0 |
| A Friend, per E. Hollins, Market-place | 5 0 0 |
| Saml. Bradburn, Meal-house Brow | 3 3 0 |
| Saml. Woodhead, Lower Hillgate | 1 0 0 |
| William Leah, Castle-street | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Jackson, 31, Park-street | 1 1 0 |
| William Wild, Lower Hillgate | 1 1 0 |
| Hiram Wakefield, Heaton-lane | 3 0 0 |
| Moses Chadwick, jun., Lancashire-hill | 1 1 0 |
| Edward Tomlinson, Underbank | 2 2 0 |
| William Watts, Middle Hillgate | 2 2 0 |
| John Jackson, Travis Brow | 2 0 0 |
| Peter Henshall, 54, Lord-street, and others of Mr. Orrell's hands | 0 5 0 |
| Daniel Donnelly, Heaton-lane | 0 5 0 |
| Samuel Birchington, Castle-street | 0 5 0 |
| Jesse Hulme, Shaw-heath | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Henshaw, Wellington-road North | 0 5 0 |
| Charles Sefton, Grosvenor-street | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Henshaw, Wellington-road North | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend, Edgeley | 0 5 0 |
| Henry Dickens, 42, Ridgeway-lane | 0 2 6 |
| Samuel Bullock, Chapel-street | 0 5 0 |
| William Garside, Park-street | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend again, Edgeley | 0 2 6 |
| Samuel Shepley, George's-road | 0 5 0 |
| James Daniels, Golden Lion | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Smith, 198, Heaton-lane | 0 2 6 |
| John Neild, Lower Hillgate | 0 2 6 |
| Charles Dow, do. | 0 2 6 |
| William Holt, Middle Hillgate | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Holland, do. | 0 10 6 |
| Joseph Goodwin, Travis Brow | 0 2 6 |
| John Allmev, Lower Hillgate | 0 5 0 |
| Samuel Birch, Ridgeway-lane | 0 2 6 |
| W. W. Stones, Old-road | 0 2 6 |
| The Workpeople of Mr. Ashton, Apethorne Mill, near Stockport | 5 13 11 |
| A Friend, per William Tym | 1 1 |
| A. and A. Darby, 13, James-street | 200 0 0 |
| Thos. and John Brocklebank, Rumford-street | 100 0 0 |
| Richard Allison, jun., Wootton Hays | 25 0 0 |
| Joseph Robinson, 13, St. James's-street | 25 0 0 |
| A Friend, per J. Robinson | 1 1 |
| B., per do. | 1 1 |
| W. T. Moule, Wellington-terrace, Holt-hill, Tranmere, Cheshire | 1 1 0 |
| Richard Dodd, 33, Bold-street | 5 0 0 |
| James Spence, jun., 28, Chapel-street | 25 0 0 |
| James Ryley, jun., 5, Exchange-street West | 30 0 0 |
| Potter, Brothers, Cotton-court, Sweeting-st. | 1 1 0 |
| Thos. Wylie, 56, Gloucester-street | 1 0 0 |
| Frederick Robison, 6, Chester-street | 2 2 0 |
| Mrs. Sarah Cousin and Daughter | 0 5 0 |

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|--|---|----|----|---|--|---|-----|---|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|----|----|---|
| Sunderland, Fourth Re- mittance. | William Bell, Ford | 45 | 5 | 0 | Derby, Second Remittance. | C. Topham, Green-lane | 250 | 0 | 0 | Huddersfield, Tenth Remittance. | John Cooke, New Town | 20 | 2 | 6 |
| | Matthew Baldwin, East Cross-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Hill, St. Alkmund's Churchyard | 5 | 0 | 0 | | William Richardson, Jeweller | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | J. Preston, Lambton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | J. and E. Massey, London-road | 5 | 0 | 0 | | Uriah Lodge, Castle-hill, near | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | T. R. Wilson, draper, High-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | | F. Swanwick, Whittington, near Chesterfield | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Rev. J. Trappes | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Bernard Ogden, Dunning-street | 1 | 1 | 0 | | Wm. Horsley, Sadlergate | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Solomon Bykes, Lepton | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| | Thomas Reed, 11, Nicholson-street | 1 | 1 | 0 | | F. Waite, City road | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Martha Lodge, do. | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| | C. H. M. | 1 | 1 | 0 | | Thomas Tunaley, Workop | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Castle, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | William Ray, 22, Moorgate-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | J. R. Bindley, Ashby-de-la-Zouch | 2 | 0 | 0 | | Robert Whitehead, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | R. B. Cox, King-street | 5 | 5 | 0 | | N. Truscott and Friend, Silwell-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | Small sums, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| | Anti-fendallists | 1 | 0 | 0 | | John Hutton, Engineer's Office, Railway | 1 | 0 | 0 | | George Tolson, Dalton, near | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Hathersage, North Derby. | Thos. Wright, 14, Norfolk-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | A Friend to Free Trade | 1 | 0 | 0 | Jasper M'Kean | 0 | 0 | 6 | | |
| | A Friend to the League, J. A. | 1 | 0 | 0 | A Farmer | 1 | 0 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 0 | 6 | | |
| | J. Hutchinson, jun., Sunderland-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | James Wightman, Crich, Derbyshire | 1 | 0 | 0 | William Batley, New North-road | 2 | 10 | 0 | | |
| | A Free-Trader | 1 | 0 | 0 | George Fritch, Peters-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | J. S. Booth, Buxton-road | 1 | 10 | 0 | | |
| | Rt. Cook, landowner, farmer, & manufacturer | 10 | 0 | 0 | Richard Bryer, Cornmarket | 1 | 0 | 0 | J. and A. Bennett | 20 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Charles Silvester, farmer and landholder | 0 | 5 | 0 | A Friend to Justice | 1 | 0 | 0 | Richard Roberts, Lowerhead-row | 10 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Tobias Child, farmer | 1 | 0 | 0 | T. Roberts, St. James's-lane | 1 | 0 | 0 | George Tetley, Cross Church-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Rev. T. Ross | 0 | 5 | 0 | John Bindley, Wilfred-cottage, Ashby-de-la-Zouch | 1 | 1 | 0 | From R. W., after reading Mr. Trotter's speech at the meeting of the Lords of the Soil | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | James Morton, farmer and landlord | 0 | 5 | 0 | W. Abel | 1 | 0 | 0 | R. W. C., Lounhead | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | William Middleton, farmer | 0 | 2 | 6 | John Porter, Ashbourn-road | 1 | 0 | 0 | John Cochran, M.D., Lawnmarket | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| Kendal. | T. Marsden, small farmer | 0 | 5 | 0 | W. Taylor's Workpeople | 8 | 8 | 0 | R. Carmichael, 75, Northumberland-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Charles Elliot, farmer | 0 | 5 | 0 | John Merry | 0 | 2 | 6 | Ennetta and Pass, 107, George-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | A Friend to the Repeal of the Corn Laws | 0 | 5 | 0 | Joseph Stocks and Co. | 100 | 0 | 0 | Alex. Henderson, 72, Leith-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | John Harfield | 0 | 2 | 6 | A Friend | 20 | 0 | 0 | Robert M'Donald, 275, High-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Richard Froggatt, farmer | 0 | 5 | 0 | Eli Bates | 20 | 0 | 0 | John Ralph, 7, Kirkgate, Leith | 2 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | R. Greaves | 0 | 2 | 6 | John Balmforth, Northowram, near | 1 | 0 | 0 | James Scott, Royal-terrace | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | George Wilson, wheelwright, &c. | 0 | 16 | 8 | George Moore, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Rev. George Sandy, Gore-bridge | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Small sums | 0 | 16 | 8 | "Gallev" | 0 | 5 | 0 | J. T. Straton, 106, Princes-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | William Whitwell, for Free Trade generally | 20 | 0 | 0 | Joseph Biddle, Regent-place | 2 | 0 | 0 | A. Brooks, 61, do. | 0 | 10 | 6 | | |
| | Corn. Nicholson, Cowan-head, Kendal | 20 | 0 | 0 | John Rodgers, Broad-street | 2 | 2 | 0 | James Walker, 4, Wharton-place | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Stockton-on-Tees, Second Remittance. | Robt. Benson, Park-side | 20 | 0 | 0 | John Owen, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Surplus arising from Sale of Tickets on 11th Jan., at the Meeting in Music Hall, after defraying all expenses | 2 | 8 | 8 | | |
| | J. J. and W. Wilson | 20 | 0 | 0 | William Parker, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | A Friend, South-bridge | 2 | 2 | 0 | | |
| | John Wakefield, Sedgwick (an Advocate for a low fixed duty) | 10 | 0 | 0 | Thomast Gossage, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | J. W. | 0 | 10 | 6 | | |
| | Thomas Robinson and Co. | 10 | 0 | 0 | Somerville Beckhans, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | A. B., 28, George-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Thompson Bindloss | 10 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Greenwood, Islington | 0 | 5 | 0 | David Forrester, 1, West Newington-place, (second subscription) | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | John Thompson and Co. | 10 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Little, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | Small sums | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | Edward Whitwell | 10 | 0 | 0 | William Ryland, Ladywood-lane | 1 | 0 | 0 | Per John Wylie, Wylie and Lockhead, Cochran-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Isaac Whitwell | 10 | 0 | 0 | Henry Buck, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Per John Stark, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | William Ball, Rydal | 10 | 0 | 0 | James Hare, Oozele-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | James Thomson, West Arbuckle, 104, Hill-street, Garnet-hill | 10 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Isaac Wilson | 10 | 0 | 0 | John Beck, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | John Murray, 408, Argyle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Wakefield, Third Remittance. | Edward Brown | 10 | 0 | 0 | Joseph Bentley, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | Malcolm Kerr, Queen-street | 2 | 2 | 0 | | |
| | Rd. Fothergill, Bridgehouse | 5 | 0 | 0 | Workpeople at T. H. Ryland and Co.'s manufactory | 2 | 1 | 0 | James Scott, Exchange-square | 50 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Saml. Marshall | 5 | 0 | 0 | A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 | John Monteith, 20, Miller-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Saml. Whineray | 5 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Scott, Steelhouse-lane | 0 | 5 | 0 | Andrew Brand, 32, St. Vincent-place | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | John Hudson | 5 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Palmer, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Alex. Morris, 4, Wilson-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | C. Metcalfe and Sons | 5 | 0 | 0 | Edward Thomas, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | David Rattray, 6, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | "Corn Laws make Paupers" | 4 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Scathergood, do. | 0 | 15 | 0 | John Ewing, Greenhead | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | Edward Swinburn, Troutbeck Bridge | 4 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Hodgkins, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | James Broom, 163, Ingram-street | 10 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Saml. Rhodes | 4 | 0 | 0 | Thomas Watts, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | J. and G. Pattison, Buchanan-street | 25 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Geo. Chamley | 4 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Avis, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | James Lamont, Madeira-court | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Wakfield, Third Remittance. | Mrs. Margaret Marriott, Stramongate | 3 | 0 | 0 | Thomas Lytle, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | Thompson and Stirling, Queen-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | John Farrar | 3 | 0 | 0 | Mr. James, Snowhill | 0 | 10 | 0 | W. S. Gilchrist, per H. Kennedy | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | A Repeater | 2 | 10 | 0 | R. Tomkinson, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Jameson and Buntin, Oswald-street | 5 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | A Friend to Free Trade | 2 | 10 | 0 | W. Pickering, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | Workers of James Anderson and Co., South Hanover-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | J. A. Knight | 2 | 2 | 0 | W. Turner, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | Campbell and Henry, 209, Argyle-street | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | Henry Hewitson | 2 | 2 | 0 | John Houghton, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | John Wallace, farmer, Netherplace, Newtown-mearns | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | John Hewitson | 2 | 2 | 0 | Mr. Pole, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | Donald Ross, jun., Miller-street | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | Edmund Cockshutt | 2 | 2 | 0 | Mr. Jones, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Neale Thompson, Campbell | 50 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | George Dent | 2 | 0 | 0 | G. Lingard, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | John Bowden, 13, Turner's-court | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | James Holmes | 2 | 0 | 0 | Benjamin Jefford, Bull-street | 0 | 10 | 0 | Wm. Thomson, 43, Argyle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Wakfield, Third Remittance. | Miss Shutt | 2 | 0 | 0 | T. Brooks, Steelhouse-lane | 0 | 10 | 0 | Wm. Kerr, 43, Queen-street | 3 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Edward Burton jun. | 2 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Holland, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | Robt. Barclay and Co., Slip Dock, Bromielaw | 2 | 2 | 0 | | |
| | Rev. T. Wilkinson | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Lycett, Barr-street | 0 | 10 | 0 | Robert Morrison, 186, Gallowgate | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Jonathan Younghusband | 1 | 0 | 0 | Smith and Kemp's outworkers | 0 | 12 | 7 | Wm. M'Nab, 10, Russell-street East | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Andrew Thompson | 1 | 0 | 0 | John Poncia, Pershore-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Duncan M'Donald, 39, Gallowgate | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | George Braithwaite | 2 | 0 | 0 | Edward Harcourt, 49, Smallbrook-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | John M'Nab | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Miss Thomson | 2 | 0 | 0 | Charles Smith, 97, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | A. and J. M'Nab, 145, Ingram-street | 5 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Reginald Remington | 2 | 0 | 0 | Thomas Hudley, 9, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | J. and D. Anderson, 88, Stockwell (2nd sub.) | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | John Mann | 2 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Redfern, 85, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Small sums | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | J. and E. Busher | 1 | 0 | 0 | Thomas Forgham, 96, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Workers of Miller and Caldwell, Port Dundas | 2 | 2 | 0 | | |
| Wakfield, Third Remittance. | John Wilson, Town View | 1 | 0 | 0 | A Friend | 0 | 3 | 0 | David Walker, 43, Portugal-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | James Parker | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Suckling, Smallbrook-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | James Black, 71, Candleriggs | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | James Braithwaite | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Bishley, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | James Russell, 95, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Mark Beaufoy, Bowness | 1 | 12 | 0 | T. Bishley, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Andw. Robertson, 85, do. | 0 | 7 | 0 | | |
| | Joseph Levers | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Withers, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | William Wilson, 73, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Edward Busher and Sons | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Moore, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Robt. Fleckfield, 119, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | Thomas Robinson | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Madenberg, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | John Dawson, 35, Ingram-street | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| | William Kitching | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Dodge, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | George Lyle, 127, Brunswick-street | 0 | 10 | 0 | | |
| | Simon Mashiter | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Beat, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | James J. Robertson, Queen-street | 10 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | John Banks | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Mills, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | George Robson, do. | 5 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Wakfield, Third Remittance. | Michael Raine | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Jones, trunkmaker, New-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | James Wylie, 52, Wilson-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | L. O. Connell and Co. | 1 | 0 | 6 | Mr. Jackson, carrier, Navigation-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | Archibald Walker, 17, Nicholson-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | John T. Collinson | 1 | 0 | 0 | A. and J. Salt, Dudley-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | A Mechanic | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | Thomas Tate | 1 | 0 | 0 | W. Bradley, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Archibald Buchanan, 25, Kent-street | 0 | 7 | 6 | | |
| | Stephen Robinson | 1 | 0 | 0 | Lewis Lyons, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | John Rankine, 103, Hospital-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | | |
| | George Allen | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Woolley, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | Peter Smith, 21, Thistle-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | John Hoggarth | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Millward, Inkleys | 1 | 0 | 0 | Peter McKinnon, 11, Stobcross-street | 0 | 8 | 0 | | |
| | No Compromise | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Sheldon, Hurst-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | George Lanaster, Clyde Bank | 2 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Samuel Compston | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Mulligan, Blue Pig, Moor-street | 0 | 10 | 0 | Alex. Fotheringham, 86, Wellington-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Anthony G. Geldart, innkeeper | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mr. Power, diesinker, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 | Workers with do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Wakfield, Third Remittance. | Thomas Blacow, hatter | 0 | 10 | 0 | Mr. Evans, New Meeting-street | 0 | 2 | 6 | Workers with D. and J. Anderson, 30, South Hanover-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Benj. Broadbent | 0 | 10 | 0 | Mr. Taft, whipmaker, Freeman-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | John McIntyre, Greenlaw-place, Paisley-road | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Robert Dent | 0 | 10 | 0 | J. Aspell, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Thomas Rigge, draper | 0 | 10 | 0 | Samuel Thornton, Bradford-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | George Wilson, St. Vincent-place | 20 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Miss Steel | 0 | 10 | 0 | E. Grimley, Wood-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | Robert Hutcheson, Hutcheson-street | 20 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Miss Ann Maud | 0 | 10 | 0 | Jenkins and Ashford, Digheth | 2 | 2 | 0 | Workers of T. Kennedy & Co., Little Govan | 1 | 14 | 0 | | |
| | Leonard Machell | 0 | 10 | 0 | J. R. Boyce, Alcester-street | 1 | 1 | 0 | Adam Walker, Broad-street, Mile-end | 2 | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Thomas Field | 0 | 10 | 0 | John Hardwick, Bradford-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Workers with T. Hamilton, 95, London-st. | 1 | 8 | 0 | | |
| | John Mallinson | 0 | 10 | 0 | Mr. Nickling's workmen | 1 | 0 | 0 | Robert McGregor, Chronicle office | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Samuel Bolton | 0 | 10 | 0 | Mr. Mee, Great Hampton-street | 0 | 5 | 0 | J. McKenzie, manager, Dandyvan Iron Works | 1 | 1 | 0 | | |
| Wakfield, Third Remittance. | Mr. Morris | 0 | 10 | 0 | Mr. Edmonds, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | Workers Caledonian Pottery, St. Rollox. | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| | William Tindall | 0 | 10 | 0 | Friends at Grand Turk | 1 | 0 | 0 | Do. Bottle Works, do. | 2 | 16 | 6 | | |
| | Miss Rodick | 0 | 10 | 0 | W. H. Smith, Gough-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | Do. Couper, Maitland, & Co., do. | 1 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | John Hebron | 0 | 10 | 0 | James Baldwin, New Hall-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | Do. Messrs. Patterson, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 | | |
| | Brocklebank and Gawith | 0 | 10 | | | | | | | | | | | |

Francis Hansell £1 0 0
Gilling and Smith 1 0 0
David Baker 1 0 0
A. B. 1 0 0

Bradford, Yorkshire, James Firth, yarn merchant .. 10 0 0
11th Remittance. John Baines, Shelf 2 0 0

A Friend to Free Trade 5 0 0
A Landowner 2 0 0
Mountford Fynney, King-street 1 0 0
T. H. Hillard, Stockwell-street 0 10 0
James Wingood, Derby-street 0 5 0
John Barlow, Spout-street 0 2 6
James Beard, London-street 0 2 6
William Birch, Ball Hay-green 0 2 6
Wm. Hollingworth, Spout-street 0 2 6
Haml. Johnson, Workhouse-street 0 2 6
Wm. Lovatt, Overton's-bank 0 2 6
Thos. Rider, Ball Hay-green 0 2 6
Wm. Tatton, Pickwood-road 0 2 6
Alfred Trafford, Workhouse-street 0 2 6
Levi Trafford, Alsop's-row 0 2 6

James Harrison, Market-place 1 0 0
John Whitehead, coal proprietor 1 0 0
John Holland, batter 0 10 0
A Friend 0 7 0
Edmund Butterworth, shopkeeper, Church-st. .. 0 5 0
James Simpson, The Park 0 5 0
John Ward, butcher 0 5 0
John Wrigley, Lark-hill 0 2 6
William Horaman, printer 0 2 6
J. Rushton, E. R. Brown, J. Smith, and J. Hughes, 5s. additional each 1 0 0

Workmen of Roberts and Mettam 1 1 3
Workmen of Mr. Tofteld 1 0 0
Workmen of Gouldthorpe and Greaves 1 0 0
Workmen of John White, Workhouse Croft .. 1 2 0
Workmen of John Walters 1 0 0
Workmen of W. Fisher 1 0 0
Workmen of Thos. Turton and Sons, further amount 0 17 0
Workmen of Joseph Rodgers and Sons 3 17 3
Workmen of Waterhouse, Hatfield, and Co. .. 1 10 0
Joseph Prith, Crabtree, near 1 0 0
Thomas Wilde, Wisewood, near 1 0 0
Peter Tinsley, Loxley House, near 1 0 0
Joseph Siddons 0 2 6
Joshua Wilde, Wisewood, near 1 0 0
Thomas Parkin, do. 1 0 0
Thomas Adair 1 0 0
John Sawyer, High-street 1 0 0
Thomas Hague, Tudor-street 0 5 0
James Green, Fargate 1 0 0
John Sawyer, Bell-street 0 10 0
Wm. Murfin, Eyre-street 0 2 6
J. Warburton, do. 0 2 6
George Roberts, Pond-street 0 10 0
Wm. White, 36, Furnival-street 0 2 6
George Allen, Duke-street 0 5 0
Joseph Yates 0 2 0
Small sums, per George Johnson 0 4 6
Chadburn, Brothers 3 3 0
No. 100 0 9 0
Wm. Shaw, Chelerton 0 5 0
James Chesterman 1 0 0
Friend, per J. S. Davy 0 5 0
Adams and Stubbs, Fargate 1 0 0

The following are the particulars of subscriptions, amounting to £20 17s. 6d., received from the workmen at Messrs. T. Turton and Sons' Spring-works, Sheffield, advertised in *LEAGUE*, No. 23.

George Wragg £1 10 0
Edward Inmann 1 1 0
John Booth 1 1 0
George Swinden 1 1 0
Thos. Hague 0 10 6
Joseph Harrison 0 10 6
James Nuttall 0 10 6
Samuel Maraden 0 10 6
Wm. Mason 0 10 6
John Green 0 10 6
Paul Wild 0 10 6
Thos. Warburton 0 10 6
George Shitt 0 10 6
Hiram Young 0 10 6
G. Thompson 0 10 6
Jas. Cockayne 0 10 6
Thos. Broadbent 0 10 6
Jas. Benton 0 5 6
Wm. Blake 0 5 6
John Foster 0 5 6
T. Bramhall 0 5 6
Wm. Bleath 0 5 6
John Rickard 0 5 6
John Pitt 0 5 6
John Witham 0 5 6
John Butler 0 5 6
Chas. Wragg 0 5 6
Chas. Grey 0 5 6
Wm. Howson 0 5 6
Wm. Hartle 0 5 6
T. Hawksworth 0 5 6
T. Heath 0 5 6
Philip Thomas 0 7 0
John Goddard 0 5 6
G. Cliffe 0 5 6
D. Fletcher 0 5 6
George Hayes 0 5 6
George Dawson 0 5 6
H. Wilkinson 0 5 6
J. Haywood 0 3 0
J. Loxley 0 5 6
G. Roebuck 0 5 0
J. Lishman 0 5 0
K. Smith 0 2 6
J. Green 0 2 6
T. Nutbrown 0 10 6
J. Badger 0 5 6
W. Kemp 0 10 6
T. Bradbury 0 5 6
T. Wilkinson 0 5 0
G. Smith 0 3 0
Small sums 0 2 0

Sandiacre, Feb. 24, 1844.

DEAR SIR, I consider the Corn Laws unreasonable, anti-scriptural, and unchristian. All laws that make labour scarce and bread dear must be wicked. I therefore heartily approve of the labours of the National Anti-Corn-Law League to get these laws erased from the statute-book. I consider Almighty God as the great parent of all that breathe! That nothing He has made is beneath His notice! That all His designs and purposes are founded in infinite wisdom and benevolence! That God must have some wise and benevolent design in causing one country to be productive of some articles useful to man, and in causing other countries to be equally prolific and productive in other articles equally useful for the whole family of man. I believe one design of this is that there might be a *Free Trade*, or an interchange of different articles, in order that man might find nought in man but a friend and a brother. Another design of God in this is, that

war may cease—that there may be universal peace and good-will between all the nations of the earth, and that swords be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks. May God hasten the time! I gave two sovereigns last year to the £50,000 fund; and this year I beg your acceptance of £5 towards the £100,000 fund.

I am, dear Sir, yours most respectfully,

Z. TAFT,

Wesleyan Minister.

P. S. Please to enter this £5 as follows:—
Z. Taft, Wesleyan Minister .. £2 10 0
Mrs. Taft 2 10 0

£5 0 0

towards the League Fund.

George Wilson, Esq., Chairman of the League.

GREAT MEETING OF THE LEAGUE AT MANCHESTER.

MANCHESTER, Thursday.

The Anti-Corn-Law League had a meeting last night in the Free-Trade Hall, when George Thompson, Esq. (recently returned from India), and Thomas Plint, Esq. (of Leeds), having been announced as speakers, there was a crowded attendance. G. Wilson, Esq., presided, and among the gentlemen present, in addition to the speakers, we noticed the following on the platform:—Alderman Brooks; Alderman Armitage; Thomas Bazley, jun., Esq.; W. Harvey, Esq.; Thomas Woolley, Esq.; R. R. Moore, Esq.; Henry Rawson, Esq.; J. B. Scott, Esq.; B. Syddall, Esq.; Joseph Simpson, Esq.; Joseph Thompson, Esq.; S. Lees, Esq.; A. Bauer, Esq.; C. Cobden, Esq.; James Harvey, Esq., Liverpool; John Souchay, Esq.; W. Ryder, Esq.; Alfred Charlton, Esq.; John Whitlow, Esq.; Richard Wilson, Esq.; J. Diggle, Esq.; Joseph Leese, jun., Esq.; W. Bow, Esq.; Dr. Clark, late from India; W. Woolley, Esq.; Richard Gardner, Esq.; B. A. and W. Evans, Esqrs., &c.

The Chartist disturbers, satisfied with the check they received at the last meeting, did not renew their attempt on this occasion.

The Secretary, Mr. HICKIN, having read the minutes of the last meeting, on the motion of Mr. Alderman Brooks, seconded by Mr. BAZLEY, they were confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN then rose and said:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—One of the most novel topics of the monopolist press, and of some of the speakers at their principal meetings, who have circulated the information, is, that since the declaration of Sir Robert Peel in Parliament of his intention to maintain the Corn Laws inviolate, the Anti-Corn-Law League has been extinguished. (Laughter.) They are not sure to whom they are indebted for this extraordinary proof of intellectual power and skill. Some say the squire, at their meetings, have had such an influence over public opinion, that to that cause, in a great measure, the fall of the League may be attributed; others think that the Premier himself did it; others that the Trollopes, the Tyrells, and the Knatchbulls, and other monopolists, have so far coerced him, that the Premier himself, under their coercion, has done it for them; but they all agree in this, that, whoever has done it, the thing is palpable and evident to everybody, and that very soon the Anti-Corn-Law League will be heard of only as a matter of history! (Laughter and applause.) Now, we shall not enter into discussion with them upon that subject, but we will submit to them and others that which we thought was apparent to everybody,—that, so far as we have yet proceeded, there is no evidence whatever of diminished interest in the proceedings of the League. (Loud cheers.) It is quite true that some of the noble lords who have addressed these meetings have made what they consider to be heavy lunges at us,—have hit us some hard blows, as they are described to be,—but, then, these we expected. They have been dealt out so much at random, too,—the men themselves have dealt in misrepresentation so much, that the most charitable construction one can put upon them is, that the men who used them were labouring under such a state of mental aberration that it behoved their friends to look to them, to see that they no longer had the control of their own affairs, much less to exercise the functions of legislators in the upper House of Parliament. (Much laughter and applause.) Oh, it is an excellent thing, this misrepresentation! It is the invariable weapon with which cowards seek to oppose great truths. (Applause.) We say, "Repeal the Corn Laws;" the answer is, "You are incendiaries!" We say, "Diminish the tax on labour;" the answer is, "You want to destroy the higher orders of society!" (Applause.) We say, "Let go your hold of the people's food;" and the answer is, "Be gone; our marriage settlements and mortgages forbid it!" (Loud cheering.) We have heard a great deal—we have heard exaggerated accounts of their meetings. We have repeatedly given instances of these exaggerations, at our meetings, and in the *LEAGUE* newspaper. Why, the accounts published in their own journals are proof of this. I take the last account. They had a meeting at Durham, and the *Morning Herald* put down the numbers at 1800; the *Morning Post* more modestly puts it down at 1500; another journal, not choosing to split hairs about the matter, said from 1000 to 2000; another says from 400 to 500 (laughter); while letters, which we have received from private hands, say that at no time were there present more than 350 in the room. (Much laughter.) Well, it may be said that parties are liable to be mistaken: they are; but the room has since been measured! (Applause.) It contains 153 square yards, a considerable portion of which was taken off for the platform, while at the higher end seats were placed round the room. At one end it was crowded, but at the other end there were seats for people who were overheated (laughter), near the platform, to cool themselves; and, taking into consideration everything—the numbers who went there on business, those who went there out of curiosity, the numbers who were compelled to go—we have reason to believe that not one quarter of the number of people were there who are down in the *Morning Herald*, the ministerial organ of the day, as being at that meeting. (Applause.) Another move has been to advertise requisitionists. And if requisitionists really signed requisitions to lord-lieutenants of counties to call these meetings, if they signed them and did it spontaneously, and without influence from their landlords, then we admit that these requisitions would present a tolerable idea of the opinions of the farmers in the various places where they have been

got up; but one requisition, as an instance to the contrary, was got up in Kincardineshire, signed by 456 people; the meeting took place on the 26th of February at Stonehaven, the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Arbutnot, took the chair; and how many of the requisitionists, think you, attended? Fifteen! (roars of laughter); and of these there were two landlords, two sons of landlords, and three were occupiers. But we need not go there to show that they have no strength in counties. Yesterday, at Northwich, which is purely an agricultural district, the monopolists, finding there was a large majority against them, proposed an adjournment to some hole-and-corner meeting, where they could pass resolutions unmolested by the populace of the town. (Laughter.) And so it is everywhere. At Chesterfield a similar meeting was held; at Freemasons' Hall the same was the result. They have no power over public opinion to succeed in obtaining large meetings, where the votes can be taken openly, under any circumstances whatever, either in agricultural or manufacturing districts. (Applause.) We have heard that one of their great moves will be to petition the Legislature. Well, we have tried that: we tried it for five years. It has not answered with us: it may answer better with them. We petitioned, first, and had half a million signatures; we petitioned next with a million of signatures; we petitioned with a million and a half (cheers); and we petitioned the next time with about two millions of signatures; but we found that whether with one million or two millions—more or less—they appeared to have no influence on the Legislature in inducing them to relax this law. But, gentlemen, had petitions had influence, the Corn Laws would never have been passed in 1815. (Loud cheers.) If petitioning had had influence, the Corn Laws would have been long ago abolished. (Renewed cheers.) We rejoice, however, take what steps they will, to see them take the field. (Hear, hear.) There now can be no middle course to take: betwixt them and us, betwixt the Rent League—which is to vindicate these monopolists in taking a part of the hard earnings of industry from year to year for their own use, without any equivalent—and our League, which is to protect the industry of the country, there can be no mistake. (Applause.) Let every man select for himself under which flag he will choose to take his stand—there is no intermediate ground: the large boroughs are declaring with us, with one or two exceptions, which we hope speedily to set right (applause); and in the agricultural districts the monopolists are losing ground from day to day; go where you will, the proof is evident that the Corn Laws, and other monopolies united with them, will be abolished, and the supporters of them become the laughing stock and derision of the whole world. (Great cheering.) Ladies and gentlemen, we shall be addressed this evening, first, by our excellent friend, Mr. Plint, from Leeds (applause); and then by our excellent friend, Mr. Geo. Thompson, whose absence from England the Anti-Corn-Law League has had very great cause to regret during the last eighteen months. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. PLINT, of Leeds, then came forward, and in a short but eloquent speech, after describing the rapid progress which Free-Trade principles had made, and were making in Yorkshire as well as Lancashire, exposed the gross falsehoods and exaggerations put forth by the Anti-Leaguers. The *Church and State Gazette*, in quoting from a Parliamentary document as to the returns from consuls abroad of the corn exported by various countries, quoted the quantity which Dantzic could export at 3,000,000 instead of 300,000 (round numbers), and which Hamburg could export at 5,000,000 quarters instead of 500,000. (Much laughter.)

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON then stepped to the front of the platform, and was received with the most enthusiastic burst of cheering we ever heard in the Free-Trade Hall. He was proceeding to address the meeting, when the cheering was again renewed and continued for several minutes, the whole company rising and cheering again and again, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs and the gentlemen their hats. Again and again the cheering was renewed while Mr. Thompson gave utterance to one or two sentences which we could not hear. After the applause had subsided, he spoke as follows:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—Out of a full and overflowing heart I thank you for the more than cordial welcome you have given me to Manchester after a somewhat protracted absence. Since I bade you farewell in another place, I have travelled far and seen much; have been incessantly occupied in matters wholly extraneous from the subjects on which you are accustomed to be engaged. But I have not on that account lost sight of your rapid and triumphant progress, still less have I ever for a single moment swerved or seen any cause to swerve from that great and holy principle upon which your movements are based—namely, that the bounties of Divine Providence spread over the earth for the benefit of all, should not be intercepted between the Giver who is in heaven and the recipient who is on earth, by any laws or interpositions like those of the Corn Laws. (Applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, though otherwise occupied I have not been wholly idle in your cause, or ignorant of what you were doing; nor have I discovered an absence of interest in your proceedings among the Europeans with whom I have associated in going and returning to and from India. Upon the Atlantic and the Mediterranean,—ascending the Nile and traversing the Red Sea,—in the Gulf of Bengal and on the banks of the Ganges,—to the foot of the Himalaya mountains,—everywhere I have found men conversing upon the extraordinary—the almost unparalleled progress of your great and patriotic cause. (Great applause.) I have not been able to exert myself as heretofore in addressing multitudinous assemblies, for it is difficult to find in any other part of the world than in Manchester, either that feeling in the community, or the community itself capable of exhibiting so rare and exhilarating, and I will add, sublime a spectacle as that upon which I at this moment gaze; but so far as I could, in conversation and by means of my pen, I have endeavoured to extend still further the knowledge of your principles, or to confirm men's minds in their attachment to those principles, by illustrating them in connection with the associations, and the scenes by which our countrymen are surrounded in other and distant lands. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, having traced the effects of your movements upon the minds of men at the distance of 10,000 miles from the spot on which I stand, I return again, through the kindness of a watchful Providence, to this, the spring-head of Anti-Corn-Law feeling and energy, and I exult in the sight of your

have in no way deteriorated, in no way changed for the worse; that there has been no abatement of principle, no relaxation of energy, no falling off in numbers, no letting down of your great purpose, nor any relaxation from your efforts, nor the slightest wandering from your original doctrine and principle; all changes have been for the better: your leaders are more eloquent; your meetings are doubled and quadrupled. I left you in a room up two flights of stairs, and I find you in the largest room in the kingdom. (Great applause.) I left the ladies busy in the Theatre Royal in Manchester, and I come back and find the gentlemen busy in the Theatre Royal, London, with audiences that would fill a manager's eyes with tears of joy, if he did not die of an actual paralysis of bliss upon the spot. (Prolonged applause.) Yet it is said the League is expiring ("hear, hear," and laughter); and last week it was my misfortune to read gloomy and distressing prognostications of the utter annihilation of this body by a race of giants that were to make their appearance at Freemasons' Hall, in London, on Monday evening last. They met. Gentlemen, we read in an ancient book that the people who lived in the plains of Shinar came together, and they said one to another, "Go to now, let us build a tower, the height of which shall reach to heaven, so that we may not again be swept away when the waters shall overflow the earth;" and while they were building this tower, it happened to them as it happened to the people in Freemasons' Hall (only to the latter it happened much sooner than to the former, for they made considerable progress in their work, though they did not get up to heaven), it happened to them that, in laying this mighty tower, they were smitten with a confusion of tongues (long-continued applause); and their great demonstration, which was really to annihilate the League, was only a little demonstration of the absolute absurdity of endeavouring to persuade men that they should starve their own bellies. (Great applause.) Gentlemen, I am glad to find that, by a rapid process, you are analysing severely and accurately the population of this country; that you are now distinguishing systematically, and by infallible signs, your friends from your opponents, at the same time you are constantly increasing the number of the former, and lessening at once the number and importance and strength of the latter. You have taken up the question of questions; you have compelled all parties and ranks to speak out; you have at length constrained the principle with which you are grappling to take a name and an embodied form, and I congratulate you equally with Mr. Plint on the fact that you have constrained this principle—which aforesaid you were obliged to state for yourselves and embody for yourselves, and to battle with your own representations and embodiments—you have constrained this principle to take a form and a name and an embodiment, and now you have the decks clear, you have your opponents themselves in the field; and there is no sign to me more exhilarating, or more prognosticating of a sure and speedy triumph, than that you have brought your opponents from their hiding-places—that their silence is broken—that the oracle now speaks—that the high priests are before your eyes—and that you need not now, like "Tom Thumb" of old, make a giant that you may slay him; Goliath is in the field, and, if I may use another figure, you have the pebble from the brook. Let your trust be alone in Him who can give success to mortal efforts, and the giant now challenging you to the combat shall, ere long, be prostrate in the dust, and your foot be upon his neck. (Long-continued cheering.) While, therefore, you congratulate me on my return from a distant journey—a journey full of interest of every kind—a journey respecting which, when your triumph shall be achieved, and the laurels shall grace your brows, I may, perhaps, find audience of you to tell you something about (loud cheers),—while you congratulate me upon my return from a distant pilgrimage to my native land, and welcome me once more to your ranks with a heart more firmly attached than ever to your cause, I must congratulate you upon the progress you have made, and the position you have attained. (Hear, hear.) I have been complimented since my return by some of my kind friends upon my improved appearance. On this subject I cannot be a judge myself; but what the ladies say must be true. (Hear, hear.) Well, I beg leave to return the compliment; and I may say to you, "Dear me, how stout you are grown; why, you are twice the size you were when I parted with you! And how much your circumstances have improved; and your income is larger! And then you have crept into favour." (Hear, hear.) But I know the reason of all this. I left you pent up in the manufacturing districts, but you have been taking your rural rides (cheers and laughter), and your rural sports (hear, hear); you have been "whistling at the plough" (renewed and continued cheering); you have been arm-in-arm with Keuben in the turnip-field and in the cabbage-garden (great applause and laughter); you have got away from the town into the country; you have been keeping company with fox-hunters and country squires (applause and laughter); and no wonder that instead of the smoke of Manchester I see the bloom which only the fresh breath of heaven can give when uninterrupted it is permitted to fall upon your cheek. Well, gentlemen, I congratulate you upon this—upon the increase of your income—upon the improvement of your appearance—upon the splendid building you have got. When I went away,—and if Mr. Gadsby be on the platform I should not like to lose his friendship.—I left you circulating a shabby little paper called the *Anti-Bread-Tar Circular*; I come back and I find you circulating a paper larger than the *Spectator*, racy as the *Examiner*, and, what is better than all, with a circulation which the *Guardian*, and the *Times*, and the *Courier*, and whatever other papers there are in Manchester—the *Chronicle*, too, if it lives, but I don't know (laughter)—peace to its ashes if it is gone—must envy; I say, how they must envy this mushroom growth of a newspaper from nothing in Manchester, to 20,000 in Crane-court, London. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I congratulate you on these facts. I congratulate you, too, on another fact—that you have had your electioneering victories. (Loud cheers.) You drew a *Bright sword* at Durham (cheers); a good sword it was; and I will undertake to say it will never lose its temper, or its edge, or its brightness in this bloodless contest. (Cheers.) Why, you conquered—where?—under the shadow and beneath the beetling towers of the Durham Cathedral, and then, flushed with your victory, you hoisted your standard in London, and achieved another triumph under the be-

nignant smiles of Gog and Magog, in Guildhall. (Applause and laughter.) Need I say that the contemplation of these things gives me the sincerest joy. (Hear, hear, hear.) You have been faithful hitherto, and you have your reward. True, you have not yet carried the citadel; and do not let us think that anything is achieved until we have attained the thing we ask. Let us not stop short of the goal; let us not be satisfied till we have accomplished our reasonable and righteous desires. (Cheers.) You have not yet carried the citadel but you have had a triumphant march to the very gates; and none but those you seek for the sake of our country and mankind to conquer, can for a moment doubt the issue of the strife, come when it may. (Great cheering.) Sirs, this comes, in my opinion, of beginning well. You have had wisdom to direct you—consummate wisdom; you have had talent to execute your behests—unrivalled talent. (Hear, hear.) That men are eloquent in this cause I do not wonder; it is a theme that would make any man eloquent. We plead for hunger without bread, for energy without employment, for a nation that is the nursery of the arts,—the emporium of commerce,—the sanctuary of religion,—mistress of the seas,—that cannot feed her own children. (Great applause.) We plead against laws that have been enacted to debar mankind here, where God has been most bountiful, from participating in that which he never withheld where he has been least bountiful. (Hear, hear.) Men are starving, yet diamonds are let in duty-free; corn is taxed, but turtle is let in free; corn is taxed, but pictures are free; industry is taxed, but that which the rich alone want is free; that, without which the poor cannot exist, and which God through the bounty of our mother earth has given for all—that is prohibited by the law-making machinations of a sordid few whose rent-rolls to them are more sacred than the primeval charter of man's sovereignty over the globe, and God's ordination that the labourer is worthy of his hire! (Immense applause.) I say, again, this comes of beginning well. Your cause would never have been in this position if you had not settled it at first upon principle. You took the highest ground at first, though you had to stand alone; since then, all men have been coming up to you. You have not descended to them; you have stood nearest to Heaven itself in the assertion of the righteous, the immutable, the everlasting principle that that which God has freely given, man shall freely enjoy; and yet a little while, and save and excepting only the grovelling creatures of earth, whom you still leave at the base, you will shake hands with every opponent at the summit. (Cheers.) The consequence has been, therefore, that, just in proportion as your principles have been developed, in that precise proportion have they been adopted. And then the motives by which you have been sustained—they, too, have been of the loftiest and most moving and powerful description: the relief of general distress,—for what distress could be more general, more deeply planted, more hopeless, than that which I beheld ere I left these shores? (Hear, hear.) I have traversed many lands since then; I have witnessed deeper superstitions than any ever witnessed in this country—superstition in its most revolting and unadorned aspects; I have seen a mixed despotism of the most harsh and cruel character; I have seen ignorance of the most stolid kind; I have seen poverty, too; but human misery in combination with skill and energy, and the will to work,—I have seen nothing anywhere approximating in its moving characteristics to that which I have witnessed amongst the most skilled and energetic labourers on the face of the earth,—the labourers of Manchester and of Lancashire, and of Yorkshire. (Hear, hear, hear.) Well, when I left you you had this motive, and if it does not exist in all its force to-day, be not deceived by present enjoyments or present possessions; think not that your principles have changed because your circumstances have changed. No; others I have no doubt have accounted to you for the present spur to trade and industry which you are indulging in to-day. Beware! dark days are still before you unless you place the commerce and trade and industry of the nation upon the only sure foundation for the guarantee of a permanent prosperity—the principle of a free and universal intercourse. (Very great cheering.) Another of your motives, too, has been the permanent good of your country; another, the setting of a noble example to the world; another, the extension of the blessings of peace and civilization by the expansion of peaceful and honourable trade upon free and unrestricted principles; and lastly, the vindication of Providence from the libel of those who would exclude or narrow its bounties. Rather let me see the assertion of the rights of your selves and your fellows everywhere, as set forth by that code of universal and divine justice which ordains that human labour shall receive its just and equal reward. (Great cheering.) Ladies and gentlemen, ever since my boyhood it has always been to me a matter of the most thrilling interest to contemplate the progress of enlightened and Christian views upon matters affecting the destinies of men and of nations. How interesting then must it be to me, and to all who are here to-night, to watch the effect of that great truth upon individual minds in the first instance—to witness the early and almost unperceived efforts of a despised few to bring that truth which is their grand aim—the truth which may have been hidden for ages—to the notice of an undiscerning public—to mark the reception of that truth; to observe the suspicion, and to trace the hatred and malice of those whose profit or whose power, or, as in the present case, both, may be considered as jeopardised by the propagation and the triumph of this truth; to note the curiosity, and the admiration, and the thoughtfulness, and the gratitude of others who receive this truth, and hug it to their hearts; to see it taken up according to the peculiar education of men, and their different constitutions, habits, and pursuits, and to see it applied—as I will venture to say the Corn-Law question is applied—in a thousand ways; to note, in the first instance, how it answered, even to the dreams of those who sought to bring it in its simplicity and its application to one particular branch of the subject before the minds of men; to see it laid the root of some stupendous and antiquated abuse—an abuse venerated and cherished because deemed to be essential to the power and influence of a dominant faction in the country; to see this truth wielded—what shall I say?—let us borrow another figure from the sword—though with eternal weapons we have nothing to do, for there are other swords mightier than these, more mighty because they are unseen and can never be struck down,—more mighty because they come from the armory of Heaven, and when wielded in faith are ever omnipotent over the confederation of our

enemies. I say, Sirs, to see this great truth, at least, wielded like the sword of Rinaldo against the tree in the enchanted gardens, amid the howlings, and thunderings, and gibberings of unclean animals—to see it fall, and to behold the blackness at once disperse, the sun appear, the prospect serene and lovely, and to hear the sweet chorus of thousands, blessed by the destruction of that which, while it lasted, held them in miserable thralldom. (Long-continued applause.) Gentlemen, there have been many such instances. There was a man who combated the dogmas of the priesthood, who gave them a pure system of astronomical science. He was persecuted, —ay, persecuted to the death. He printed his book by stealth, and just before he expired the first copy was brought to him; he hugged it to his bosom; he said, "The world will not believe it, but it is true," and he died. That man was Copernicus; and the world has done justice to his talents, and the system lives, though he died a martyr for its sake. There was another man, in the seclusion of a cloister; he wiped the dust of ages from a neglected volume; he read there that God could alone pardon sin, and that between the human conscience and the throne of grace there should stand no one but He, who was at once God and man. He went forth with this volume to propagate the truth amid the thunders of the Vatican; he feared not; he sailed aloft upon a steady pinion, and, ere he died, he looked down upon revolutionised Europe. And that man was Martin Luther. (Loud applause.) There were a few men in Manchester; who knew them? None but their own immediate associates and relatives; they were humble, they were poor, or, if not poor, they had not the wealth and rank which give prominence and consciousness to men. What did they do? They saw that the great principle, that the bounties of God, given for the sustentation of his family on earth ought not to be intercepted by unjust and monopolising laws. (Great applause.) They saw an assumed right set up by an oligarchy in the kingdom to an exclusive monopoly in the staff of life. What did they do? They met in back rooms and dark rooms in Manchester: they, if you please, "conspired" (great cheering) to bring this truth into existence—they were the leaders of the reformation that is now spreading over the land. (Loud cheers.) True, they have not heard the thunders of the Vatican, but they have heard the thunders of St. Stephen's and the mutterings of Downing-street. (Hear, hear.) But what have they done? They have continued to publish that truth through evil and through good report; and as surely as the system of Copernicus shall live, improved by his successor Sir Isaac Newton—as surely as the great principles of Protestantism shall survive, when every species of religious error shall have passed away—so surely and truly shall the great principle enunciated by the Anti-Corn-Law League of this town live, and the leaders of this cause shall be the Brooks's, and the Wilsons, and the Rawsons (long and continued cheering); and, let me finish—finish I cannot, for time would fail to tell the names of these men, they become so many now that we must call them legion; but, let me add to those I have named, the Cobdens and the Brights. (Long-continued cheering.) When we feel more than ordinary pride, a few years to come, we will say, in order to swell our importance in the eyes of our fellows, I was the friend of John Brooks, I was the friend of George Wilson, I was the friend of Richard Cobden. (Cheers.) Mr. Thompson then alluded to the recent trials for conspiracy, and remarked, that if any parties were to be indicted for this offence it should be those who were conspiring to deprive the people of food by keeping it at an exorbitant price. He also combated the old fallacy of machinery being the cause of our recent distress, and contended that it was rather an effect of distress than a cause, and on that ground was an argument for the repeal of the Corn Laws; while, on the other hand, assuming, for the sake of argument, that machinery was the cause of distress, then it followed that the necessity for repealing the Corn Laws was still greater, in order that the people might be enabled to enjoy that food of which machinery had deprived them. His speech was listened to with profound and breathless attention, and the speaker, at its termination, was most enthusiastically cheered.

Alderman Brooks moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Plint and Mr. Thompson, which Mr. HANVEY of Liverpool seconded; the vote was carried by acclamation. The meeting separated about ten o'clock.

FREE-TRADE MEETING IN THE POTTERIES.

On Tuesday evening a crowded meeting of the friends of Free Trade, in the Potteries, was held in Shelton, in the large school-rooms erected by John Ridgway, Esq. The number present exceeded fifteen hundred, and great multitudes were obliged to return home without being able to obtain admittance. Several Chartists got into the room on forged tickets, and seemed anxious to make up for the paucity of their numbers by the loudness of their clamour. The chair was taken by Wedgwood, Esq., after which the meeting was addressed by Col. Thompson and Mr. Cobden. When Mr. Cobden sat down, a Socialist lecturer named Kidd presented himself, and offered to prove that the Corn Laws were wise, just, and useful to the operative population. The repugnance of the meeting to such an interruption was in some degree subdued by curiosity to hear what could be said in support of such a proposition. Instead, however, of attempting to defend the Corn Laws, the Socialist entered into a long rambling discussion of the leading tenets of Socialism, which quite exhausted the patience of the meeting, and he concluded by moving a vote of censure on Mr. Cobden, which was received with shouts of laughter.

After this interruption the business of the meeting was resumed, and spirited addresses in favour of Free Trade were delivered by Messrs. Moore, Ricardo, M.P., and Ridgway. More than £200 were collected in the room, and the sum would have been much larger had not the interruption of the itinerant Socialist protracted the proceedings to so late an hour that it was deemed advisable to defer the collection until the following day.

The usual vote of thanks to the deputation of the League was carried with general unanimity, many of the Chartists appearing to concur in the compliment, and seeming to feel ashamed of their interruptions in the early part of the meeting.

The League subscription at Kendal last year was £140; this year it is upwards of £400.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE LEAGUE IN MANUFACTORIES.—Liberal subscriptions to the Anti-Corn-Law League fund have been received from workmen of several manufactories, and many more are in progress. We trust that the workmen of other manufactories will imitate this example. They have surely reason enough, in their unexampled sufferings of the last few years, and in the growing foreign rivalry to which we are subjected last week, to use their best exertions to strike off the fetters on freedom of industry.—*Sheffield Independent.*

LEAGUE SUBSCRIPTIONS.—Our friends in Kilmarnock have now set about raising subscriptions in aid of the League Fund; the workers at Greenholm Print-Works (Messrs. Macadam and Co.) have gathered about £4 amongst themselves; thus showing the good effect of Messrs. Bright and Thompson's addresses upon a class of men formerly the bitterest opponents of the League. If this example is imitated by the other works in town, a very large sum may be collected, in addition to the subscriptions from the electoral classes.—*Ayr Advertiser.*

NORTHALLERTON—FARMERS' MEETING.—On Wednesday, the 26th ult., Col. Thompson and Messrs. Prentice and Plint addressed the farmers of this neighbourhood. At the hour appointed, the large room of the Black Bull Inn was so crowded that an adjournment to the Market-place became necessary. At this time, between five and six hundred persons were assembled, of whom a considerable majority were farmers. Mr. Prentice commenced, and spoke for upwards of an hour with vigour and effect. Colonel Thompson and Mr. Plint followed in succession, occupying another hour. The utmost order prevailed throughout the whole time, and the addresses were listened to with earnest attention and interest.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING.—On Monday, the 12th ult., a meeting was held in the Secession Church, Moniaire, Dumfriesshire, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the abolition of the corn and provision laws. Mr. John Young, farmer, Kirkcudbright, was called to the chair. Mr. William Morton, hostler, in a luminous speech exposed the unjust and injurious nature of these oppressive enactments; and moved the adoption of a petition, praying for the immediate and unconditional abolition of the corn and provision laws. Mr. William Hunter, wool merchant, in seconding the adoption of the petition, spoke at considerable length upon the operation of these laws since 1815, showing that the landlords only were interested in maintaining them, and exposing the fallacy propagated by the landowners, that cheap corn means low wages. He showed also that the price of labour, like many other articles, was entirely regulated by supply and demand. The petition was unanimously adopted; after which it was agreed that it should be transmitted to Lord Kinnaird and William Ewart, Esq., for presentation. The body of the church was completely filled by a respectable audience; and although this is entirely an agricultural and rural district, Free-Trade principles have long been in the ascendant.

PRO-CORN-LAW MEETING AT NORTHWICH.—We have to acknowledge from "A Tenant Farmer," a copy of a circular of certain resolutions passed at what purports to be a meeting of "tenant-farmers and others interested in agriculture," held in a snug room in the Crown Inn, Northwich, but when, the said circular saith not, to take into consideration the most effectual measures for the protection of landowners, tenant-farmers, and all classes directly and indirectly affected thereby. Our correspondent, who happens to be one of those neither very much attached to the sliding scale, nor to protection at the expense of the farmers' best customers, cannot hear of any tenant-farmers who have attended any such meeting; but, after making diligent inquiry, he found that on a certain day, certain stewards and land-agents had a most mysterious confab at the place mentioned; and then and there did doubtless perpetrate the circular above mentioned. It appears that under the signature of "Peter Carter, secretary," a circular has been also issued calling a meeting of "tenant-farmers, owners, occupiers of land, and of those friends to native industry whose principles are in accordance with the accompanying resolutions," to be held at the Market-hall, Northwich, on Tuesday next, and all who have been honoured with the said circular are respectfully invited to bring with them such friends as may be disposed to promote the above objects; so that the matter is to be as snug and exclusive as possible. We know of nothing that can keep corn-consumers from attending, as they are both directly and indirectly affected by what is called landed protection. Why not at once submit the question at issue to the test of public discussion?—*Chester Chronicle.*

PROTECTION MEETING, NORTHWICH, March 5.—The meeting proved an entire breakdown,—not in point of the number of squires, who, with their stewards and agents, poured in. I have not yet had time to ascertain who were there, but most of the neighbouring gentry, and some from a distance attended. There is, luckily, a public right of road through the market-house, and, though it was talked of, it was not dared to close it against all comers, so that access to the public could not be prevented; consequently, it soon filled. The tenants, who had been collected from all quarters, formed their share; but it soon became evident that there was a very strong "anti-protection" section, of which an extensive joiner and builder of the name of Thompson, of this town, appeared a leader. One of the squires, a Mr. Harper, of Davenham, asked Thompson privately, "to tell him candidly whether, if the proceedings went on, he was intending to move an amendment?" to which Thompson replied, "that it was not unlikely." Whereupon, some little consultation took place, which ended in Mr. Carter (the secretary to the embryo association) coming forward and saying, that "he was the person who called the meeting together, but as he saw by looking round, that for one in favour of the resolutions there were twenty against, he therefore adjourned the meeting." The scene was then ludicrous in the extreme. One by one—gentlemen, stewards, and all—crept out, without another syllable of explanation, and as each was recognized a tremendous hooting was set up. Thompson was then voted by acclamation into the chair, and spoke for nearly an hour. Mr. Slater (an extensive farmer at Woodford-hall, in this county, a clever practical man, and, to his honour, one of the very few tenant-farmers who venture to disregard their landlords' dictation when contrary to sense) followed, and was succeeded by several others. Resolutions were passed in favour of Free Trade, and thanks to the League. A good many straggling farmers stayed, looking excessively astonished, and hardly crediting the defeat of their masters. The minority, or as many of them as could be accommodated in a small room at the Crown Inn, in Northwich, went there and passed their resolutions, without further risk of contradiction.

FRONKHAVEN, February 26.—A meeting of the noblemen, gentlemen, commissioners of supply, justices of the peace, owners of land, and farmers of the county of Kincardine, was held here this day, in consequence of a requisition addressed to Lord Arbutnot as lord-lieutenant of the county, to which, by great exertions, and in consequence of being circulated through the county, about four hundred and sixty names, of all sorts of persons (including those of fifty-one fishermen belonging to the fishing village of Portlethen), were appended; Lord Arbutnot in the chair. But the weather being very unfavourable, and many of the requisitionists being, no doubt, lukewarm in the cause, and others pressed into the service, exactly ten proprietors of land, two sons of proprietors, and three tenant-farmers attended, making the meeting in all consist of only fifteen persons, exclusive of spectators, of whom there were about thirty present. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Barclay of Ury (the priest), in support of the Corn Laws; he concluded by moving certain resolutions to the same effect; the resolutions were seconded by Mr. Anderson, one of his own tenants. Mr. Innes, of Cowie, addressed the meeting to the purpose, that he could not comprehend the principles of Free Trade, most of the spectators were of opinion, from the manner in which he expressed himself, that it was impossible to comprehend him. The chairman concluded with a speech in favour of the sliding scale, and against a fixed duty; and by proposing a petition to both Houses of Parliament, in the same terms as the resolutions, to be circulated through the county for signature. We have only to add, that the proprietors and representatives of the

greatest extent of land in the county, such as the Earl of Kintore (by far the greatest proprietor in it), Sir Thomas Barnett, of Leys, Sir Alexander Campbell, of Blackhall, Mr. Duff, of Fetteresso, Mr. Macfar, of Durns, Lord Keith's trustees, and a great many others, did not sign the requisition. All those we have named, and many more, are, we believe, favourable to a total repeal, or at least a modification, of the Corn Laws. The same opinion, we are happy to say, is making progress among the tenant-farmers of the county; one of the most respectable of whom was heard to express regret, some days previous to the meeting, for having signed the requisition; and also, that his belief was, that the best thing for the farmer would be a speedy settlement of the question by a total abolition.

WHEAT AND WAGES.—Mr. George Crawshaw, of Gateshead, in a late lecture on "Free Trade and Wages," observed:—"The Duke of Northumberland talked of the delusive cry of cheap bread. This, however, was not a fair way of putting the question. The Free-Traders were crying for no law to make bread cheap. It was the Duke, and such as the Duke, who clamoured for a law to make bread dear. The Free-Traders asked for no law: they only asked to be let alone. (Applause.) But those who contended for the intermeddling of parliaments with the operations of commerce—the dukes, and the barons, and the baronets and squires—these men argued, that if their laws made bread dear, they also made wages high. They reminded him of the story of the American gentleman, who was so tall that he was obliged to go up a ladder to shave himself. (Laughter.) The monopolists, in their great love of the people, having passed a law to make bread dear, professed to give them the ladder of high wages, that they might go up and feed themselves. But surely the tall man could shave himself, and the labouring man feed himself, quite as well, and much more safely, on the level ground. (Applause.) It was not true, however, that in raising the price of bread the monopolist raised the amount of wages. Every working-man's experience too painfully told him that the fact was far otherwise—that dear bread checked the demand for labour, and aggravated the privations of the people, by diminishing their employment and their wages. The notions of such men as the Duke of Northumberland would be really very amusing, if it were not that they were the notions of men who had the making of our laws, and the disposal of the destinies of millions."—*Gateshead Observer.*

PARLIAMENTARY PROTECTION FOR LABOURERS.—The fusion cutters of Manchester have addressed a memorial to the two Houses of Parliament, stating that their wages are deplorably low, and praying that they will pass an act of Parliament for the protection of their labour, which does not yield the head of the family more than seven shillings a week, out of which he has, in many cases, a wife and children to support. It is highly probable that these fusion cutters will receive no answer to their petition; but if an answer is vouchsafed it will be this, that Parliament cannot interfere with the protection of labour, the only protection they can give is protection to the price of corn. Think of the consequences to the landed interest of an act to protect labour, when the labourers in husbandry in the south of England seldom earn more than from 7s. to 9s. a week!

Mr. George Crawshaw, the able secretary of the Gateshead Free-Trade Society, in a letter addressed to the *Tyne Mercury*, repels the insinuation contained in the letter of "A Radical Leaguer," which appeared in that journal, that the society would support a fixed-duty candidate at any election; and states that, while as individuals the members entertained their particular views on other questions, they are determined to make that of Free Trade a *sine qua non* in the election of any candidate at a future election.

In the speeches of Sir Walter Raleigh, delivered in the House of Commons, 1593, and preserved by Dr. Ewes, is the following passage. Having inculcated the "propriety of leaving every man free to employ his labour and capital in the way he might judge most beneficial for himself," he goes on to observe:—"that the Low Countrymen and the Hollanders, who never saw corn, have, by their industry, such plenty that they can serve other nations; and that it is the best policy to set tillage at liberty, and leave every man free, which is the desire of a true Englishman."

CORRESPONDENCE.

SUGAR MONOPOLY.

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—As the season is now approaching when the annual Sugar Duties Bill will be renewed, it appears to me a very proper time to draw the attention of the country to the evils of the monopoly, and also to the advantages likely to flow from a perfectly free trade in that commodity.

The only sugars admitted for home consumption are the produce of the colonies; viz., British West India Islands, Mauritius, and British India; all other descriptions are prohibited, or, which is the same thing, the differential duty is so high as to place them beyond the range of consumption: the duty on British Plantation being 25s. 3d. per cwt., while on all other kinds it is 66s. per cwt.

The quantity consumed in Great Britain and Ireland is about 200,000 tons per annum, or about the amount furnished by the colonies, and, therefore, leaving nothing over for an augmented consumption, either from increasing population or capability.

On a reference to the *London New Prices Current* of date 20th February, you will find it stated, that the quantity in bond for home consumption in the kingdom is 13,000 tons less than last year at same period; and the lowest price of brown quality is 58s. per cwt., including duty. The latest accounts from the West Indies are not favourable for the coming crop. This reduction of the stock must naturally be followed by advancing prices, until the consumption is checked down to the supplies. Those who have the means to pay high prices may still be enabled to purchase; but the great bulk of the consumers must submit to diminished quantity.

It might be all very well to submit to short quantity and high prices, provided these were the result of scarcity from natural causes. But such is not the case; these are confined entirely to British Plantation; while even now there is in the ports of London and Liverpool plenty of excellent sugars, and at very low prices. I need scarcely state to your numerous readers, that there are many countries from which we might draw our supplies. There is the island of Cuba alone, which produces probably as much as the whole British West Indies; while the extensive country of the Brazils is capable of giving us large supplies; besides in the east, Manila, Java, and China are large sugar-growing countries.

I have stated that the brownest British West India sugar is now selling at 58s. per cwt., duty paid; while good yellow Havana, of much better quality and equal to the other at 63s. per cwt., can now be purchased in London at 18s. per cwt., and, if admitted at same duty, would cost 43s. 3d. per cwt.: thus—

| | | |
|---|---------|----------|
| Good British West India sugar, duty paid, | £3 3 0 | per cwt. |
| Good Yellow Havana, equal in quality | £0 18 0 | |
| If admitted at same duty as | | |
| West India | 1 5 3 | |
| Dearer than British West India | 0 19 9 | per cwt. |

or, in round numbers, British West India sugar is dearer by about 20s. per cwt. than similar quality from other countries. Assuming the consumption at 200,000 tons, this shows an annual loss to the country of no less a sum than four millions sterling.

The revenue from sugar paid into the Exchequer for state purposes is upwards of five millions sterling; and it certainly ought to make no difference to the Chancellor whether this amount is derived from a larger or a smaller quantity; but it makes a vast difference not only to the consumer but to the commerce of the country; and it is one of the great aggravations of the evils of this monopoly, that while a certain amount of revenue must be raised from the article, the limitation of the supply compels the tax to be levied at a much higher rate per cwt. than would otherwise be necessary to produce that amount.

The present duty on British Plantation I have already stated to be 25s. 3d. per cwt.; but supposing all descriptions of sugar were admitted indiscriminately, and the duty reduced to 12s. 7½d., or one-half that amount, the consumption would at once double itself. There cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the country would still continue to spend the same amount of money in sugar; and I will show that this sum would purchase a double quantity: viz. —

| | | |
|--|--------|----------|
| Present price of West India sugar equal to Havana, | 1 cwt. | £3 3 0 |
| Present price of good Havana, in bond, | 1 cwt. | £0 18 0 |
| Suppose duty reduced to one-half | 1 cwt. | 0 12 7½ |
| Cost of 1 cwt. | 1 cwt. | 1 10 7½ |
| Say another cwt. on same terms | 1 cwt. | 1 10 7½ |
| Cost of 2 cwt. | 2 cwt. | 3 13 3 ½ |
| Less than West India | 2 cwt. | 0 19 9 |

or, in plain language, with open markets and reduced duty, 2 cwt. of sugar could be purchased for 1s. 9d. less than 1 cwt. now is, while the revenue would be maintained at the same point.

It is difficult to calculate to what extent consumption would be carried if the price of sugar was so moderate as I have stated, or to anticipate the vast collateral advantages to be derived from increased quantity. I have merely supposed that the same amount of money would continue to be laid out in sugar; but I have not the least hesitation in saying that this is very far below the mark. I have no doubt, judging from the instances in which cheap sugar has been allowed to prosperous communities, that the consumption would not only amount to 400,000 tons, but that it would soon reach 600,000, or perhaps even 800,000 tons.

Supposing, for the sake of argument, that the increase was only 200,000 tons, this would give an additional import from foreign countries equal to four millions sterling, which, in the ordinary course of trade, must be paid for by an export of our manufactures to that amount, being about one twelfth part of our present export trade.

The production of these manufactures would give increased employment to our artisans, and the money so earned by them would again be put into circulation, and give renewed prosperity to others; besides, the now dormant capital that would be actively engaged would increase the wealth of the country.

There is another branch of our national industry that would be greatly benefited—the shipping interest. To carry 200,000 tons more sugar would require 400 ships, each carrying 500 tons; or supposing them to make two voyages in the year, which they may do, to the West Indies, it would then take two hundred ships, each of which may be valued at £5000, and in these alone a capital of one million sterling would be invested. This would immediately give a great stimulus to ship-building, besides affording constant employment to four or five thousand seamen.

I might have gone much more extensively into the subject than I have done, but I think I have said enough to convince every unprejudiced reader that there is no monopoly, excepting only that in corn, that so hampers the trade of the country—that so narrows our foreign commerce—that so interferes with the labouring man in the full enjoyment of one of the most nutritious articles of food.

I have shown that great changes may be made, not only without risk to the revenue, but with every prospect of great increase.

If there is any argument wanting for an immediate and total change in our Sugar Laws, it is in the fact that in a few months the Brazilian treaty expires; and, if the country do not instantly demand a free trade in sugar, another instance will be given of the sacrifice of several millions annually of Great Britain's trade at the feet of monopoly.

I beg to subscribe myself

A FREE-TRADER.

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

Clapton, Feb. 27, 1844.

SIR,—Having long wished success to the Anti-Corn-Law League, and considering that the LEAGUE paper does more towards opening the eyes of farmers, and exposing the fallacies imposed on them by the landlords, than any other paper I have read, I feel it a duty incumbent on me, as a tenant-farmer, and one who has suffered much from the Corn Laws and the Game Laws, to throw in my mite, in order to help to counterbalance the opposition now raised against the League by the landlords and their agents, and a few short-sighted tenant-farmers.

As to the outcry for protection, it shows meanness and weakness; and the idea of the Corn Laws being a protection is all a farce. I have observed the working of the Corn Laws for several years, and have always found that they failed of their pretended object. I hailed Canning's alteration in 1827 as a great boon; but I have been miserably deceived, by its never having realized that hope which it held out to us. I cannot remember much about the bill of 1815; but I have often heard a practical farmer speak of it, and complain, that it did not answer the purpose for which it was said to have been passed, namely, the benefit of the farmers. He would often say that the landlords had let their land according to the eighty-shilling per quarter bill; but since that bill was passed wheat had scarcely ever reached that price. Now, even if wheat had kept up to eighty shillings per quarter, the farmers would not have reaped the benefit: the landlords would have taken care of that. I have often con-

pared the farmers to spouts round a house carrying the water to the reservoir, but receiving no benefit from it; so the farmers convey the profits arising from the Corn Law to the landlord, and (in the majority of cases) have not a single shilling left for themselves. When will the farmers think and act for themselves, and rise above such mean-ness as wishing to be protected? Give us fair play: I want no more. How is it likely we can compete with farmers in other countries when so great a portion of our produce is devoured by things kept for the lordlings' sport; and farmers are bound by so many foolish and prohibitory clauses in leases and agreements. As to the Game Laws, I can safely say there is but one opinion among farmers respecting them; and, however the farmers may carry it before their landlords, they are generally ready to exclaim against the Game Laws behind their backs. Every thinking farmer must know that the game does an amazing amount of injury in the country; and, if they had honesty enough to speak out their opinion, that the Game Laws are a portion of that class legislation under which the country groans. When we consider the amount of produce destroyed by game, we must pronounce that man to be no friend of the farmer who can make or favour such laws. I would here make just a statement or two respecting the destruction of property by the game; and I do not base such statement on my own opinion, but on the opinion of others on the subject. It is considered that twenty per cent. loss is a moderate allowance for game where it is thick (and surely it is very plenty in the parish of Berkeley). Now, allowing twenty per cent. on the gross estimate rental of one tything in the said parish of Berkeley, the total loss amounts to £1856, being considerably more than double the amount of poor-rates in the same tything. This is exclusive of attendance and wide hedge-rows kept to encourage game; and all this sacrifice for about twenty-four hours' sport for one man! Now, Sir, you are at liberty to make what use you please of these few plain remarks. I have herewith sent you a post-office order for one pound towards the National Anti-Corn-Law League Fund of £100,000.

GILES LILES,

Tenant-Farmer.

To the Editor of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—As the comparative amount of taxes paid by rich and poor is a question much disputed, I beg to hand you the following accounts. The one is that of the expenses of the family of John Allen, an agricultural labourer, published by Sir F. H. Doyle, in his report to the Poor-Law Commissioners; and the other is that of a comparatively rich family with which I am acquainted, the accuracy of which I can also vouch for.

Analysis of Expenditure of John Allen, his Wife, and five Children, from March 1, 1841, to Feb. 28, 1842.

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------------|-----|----|----|----------------------|----|----|----|
| Flour, 152½ stone | 20 | 1 | 1 | 15 per cent | 3 | 1 | 6 |
| Oatmeal, 4 stone | 0 | 8 | 0 | | | | |
| Meat, say 186lb., at 6d. | 4 | 12 | 4 | | | | |
| Bacon, 10lb., at 8d. | 0 | 6 | 8 | | | | |
| Potatoes | 0 | 16 | 7 | | | | |
| Cheese | 0 | 3 | 0 | | | | |
| Butter | 1 | 1 | 6 | | | | |
| Milk | 0 | 17 | 6 | | | | |
| Yeast | 0 | 12 | 0 | Duty on malt | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Candles, 25lb. | 0 | 14 | 2 | | | | |
| Soap, 30lb. | 0 | 17 | 2 | Duty on soap | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| Tea, 2½lb. | 0 | 16 | 4 | Tea, 2½lb., 2s. 1d. | 0 | 5 | 3 |
| Coffee, 7½lb. | 0 | 14 | 6 | Coffee, 7½lb. | 0 | 4 | 11 |
| Sugar, 70lb. | 2 | 2 | 0 | Sugar, 70lb., at 4d. | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Apples, salt, pepper, &c. | 0 | 6 | 8 | | | | |
| Coal | 1 | 18 | 2 | | | | |
| Clothes, making, &c. | 6 | 12 | 4 | | | | |
| Miscellaneous | 0 | 15 | 1 | | | | |
| Boys' schooling | 0 | 6 | 0 | | | | |
| House rent | 4 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Balance | 2 | 15 | 4 | | | | |
| | £50 | 16 | 5 | Total of taxes | £5 | 0 | 9 |

Account of the Expenses of the Family of ———, consisting, on an average, of about ten Persons.

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-------|----|----|------------------|----|----|----|
| Washing | 37 | 10 | 6 | | | | |
| Servants' wages and young ladies' allowances | 232 | 10 | 4 | | | | |
| Fish, sausages, chickens, &c. | 29 | 6 | 9 | | | | |
| Expenses | 24 | 10 | 0 | | | | |
| Charity | 18 | 11 | 2 | | | | |
| Stamps and letters | 7 | 2 | 5 | | | | |
| Beer and porter | 12 | 0 | 3 | Malt duty on | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Rates | 10 | 12 | 5 | | | | |
| Butcher's bills | 60 | 3 | 11 | | | | |
| Fruit and vegetables | 18 | 0 | 2 | | | | |
| Doctor's bills | 33 | 6 | 5 | | | | |
| Milk and butter | 28 | 7 | 11 | | | | |
| Clothing | 16 | 14 | 9 | | | | |
| Baker | 28 | 10 | 10 | 15 per cent... | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Books | 14 | 12 | 1 | | | | |
| Kitchen garden | 31 | 10 | 4 | | | | |
| Furniture | 45 | 14 | 2 | | | | |
| Wine | 35 | 10 | 8 | Estimated 30 | | | |
| Groceries | 32 | 5 | 7 | gals., 5s. 6d. | 8 | 5 | 0 |
| Concerts and balls | 9 | 13 | 11 | Estimated | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Sugar | 20 | 16 | 8 | 540lb. at 4d. | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| Tea | 22 | 6 | 8 | 80lb. at 2s. 1d. | 8 | 7 | 6 |
| Coal | 33 | 2 | 6 | | | | |
| Travelling expenses, and staying by seaside | 130 | 7 | 11 | | | | |
| Schooling | 373 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Keep of two ponies | 40 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Linon | 18 | 1 | 11 | | | | |
| Rent | 40 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| Window duty | 6 | 9 | 3 | Window duty | 6 | 9 | 3 |
| | £1412 | 17 | 6 | | | | |
| | | | | | 40 | 12 | 10 |

The Income Tax is to be added to this account, and at 3 per cent. on £1400, amounts to

£82 12 10

Which together amount to about six per cent. on this family's expenditure.

The taxes on the family of John Allen, amounting to £5 0s. 9d., and his income to £50 16s. 5d., he is consequently taxed ten per cent. on his expenditure.

If the rich man were taxed to equal extent with the poor man, the rich man in the above case should have paid £140, instead of £32. Or, if the family of John Allen had been taxed at the same rate as the rich man, he should only have paid £3, instead of £5.

Leaving the public to form their own opinion on the case I have here stated, I beg to subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,

JUVENIS.

DEAR SIR,—With every sentiment expressed in the unanswerable speeches of yourself and Mr. Cobden, in the

Covent-garden Theatre on the 13th ult., I cordially concur; and if my testimony, as a parish curate for 15 years in dense and poor populations, can be of any service in furthering the cause of a more plentiful supply of food to them, with an increase of employment and of wages, I will not withhold it. It grieves me to read of my brother clergy stepping forward at the agricultural protection meetings, to oppose the efforts of the League to remove restrictions against the people enjoying an abundance of the very necessities of life. I trust they do it in ignorance. But I cannot endure to see them producing the case of the poor labouring man as the chief reason why those societies should be formed for his especial protection. Really this is a mockery of the poor man's long-suffering woes. My experience among that class of the community, in the course of my pastoral visitations, has long convinced me that their situation—unless they are to be driven to an open agrarian and servile war—cannot be worse than it has been for a series of years past, and that any change for them must be for the better. The wretched state to which large masses of the daily-augmenting population are at present reduced appears to be mainly owing to the monopoly of the Corn Laws, which have poured overflowing luxuries into the lap of the landed interest, while its prohibitive influence over trade and commerce has debared the middle classes, but particularly the working and industrious producer, from realizing proportionate advantages, or raising themselves above the condition of mere animal wants and subsistence. This state of things is degrading to the human mind, and totally bars out the exercise of any spiritual impulse, all chances of mental and moral improvement, or the exhortations of the pastor. In short, his functions are neutralized by the absorbing pangs of a hungry body, without bread to invigorate it, clothes to cover its nakedness, or work to procure either. He may preach and pray, but he is first obliged, out of his scanty purse, to bestow some trifling alms before he can be listened to. This system cannot last;—the minister cannot relieve all;—the union-house they revolt at, and the end must be insurrection, produced by the fierce gnawings of hunger among myriads of starving wretches, if the Corn Laws be not repealed. To Geo. Wilson, Esq. A CURATE.

RELATION BETWEEN LANDLORD AND TENANT AS TO VOTING.

Previous to the recent election for North Wilts, a correspondence took place between a tenant of Lord Radnor and that nobleman, in consequence of the former having intimated that, if his lordship wished it, he would vote for the Free-Trade candidate, but that in doing so he would be acting contrary to his opinion. His lordship, in writing to his tenant, points out, in the true spirit of liberality, what are the duties of a voter:—

"Coleshill House, Feb. 7, 1844.

"To Mr. ————
"SIR,—I have just learnt, by a letter from Admiral Bouverie, that he had seen you, and that, on his canvassing you to vote at the approaching election for North Wilts, for Mr. Edridge, you had told him you would do so if I wished it; but that the doing so would be contrary to your own opinion. I cannot but feel much obliged by your readiness to comply with my wishes, but I must tell you plainly that I should have had a much greater respect for you if you had at once refused to act contrary to your own opinion. I assume that opinion has been formed on a deliberate consideration of the merits of the two questions, which are the grounds on which this contest is carried on,—Free Trade on the one hand, and the principle of Protection on the other; and that, after having well weighed the arguments on both sides, you have formed the opinion you have done. It is true that Admiral Bouverie has also informed me of a circumstance which might induce me a little to suspect that you had not very impartially examined the merits of one of the two principles, for he tells me that you refused to receive from him a tract put forth by one party, and which treated of the subject. I hope this refusal was not owing to any unwillingness to hear the argument, but to this, that you had already, as you thought, fully considered it, and had, upon deliberation, made up your mind. That being so, I must repeat, that I should have had much more respect for you if you had waived your civility to me, and, in spite of your wishes to oblige me as your landlord, you had sternly refused to enter into any compromise with your conscience and your duty, or to give your vote to the injury (as you supposed) of the country. "For you will be pleased to observe that, when you give a vote for a member of Parliament, you are executing a sacred trust, reposed in you by the Legislature, not for your own personal benefit or advantage; not in order to indulge any predilections you may have for one candidate or another; not in order to give effect to any wishes or fancies of me, who am your landlord, but for the benefit of the people at large; and that, if you give it, either ignorantly or intentionally, in a manner not consistent with that which is most conducive to their benefit, you violate that trust in the one case most culpably, in the other without blame, because through ignorance. But at the same time, if that ignorance is wilful, and occasioned by a refusal to be informed, or by any neglect in acquiring the information which was within your reach, it is itself not by any means free from blame.

"Of course, I have no wish to persuade or induce you to vote in any way contrary to your opinion conscientiously and deliberately formed, whatever it may be; but I must remind you, that the question at issue is one on which the happiness, and even existence, of hundreds of thousands of people depend, as well as the prosperity of all classes, and the wellbeing of the country. I feel, therefore, convinced, from the respectability of your character, that you will not vote hastily, inconsiderately, or without due information.

"I cannot conclude this letter without pointing out to you, and expressing a hope that you will acknowledge, the superior liberality of such conduct as mine over that of those landlords, if any such there be, who rigidly require that their tenants should vote according to their own opinions. I perceive that you are yourself prepared to submit to such treatment, and it is generally supposed that landlords, espousing the opinions which you hold, require that obsequiousness. For one, and I believe all those who agree with me—I am sure all those who are sincere with me in that agreement, and act accordingly—do not. And I think that my conduct, as it is more just and fair, and more consistent with the principles of the constitution, so also tends to raise the character of the tenant, who by the other mode of acting is reduced very nearly to the condition of a slave.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

RADNOR."

In a subsequent communication to the same party his lordship says further:—

"You tell me, as you have told me before, that you think a tenant should always vote according to the wishes of his landlord; and on the former occasion you added, that you should expect this from any tenant of yours, and that you will act on that principle yourself if I desire it. I do not desire it; but I am sure you will readily perceive, that, to act fairly and honestly up to that principle, you should express to your landlord neither opinion nor wish. Ready acquiescence (obsequious obedience) would be the more fit expression should be given at once. The poor tenant, like a slave, would be bound to attend to the whim of the landlord whatever it might be,

and would spend his time uselessly if he attempted to acquire any information, or to form any opinion for himself. For my part I do not wish any tenant of mine to be in so degrading, so contemptible a situation. I repeat, I do not desire it.

"And, in point of morality, I hold that the principle you contend for is vicious. The Legislature gave you a voice in the election of members of Parliament; and thus puts into your keeping a trust to be executed, without reference to any 'private interests, prejudices, or partial affections,' for the good of the realm and of the whole people of the United Kingdom; and this trust you are bound to execute honestly, to the best of your knowledge and ability. If you think that you are yourself unable to form an opinion, and that your landlord can, you may very conscientiously and properly ask his advice, and act upon it; but if you can form, and have formed, an opinion for yourself, you are bound in conscience to give it effect. But it will be said, on the other hand, that the tenant owes a duty to his landlord, and should support him. I might, perhaps, be disposed to deny the position altogether; but, waiving the consideration for the present, and admitting for the sake of argument (but for the sake of argument only) that the tenant is in these matters under an obligation to his landlord, it is at best but an inferior obligation, to be postponed to the other; the duty to the individual must be of less obligation than that to the public, as the part is less than the whole, and to act upon it, is to prefer the inferior and less important to the higher and more sacred duty."

WAGES AND CORN.

Price of Wheat, and the Amount paid for a Week's Wages for a Farm near Winchester for sixteen years.

| | 80s. per qr. wheat.* | 9s. per week wages. |
|--------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1828. Sept., | 62s. | 9s. |
| 1829. March, | 76s. | 9s. |
| Sept., | 63s. | 9s. |
| 1830. March, | 62s. | 9s. |
| Sept., | 60s. | 10s. |
| 1831. March, | 66s. | 10s. |
| Sept., | 62s. | 10s. |
| 1832. March, | 56s. | 10s. |
| Sept., | 52s. | 10s. |
| 1833. March, | 50s. | 10s. |
| Sept., | 40s. | 10s. |
| 1834. March, | 39s. | 10s. |
| Sept., | 32s. | 10s. |
| 1835. March, | 41s. | 10s. |
| Sept., | 54s. | 10s. |
| 1837. March, | 48s. | 10s. |
| Sept., | 56s. | 10s. |
| 1838. March, | 63s. | 10s. |
| Sept., | 74s. | 10s. |
| 1839. March, | 76s. | 10s. |
| Sept., | 74s. | 10s. |
| 1840. March, | 74s. | 10s. |
| Sept., | 62s. | 10s. |
| 1841. March, | 60s. | 10s. |
| Sept., | 64s. | 10s. |
| 1842. March, | 64s. | 10s. |
| Sept., | 56s. | 10s. |
| 1843. March, | 56s. | 9s. |
| Sept., | 50s. | 9s. |

COST OF IMPORTING FOREIGN WHEAT.

The Liverpool papers of Tuesday contain a letter from Mr. Joseph Sandars, the well-known corn-dealer of that town, to Earl Talbot, president of the Stafford Agricultural Protection Society, in which, after requesting to be enrolled as a member of the association, and presenting a subscription of £30 to promote the sliding-scale agitation, he proceeds to abuse the Anti-Corn-Law League in that choice and elegant style which seems to have lately found so much favour with more aristocratic advocates of monopoly. Had his letter been confined to abuse, it would not have merited notice; but as it contains some statements regarding the average cost of bringing foreign grain to this country, which are calculated to mislead the public, we deem it proper to show that he is not worthy of being considered an infallible authority on such matters. After stating that Mr. Cobden has been "guilty of falsehood," or at least misrepresentation, for having stated that "the average cost of bringing foreign wheat to this country is 10s. 6d. per quarter," Mr. Sandars goes on to say:—"It is astonishing, after the repeated contradictions which similar statements have received, that any man can be found daring enough to repeat them. I now beg to state, from my own intimate knowledge of the foreign corn trade, that the freight from Hamburg has long ranged at 1s. 3d. to 2s. per quarter; and that foreign wheat, so imported, is subject to no charge, to which English, moved from one port to another, is not subject likewise; and, moreover, I state, without the fear of contradiction, that the rate of freight on such English wheat, moved coastwise, is as often above 2s. as it is below it. He is a bad calculator who thinks that the merchant in Yarmouth who buys wheat, and the factor in Wakefield who sells it, work without a commission. The charge for 'commission, portage, metage,' and the 'imaginary profits' of Mr. Macculloch, are common to all wheat, wherever bought or sold. Freight from the Danish ports vary from 2s. 3d. to 2s. 9d. per qr.; and from the Baltic ports, from 2s. to 4s. per qr., to which must be added 6d. per qr. Sound duties."

Now, let it be especially remarked, that notwithstanding the charge of "falsehood," which Mr. Sandars brings against Mr. Cobden, for having stated that the average cost of importation, including all charges, was 10s. 6d. per quarter, there is not the slightest attempt made by Mr. Sandars to prove that the statement is erroneous. He tells us, indeed, that "the freight from Hamburg has long ranged at 1s. 3d. to 2s. per quarter," but the question between him and Mr. Cobden was not as to what the mere freight is from one foreign port only, and that the nearest one to Great Britain, but as to what the average cost of carriage is from the various ports of the Continent and the United States. And, as for what is stated in the above passage with regard to the freight from Hamburg, we are not prepared to give it absolute credence, after what has been stated by Mr. James Meek, who was appointed by the present Government, in the latter end of 1841, to obtain information "concerning the cost and supply of various articles of agricultural produce in several parts of Northern Europe." In the report drawn up by that gentleman, which was laid before Parliament two years ago, and quoted by Sir R. Peel and Mr. Gladstone as the best possible evidence upon the question, we find the following answer to a question as to what the probable rate of freight from Hamburg to this country would be if the trade were permanently extended:—

"A fair average rate of freight would be 3s. 6d. per quarter. Exportation would be subject to other charges, amounting, on the whole, to from 2s. to 3s. per quarter."

Thus, with 3s. 6d. for freight, and 2s. 6d. (average) for charges of export, the cost of bringing wheat from the nearest and cheapest port, without reckoning any of the charges which Mr. Sandars repudiates, would be 6s. per quarter, instead of 1s. 3d. or 2s., of which he speaks. It appears to us, that Mr. Meek's estimate—furnished, as it has been, by a gentleman appointed by Government, for the express purpose of obtaining correct information on the subject of the Corn-Law question—is entitled to much more credit than the assertions of one who steps forward as an avowed partisan, and who shows, by the bitterness and virulence of his language, how deeply his feelings are embarked in the question.

Some people may be disposed to say, "Why should Mr. San-

* The first wheat sale on the farm by the present occupier.

dars have any strong feeling on this subject? What interest can he have in the maintenance of the sliding scale? We believe that Mr. Sanders has good reasons for preferring a tax which causes great fluctuations in the price of corn. He is a man of good judgment in his business, taking great pains to procure information, and, if we mistake not, has been a bold and successful speculator in corn. His preference of the sliding scale is as natural as we believe it to be sincere; it rests upon the same grounds as the preference of Demetrius, the Ephesian, for idleness—"Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth."—*Manchester Guardian*.

AGRICULTURE.

FACTS OR FANCIES, WHICH?

The recent Pro-Corn-Law meetings have disclosed a fact which has hitherto remained unobserved or unrecorded. The country gentlemen have, up to this year of grace 1844, passed for somewhat dull men. They have doggedly and silently upheld the Corn Law in the face of the most cogent proofs of its being alternately mischievous and useless; and they have sent representatives to Parliament who have kept their secret with the most faithful perseverance. The peculiar representatives of the landlords in the House of Commons have as yet either voted in silence for monopoly, or have made speeches so cunningly contrived to bear the appearance of gross ignorance, that we do not believe there are ten individuals in the United Kingdom who, until the formation of protection societies, had discovered that squirearchical silence was deliberately designed; that the seeming stolidity of their parliamentary representatives was purposed, Brutus-like idiosyncrasy, and that the landowners of England are, in truth, the most imaginative of men!

Like most persons, however, who give reins to the imagination, our landed speakers disdain anything so commonplace and prosaic as the making their imaginative flights square with facts. Their speeches abound with hypotheses, their figures are purely ideal, and their fancies serve them instead of facts as the basis of an argument. But, unluckily for the unanimity, though luckily for the more sober advantage of the community, there are a great many common-sense sort of people who persist in saying that all these landlord imaginings, these "ifs," and apprehended impossibilities, over nothing, and insist in testing monopolist fancies by a reference to facts. Now, for the benefit of such undeal persons, we will compare some of the flights of fancy in which the Pro-Corn-Law speakers have indulged with the sober and too often sad realities. There is no topic upon which the squires are more disposed to "leave dull earth behind them" than in descending on the benefits conferred by the Corn Laws on the agricultural labourers. Thus, Mr. John Benett, one of the monopolist members for South Wilts, said at Devizes that, "every one knew that the price of corn governed the price of labour; the experience of the last hundred years proved that the wages of the labourer always rose or fell with the price of corn." And Mr. Sotheron, the recently-elected monopolist member for North Wilts, said on the occasion of his election, that it is "a well-known fact that the price of provisions regulated the price of wages, and that it was as clear as a mathematical axiom that wages must rise and fall with the price of provisions." Such are the fancies with which these imaginative legislators entertained the farmers of Wiltshire; now let us see what are the facts. In 1833 a full in prices produced a cry of agricultural distress, and a parliamentary committee sat to inquire into the subject, which, after hearing all kinds of evidence, reported that "the general condition of the agricultural labourer was better than at any former period, his money wages giving him a greater command over the necessities and conveniences of life." To ordinary minds this would seem to be a complete refutation; to an imaginative owner of acres it may possibly seem to be a triumphant confirmation. The public, however, to which the landowners have themselves at last been compelled to appeal, will soon decide the question. In the evidence adduced before the subsequent agricultural committee of 1836, when the prices of corn had for four years in succession been extremely low, it was admitted that the position of the agricultural labourers was most favourable; for it was proved that not only their money wages gave them great command over the necessities of life, but that the improvements by which farmers were endeavouring to meet the fall of prices had led to great employment of agricultural labour. To Mr. Sotheron's assertion the best answer we can give is the following extract from Lord Radnor's letter to the local paper on this very subject. His lordship said:—

"I find, by reference to the quarterly abstract of the Faringdon Union for the quarters ending at Michaelmas 1840, 1841, 1842, and 1843, that the average prices of the half-peck loaf for these quarters respectively were 15½d., 13d., 14d., and 10½d., exhibiting a difference of somewhere about 32 per cent. between the price in 1840 and in 1843. Will Mr. Sotheron contend that the labourer, for the same work, which in the quarter ending Michaelmas 1843 was paid for by 8s. per week, received at the corresponding period in 1840, 12s.?"

Such is the contradiction which the experience of our own times gives to Mr. Benett's assertion.

Now, let us refer to the "experience of the last hundred years," which that ardent monopolist says "proved that the wages of the labourer always rose or fell with the price of corn." This is directly the reverse of the truth. Adam Smith, writing about 1755, says "the money price of labour in Great Britain—and the real recompense of labour, the real quantities of the necessities and conveniences of life which are given to the labourer—have increased considerably during the present century." And the price of wheat up to 1766, as compared with the average price of the previous century, had fallen 16 per cent., the price of agricultural labour having actually risen 16 per cent. in the same period, making a difference in favour of the labourer of 32 per cent., or nearly one-third. And this we maintain would be the effect of free trade in corn on the condition of the rural labourer, which would be effected somewhat thus:—The price of wheat would probably settle somewhere about from 45s. to 50s. a quarter; and landlords and farmers, finding that all the delusion about protection was at an end, would look rationally at their land to see whether there were no means of increasing the produce to be divided between them. They would soon see this could easily be effected by a little additional outlay on the part of the landlord, and the tenant also if secured by a lease; and the immediate consequence would be increased employment for the agricultural labourer. If there be one class more than another which is interested in obtaining free trade in corn, it is the agricultural labourers. But to return to Mr. John Benett: what can be thought of a public man who makes such false assertions?

We remember to have heard an anecdote of Mr. Benett, who is a fluent talker, which those who have the patience to read his Devizes speech will think very apt. He was travelling with a Mr. John Gale—noted for saying bluff things—and having wearied that gentleman with rambling dissertations on things in general, and the Corn Laws in particular, which he continually interrupted with the interrogatory, "Do you understand me?"—until Mr. Gale, provoked beyond endurance, retorted—"Do you understand yourself?" Even John Benett's volubility received a decided check.

Again: Mr. Benett said, "Ask the labourers if they do not receive some degree of comfort, emanating from the residence of every landlord in the kingdom? But if the great moneyed man bought, he would buy for investment;—he would live in London—the old family house would be shut up—and then farewell to the comforts of the labourer." Now, this is pure idealism. Our readers have read something of the "comforts" which have "emanated" from the "old family houses" of the landlords of Dorsetshire towards the labourer of that county, and we will now inquire whether the condition of the Wiltshire peasant is superior to his brethren in Dorset. In the same letter we before quoted, Lord Radnor says:—

"At the present time, at and about Swindon, the agricultural labourer is receiving 8s.; at Chiseldon, at a very short distance, the ordinary wages are 6s., and a few miles further on, at Woolstone, there were, a very short time since, able-bodied young men, of from 23 to 26 years of age, working at 3s."

And we know that 8s. and 9s. a week are the very best wages obtained by the Wiltshire agricultural labourer: the local papers say 7s. a week is above the average paid. Well may it be asked, "How can the repeal of the Corn Laws injure the Wiltshire peasant?" But a large number cannot earn even this pittance, for the *Wilts Independent* says that,

"In Potterne, an extensive parish on the south-west side of Devizes, in which reside two country gentlemen who are magistrates, considerable landowners, and staunch advocates of the Corn Laws, besides other gentlemen of station and of wealth, the plan of billeting the labourers has been adopted; and the following are the prices which are put on those poor fellows who cannot get work at the average rate of 7s. a week, and of whom we understand there are, or lately were, about 40:—

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Able-bodied single men | 2s. 6d. a week. |
| Ditto married men | 4 0 do. |
| Ditto with two or three children | 5 0 do. |
| Ditto with large families | 6 0 do. |

At these rates, then, fixed with reference to the number of mouths to be fed, and not according to the ability of the parties as workmen—the object clearly being to reduce the poor's rates—may any person in the parish, or out of it either, we presume, command the services of any of these 40 unfortunates. We say command, for these independent labourers—"bold peasantry, their country's pride"—have no voice in the matter; they have not even the option of going into the Union-house while any one can be found willing to use up their sinews and their bones at this starvation price."

And similar facts may be learned by the most casual observer of the events of the locality in which these landed grandees dare to assert that the Corn Laws are beneficial to the agricultural labourer. Verily no terms of scorn and disgust can be too strong to apply to men who use such misrepresentations to uphold a rent-protecting law!

DAMAGE BY GAME—A WARNING TO FARMERS.

The following occurrence, which took place on the estate of the Earl of Malmesbury at Fordingbridge, in Hampshire, will at once show the extent of the damage

done by game, and operate as a warning to farmers against trusting their capital upon the estate of a game-preserver on any terms. Before a new tenant enters upon a farm on this estate he is told that he must not kill even a rabbit; that the game is the first, the primary object of its lordly owner, which he reserves exclusively to himself; but that he will pay the tenant for all damage done by the game. This looks fair, and not a few good farmers—men who really understand the injuries inflicted by game—have been deluded by the specious bait.

Every year for year's past vast ravages were committed by game—which has been appropriately called the English locust—and a certain allowance made to the tenants as the amount of damage they had sustained. Of course, they were dissatisfied, for no allowance we ever heard of as made by a landlord, can compensate the tenant for the loss occasioned by game. However, one of the tenants on the Fordingbridge estate determined to bring the matter to the test of actual experiment: and so, having a field of wheat of forty acres in the part of his farm most afflicted by the incursions of the game, he fenced off by means of close hurdles about a quarter of an acre in the middle of the field, so that neither hare or rabbit could touch a blade of the corn within the enclosure. At harvest the difference between the "protected" and unprotected corn was obvious and surprising; and afforded a ready means of ascertaining the exact amount of the damage done by the game. The corn grown on this quarter of an acre of land, which had been protected from the game, was thrashed and measured, and compared with the produce of the same quantity of land to which the game had access, the difference upon the whole field amounted to a sum nearly equal to the rent of the farm; the noble landowner, true to the letter of his agreement, paid the full amount of the now proved damage, BUT THE TENANT IMMEDIATELY RECEIVED A NOTICE TO QUIT THE FARM!!! Farmers of England, ponder on this anecdote. Landlords never do and never intend to make good the damage done by their game; and where no compensation is pretended to be given to the tenant you will readily comprehend how—as in the instance mentioned in Mr. Lattimore's letter of last week—a small farmer may be actually ruined by game.

INJUSTICE OF THE GAME LAWS.

The following notice appeared as an advertisement in a provincial newspaper:—

"HAMLET OF BOURTON, PARISH OF BUCKINGHAM.—A deputation to kill the game, to fish, and otherwise sport upon and over the manor and hamlet of Bourton, having been granted to me by William Osmond Hammond, Esq., lord of the said manor, and owner of all the lands within the said hamlet, I hereby give notice, that the game and fish will henceforth be strictly preserved, and that any person found trespassing in pursuit of game, or otherwise, will be prosecuted at the law directs.—HENRY SMITH.—Maids Moreton Lodge, Feb. 20, 1844."

In that notice what a world of misery, degradation, and crime is promised to the hamlet of Bourton. Has Mr. Hammond let "all the lands within the hamlet" at their full marketable value? Knowing the landowners as we do, and presuming that gentleman to be neither better nor worse than his brethren, we may fairly assume that he had got all the rent the competition of farmers would give him. Well, then, having got all the rent he can out of farmers Dobson, Brown, White, &c., he lets the manor, with all his reserved right to hunt, shoot, fish, and fowl, to Mr. Henry Smith, who forthwith issues his ukase to inform the farmers of the district that he means to put all the horrible machinery of the game laws in force to preserve his hares, rabbits, and pheasants, which are to be fed on their corn. Can anything equal the legalized injustice of such a proceeding? To show the extent of injury done by game, we may mention a circumstance within our own knowledge. On a farm which a first-rate farmer left last Michaelmas on the expiration of his lease, and which he declined to renew because the landlord would reserve the game to himself; and on which the whole extent of arable land does not exceed 100 acres, the damage done to the new tenant by game since last Michaelmas has been valued at ONE HUNDRED POUNDS. And, farmers, it is to uphold the system of which this forms a part that you are to band yourselves into "Protection" Societies!!

HINTS FOR LANDLORDS.

IMMORALITY OF THE GAME LAWS.—No small portion of the aristocratic indignation which has been excited against the League is due to the unflinching way in which the advocates of Free Trade have exposed the dark spots in the system of landlord-rule of which the Corn Law is the corner-stone. Of these the game law forms one of the deepest, and has been necessarily made one of the prominent topics in our examination of the state of the rural districts. And amidst all the subjects discussed at the Pro-Corn-Law meetings, we never heard of a single squire who has ventured to pronounce the word game. And if any test were wanted to try the quality of the so-called tenant-farmers meetings, it would be found in the fact that the grievance of which tenants throughout England universally complain never finds utterance at these gatherings. Here, however, we have a witness against the game laws which the squire will find it difficult to gainsay:—

"POACHING AND GAME-PRESERVING.—An Old Vicar thus writes to the *Church and State Gazette*:—'Upwards of forty years' experience has proved the impossibility of convicting any poor parishioners, in four distantly-placed parishes, of the sin of poaching, or making them feel that they had broken a command of God when they killed hares which were destroying their garden's produce. I believe that all my rural brethren will agree with me, and also in the lamentable conclusion, that a labourer who once has been in goal for such an offence is that ruined, hardened, degraded, and yet thinks himself a martyr; that he thence imbibes a rooted hatred of the game laws, and turns radical. From this I would appeal to the game-preservers, and ask them, as Christians, 'who are not to seek their own, but rather another's good,' whether they can justify conduct which lays a snare for the conscience of a weak brother?'"

This is just what we have constantly said. And what is the chief inducement to poaching? The following is

port from a local paper of a proceeding at a petty sessions in Bedfordshire will supply the best answer:—

"GAME.—Joseph Curtis, of Woolton, was charged with trespassing in pursuit of game in Kempton Wood. Defendant pleaded guilty, and said he could get no work, adding, 'If you can't get work and are starving, and nobody will help you, you must be expected to do such things.' Fined 4s., costs 17s. 6d., in default of payment committed for six weeks' hard labour."

Poverty, induced by uncertain and irregular employment, is in most cases the cause which makes rural labourers poachers; but the mere existence of game preserves is, in itself, an enormous evil. They injure the farmers, who readily wink, when they dare, at "offences against the game laws" committed by their labourers; and they offer an irresistible inducement to starving or ill-paid workmen to take the first step in crime. The truth of that which the experience of the "Old Vicar" has shown will be admitted by every one acquainted with the rural districts. We say advisedly, that there is no way in which one man can do so much local public mischief as by maintaining a game preserve.

PLAYING WITH EDGED TOOLS.—We really regard the Pro-Corn-Law writers and speakers with feelings nearly akin to those with which we should see a rash and foolish child brandishing dangerous weapons, with the use and power of which he is unacquainted. Take, for instance, the following paragraph from a monopolist organ:—

"A 'GREAT FACT' FOR THE LEAGUE.—The average price of a quarter of wheat, Winchester measure, in England and Wales, for the week ending March 5, 1791, was 50s. 8d., as stated in a Treasury notice contained in a newspaper of that period now before us. The price of the peck loaf of bread, weighing 17½ lbs., as set forth by the magistrates of Newcastle, was 2s. 2d., on the 16th of March, 1791. These prices bear a very remarkable approximation to the prices now ruling after a lapse of 53 years, during which period almost every article of domestic use has increased greatly in value. It cannot be said that bread is now dearer than it was half a century ago, and when the public burdens upon the agriculturists were not half what they are at present."—*Newcastle Journal*.

Very well: prices of grain are nearly the same as they were fifty years ago; but what are rents? How does it happen that, with the prices received by his grandfather, the modern farmer pays double, treble, or quadruple rent? Doubtless, vast improvements have been made in husbandry since 1791, and the gross produce of the land is far greater now than then; but who is the gainer? Into whose pocket has all the increase gone? Has not the landlord obtained the lion's share, and more than the lion's share, has he scarcely left a bone to be picked by the farmer?

Does the farmer of 1844 make as good a return for his outlay and his labour as was obtained by his predecessor of 1791? We leave the farmers of England to answer the question!

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Though rather late, we must make room for the verses of Perthensis on the late "repudiation" of Free-Trade principles by the monopolists of his county.

THE COUNTY OF PERTH OBTAIN THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE

"The Yorkshire of Scotland seems all in a flutter,
Its farmers are on edge, its landholders bluster;
The tocsin is sounded, the muster-roll called,
Of the landlord's yoked serfs to be doubly enthralled:
At their masters' proud bidding they signatures give,
Not their rents to release, but that lordlings may live;
Their names they append to a sage declaration
(Like Jonathan dealing on repudiation),
For their wisdom announcing Free Trade as the foe
Alike (noble thought!) of the high and the low;
While scarce one in twenty of all the array
One sensible word on the subject can say.
But what is its weight, though signed by each minion,
It weighs as a feather—in public opinion;
Pray what solid basis can it have to rest on,
When its pith and its marrow is begging the question?
All its argument seems that monopoly claims,
By a grand muster-roll of subservient names,
In a hostile position to take up its station,
Against the just rights of a suffering nation.
But, thanks to good sense, a more generous feeling,
There are noble exceptions, to justice appealing:
In favour of commerce, that main-spring of Britain,
The happiest scene that her offspring can meet on,
Claiming speedy redress for the wrongs of fair trade,
And its rights to reclaim, lending freely their aid:
To this patriot law would the muse grateful pay
The people's best thanks, in her own simple lay.
Lo, the farmers have worked by a magical spell,
The train of their selfish lease-granters' base swell.
Did they think for them selves, they would quickly perceive
That they, too, have reason as others to grieve;
Back-rented, of this they ought sole to complain;
With moderate rents, by the change they would gain;
While commerce reviving, as quick would they see
What a mart for their grain would its industry be.
Home demand is the farmer's best market—a nation
Composed of a skilful Free-Trade population."

"J. G., Loughborough."—Trade-men putting monopoly petitions in their windows are advertising themselves as candidates for the Gazette.

"One of the League" sends the following scrap as an extract from Franklin: we have not found it in the doctor's works, but it is not unworthy of his pen:—

"FREE TRADE, OR TRADE AND THE MANUFACTURES.
Suppose a country, B, with three manufactures, as cloth, silk, and iron, supplying three other countries, A, B, C, but is desirous of increasing the vent and raising the price in favour of her own clothiers.

"In order to this she forbids the importation of cloth from A.

"A in return forbids silks from B.

"Then the silkworkers complain of decay, and B, to content them, forbids silks from B.

"B in return forbids ironware from E.

"Then the ironworkers complain of decay, and E forbids iron from C.

"C in return forbids cloth from E.

"Q. What is gained by all these prohibitions?

"Ans. All four find their stock of comforts and conveniences diminished."

"A Constant Reader."—We cannot tell the price, but believe the book to be cheap.

"R. W." is thanked, but the fallacy has been sufficiently exposed before. It is a work of supererogation.

"Thrice to vanquish all our foes,
And thrice to slay the slain."

"G. W. W." letter is referred to the agricultural department of the League.

"The League" will be taken into consideration so soon as the many demands on our time afford us sufficient leisure.

"H. L." is referred to Mr. Bright's speech at Covent Garden reported in our last paper.

"A Friend."—The list shall not be lost.

"G. P."—The lines have already appeared in the Anti-Bread-Tax circular.

"An Enemy to Monopoly" sends the following little ballad:—

"And he took up his pen and said,"

"I watched a Christian mother,
Grown pale with want and care,
As patiently she taught her child
Its simple morning prayer.
Its little hands bore famine's marks,
Its voice had sorrow's tone,
And the salt tears bedew'd his cheek,
As paled as her own."

"Each blessed sound the gentle child
Repeated as she read,
Until the words, 'Give us this day,
O Lord, our daily bread';
And then he paused, and sullenly
He hung his little head."

"Give us this day our daily bread;
The child was silent still
A moment more—then, as the tears
Were trickling like a rill,
'I've asked him many a time,' he said,
And yet he never will."

"The mother, shocked, 'He does, my child,
Rich waving fields display—
His bountiful supply for all—
'Then who takes it away?'
This question, tho' not answered now,
Must at a future day."

"Know ye a sweeter sound on earth
Than childhood's voice in prayer?
O man! thy hand for ever mays
All that is bright and fair;
And on the altar of the heart
Thy blight extends even there."

"J. G."—As neither statement is correct it would be useless to attempt to reconcile them.

"J. G."—In their private capacity the members of the League will soon have an opportunity of showing their gratitude to Rowland Hill; not only they, but all who are interested in advancing the interests of humanity, owe him a debt of obligation which can never be adequately discharged.

"H. V." is thanked, but there is no room.

"W. B."—The verses would require considerable improvement before they would be fit for publication.

"J. C., Newcastle-on-Tyne."—The sonnet might pain the person it is designed to celebrate.

"H. C."—The subject requires very delicate handling, but there is no doubt that misguided benevolence has done more injury to the poor than the most perverse malignity.

"A Country Surgeon" will find that his information has not been thrown away; but were we to publish the hundredth part of the instances of individual suffering arising from monopoly, which are daily sent to us, our paper would be nothing but a record of personal grievances.

"J. P."—Many such instances are daily brought to our notice.

"A Lover of Truth" has inquired about a monstrous fiction, uttered by some person named Heathcote; he should have put his question to the worthy M.P.

"R. R." will soon find that he is mistaken in his impressions.

"C. D."—The lines are not quite up to the mark.

"J. A."—We regret that we cannot oblige all our poetical correspondents, but we trust that they will believe us when we say, that rejection of what is dictated by right and noble feeling, from slight deficiencies in form, is the most painful part of our editorial duties.

An intelligent Working Man, writing from Stamford, thus exposes the mode by which signatures are obtained to petitions in favour of the existing Corn monopoly:—"The Tories of this borough went, on Wednesday last, from house to house, with a petition in favour of the Corn Laws, and imposed on the poor by telling them it was to raise their wages, and thus succeeded in obtaining a great many names. The parties consisted of a baker, a butcher, and a brewer, who compelled their workmen to sign the petition. I have it from a working man that his name and the names of many others were affixed to it without their knowledge. There was no public meeting called, nor did the people know anything of it until it was brought to their houses for signature."

Several reviews and other matters are unavoidably postponed till next week.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one-quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

We receive letters from different correspondents, containing complaints of irregularity in the delivery of the LEAGUE Newspaper. We can assure our friends in all parts of the country, that the utmost possible attention is paid to the transmission of the LEAGUE from this office; and whenever any of our Subscribers suffer disappointment from not receiving their copy in due course, the delay or non-delivery will almost invariably be found to arise from some irregularity in the Post-office; and we recommend in all such cases of disappointment, application to the Post-office at once.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE beg to announce that their next MEETING in COVENT GARDEN THEATRE WILL NOT TAKE PLACE until Wednesday evening, the 20th inst., engagements having been made by the Proprietors of the Theatre during next week which will preclude the possibility of making the requisite arrangements for holding the usual weekly meeting.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, March 9, 1844.

It is undoubtedly true, as was recently said at one of the League meetings, that no Monopolist member of the House of Commons appears yet to have been converted to the Free-Trade doctrine. We do not expect such conversions. A similar remark might have been made as to Catholic Emancipation, but a very short time before that measure was introduced by Sir Robert Peel. The majority of the House will not be converted piecemeal. Its movements will be like those of the French troops in July, 1830. Soldiers did not then step out of the ranks, walk across to the insurgent multitude, and

do battle with their former comrades. No such thing. But whole regiments fired repeated volleys among the people, and then faced about, and hoisted the tricolor. The Ministerial majority is as well drilled as any regiment; and the military instinct is not more powerful than its party spirit.

We need not, indeed, go back to the period of Catholic Emancipation for an instance of the susceptibility of a party to a conversion which is looked for in vain amongst its individual members. Did not something similar happen only two years ago, and on this very subject of the importation of corn? Sir Robert Peel commenced Minister with a body of about 380 parliamentary supporters, almost all of them pledged against any change whatever of the Corn Laws; and yet they adopted, *en masse*, a new sliding scale, the proposition of which would have been tolerably certain of ousting the Whigs. It would have been scarcely, if at all, less the object of reprobation than the 8s. fixed duty. We do not argue on the chance of any similar exhibition in the Legislature of the military manoeuvre, "right-about face;" our purpose is simply to point out the modes of conversion in a parliamentary majority.

But although Monopolist conversions in the House of Commons be looked for in vain, it does not follow that no change, worthy of the name of conversion, is to be traced there. Important changes may and do take place, which yet leave the numbers on a division unaffected. At the meeting of electors of the Tower Hamlets, on Wednesday last, both the representatives of that borough declared their renunciation of a fixed duty, and their conviction that the time had gone by for any compromise of the principle of total repeal. Conversion of this sort is spreading rapidly in the House. And this is a real and tangible accession to the cause of Free Trade,—a cause which is as much opposed to, and has, perhaps, in the long run, as much to fear from, the system of "Protection" in the form of fixed duty as in that of a sliding scale. In this sense, conversions take place to a considerable extent, of which the two members just referred to are a specimen. And while this change is rapidly making, on the Opposition side of the House, there is an analogous process in operation upon the Ministerial side. There, too, the conviction is growing, that the season for compromise is passed. If any emergency should seem to demand the relinquishment of the present law, "Protection" will be abandoned along with it. With both political parties, the total repeal of the Corn Laws, from being wholly out of question, is becoming the only point that is in question. And although this sort of conversion may not tell upon the public mind, nor even attract public observation, like individual instances of distinctly-avowed change from Monopolist to Free-Trade principles, yet, it is of real and deep importance in reference to a final settlement; and it also affords encouragement to the practical work in which we have called for the co-operation of those who possess the elective franchise. Let all Free-Traders in the constituencies be on the alert. The memorializing of their members to support Mr. Villiers's motion will be sure to tell in some way or other. Every such document is an addition to that great moving power which sometimes has its full action upon the individual, but more frequently is less perceptible, though not less efficient in its influence upon the mass. This is the next and immediate duty of the electoral repealers: we rely on its being done, thoroughly and universally. By any neglect in it, we shall be untrue to our cause and ourselves. Let the impression be distinctly made upon the Legislature of the earnestness and determination of the public mind.

SUGAR MONOPOLY.—SERING IS BELIEVING.—One of the most practical exhibitions of the sugar monopoly that we have heard of took place at the Liverpool Exchange on Wednesday last. Samples of free sugar and monopoly sugar, with the prices and the duties upon each, were placed side by side in glass cases, and beside them lay a petition to the House of Commons, praying that the scandalous sugar monopoly should be abolished. There was no possibility of misunderstanding the question when thus brought under notice; seeing a believing; and when people saw sugar of similar quality lying side by side,—the one selling at 2d. per lb. and the other at 4d. per lb. in bond,—it created a sensation which twenty lectures would fail to produce. Every body remarked, *this*, at all events, is not a party question; and we are happy to hear that the petition was numerously signed by men of all parties. That our readers may judge of the nature of the robbery by the sugar monopoly, we give the following copy from the glass cases:—

| Free Sugar. | Protected Sugar. |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Duty, 7½d. per lb. | Duty, 2½d. per lb. |
| Price in Bond. | Price in Bond. |
| Porto Rico, 18s. 6d. to 19s. | Jamaica, 37s. per cwt., or 4d. per lb. |
| per cwt., or 2d. per lb. | per lb. |
| Brazil, 20s. 6d., or 2½d. per lb. | Bengal, 43s. 6d., or 4½d. per lb. |
| Siam, 22s., or 2½d. per lb. | Jamaica, 37s., or 4d. per lb. |

It is intended to send the glass cases to some member of Parliament to be exhibited in the House of Commons during the debate on the sugar duties; and that the public may also see for themselves how they are plundered by the sugar monopolists, glass cases similar to those exhibited at Liverpool will be exhibited at the Offices of the League, No. 67, Fleet-street, London; and at the League Offices in Manchester.

THE FUNDS.

| | Mar. 3 | Mar. 4 | Mar. 5 | Mar. 6 | Mar. 7 | Mar. 8 |
|---------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Bank Stock | 98 1/2 | 98 1/2 | 98 1/2 | 98 1/2 | 98 1/2 | 98 1/2 |
| 4 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 98 1/2 | 98 1/2 | 98 1/2 | 98 1/2 | 98 1/2 | 98 1/2 |
| 5 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| 5 per Ct. Ann. New | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| Long An. Ex. 1840 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| Cons. for Acc. | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 | 97 1/2 |
| Rep. Bills | 69 pm. | 69 pm. | 69 pm. | 69 pm. | 69 pm. | 69 pm. |
| Ind. Bds. and 1000 | 86 | 86 pm. | 86 pm. | 86 pm. | 86 pm. | 86 pm. |
| India Stock | 27 1/2 | 27 1/2 | 27 1/2 | 27 1/2 | 27 1/2 | 27 1/2 |
| Belgian | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 |
| Brazilian | 80 1/2 | 80 1/2 | 80 1/2 | 80 1/2 | 80 1/2 | 80 1/2 |
| Chilian | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 |
| Columbian Vene. | 14 1/2 | 14 1/2 | 14 1/2 | 14 1/2 | 14 1/2 | 14 1/2 |
| Danish | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 101 1/2 | 101 1/2 | 101 1/2 | 101 1/2 | 101 1/2 | 101 1/2 |
| Dutch 3 per Ct. | 84 1/2 | 84 1/2 | 84 1/2 | 84 1/2 | 84 1/2 | 84 1/2 |
| Mexican, 1837 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 |
| Portuguese, conv. | 48 1/2 | 48 1/2 | 48 1/2 | 48 1/2 | 48 1/2 | 48 1/2 |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 26 1/2 | 26 1/2 | 26 1/2 | 26 1/2 | 26 1/2 | 26 1/2 |
| Do. 2 per Ct. | 28 1/2 | 28 1/2 | 28 1/2 | 28 1/2 | 28 1/2 | 28 1/2 |
| Peruvian | 30 1/2 | 30 1/2 | 30 1/2 | 30 1/2 | 30 1/2 | 30 1/2 |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, March 4. — The supply of Essex Wheat this morning was short, but there was a good show of samples from Kent; many of the latter were in bad condition, and for such there was a slow sale; but fine dry samples sold readily at 1s. advance on last week's rates. There was rather more inquiry for Free Foreign, but the transactions were not extensive, owing to the high rates that were insisted on by the holders. The business done was at last week's prices. Though the supply of Barley was not very large, fine Malting was 1s. per qr., and Distilling and Grinding 1s. to 2s. per qr., cheaper than this day week. Beans and Peas were in request, and for the former a slight advance was obtained. The supply of Oats was more than equal to the demand; and though a decline of 6d. per qr. was submitted to, the sale was very limited.

B. H. LUCAS and SON.

Currency per Imperial measure.

| | | | |
|---------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
| Wheat, English, Red | 45s to 55s | Malt, Pale Suffolk and | 28s to 30s |
| Do., do., Old | 52s — 61s | Norfolk | 54s — 58s |
| New, do. White | 60s — 64s | Chevalier | 60s — 63s |
| Old, do., do. | 60s — 64s | Brown | 53s — 56s |
| Dantzic | 67s — 63s | Oats, English Feed | 20s — 22s |
| Stettin | 50s — 57s | Do. Short | 21s — 23s |
| Barley, Malting | 34s — 39s | Scotch Feed | 21s — 23s |
| Distilling | 32s — 34s | Do. Potato | 23s — 25s |
| Grinding | 28s — 32s | Irish Feed | 19s — 20s |
| Beans, Tick | 26s — 27s | Do. Short | 20s — 22s |
| Harrow | 28s — 30s | Do. Black | 19s — 20s |
| Pigeon | 32s — 34s | Do. Galway | 17s — 19s |
| Old Harrow | 33s — 35s | Flour, town made and | |
| Peas, White | 28s — 30s | beat country marks | 45s — 50s |
| Do., Bollers | 31s — 33s | Norfolk and Suff. | |
| Grey | 26s — 28s | folk | 40s — 44s |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 26th of Feb. to the 2nd of March, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 5163 | 5226 | 4097 | 1573 | 976 |
| Scotch | — | — | 937 | — | — |
| Irish | — | 60 | 21294 | — | — |
| Foreign | 1350 | 880 | — | — | 6 |

Flour, 8455 sacks, 154 bbls. Malt, 6792 qrs.

MARK-LANE, Friday, March 8. — The arrivals of English Wheat since Monday are very moderate. Prices are the same as on Monday, and there is very little business doing. The supply of Barley is fully equal to the demand; the sale is slow at former rates. We continue well supplied with English and Irish Oats; and the dealers being now pretty well stocked, there is more difficulty in effecting sales. Where vessels are on demurrage, a decline of 6d. from Monday must be acceded to. The duty on Beans fell to 10s. 6d. yesterday; and there is, in consequence, rather more inquiry for Egyptian in bond.

B. H. LUCAS and SON.

Account of Corn, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 23rd of Feb. to the 8th of March, both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 3180 | — | 2350 |
| Barley | 5210 | 190 | — |
| Oats | 4250 | 14270 | — |

Flour 2040 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT OF THE NUMBER OF QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED MARCH 8, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|---------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Qrs. Aver. | Qrs. Aver. | Qrs. Aver. | Qrs. Aver. |
| Weekly | 98,830 86 | 2 86,127 33 | 9 51,215 20 | 0 14,423 30 |
| Average | .. 53 8 | .. 33 5 | .. 19 4 | .. 30 1 |
| Duty | .. 18 0 | .. 8 0 | .. 7 0 | .. 10 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

TUESDAY, MARCH 5

BANKRUPTCY SUPPLEMENT.

- H. SOUTHGATE, Fleet-street, auctioneer.
W. L. WOOD, Bishopsgate-street Within, export ironmonger.
BANKRUPT.
N. BLAKE, Edgware-road, linen draper. [Pain and Hatherly, Great Marlborough-street.
C. M. MOTTAM, Friday-street, Cheapside, warehouseman. [Sale and Worthington, Manchester; Reed and Shaw, Friday-street, Cheapside.
W. CHERSMAN, J. HODSON, and W. O. CHERSMAN, Brighton, china-men. [Cattlin, Ely-place, Holborn.
W. H. HAWKES, Brighton, common brewer. [Rickards and Walker, Lincoln's-Inn-fields.
E. TUCK, Haymarket, silversmith. [Mawe, New Bridge-street.
J. HUGGINS, York-place, High-street, Portland-town, poultryer. [Messrs. Lovell, South-square, Gray's-Inn.
J. TAYLOR, Daventry, Northamptonshire, ironfounder. [Addis and Guy, Great Queen-street, Westminster.
C. J. RIDDEY, Little Cretton, Northamptonshire, innkeeper. [Weller, King's-road, Bedford-row; Pell, Northampton.
C. COUCHMAN, Edward-square, Kensington, Middlesex, carpenter. [Atkinson, Carey-street.
J. JOSEPH, Peter's-lane, Paul's-wharf, City, clerk to a book-keeper. [Lane, Argyll-street, Regent-street.
H. TAYLOR, Bliton, Staffordshire, victualler. [Manby and Hawkesford, Wolverhampton.
J. CRUMP, Stanway, Gloucestershire, corn dealer. [Cheek, Kvesham; Dix, Bristol; Bell, Bedford-row.

DIVIDENDS.

March 26. F. B. Courtenay, Great Marlborough-street, book-seller—March 26. J. Andrew, Lad-lane, licensed victualler—March 26. P. Axmann and J. G. Christ, Mark-lane, foreign and general merchants—March 26. W. Keat, Covent-garden, engraver—March 26. T. Maggs, Cheshunt, upholsterer—March 26. W. Keap, Northumberland-street, Strand, tailor—March 26. C. Sharp and W. D. Clarke, Berners-street, upholsterers—March 26. E. Mackintosh, Haymarket, army accoutrement

maker—March 27. J. G. West, Wandsworth, grocer—March 27. J. Willis, Osborne street, Whitechapel, ale and porter merchant—March 27. R. Kennet, New Bond-street, upholsterer—March 26. T. Balnes, Bradford, Yorkshire, worsted spinner—March 26. W. Fretwell, Leeds, colonial merchant—March 27. R. Hunt, Kingston-upon-Hull, booter—March 27. J. Crowther, Huddersfield, corn miller—March 27. T. Eyre, Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, corn merchant—March 27. J. Taylor, Middlesbrough, Yorkshire, coal fitter—March 26. H. Featherstonhaugh, Bishop Wearmouth, coal fitter—March 27. C. B. Buchanan and W. Cunningham, Liverpool, merchants—March 26. T. Bomford, Elmstone Hardwick, Gloucestershire, hay dealer.

CERTIFICATES.

March 26. C. Killick and J. Sudd, Blackman-street, Borough, paper stainers—March 26. T. W. Vine, Peers-lane, City-road, carpenter—March 26. F. B. Courtenay, Great Marlborough-street, bookseller.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

P. SINCLAIR, Edinburgh, auctioneer.

RAMS FOR RAISING WATER without Labour, where a fall can be obtained—Deep Well Engines—Pumps of every description—Buildings heated by hot water, &c. Every description of Fountains erected by F. ROE, 70, STRAND, Ornamental and House Engineer.

WORTHY OF REMARK.—The fact that many of the principal Hospitals in the kingdom—among which it is sufficient to name Guy's, St. George's, and the Westminster, in the metropolis, and the Manchester, Bristol, and Brighton Infirmarys—have adopted **BETTS'S PATENT BRANDY**, in preference to Foreign, affords a sufficient guarantee to the consumers of Brandy of the extreme purity of the article; the connoisseur being, at the same time, baffled in his attempt to distinguish between its flavour and that of fine Cognac.—Price, pale or coloured, in quantities not less than Two Gallons, Eighteen Shillings per Gallon, at the Distillery, No. 7, Smithfield-barn, leading to St. John-street.

THE NEW MANURE.

HUMPHREY'S FARMERS' COMPOUND, possessing superior advantages to any manure yet offered to the public. It is rich in the Phosphate, Silicate, and Nitrogen, with certain new agents, so as to prove most economical and effective for Wheat, Barley, Potatoes, Meadow Land, &c. Being manufactured on a new principle, this Manure will not wash out of the soil like guano, or the salts; but, with the lasting qualities of the "Home-made," combines the most energetic fertilising chemical agents; adapted to all the purposes of Husbandry and Garden Culture, and unrivalled as a Top Dressing for all Spring Crops.—12s. per cwt. Wholesale Agents, DAVY, MACKINROD, and CO., 101, Upper Thames-street, London.

SEA SICKNESS—THOMPSON'S REMEDY.

This nearly tasteless and easily administered remedy has proved efficacious in upwards of 80 cases in 100, when the directions for taking it have been observed; and will be found invaluable for delicate Females and Children travelling by sea. Sold wholesale by T. Thompson and Son, chemists, Liverpool; W. Edwards, 57, St. Paul Churchyard, London; J. and R. Raines and Co., Dundee; Cockhart, and Co., and H. C. Baldon, Edinburgh; the Apothecaries Company, Glasgow; Wm. Jackson, 10, Lower Mecklenburgh-street, Dublin; A. Mordaunt, Southampton; Evans, Sons, and Co., and J. J. Jackson and Co., Liverpool; and by most respectable Druggists in the principal seaports in the United Kingdom, in packages, price 2s. 9d., and in tin cases, equal to six packages, price 11s. A post-office order for 2s. 11d. will ensure its prompt return by post.

THE AMERICAN ROCKING-CHAIR.—None

are genuine unless they have "Luck, Kent, and Cumming," painted on the bottom. This chair, so much admired by all who have visited America, for the remarkable ease, pleasure, and comfort which it affords, is just imported, and for sale at the extensive Carpet and Upholstery Establishments of LUCK, KENT, and CUMMING, No. 4, Regent-street; Carpenters' Hall, 68, London-wall; and WM. CUMMING and Co., 98, Hatton-garden. It is asserted with confidence that there is no piece of furniture in use in civilized society more sought after and approved of when known. The price 25s., with a liberal discount to the trade. Stout persons and Invalids will find these chairs invaluable.

WEAK LEGS, KNEES, AND ANKLES.—

SURGONS in England, Ireland, and Scotland, continue to recommend BAILEY'S ELASTIC LACED STOCKINGS, KNEE CAPS, and ANKLE SOCKS; they are light, cool, and warranted to wash. Since the reduction of postage, afflicted persons in the country can have any bandage by post, for a few pence, by forwarding the measure outwardly, property of the Stocking is to give constant support in various veins, weak, swollen, or dropsical affections of the legs, or in any case requiring equal pressure: the Knee Cap will be of great service where the knee joint requires support, from accident to the pain of the knee, after inflammation, rheumatic or gouty affections, or in any case where, from weakness of the part, support may be required.—W. H. Bailey, 418, Oxford-street, London.

STOOPING OF THE SHOULDERS AND

CONTRACTION OF THE CHEST, so injurious in Young Persons and oppressive to Invalids and the Infirm, entirely prevented, and gently and effectually removed, by the occasional use of the Patent ST. JAMES'S CHEST-EXPANDER, which is light, simple, easily employed outwardly or invisibly, without bands beneath the arms, uncomfortable constraint, or impediment to exercise. The great improvement it effects in the figure is immediately apparent; but the permanent benefit of this invention is its obvious tendency to youth, and to afford a comfortable support to the chest and back in the aged and weakly, or those who are accustomed to sedentary occupations. Full particulars may be obtained on application to Mr. A. Blyton, 40, Tavistock-street, Strand, London, by enclosing a postage stamp.

FOR STOPPING DECAYED TEETH, Mr.

THOMAS'S SUGCANEUM, price 4s. 6d.—Patronized by her Majesty, his Royal Highness Prince Albert, and her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent. This valuable SUGCANEUM for Stopping Decayed Teeth, however large the cavity, is far superior to anything ever before used, as it is placed in the tooth in a soft state, without any pressure or pain, and in a short time becomes as hard as the enamel, and will remain firm in the tooth for many years, rendering extraction unnecessary. It arrests all further progress of decay, and renders the tooth again useful in mastication. All persons can use Mr. THOMAS'S SUGCANEUM themselves with ease, without the aid of a dentist, as full directions are enclosed.—Prepared only by Mr. Thomas, Surgeon-Dentist, 68, Berners-street, Oxford-street, price 4s. 6d., and will be sent by post to any part of the kingdom.

ARTIFICIAL TEETH.—Mr. Thomas continues to supply the loss of teeth, which he has introduced an entirely new description of ARTIFICIAL TEETH, which will be found very superior to all others, as they will never decay nor become discoloured, and their perfect resemblance to nature defies detection even by the closest observer. This method does not require the extraction of any teeth or roots, or any painful operation whatever. The charges will be found less than most dentists.—Mr. Thomas, Surgeon-Dentist, 68, Berners-street, Oxford-street. At home from Eleven till Four.

CORROBORATION OF THE INNOCENT YET

RELIEVING PROPERTIES OF BLAIR'S GOUT AND RHEUMATIC PILLS.

TO MR. PROUT, 229, STRAND, LONDON.

Sir,—In recompense for the great benefit I have received from the use of Blair's Gout and Rheumatic Pills, I feel it a duty I have long owed to the afflicted with the excruciating torture of the Gout, to make your valuable remedy more extensively known.

I am upwards of seventy years of age, and have, when occasion required, used them for more than twelve years past. I have at all times found nothing to relieve me but them, and my firm belief is that they are not composed of anything injurious to the constitution, as I always find, after their use, my general bodily health renewed, and my appetite considerably sharpened.

Should you, Sir, think this statement worthy of insertion in your list of testimonials, I can with truth solemnly declare the above.

April 16th, 1842.

P.S.—I will with pleasure answer any application in proof of this testimony.

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This day is published, the Fourth Edition, price 6d., of **MR. GEORGE GAME DAY'S SPEECH AT HUNTINGDON, January 27, 1844.**

Published by J. Ollivier, 59, Pall-mall, London.

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FISHER'S COLONIAL MAGAZINE and Journal of TRADE, COMMERCE, and BANKING—No. II, for March, containing:—

1. New Australian Export—Tallow.
2. Dutch Settlements in Asia.
3. Western Australia: her Colonists and her Champions.
4. The Dismemberment of Spain and her Colonies—by G. T. W.
5. Colonial Statistics (New Series)—The Island of Jamaica.
6. A Voice from Trinidad—Chap. IV.—by H. B.
7. New Zealand—Emigrant's Relation.
8. Reviews of Books, including Pamphlets, Accounts of the Oregon Territory.
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11. Colonial Intelligence.
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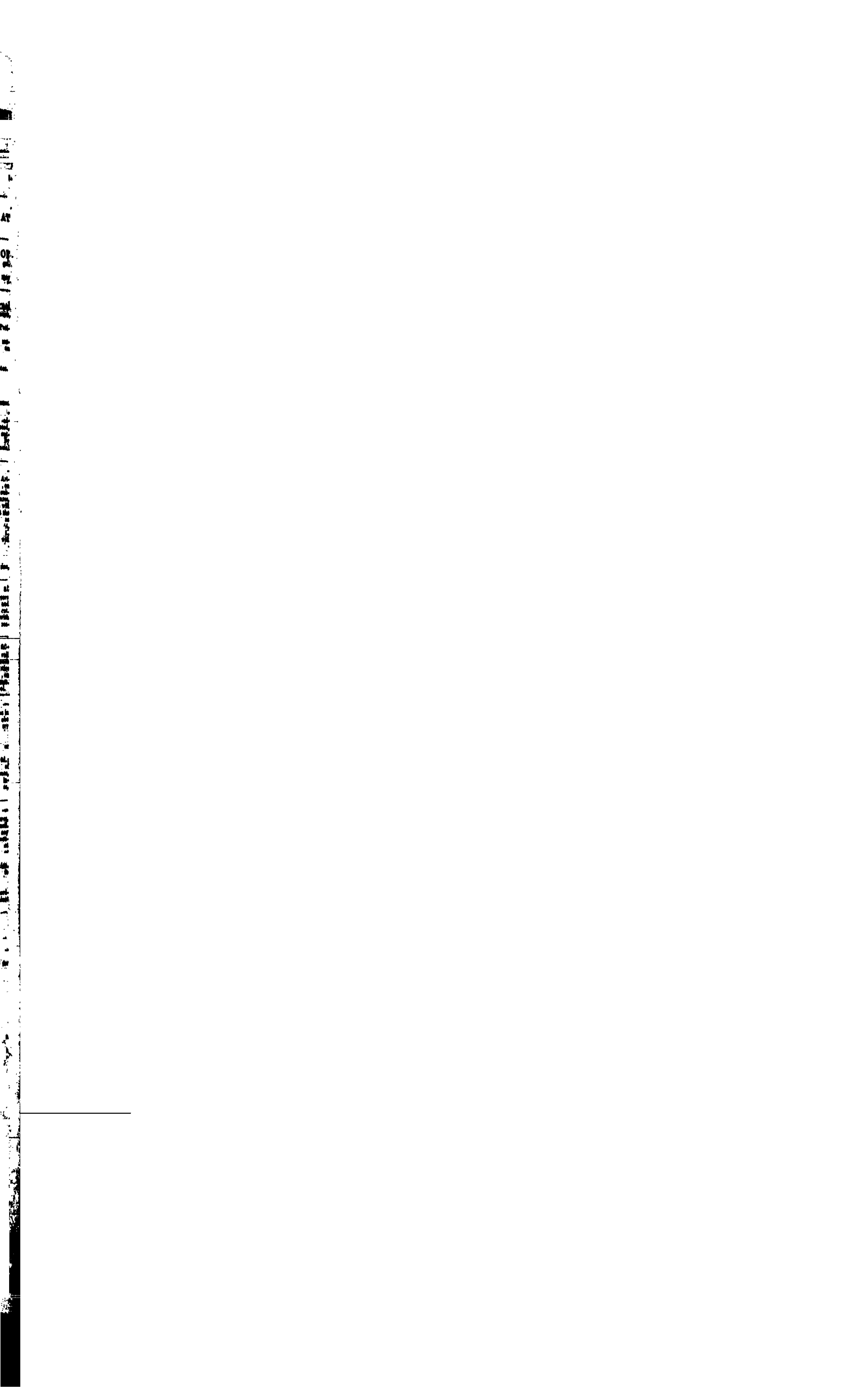
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THE LEAGUE.

No. 25.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1844.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

THE DUKE'S OWN.

That very select secret association, which rejoices in the Duke of Richmond as its president, and in the "Agricultural Protection Society" as its title, has put forth a string of resolutions declaratory of its objects, means, and constitution. No information is imparted as to where, when, or by whom these resolutions were adopted: all that we know is negative or inferential. "The Agricultural Protection Society for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" owes its birth to no public meeting or free discussion. No fair and open assemblage of persons interested in agriculture has hitherto been connected with its origin and progress, or with those of its branch societies. It is altogether a thing of darkness. The names of certain peers and other landlords, with a tail of plain Mist'ers, whom we are to take upon trust as tenant-farmers, are given to the world; and that is all. The titles may prevent the application of the old story of the three tailors in Tooley-street, who began their manifesto with, "We, the people of England;" but the real impertinence is not far removed. The titled exclusives have little more right to speak for agriculture than the tailors had for the population.

One rule, indeed, enacts that, of the General Committee of forty, "twenty shall always be tenant-farmers." But the twenty are effectually swamped, should there be occasion to swamp them, by the addition to the twenty landlords, of the president and vice-president, four trustees, and the chairmen of country associations. The tenant-farmers must also have already sworn allegiance to the principle of protection. And by what process are they selected? So far as appears, by the committee itself: i.e., in the first instance by the Dukes of Richmond and Buckingham, and their confederates; afterwards, by their nominees. Such is the central and ruling power. We should like to know what possible good the tenantry can reasonably expect from a committee thus constituted?

Will the landlords, who are a sure majority, to say nothing of their influence apart from numbers, trust the tenantry with the appointment of their own representatives in this committee? Or allow them a voice by rotation in its proceedings? Not they, truly. The avenues are barred every way. There will be no admission for any tenant who may be troublesome. We will answer for it that leases and rents will never be discussed in this committee. It will be no place for complaints. The tenants will be there just to do dirty work for their masters, and help on the game of false appearances. There is only one thing at which the world will laugh more scornfully than at this transparent humbug; and that is, at the tenant-farmer who dreams of deriving from it the slightest advantage.

Amongst the constitutional provisions of the society, there is one which strikes us as particularly superfluous. It is the latter clause of Rule 4, which enacts, "that the society shall on no account interfere in any election for a member to serve in Parliament." What room, we should like to know, is left for such interference? What means, of intimidation or corruption, are not already tried to the uttermost? If non-interference were the principle

and the practice of the Protectionists, some credit might be taken for this forbearance. When the tenantry really feel themselves free in their voting, let them be thankful that no invasion of their liberty is contemplated. And let the tradesmen rejoice, over whom no influence has been exercised. But we must find them first, before we invite them to be grateful. Will advertisements and rewards discover them? Perhaps we have misunderstood the rule, and it is simply intended as an honourable pledge that the body shall not interfere with the electoral possessions of its individual members. There shall be no poaching on private manors. The committee shall not meddle in any duke's pocket borough. Electioneering perquisites shall be left just as they are. All very well, this agreement, or understanding, amongst themselves. To put it forward as a testimony of respect for the freedom of election, required no common degree of effrontery.

Not to interfere, constitutionally, with any election whatever, is a pledge that no honest man ought to give, or will give. If by communicating information he can aid the constituency towards a wise and right decision, it is his duty so to do. Not to interfere unconstitutionally, by deception, corruption, threatening, or undue influence, is a pledge that no honest man has occasion to give. Which do the Protectionists mean? As they accompany the promise with no renunciation of the system hitherto pursued, we can understand little else than that they will confine themselves to the unconstitutional interference as best adapted to their purposes.

O that the Monopolists would, collectively and personally, stick to the non-interference of which they talk, but for one general election! No more Free-Trade agitation would then be necessary. Uncertainty would no longer overhang the farmer's prospects, and confound his bargains. We should see whose interests had been consulted in all this chicanery. The dread of competition would vanish like smoke. Our farmers, as well as our manufacturers, would challenge the world. And the history of the past would be read with amazement at its absurdity.

The topics of Tuesday night's debate are those which would be inquired into by committees and associations, were committees and associations really formed for the promotion of agriculture and the good of agriculturists. Parliament would not entertain the inquiry. The facts of the case are not wanted by the landlord majority. They profess to subscribe for enlightening the country, and disproving the assertions of the League. What materials can be so authentic for that purpose as those which would be furnished by evidence taken before a committee of the House of Commons? They were invited and challenged to the investigation. They were offered a majority of the committee, and their own chairman. All would not do. They bluster, contradict, and abuse; but they will not investigate, nor allow investigation, so far as it is under their control. These people have no right to tell the public that they will "repel the imputations and point out the inconsistencies of those who oppose protection." The pretence cannot escape the charge of hypocrisy and bad faith, so long as they obstruct inquiry. Fallacy is branded on their foreheads. They meditate deception, or they would not preclude information. If the League be half so mendacious as they pretend, the success of the motion on Tuesday night would have been its death-blow. But they dared not trust the issue.

What question can be more interesting to the farmer than that of the proportion of his produce which he pays in rent? Mr. Cobden, in that masterly speech which every tenant-farmer should study well, as the best epitome of his case yet made, affirms this proportion often to amount to one-half. Lord Worsley, who is a member of the Protection Society Committee, strenuously combated this assertion. And how did he disprove it? By a calculation from "a farmer of great experience" in Lincolnshire of the outlay and returns of a farm of 200 acres. His figures show gross receipts (for a term of four years) of £3450 against rent for that period of £800. But, on looking into the items, we find the tithe just one-fourth of the rent. If, then, the tithe be the tenth of the produce, the rent is four-tenths; not very far from one-half. And the rent and tithe (which is also rent, the Church's rent for its share) taken together are exactly one-half. There are some other matters worth attending to in this statement of Lord Worsley. He reckons the wheat at 56s. per quarter. How many farmers have sold the whole

of their last year's produce at that rate? Moreover, while the tenant has realized, in four years, only £200, after an investment of £1200 capital, the landlord has received £800 as rent. Is this an equitable distribution? The tenant has 4½ per cent. interest on his money, with no profits, nor any remuneration for his skill, toil, watchfulness, anxiety, and responsibility; and the landlord has £800. Let his lordship induce the protection committee to publish a few such statements as these in reply to Mr. Cobden and the League, and see what the farmers will think of them, or the public either. Every impartial mind must be struck at once by the enormity of the landlord's proportion, even according to this defensive computation. In fact, the Monopolists seem, by their conduct in this debate, to understand that their policy is to avoid not only investigation, but defence. They cannot adduce facts, they cannot even present calculations prepared for the purpose of defence, without showing how very unfavourable to themselves is the minutest ray of light which they can let in upon the subject.

For persons in such a predicament to hope anything from the forms and semblance of a public agitation is most forlorn. To make themselves ridiculous is the least evil that can befall them. However, they will be martyrs in a good cause, for the settlement of the question will be accelerated by their movement; and they will soon find the union of their two modes of operation to be quite impossible. They cannot at once bully the League and burk the question.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Sixth Week, ending Saturday, March 16.

This has been a very important week for the question of Free Trade in Parliament; and if there were any intelligent foreigner anxious on the subject, yet incredulous as to the extent, the power, and the vitality of public opinion on it, we would have asked no better mode to convince him than to have placed him in the gallery of the House of Commons on Tuesday night last.

The campaign was opened in the House of Lords on Monday night by the Earl of Radnor, who presented the county of Somerset Free-Trade petition, and raised considerable discussion. Every effort was made to discredit this "fact," and it being impossible to deny that a Free-Trade petition had been adopted at a great county meeting, all efforts were directed to show that the majority at the meeting had been improperly constituted, and did not fairly represent the feelings of the county. Even Lord Portman, who, as a Fixed-duty man, very appropriately termed himself a sort of "amphibious animal," did his best to show, that though Somersetshire has a representative like Colonel Gore Langton, who, during a long series of years, has supported free trade in corn and in everything, yet that the constituency were of a different mind! The most remarkable characteristics of the discussion were the declaration of the Duke of Wellington, and the speech of the Duke of Richmond. The duke, illustrious by deeds, said that it would be an impolitic thing to disturb the present Corn Law, because, like March Lamb, it is still young and tender; and the other duke, illustrious by the custom of the country, was of opinion that the Corn Law wanted no more discussion!

But it was on Tuesday night that the great interest of the week was centred. There was a dinner given to Mr. O'CONNELL on the same evening; and the name of Mr. COBDEN appeared amongst the list of stewards. It is impossible to describe the feeling of satisfaction which this little fact diffused amongst the monopolists in London. In Pall-mall and Piccadilly,—in the Carlton, ay, and even in the Reform Club (for there are some monopolists there),—the topic of discussion was whether or not Mr. Cobden would bring on his motion.

"Oh, is Cobden to bring on his motion to-night?"

"Don't know, but I should say he will not. He is advertised as one of the stewards to this O'Connell dinner."

"Indeed! I am right glad to hear of it. Of course there will be no House."

"Well, but suppose we go down to see. These fellows have an ugly way of sticking to business, and I should not wonder if Peel and Gladstone were in the way, ready to make some of their confounded damaging admissions!"

Down they come; and are rather nettled, if not amazed, to find, not only a house, but a crowded one. The benches on both sides are full; all the Ministers are in attendance; and, though a hum of conversation fills the atmosphere, there is evidently the expectation of a something. The SPEAKER calls on Mr. COBDEN; instantly there is a profound silence; and the Strangers' Gallery, which is crowded to suffocation, looks the very picture of excited satisfaction. The member for Stockport com-

menaces his speech—one which, in sober verity and truth, takes rank with those effusions which are only made on grand occasions by men capable of rising to the height of their great argument. It was a speech of very considerable length; but it was heard with the intensest attention. There was no lack of cheering; but it was rather by the absence of cheering that the deep interest of the House of Commons was manifested. Members were anxious to listen; they seemed impatient of anything which interrupted their continuity of attention; if for the moment they joined in a cheer, they instantly checked themselves as if fearful of losing what was coming next; and never was an audience better repaid. Happily, a very large portion of the British public is now familiar with the style of speaking which may be termed Mr. Cobden's own. Clearness, distinctness, aptness both of argument and of illustration, the capacity to arrest an audience, and to keep them enchained—all these are qualities which very pre-eminently distinguish Mr. Cobden. But on Tuesday night he swept along as if hurried onwards by the impetuosity of a fervent enthusiasm. Every sentence—nay, every word—told on the audience—not one was lost. Yet, he seemed so charged with facts and arguments—so full of the matter in hand, and so earnestly intent in its enforcement—that he literally flew over the ground; and even the reporters, accustomed as they are to rapid elocution, looked at one another, and said, "At what a tremendous pace he is going!"

There was not the slightest attempt, in any shape or way, to turn the edge of Mr. Cobden's speech by any sarcastic "hears," or unseemly noises. The whole matter was too deeply interesting for that; and, besides, public opinion cannot now be outraged in this way. Once, indeed, when Mr. Cobden was picturing the condition of the farmers and the melancholy state of the labourers, as the result of a system which ought to make the monopolists "repent in sackcloth and ashes," the voice of Col. Sibthorp was heard, in an effort at a derisive laugh; but nobody seconded him, and the gallant colonel himself evidently was ashamed of it; for when Mr. Cobden adverted to the condition of the labourers of Lincolnshire, as being an exception to that of all other agricultural counties, the Colonel called out, "Hear, hear!" in a loud tone of satisfaction. But the most significant thing were the cheers of Lord Ashley. That certainly very respectable and very amiable nobleman was seated amongst a dense crowd of members near the bar of the House, and paid great attention to all that was spoken, especially respecting the condition of the agricultural labourers. He repeatedly cheered Mr. Cobden, in a tone which emphatically expressed his assent to particular sentiments, and his desire that they should be noticed. But it is needless to notice little incidents like these. Any one who reads Mr. Cobden's speech will feel, that, even in the hands of a dull man, the materials of which it is composed must have produced an effect; but worked up as they were in Mr. Cobden's admirably artistic way, and delivered with his telling manner and fervent spirit, the whole made an impression not soon to be forgotten, and marks an era in the history of the Free-Trade question in Parliament.

Mr. Gladstone replied; and paid a deserved compliment to Mr. Cobden for the temper which characterized his speech. But of Mr. Gladstone's own speech what can be said? The President of the Board of Trade is a very able man; but it requires great ability indeed to speak against one's own convictions, especially when there is a feeling of conscience and honour in the breast of the individual. The whole speech of Mr. Gladstone might be summed up in this way:—"You, Mr. Cobden, and your friends, think so-and-so, but there are others who differ from you. No doubt, much of what you say is true, but there are other individuals in this House ready to question other parts of what you say; and seeing that is the case, it would be a very inconvenient thing to appoint a committee, to inquire whether what you say is true or not. Take the question of rent, which is very difficult and abstruse. The doctrine of rent is a crack subject with your Ricardo and your political economists. How hard, therefore, it would be to compel fifteen unfortunate gentlemen of the House of Commons to sit down and master the question of rent; they have enough to do to get in their rents as it is. Besides, Mr. Cobden professed his willingness to allow a majority of protectionists on the committee—all he wanted was liberty to call his witnesses, and prove his case. But would it not be easy for these protectionists to protract the inquiry from session to session? and would you adjourn the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, and suspend all your meetings, until that report was made?" Mr. Bright called out that before one was willing to do so. "Yes," says Mr. Gladstone, "you may be willing to do so, but there are others who would not be willing to do so; and can you, therefore, think of pressing for this committee of inquiry? Country gentlemen would take it into their heads that there was to be another Corn Law and another sliding scale, and that would play the very mischief with us. It is all very well for honourable gentlemen to wish to bring differences of opinion to the test of argument and reason, based on a searching inquiry into the facts of the case; but such an inquiry would disturb the progress of agricultural improvement. In every way, it is much easier, much less troublesome, to go on asserting instead of proving that the farmer and the farm-labourer have a greater interest in the Corn Law than the landlord; and, therefore, it was expedient that the motion should not be granted."

Well did Mr. Hawes ridicule the utter want of the arguments of Mr. Gladstone, than whom no man could make a better defence if he had a tolerable case. Lord Pollington, one of the members for Pontefract, seemed to feel this; for he got up and said, boldly enough, that though he would not tax bread for the sake of revenue, he would do so for the sake of independence of foreigners and protection to agriculture. If this, in plain English, means anything, it signifies that he would not tax bread for the purposes of the nation, but he would do so for the sake of the landlords. This was put a little clearer by Mr. Francis Scott, who represents Roxburghshire, and is a son of Lord Polwarth, the head of the Border family of Scott, of which Sir Walter Scott was one of the branches. This young man, in a scolding tone of voice, which even his own side of the House felt was very injudicious in him to assume, railed away at the manufacturers because, he said, they made such a deal of money. If they could contrive to get a handsome profit on their capital by the exertion of their industry and skill, how hard it was not to let the poor landlords try to turn a penny by means of an act of Par-

liament! Besides, the duration of life was longer, on the average, in the rural than in the manufacturing districts—a strong reason for keeping out foreign corn. This sort of logic may perhaps answer amongst a majority of the landlords and even the farmers of Roxburghshire, where there is a strong objection to manufactures, even to paper mills; but what would the honourable and astute Mr. Francis Scott say to an act of Parliament compelling the farmers and landlords of Roxburghshire to sell all their produce to themselves?

Two Whig agricultural protectionists spoke in the debate,—Lord Worsley and Mr. Herbert Curteis. Lord Worsley is the eldest son of the Earl of Yarborough, whose property in Lincolnshire has become a princely one, by dint of spirited expenditure and improvement. But yet, in spite of the evidence before his own eyes, that, with capital and skill, British agriculture may defy the world, Lord Worsley clings to protection as if it had been the source and origin of Lincolnshire prosperity. Lord Worsley is a very respectable young nobleman, and is staunch to his party, except on the Corn Laws. The other Whig who spoke, Mr. Herbert Curteis, is member for Rye, and a Sussex landlord. He is a very honourable, spirited, out-spoken man, though mistaken in his corn policy, for, while he would venture the length of a moderate fixed duty, he is so afraid of total repeal that, rather than have that, he would keep up the sliding scale, the pernicious influence of which he acknowledges. He confessed that Mr. Cobden had made so fair a speech that he would vote for the committee, if he were not afraid that his vote would be misconstrued by his agricultural friends and neighbours.

Colonel Sibthorp spoke—of course; and he made one of those droll speeches which set every body laughing, not with but at him. He professed great horror of the LEAGUE, a paper which he would not tolerate on the table of his house. But how does he know what it contains, unless he sometimes reads it? There can be little doubt that the gallant colonel reads the LEAGUE; and, if he does, its influence can hardly be very despicable, after all. It may be a consolation to him to know that its weekly circulation is about twenty thousand copies.

Mr. Villiers took up the cudgels for Colonel Sibthorp, and told the Ministerial side of the House that it was both ungrateful and audacious to laugh at its own colonel, seeing that his speech was as good for protection as one with less fun in it. Mr. Villiers then, in his own nutshell-cracking way, stripped the pretences bare by which the motion of Mr. Cobden was resisted. Were not the very contradictions of Mr. Cobden's allegations all so many additional reasons why the committee should be granted, in order that the facts might be sifted? The same question was put by Mr. Bright, who, in doing so, made one of the best points during the whole evening. He told the House, that if the majority thought that the justice of the Corn Law could be proved, they would grant the committee at once! The very force of contrast made this a most striking illustration.

Of the entire discussion we may remark, that it evinces most strikingly the progress of public opinion. During the whole evening there was a full attendance of members. There was no emptying of the benches at seven o'clock—the hour of dinner. There was no skulking, no evasion; it was felt that the question must be met. But the most remarkable thing in the debate was the way in which the Ministerial side of the House treated Mr. Newdegate. That young man got up at a late hour, when the House was crowded, and charged the Anti-Corn-Law League with fomenting the disturbances in the manufacturing districts, and with having objects ulterior to the repeal of the Corn Laws. But even those around him refused to listen. The general feeling evidently was—"Oh, that game won't do now—we must give it up!" A loud noise of conversation drowned his voice; there was an intense anxiety for a division. To prolong the debate was clearly felt to be but a strengthening of justice, reason, truth. All the argument was on one side—all the moral weakness on the other. So they rushed to a division; and, at one o'clock in the morning, 133 friends of justice and fair play voted for the proposed committee, but were opposed by 214 fearful monopolists; the majority being ninety-one, exactly the same that installed the present Ministry in office.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Speech of Mr. Cobden, on Tuesday, the 12th instant.

Mr. COBDEN rose to bring forward his motion for a select committee to inquire into the effects of protective duties on imports on the interest of the tenant-farmers and farm-labourers of this country. He said—Sir, the motion I have to make is one of a nature which I believe is not ordinarily refused; it is for a select committee to sit up stairs, to take evidence on a question that excites great controversy out of doors, and which I believe is likely to cause considerable discussion in this House. It may be thought that my motion might have been appropriately placed in other hands. I am of that opinion too. I think it might have been more properly brought forward by a gentleman on the other side of the House, particularly by an honourable member connected with the counties of Wiltshire or Dorsetshire. But, although not myself a county member, that does not necessarily preclude me from taking a prominent part in a question affecting the interests of the tenant-farmers and farm-labourers of this country, for whom I feel as strong a sympathy as for any other class of my countrymen. We have instances of committees being appointed to take evidence as to the importation of silk, the exportation of machinery, the navigation laws, and on all questions of similar importance. It must also be admitted that such committees have been appointed without the parties more immediately concerned having, in the first instance, petitioned the House for their appointment. On the appointment of the committee relative to the exportation of machinery, the motion was granted, not at the instance of manufacturers who had a monopoly of the use of machinery, but by parties whose interests were concerned in the making and exporting of machinery. I do not therefore anticipate that any good grounds can be stated why the committee should be refused because petitions have not been presented demanding it. I shall now state what my views will be on entering the committee. I shall be prepared to bring important evidence forward, showing the effects of "protection," as it is called, to the agriculturists by the examination of farmers themselves. I will, in fact, not bring forward a single witness before

that committee who shall not be a tenant-farmer, or a landed proprietor, and they shall be persons eminent for their reputation as practical agriculturists. (Hear, hear.) The opinion which I shall hold on entering the committee is, that "protection," as it is called, instead of being beneficial, is delusive and injurious to the tenant-farmers; and that opinion I shall be prepared to sustain by the evidence of tenant-farmers themselves. I wish it to be understood I do not admit that what is called protection to agriculturists has ever been any protection at all to them; on the contrary, I hold that its only effect has been to mislead them. This has been denied both in this House and out of doors. (Hear, hear.) I have recently read over again the evidence taken before the committees which sat previous to the passing of the Corn Law of 1815, and I leave it to any man to say whether it was not contended at that time that sufficient protection could not be given to the agriculturists unless they got 80s. a quarter for wheat. (Hear, hear.) I wish to remind the hon. member for Wiltshire (Mr. Bennett) that he gave it as his opinion before the committee of 1814 that wheat could not be grown in this country unless the farmers got 96s. a quarter or 12s. a bushel for it, while now he is supporting a Minister who only proposes to give the farmers 56s. a quarter, and confesses he cannot guarantee even that. It is denied that this House has ever promised to guarantee prices for their produce to the farmers. Now, what was the custom of the country from the passing of the Corn Law in 1815? Why, I will bring old men before the committee who will state that farmers valued their farms from that time by a computation of wheat being at 80s. a quarter. I can also prove that agricultural societies which met in 1821 passed resolutions declaring that they were deceived by the act of 1815, that they had taken farms calculating upon selling wheat at 80s., while, in fact, it had fallen to little more than 50s. In the committee which sat in 1836 witnesses stated that they had been deceived in the price of their corn; and I ask whether, at the present moment, rents are not fixed rather with reference to certain acts that were passed than the intrinsic worth of the farms? In consequence of the alteration that was made in the Corn Law in 1842, the rent of farms has been assessed on the ground of corn being 56s. a quarter. I know an instance where a party occupying his own land was rated at a certain amount, viz., at the valuation of corn being 56s. a quarter, while, in fact, it was selling at 47s.; and, upon his asking why he had been so rated, he was told that the assessors had taken that mode of valuation in consequence of what the Prime Minister had stated was to be the price of corn. ("Hear, hear," and "Oh, oh.") Hon. gentlemen may cry "Oh, oh," but I will bring forward that very case, and prove what I have stated concerning it. What I wish in going into committee is, to convince the farmers of Great Britain that this House has not the power to regulate or sustain the price of their commodities. The right hon. baronet opposite (Sir R. Peel) has confessed that he cannot regulate the wages of labour or the profits of trade. Now, the farmers are dependent for their prices upon the wages of the labourer, and the profits of the trader and manufacturer; and if the Government cannot regulate these—if it cannot guarantee a certain amount of wages to the one, or a fixed profit to the other—how can it regulate the price of agricultural produce? The first point to which I should wish to make this committee instrumental is to fix in the minds of the farmers the fact that this House exaggerates its power to sustain or enhance prices by direct acts of legislation. (Hear.) The farmer's interest is that of the whole community, and is not a partial interest (loud cheers), and you cannot touch him more sensitively than when you injure the manufacturers, his customers. (Cheers.) I do not deny that you may regulate prices for awhile—for awhile you have regulated them by forcing an artificial scarcity; but this is a principle which carries with it the seeds of self-destruction, for you are thereby undermining the prosperity of those consumers upon whom your permanent welfare depends. A war against nature must always end in the discomfiture of those who wage it. (Hear, hear.) You may by your restrictive enactments increase pauperism, and destroy trade: you may banish capital, and check or expatriate your population; but is this, I will ask, a policy which can possibly work consistently with the interests of the farmers? (Hear, hear.) These are the fundamental principles which I wish to bring out, and with this primary view it is that I ask for a committee at your hands. (Cheers.) With regard to certain other fallacies with which the farmers have been beset, and latterly more so than ever. The farmer has been told that if there was a free trade in corn, wheat would be so cheap that he would not be able to carry on his farm. He is directed only to look at Dantzic, where corn, he is told, was once selling at 15s. 11d. per quarter, and on this the Essex Protection Society put out their circulars, stating that Dantzic wheat is but 15s. 11d. per quarter, and how would the British farmer contend against this? (A laugh.) Now, I maintain that these statements are not very creditable to the parties who propagate such nonsense, nor complimentary to the understandings of the farmers who listen to and believe them. (Laughter.) It would be no argument against Free Trade, but quite the contrary, if wheat could be purchased regularly at Dantzic at that price; but the truth is, that in an average of years at that port, it has cost much more than double; and the truth, I suppose, is what all men desire to arrive at. The farmer will very easily be disabused on this and other points if you will grant me the committee I seek. We know what the price has been in the Channel Islands where the trade is free. These islands send the corn of their own growth to this country whenever it is profitable to do so, and they receive foreign corn for their own consumption duty free. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I know of no better test of what the price of corn in this country would be in a state of free trade, than the prices in the island of Jersey afford, taken, not like the Essex Protection Society for a single week or month, but for a number of years, comprising a cycle of high and low prices in this country. We know that the fluctuation of prices in this country embraces the fluctuation of the whole of Europe. We have papers on the table showing what the prices of corn were in Jersey in the ten years from 1832 to 1841 inclusive. The average price was in those ten years 48s. 4d. What do you think was the average price in your own markets in those years? It was 56s. 8d. (Hear, hear.) Now, I have taken some pains to consult those who best understand this subject, and I find it to be their opinion, that a constant demand from England under a Free Trade would have raised the level of European prices 2s. or 3s. a quarter during the

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above period. If this be a fair estimate, it brings the price up to within 5s. or 6s. a quarter of our own average. Was this difference in price to throw land out of cultivation, annihilate rent, ruin the farmer, and pauperise the labourers? (Cheers.) But in years of high prices the farmers do not receive the highest price for their corn. On the contrary, they sell their corn at the lowest prices, and the speculator sells his at the highest. (Loud cheers.) A short time ago I met a miller from near Winchester, who told me the prices which he paid every year for the corn which he purchased before the harvest and after the harvest during five years. That statement I beg to read to the House:—

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|-------|------|----------|----------------|
| 1839. | August | Wheat | .... | £19 10s. | load of 5 qrs. |
| | November | Ditto | .... | 16 0 | ditto |
| 1840. | August | Ditto | .... | 18 0 | ditto |
| | October | Ditto | .... | 14 5 | ditto |
| 1841. | August | Ditto | .... | 19 0 | ditto |
| | October | Ditto | .... | 15 0 | ditto |
| 1842. | August | Ditto | .... | 17 0 | ditto |
| | September | Ditto | .... | 12 0 | ditto |
| 1843. | July | Ditto | .... | 15 15 | ditto |
| | September | Ditto | .... | 12 10 | ditto |

Thus in these five years there had been a difference of £3 18s. a load, or 15s. a quarter, between the prices of wheat in July and August and in October and November in each year, showing, beyond dispute, that the farmer did not sell his corn at the highest, but at the lowest of the markets. (Hear, hear, hear.) Now, Sir, there is another point upon which as much misrepresentation exists as upon the one I have just stated, namely, the price at which corn could be grown abroad. The price of wheat at Dantzic during those ten years to which I have referred averaged upwards of 40s. a quarter; and if you add to it the freight, it will corroborate the statement I have made with regard to the price at which wheat has been sold at Jersey. (Hear.) Another point upon which misrepresentation has gone abroad, relates to the different items of expenditure in bringing wheat to this country. We have had consuls' returns from various parts of the charges for freight at various periods, but we have not had full accounts of the other items of expenditure. (Hear.) It would be important to elicit as much information as possible upon this subject, and the best means of arriving at it would be to examine practical men from the City before a select committee of the House as to the cost of transit. (Hear.) As far as I can obtain information from the books of merchants, the cost of transit from Dantzic, during an average of ten years, may be put down at half-a-guinea a quarter, including in this, freight, landing, loading, insurance, and other items of every kind. This is the natural protection enjoyed by the farmers of this country. (Hear, hear.) I may be answered, that the farmers of this country have the cost of carriage to pay also, as, for instance, from Norfolk to Hull or London. But I beg to remind hon. gentlemen that a very small portion of home-grown corn is carried coastwise at all. (Hear, hear.) Accurate information upon this point might be got before a select committee of this House. From information which I have obtained, I am led to believe that not more than 1,000,000 of quarters are carried coastwise at all, or 5 per cent. of the yearly growth of the country; the rest is carried from the barn-door to the mill. This is an important consideration for those who say that there is no natural protection to the farmer, inasmuch as it gives the farmer here a constant protection of half-a-guinea. But honourable gentlemen ought to bear in mind, that the corn which is brought from Dantzic is not grown on the quays there (hear, hear), any more than it is grown on the quay of Liverpool. On the contrary, it is brought at great expense from a very long distance in the interior. I have seen a statement made by an honourable member from Scotland, who said that the rafts on which the corn was brought down the river to Dantzic were broken up and sold to pay the cost of transit. (Laughter.) I have not been able to verify that statement in the course of my inquiries. (Laughter.) These are points which might all be cleared up by practical men before a committee; and thus, instead of resorting to prophecy, we should be able to judge from facts and past experience as to the ability of the English farmers to compete with foreigners. Honourable gentlemen would do well to consider what happened in the case of wool. (Hear, hear, hear.) Every prediction that is now uttered with regard to corn, was uttered by gentlemen opposite with regard to wool. (Hear, hear.) If hon. gentlemen visited the British Museum, and explored that Herculaneum of buried pamphlets which were written in opposition to Mr. Huskisson's plans for reducing the duty on wool twenty years ago, what arguments would they find in the future tense, and what predictions of may, might, could, would, should, ought, and shall! (Laughter.) But what was the result? (Hear, hear.) Did they lose all their sheep-walks? (Hear, hear.) Had they no more mutton? (Laughter.) Are their shepherds all consigned to the workhouse? Were there no more sheep-dogs? I have an account of the importation of wool and the price of wool, and the lesson I wish to impress on gentlemen opposite is this, that the price of commodities may spring from two causes—a temporary, fleeting, and retributive high price, produced by scarcity; or a permanent and wholesome high price, produced by prosperity. With regard to wool, you had a high price springing from the prosperity of the consumers. It so happens, in the case of this article of wool, that the price has been highest when the importation has been most considerable, and lowest in the years when the importation has been comparatively small. I beg to read a statement which illustrates this fact:—

| | | Imported, lbs. |
|------|--------------|----------------|
| 1827 | 10d. per lb. | 29,115,341 |
| 1829 | 7d. per lb. | 21,516,649 |
| 1836 | 18d. per lb. | 64,239,000 |
| 1841 | 11d. per lb. | 56,170,000 |
| 1842 | 10d. per lb. | 45,833,000 |

From this statement it appears that, in every instance where the price has been highest, the English farmer has had the largest competition from foreign growers, and that the price was lowest where the competition was least. (Hear, hear.) Well, that is the principle which I wish to see applied in viewing this much-dreaded question of corn. You may have a high price of corn, through a prosperous community, and it may continue a high price; you may have a high price through a scarcity, and it is impossible in the very nature of things that it can be per-

manent. (Hear.) Now, put this test of wool in the case of cattle and other things that have been imported since the passing of the tariff. I want this matter to be cleared up. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I do not want gentlemen to find fault with the Prime Minister for doing what he did not do. I do not believe that he caused a reduction of one farthing in the price of articles of consumption. And I must say, with all deference to him, that I think he himself is to blame for having incurred that charge by the arguments which he brought forward in support of the tariff, for assuredly he took the least comprehensive or statesmanlike view of his measures when he proposed to degrade prices instead of aiming to sustain them by enlarging the circle of exchanges. It is said that the tariff has caused distress among the farmers. Why, I don't believe there has been as much increase in the imports of cattle as would make one good breakfast for all the people. (Laughter.) Did it never enter the minds of hon. gentlemen who are interested in the sale of cattle, that their customers in large towns cannot be sinking into abject poverty and distress without the evil ultimately reaching themselves in the price of their produce? I had occasion a little time ago to look at the falling off in the consumption of cattle in the town of Stockport. I calculated the falling off in Stockport alone for three or four years at more than all the increase in the importation of foreign cattle. It appears, therefore, that the distress of that town alone has done as much to reduce prices as all the importation under the tariff. It has been estimated that in Manchester forty per cent. less of cattle was consumed in 1842 than in 1835; and it has also been estimated that the cotton trade was paying £7,000,000 less in wages per annum in 1842 than in 1836. How could you then expect the same consumption? (Hear.) If you would but look to your own interests as keenly and as wisely as manufacturers look to theirs, you would never fall into the error of supposing that you can ruin your customers, and yet, at the same time, prosper in your pursuits. (Cheers.) I remember hearing Lord Kinnaird, whose property is near Dundee, state that, in 1835 and 1836, the dealers from that town used to come and bespeak his cattle three months in advance; but in 1842, when the linen trade shared the prostration of all the manufactures, he had to engage steam-boats three months in advance to bring his cattle to the London market. Hon. members who live in Sussex and the southern counties, and who are in the habit of sneering at Manchester, should recollect that they are as much dependent upon the prosperity of Lancashire as those who live in their immediate neighbourhood. (Hear, hear.) If graziers, on looking at the *Price Current*, find they can get a better price for their cattle in London than in Manchester and Stockport, will they not send their cattle up to London, to compete with the southern graziers? The point, therefore, which I wish to make known is, that the tariff has not caused the reduction in price. There is nothing which I regret more than that the Corn Law or the Tariff should have been altered by the right hon. baronet at all. Without this alteration I feel confident we should have had prices as low at least as they are: our lesson would then have been complete, the landlords and tenants would have been taught how dependent they are on their customers, and they would have then united with the manufacturers in favour of Free Trade. But, if the late alterations in the Corn Law and Tariff are now to be made the bugbear for frightening the farmers from the path of Free Trade—if they are to be told that those measures have reduced their protection thirty per cent.—then I think those political landlords who were returned to this House as "farmers' friends," pledged to defend "protection" as it stood, and who betrayed their trust, ought to do something more if they are sincere: they ought to reduce their rents in proportion to the amount of protection which they say they have withdrawn from the farmer—they ought to do this, not for one rent-day, but permanently; and they should do it with penitence and in sackcloth and ashes (laughter), instead of hallooing on the poor farmers upon a wrong scent after the Anti-Corn-Law League as the cause of their sufferings. (Cheers.) Now, with regard to the low prices having been caused by the change in the tariff, I do not know whether a noble lord happens to be present, who illustrated this very aptly, by stating that the farmers in the west of Scotland had been ruined by the reduction in the duty on cheese. (Laughter.) There could be nothing more unfortunate than that statement, as there happens, in that respect, to have been no alteration, and yet, I believe cheese fell in price as much as any other article. It is well known that whilst the price of cheese has fallen in the home market, the importation from abroad has been also considerably diminished. (Hear, hear.) There is another subject upon which I must entreat hon. members' forbearance, for it is an exceedingly tender point, and one which is always heard with great sensitiveness in the House. I refer to the subject of rent. (Hear.) We have no tenant-farmers in this House. (Hear, hear.) I wish we had, and I venture here to express a hope that the next dissolution will send up a *bond fide* tenant-farmer. I know nothing more likely than that to unravel the perplexity of our terminology—nothing more likely to put us all in our right places, and to make us speak each for himself on this subject. The landowners, I mean the political landowners—those who dress their labourers and their cattle in blue ribbons, and who treat this question entirely as a political one—they go to the tenant-farmers, and they tell them that it would be quite impossible for them to compete with foreigners, for, if they had their land rent-free, they could not sell their produce at the same price as they did. To bear out their statement they give a calculation of the cost per acre of growing wheat, which they put down at £6. Now, the fallacy of that has been explained to me by an agriculturist in the Midland Counties, whom I should exceedingly like to see giving his evidence before the committee for which I am moving. He writes me in a letter which I have received to-day, "You will be met by an assertion that no alteration in rent can make up the difference to the tenant and labourer of diminished prices. They will quote the expenses on a single crop of wheat, and say how small a proportion the rent bears to the whole expense, but that is not the fair way of putting it. Wheat is the farmer's remunerating crop, but he cannot grow wheat more than one year in three. The expense, then, of the management of the whole farm should be compared with the rent, to estimate what portion of the price of corn is received by the landlord. I have, for this purpose, analysed the expenses of a farm of 400 acres—230 arable, 170 pasture.

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| The expenses are:— | £ |
| Parish and county rates | 90 |
| Interest of capital | 180 |
| Labour | 360 |
| Tradesman's bills | 80 |
| Manure and lime | 70 |
| Wear of horses | 20 |
| | 700 |
| Rent | 800 |

So that on this farm, which is very fairly cultivated, the rent is £800, the other expenses £700. (Cries of "Oh, oh," from the Ministerial side.) Now, if it requires 58s. per qr. in an average year to enable the tenant to pay the rent, and make £150 profit, it is obvious that without any rent he would be able to pay his labourers and tradesmen as well, and put the same amount of profit into his pocket, with a price of 30s., supposing other produce to be reduced in the same proportion. But I do not anticipate that wheat will be reduced below 45s., even by Free Trade, and meat, butter, cheese, will certainly not fall in the same proportion. (Hear, hear, hear.) This, then, is a very important statement from a competent authority, and the gentleman who makes it I shall be very glad to have examined before the committee, if the House grant one. (Cries of "Name, name.") I believe that the writer will have no objection to his name being published—he is Mr. Charles Paget, of Ruddington Grange, near Nottingham. Allow me now to state the method by which I calculate the proportion which rent bears to the other outgoings on a farm. I ascertain first what amount of produce the farmer sells off his farm in the year, and next I inquire how much of the money brought home from market goes to the landlord for rent. I take no account in this money calculation of the seed corn, stock manure, horse keep, or other produce of the land used or consumed upon the farm, because these things are never converted into money, and cannot, therefore, be used in payment of rent, taxes, &c. Now, I am prepared to prove before a committee, by a Scotch farmer, that one-half of the disposable produce from a Lothian farm goes to the landlord for rent,—that 26s. out of every 52s. for a quarter of wheat is rent; and that, consequently, if they had their land rent-free, and sold their wheat at 26s. a quarter, they would do as well, pay as good wages, and everybody about the establishment be as well provided for as they are now, when paying rent and getting 52s. for their wheat. With such a margin as this I think we need not be in much fear of throwing land out of cultivation in Scotland! I believe many hon. gentlemen opposite have never made a calculation of what proportion of the whole of the saleable produce goes for rent. It must be borne in mind that every acre of a farm pays rent, although, probably, not more than one acre in three, and in the best farming not more than one in four, is in the same year devoted to the growth of wheat; whilst a part of the farm is often in permanent pasture. My mode of calculation then is this: ascertain the money value of the whole produce of every kind sold in a year, find how many quarters of wheat it is equal to at the price of the year; and next, divide the total number of quarters by the number of acres in the farm, and the result will give you the quantity of wheat sold off each acre in the year. I have made the calculation, and in doing so have had the opinions of those who have taken pains upon the subject; and these are the conclusions to which I have come. I calculate that an arable farm, on an average, does not yield for sale, of every kind of produce, more than equivalent to ten bushels of wheat per acre; so that a farm of five hundred acres would not dispose of more than what is equivalent to five thousand bushels. In many parts I believe that this estimate is too high, and that the farmer does not dispose of more than one quarter per acre. And the result of the inquiry would show, that in Scotland (where much of the labour on the farm is paid in kind) one half of the produce taken to market goes to the landlord as rent, whilst in England it will average more than 20s. a quarter upon the present price of wheat. With regard to cheese, I am prepared to bring witnesses to prove that more than the half of the produce goes to the landlord, owing to the fact of there being less paid in wages upon dairy farms. For every 5d. received for cheese, more than 2½d. is paid in rent; and upon grazing farms, also, for every 5d. received for a lb. of meat, at least 2½d. is paid to the landlord. This is, after all, the important point in the consideration of this question, because, it being settled, the public would no longer labour under the apprehension, that if Free Trade were adopted the farmers would suffer, or that land would be thrown out of cultivation. This is a point upon which I should not have entered had not the investigation been challenged by my opponents. It must not be imputed to me that I entertain the opinion that Free Trade in corn would deprive the landowners of the whole of their rents. I have never said so—I have never even said that land would not have been as valuable as it is now if no Corn Law had ever existed. But this I do mean to say, that if the landowners prefer to draw their rents from the distresses of the country, caused by their restrictive laws to create high prices through scarcity of food, instead of deriving an honourable income of probably as great, or even greater amount, through the growing prosperity of the people under a Free Trade, then they have no right, in the face of such facts as I have stated, to attempt to cajole the farmer into the belief that rent forms an insignificant item in the cost of his wheat, or to frighten him into the notion that he could not compete with foreigners if he had his land rent-free. (Cheers.) I shall now touch upon another and more important branch of this question, I mean the interests of the farm-labourer. We are told that he is benefited by a system of restriction which makes the first element of subsistence scarce. Do you think posterity will believe it? They will look back upon this doctrine, in less than twenty years, with as much amazement as we do now upon the conduct of our forefathers when they burnt old women for witchcraft. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) To talk of benefiting labourers by making one of the main articles of their consumption scarce! The agricultural labourers live by wages: what is it which regulates the wages of labour in every country? Why, the quantity of the necessities and comforts of life which form the fund out of which labour is paid, and the proportion which they bear to the whole number of labourers to be maintained. (Hear.) Now, the agricultural labourer spends a larger

proportion of his wages in food than any other class. And yet, in the face of this evidence, do you go on enacting a law which makes food scarce in order to benefit the agriculturist? I hold in my hand a volume which has been presented to the House relating to the state of the agricultural population of this country, and which, I think, ought to have been brought under the notice of the House, by some one competent to deal with the subject, long before now. (Hear, hear.) Last year a commission was appointed to inquire into the state of women and children employed in agriculture. I beg to make a few observations before proceeding further, upon the manner in which this inquiry has been conducted. Some years ago the House will recollect that a commission was appointed on the subject of the hand-loom weavers. That commission sat two years; its inquiries have since been directed to the state of other manufacturing interests; and it is still, I believe, in existence. The inquiry upon the state of the labourers employed in those manufactures, therefore, will have been very fully gone into. But when an application was made to a member of the Cabinet to allow the same commission to institute a similar inquiry into the state of the labourers employed in husbandry, he refused to do so; but afterwards, he agreed that an inquiry should be made by the Assistant Poor-Law Commissioners, but that only thirty days could be allowed for such inquiry. The volume which I hold in my hand is, therefore, the work of four gentlemen during only thirty days; one of these gentlemen, Mr. Austin, set forward on his task, and consumed two days in travelling. He had thus only twenty-eight days to inquire into the condition of the agricultural population in four counties in the south of England. (Hear, hear.) We have, however, some facts elicited on that inquiry, which ought to have drawn forth remarks from honourable gentlemen opposite as to the condition of their own constituents. (Hear, hear.) Before I allude to the condition of the agricultural labourers, I wish to state that, whatever may have been the animus which influenced others in investigating the condition of the manufacturing districts, I am actuated by no invidious feeling whatever towards the agriculturists; for, bear in mind, that my conduct has been throughout marked by consistency towards both. (Hear, hear.) Had I ever concealed the wretched state of the manufacturing operatives, or shrunk from the exposure of their sufferings, my motives might have been open to suspicion in now bringing before your notice the still more depressed condition of the agricultural poor. (Hear, hear.) I was one of that numerous deputation from the north which, in the spring of 1839, knocked in vain at the door of this House for an inquiry at your bar into the state of the manufacturing population. (Hear, hear, hear.) I was one of the deputies who intruded ourselves (sometimes five hundred strong) into the presence of successive Prime Ministers until our importunities became the subject of remark and complaint in this House. (Hear, hear.) From that time to this we have continued without intermission to make public in every possible way the distress to which the manufacturers were exposed. We did more. We prescribed a remedy for that distress. (Hear, hear, hear.) And I do not hesitate to express my solemn belief that the reason why, in the disturbances which took place, there was no damage done to property in the manufacturing districts was, that the people knew and felt that an inquiry was taking place, by active and competent men, into the cause of their distresses, and from which they hoped some efficient remedy would result; and I would impress upon honourable members opposite as the result of my conviction, that if the labouring poor in their districts take a course as diabolical as it is insane—a course which I am sorry to see they have taken in many agricultural localities—of burning property to make known their sufferings; if I might make to those honourable gentlemen a suggestion, it would be this—that if they had come forward to the House and the country as we, the manufacturers, have done, and made known the sufferings of the labouring population, and prescribed any remedy whatever—if that population had heard a voice promulgating their distresses, and making known their sufferings—if they had seen the sympathies of the country appealed to, I believe it would have had such a humanising and consoling effect upon the minds of the poor and misguided people, that in the blindness of despair they would never have destroyed that property which it was their interest to protect. (Hear, hear, hear.) I have looked through this volume, which is the result of Mr. Austin's twenty-eight days' travels through the agricultural districts, and I find that during that period he visited Somersetshire, Devonshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire. He has given the testimony of various respectable gentlemen in these several localities, as to the condition of the agricultural labourers. Some of these accounts are highly important. The first that I shall refer to is the evidence of the Rev. J. Guthrie, the vicar of Calne, in Wiltshire. He says (speaking of the agricultural labourers in that district)—"I never could make out how they can live with their present earnings." Dr. Greenup, M.D., Calne, says: "In our union the cost of each individual in the workhouse, taking the average of men, women, and children, is 1s. 6d. a week for food only; and buying by tender, and in large quantity, we buy at least 10 per cent. cheaper than the labouring man can. But, without considering this advantage, apply the scale to the poor industrious family. A man, his wife, and two children will require, if properly fed, 6s. weekly; their rent (at least 1s.) and fuel will very nearly swallow up the remainder; but there are many things yet to provide—soap and candles, clothes and shoes—a poor man are a serious expense, as he must have them strong, costing about 12s. a pair, and he will need at least one pair in a year. When I reckon up these things in detail, I am always more and more astonished how the labourers contrive to live at all." Thos. King, Esq., surgeon, Calne, Wiltshire, says—"If women and boys who labour in the fields suffer in their health at all, it is not from the work they perform, but the want of food. The food they eat is not bad of its kind, but they have not enough of it, and more animal food would be most desirable; but, with the present rate of wages, it is impossible. Their low diet exposes them to certain kinds of diseases, more particularly to those of the stomach."—Mr. Robert Bowman, farmer, and vice-chairman of the Board of Guardians, Calne Union, deposes—"In the great majority of cases the labourer's family has only the man's wages (8s. or 9s. a week) to live on. On that a man and his wife, and family of four, five, or six children must live, though it is a mystery to me how they do live." This was the evidence of a farmer.—Mrs. Britton, wife of a farm-labourer, says—"We could eat much more bread if we could get it."—Mrs.

Wiltshire, wife of a farm-labourer at Cherhill, Wilts, in her own pathetic way, says—"Our common drink is burnt crust tea. We also buy about 1lb. of sugar a week. We never know what it is to get enough to eat. At the end of the meal the children would always eat more. Of bread there is never enough. The children are always asking for more at every meal. I then say, 'You don't want your father to go to prison, do you?'" That is a specimen of the evidence collected in the south of England, in the purely agricultural districts, by Mr. Austin. I have myself had the opportunity of making considerable observations in the agricultural districts, and I have come to this conviction that the farther you travel from the much-maligned region of tall chimneys and smoke, the less you find the wages of labourers to be; the more I leave behind me Lancashire and the northern parts of England, the worse is the condition of the labourers, and the less is the quantity of food they have. Does not this, I will ask, answer the argument that the agricultural labourer derives protection from the Corn Law? (Hear, hear.) Now, what I wish to bring out before the committee is not merely that, in the abstract and as a general principle, the working class can never be benefited by high prices occasioned by scarcity of food, but, that even during your casual high prices, caused by scarcity, the agricultural labourers always suffer. (Hear, hear.) Pauperism increases as the price of food rises—(hear, hear)—and, in short, the price of the loaf is in a direct ratio proof of the increase of pauperism. (Cries of "No, no.") An honourable gentleman says, "No, no." I hope I shall have him on the committee, and if he will only hear me out, I am sure I shall persuade him to vote for the committee. With regard to the condition of the agricultural labourer, I have taken some pains to ascertain what has been the relative progress of wages and rents in agricultural districts. I know that this is a very sore point indeed for hon. members opposite, but I must tell them that in those very districts of Wilts and Dorset the wages of labour as measured in food are lower now than they were 60 years ago, while the rent of land has increased from two-and-a-half to threefold. (Hear, hear.) Mind, I don't pretend to decide whether with a Free Trade rents might not have advanced even fivefold, but I do contend that, under those circumstances, the increased value of land could have only followed the increased prosperity of every portion of the industrious community; and so long as you maintain a law for enhancing prices by scarcity, and raising artificial rents for a time, and by the most suicidal process, out of the privations of the consumers, you must not be surprised if you are called upon to show how the system works upon those for whose benefit you profess to uphold the law. (Hear, hear.) I find that the following were the ordinary wages of the common agricultural day labourers previous to the rise of prices after 1790, taken from the accounts of the respective counties, drawn up for the Board of Agriculture; not including hay time and harvest:—

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Average price of wheat | 44s. 6d. |
| Devonshire | 6s. to 7s. 6d. per week. |
| Wiltshire | 6s. to 7s. " |
| Somersetshire | 7s. to 9s. " |
| Dorset | 6s. to 6s. 6d. " |
| (With wheat at 5s. a bushel.) | |
| Gloucester | 7s. to 10s. per week. |

Since that period money wages have hardly increased in those districts, and wages computed in food have certainly declined, while rent has progressed from two hundred to two hundred and fifty per cent. (Hear, hear.) I will mention another fact illustrative of the relative progress of rents and wages. When lately attending a meeting at Gloucester, I heard a gentleman say publicly that he had recently sold an estate which had belonged to his great-grandfather, and which brought him ten times the price his ancestor had given for it. But what, in the same time, has been the course of wages? It is stated in a work, attributed to Judge Hale, published in 1683, upon the condition of the working classes, that the wages of a farm labourer in Gloucestershire were 10s. a week, and he remarks—"Unless the earnings of a family, consisting of the father, mother, and four children, amount to that sum, they must make it up, I suppose, by begging or stealing." Wheat was then 36s. a quarter. Now that wheat is 40 per cent. higher, the average wages in Gloucestershire are only eight shillings to nine shillings, and in many cases seven shillings and six shillings. And Mr. Hunt, a farmer in Gloucestershire, who is also a guardian of the poor, stated publicly at the same meeting, that in his district it was found when relief was applied for, that in many instances families, who were endeavouring to exist on wages, were, taking the number of the family into account, only obtaining one-half the amount which their maintenance would cost in the workhouse. Mr. Hunt also stated that directions having been received by the guardians of the union to keep the poor who were inmates of the workhouse upon as low a diet as the able-bodied labourer and his family could obtain out of it, they were, on inquiry, startled at the small quantity of food upon which, from the low rate of wages, the labouring population were forced to subsist; and upon referring the point to the medical officer of the union, he reported that it would not be safe to feed the able-bodied paupers upon the scale of food which they were getting out of the workhouse. (Hear, hear.) Hitherto I have spoken of the food of the agricultural population; and when we speak of food, it implies lodging, clothing (hear, hear)—it implies morality, education, ay, and I fear, religion; and everything pertaining to the social comforts and morals of the people. (Cheers.) I have informed the House in what manner that population is fed; but there is another point in the volume before me which most especially calls for the attention of honourable gentlemen opposite—I refer to the lodging of the agricultural poor. (Hear, hear.) That is a point that more nearly concerns, if possible, the character of the landowner than, perhaps, the question of food. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Austin in the report from which I have before quoted, in reference to the four counties I have enumerated, says:—"The want of sufficient accommodation seems universal. At Stourpaine, a village near Blandford, Dorset, I measured a bedroom in a cottage. The room was ten feet square, not reckoning the two small recesses by the side of the chimney, about eighteen inches deep. The roof was the thatch, the middle of the chamber being about seven feet high. Eleven persons slept in three beds in this room. The first bed was occupied by the father and mother, a little boy, Jeremiah, aged one year and a half, and an infant, aged four months; second bed was occupied by the three daughters—the two eldest, Sarah and Elizabeth, twins, aged twenty, and Mary, aged seven; third bed was occupied by the four sons—Silas, aged seventeen, John, aged

fifteen, James, aged fourteen, and Elias, aged ten. There was no curtain, or any kind of separation between the beds." Mr. Phelps, an agent of the Marquis of Lansdowne, says—"I was engaged in taking the late census in Bremhill parish, and in one case, in Studley, I found 20 people living under one roof; amongst them were married men and women, and young people of nearly all ages. In Studley it is not at all uncommon for a whole family to sleep in the same room. The number of bastards in that place is very great."—The Hon. and Rev. S. Godolphin Osborne, rector of Bryanston, Dorset, says—"Within this last year I saw in a room, about 13 feet square, three beds; on the first lay the mother, a widow, dying of consumption; on the second two unmarried daughters, one 18 years of age, the other 12; on the third a young married couple, whom I myself had married two days before. A married woman, of thorough good character, told me a few weeks ago that on her confinement, so crowded with children in her one room, they are obliged to put her on the floor in the middle of the room, that they may pay her the requisite attention: she spoke of this as to her the most painful part of that, her hour of trial."—Mr. Thomas Fox, solicitor, Beaminster, Dorset, in his evidence to Mr. Austin, says—"I regret that I cannot take you to the parish of Hook (near here), the whole parish belonging to the Duke of Cleveland, occupied by a tenant of the name of Rawlings, where the residences of the labourers are as bad as it is possible you can conceive: many of them without chambers, earth floors, not ceiled or plastered; and the consequence is, that the inhabitants are the poorest—the worst off in the country." He is asked—"Are you of opinion that such a want of proper accommodation for sleeping must tend very much to demoralize the families of the labouring population? There can be no doubt of it; and the worst of consequences have arisen from it, even between brothers and sisters." Mr. Malachi Fisher, of Blandford, Dorset, says, "that in Milton Abbas, on the average of the late census, there were 36 persons in each house. It is not an uncommon thing for two families, who are near neighbours, to place all the females in one cottage, and the males in another." And Mr. Austin, in his report, says, "The sleeping of boys and girls, young men and young women, in the same room in beds almost touching one another, must have the effect of breaking down the great barriers between the sexes: the sense of modesty and decency on the part of women, and respect for the other sex on the part of the men. The consequences of the want of proper accommodation for sleeping in the cottages are seen in the early licentiousness of the rural districts; licentiousness which has not always respected the family relationship." I am by no means desirous of using excitable language or harsh terms in anything I may have to address to the House upon this subject; but I should not do justice to my own feelings if I failed to express my strong indignation at the conduct of those owners of land who permit men, bred on the soil, born on their territory, to remain in the condition in which the labouring population of Dorsetshire appear, not occasionally, but habitually, to exist. ("Hear, hear," from Lord Ashley.) I am glad to hear that cheer from his lordship; I should have expected as much. You talk to us about the crowding together of the labouring population in the manufacturing towns, and charge that upon the manufacturer and the mill-owner, forgetting that the crowding together in towns cannot come under the cognizance of particular individuals or employers; but in the agricultural districts, we find the large proprietors of land, who will not allow any other person to erect a stick or a stone, or to build a cottage upon their estates, nevertheless permitting men, for whose welfare they are responsible, to herd in this beastly state (hear, hear), in dwellings worse than the wigwams of the American Indians. When we see these things, I repeat, that the persons by whom they are permitted to continue deserve to be visited with the most unqualified reprobation of this House. (Cheers.) It was well said by the late Mr. Drummond, "that property has its duties as well as its rights," but these duties are grossly neglected when a commissioner from the Government can find people living in such pig-sties—or worse than pig-sties—as have been described. (Hear, hear.) I have alluded to the evidence of the Rev. Godolphin Osborne. I have not the honour to be acquainted with that gentleman, and I have no doubt that in political matters we differ "wide as the poles," but I cannot but admire him or any other man who will come forward and express his opinion, and make public the state of a population so degraded. (Cheers.) That gentleman, in a letter lately written, says—"Our poor live on the borders of destitution.... From one year's end to another, there are many labouring families that scarcely touch, in the way of food, anything but bread and potatoes, with now and then some bacon. Bread is in almost every cottage the chief food of the children, and, when I know of what that bread is often made, I am not surprised at the great prevalence amongst the children of the labourers of diseases known to proceed from an improper or too stinted diet.... The wages paid by farmers I do not find exceeding 8s., except, perhaps, in the case of the shepherd or carter. In many parishes only 7s. a week are paid.... A clergyman in this union states to me that he had lately had four blankets sent to him to dispose of. In making inquiry for the most proper objects, he found in fifteen families in his parish, consisting of eighty-four individuals, there were only thirty-three beds, and thirty-five blankets, being about three persons to one bed, with one blanket. Of the thirty-five blankets, ten were in good condition, having been given them within the last four years, the other twenty-five were mere patched rags." Bear in mind that I am describing no sudden crisis of distress, such as occasionally takes place in the manufacturing districts, but the ordinary condition of the people. (Hear, hear.) The strikes and tumults of which you hear so much in those districts are the struggles of the operatives against being reduced from their comparatively comfortable earnings to the deplorable condition in which the agricultural population have sunk unconsciously, and, I am afraid to think, contentedly. (Hear, hear.) Speaking of the union of Tarrant Hinton, the same reverend gentleman says—"In Tarrant Hinton parish, a father, mother, married daughter and her husband, an infant, a blind boy of sixteen, and two girls, occupying one bedroom; next door, a father, mother, and six children, the eldest boy sixteen years of age, in one bedroom; two doors below, a mother, a daughter with two bastards, another daughter, her husband and two children, another daughter and her husband, one bedroom

and a sort of landing, the house in a most dilapidated state! It is not one property or one parish alone, on or in which such cases exist; the crowded state of the cottages generally is a thing known to every one who has occasion to go amongst the poor. In one or two cases whole villages might be gone through, and every other house at least would tell the same tale; and I know this to be true out of this union as well as in it; and in some of these worst localities a rent of from £3 to £5 yearly is charged for a house with only one room below and one above. It may serve to corroborate what I have stated of the crowding of the villages to add, that I have now a list before me of forty families belonging to other parishes in the union who are now actually residing in the town of Blandford. Now, mark! the progress of the evil is this. The landowner refuses to build up new cottages, and permits the old cottages to fall down; and I speak advisedly when I say, that this is the course adopted systematically in Dorsetshire, and the people are driven to Blandford and other towns. And what a population are they thus sending to the manufacturing districts! Why, what are these villages but normal schools of prostitution and vice? Oh, do not then blame the manufacturers for the state of the population in their towns, while you rear such a people in the country, and drive them there for shelter when the hovels in which they have dwelt fall down about them. (Cheers.) I wish to be understood that, in speaking of the condition of the agricultural labourer, and of the wages he receives, I do not intend to cast imputations upon any individual. I attack not individuals, but the system. (Hear, hear, hear.) I say emphatically, I do not attack individuals, but a system. Although I hold the proprietor to be responsible for the state of lodging on his own land, I do not hold him responsible for the rate of wages in his district. I never held the farmers responsible for the want of employment or the price of labour, although it has been foolishly said of me that I did so. I challenge the Argus-eyed opponent I have to deal with, to show that I have ever done so. (Great cheering.) But, so far from that being the case, I have, in every agricultural district which I have visited, told the labourers "that the farmers cannot give what wages they please—wages are not to be looked upon as charity—the farmers are in no way responsible for low wages,—it is the system." (Cheers.) I have thus spoken of the food and lodging of the agricultural labourers, and shall content myself with one extract from Mr. Austin's description of their clothing:—"A change of clothes seems to be out of the question, although necessary not only for cleanliness, but saving of time. It not unfrequently happens that a woman on returning home from work is obliged to go to bed for an hour or two, to allow her clothes to be dried. It is also by no means uncommon for her, if she should not do this, to put them on again next morning nearly as wet as when she took them off." Now, what kind of home customers do honourable gentlemen opposite think these people are to the manufacturers? (Cheers.) This is the population who, according to those honourable gentlemen, are our best customers. (Loud cheers.) I should be glad for a moment to call the attention of the right honourable the Home Secretary to the present working of the new Poor Law in Wilts. I have observed in a Wiltshire paper a statement which I will read to the House. "In Potterne, an extensive parish on the southwest side of Devizes, in which reside two country gentlemen, who are magistrates, considerable landowners, and staunch advocates of the Corn Laws, besides other gentlemen of station and of wealth, this plan of billeting the labourers has been adopted; and the following are the prices which are put on those poor fellows who cannot get work at the average rate of 7s. a week, and of whom, we understand, there are, or lately were, about forty:—Able-bodied single men, 2s. 6d. a week; ditto married men, 4s.; ditto with two or three children, 5s.; ditto with large families, 6s. a week. At these rates, then,—fixed with reference to the number of mouths to be fed, and not according to the ability of the parties as workmen, the object clearly being to reduce the poor's rate,—may any person in the parish, or out of it either, we presume, command the services of any of these forty unfortunates. We say command, for these independent labourers, 'bold peasantry, their country's pride,' have no voice in the matter; they have not even the option of going into the union-house while any one can be found willing to use up their sinews and their bones at this starvation price." I have seen this in the Independent Wiltshire newspaper, and have taken it down, and had the names of the parties sent to me corroborating it. And is not this, I will ask, quite inconsistent with what is the understood principle of the Poor-law? Here is a sliding tariff of wages beginning at 2s. 6d. and ending at 6s., the men who are the victims of the system having no more voice in the matter than the negro slaves of Louisiana! Now, I put it to you, who are the supporters of the Corn Law—can you, in the face of facts like these, persist in upholding such a system? I would not, were I in your position, be a party to such a course—no, nothing on earth should bribe me to it—with such evidence at your doors of the mischiefs you are inflicting. (Cheers.) I have alluded to the condition of the people in four of the southern counties of England—in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Devonshire; and what I have stated in regard to those places would apply, I fear, to all the purely rural counties in the kingdom—(Colonel Sibthorp here made an exclamation of dissent)—unless you go northward, where the demand for labour in the manufacturing districts raises the rate of wages on the land in the neighbourhood. The honourable and gallant member for Lincoln says no; and I will concede to the honourable and gallant member, for I have no wish to excite his temper by contradicting him, that it is not so in Lincolnshire. ("Hear, hear," from Colonel Sibthorp, and loud laughter from both sides of the House.) I admit there is an exception to the general rule in regard to that county—there, I believe, both the labourers and farmers are in a much better condition than in the south. But I am referring to the condition of the agricultural population generally. And when we look at the orderly conduct of that population, at the patience exhibited by them under their own sufferings and privations—fortified, as it were, by endurance (hear, hear)—so much, that we scarcely hear a complaint from them, I am sure such a population will meet with the sympathies of this House, and that the noble lord the member for Dorset (Lord Ashley), whom I see opposite, and whose humane interference on behalf of the factory labourers is the theme of admiration (hear, hear), will extend to the agricultural population that sympathy which has been so beneficial in

ameliorating the condition of a large portion of the labouring people. (Hear, hear.) But where are the Scotch county members, that they have nothing to say? In that country there is an agricultural population that, as far as their conduct is concerned, would do honour to any country. (Hear, hear.) Yet I find the following description of the diet of these labourers in a Scotch paper:—"In East Lothian the bread used by hinds and other agricultural labourers is a mixture of barley, peas, and beans, ground into meal; and you will understand its appearance when we inform you that it is very like the rape and oil cakes used for feeding cattle and manuring the fields; and it is very indigestible coarse food." And I have received from a trustworthy person a letter giving me the subjoined account of the peasantry of the county of Forfar. "In this county (Forfarshire), the mode of engaging farm-servants is from Whit Sunday to Whit Sunday; in some cases the period of engagement is only for half a year. The present average rate of wages is £11 per annum, or a fraction more than 4s. a week, with the addition of two pecks or 16lbs. of oatmeal, and seven Scotch pints of milk weekly. The amount of wages may be stated thus—

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Money | 4s. | 0d. |
| Oatmeal, two pecks at 10d. | 1 | 8 |
| Seven pints of milk at 2d. | 1 | 2 |

Total weekly wages 6 10

That is the current weekly wages of an able-bodied agricultural labourer. An old man—that is, a man a little beyond the prime of life—if employed at all, his wages are considerably lower. The universal food of the agricultural labourers in Forfarshire is what is locally called 'brose,' which is merely a mixture of oatmeal and boiling water; the meal is not boiled, only the boiling water poured on it. There is no variation in this mode of living; butcher's meat, wheaten bread, sugar, tea or coffee, they never taste. The outhouses they live in are called 'bothies,' and more wretched hovels than these bothies are not to be found among the wigwams of the uncivilized African." It really would appear, from the slight notice taken here of the state of suffering in the rural districts, that the county members were sent up to this House to conceal rather than disclose the condition of the people they left behind them. (Hear.) Then there is the case of Wales. There can be no excuse for ignorance as to the state of the Welsh people, for during the time of the recent disturbances we had the account given by the Times reporter, corroborated by persons living in the locality, showing clearly what was the condition of both the farmer and the labourer in that country. In one of those accounts it was stated:—"The main cause, however, of the disturbances is beyond question the abject poverty of the people. The small farmer here breakfasts on oatmeal and water boiled, called 'duffery' or 'flum-mery,' or on a few mashed potatoes left from the previous night's supper. He dines on potatoes and butter-milk, with sometimes a little white Welsh cheese and barley bread, and, as an occasional treat, has a salt herring. Fresh meat is never seen on the farmer's table. He sups on mashed potatoes. His butter he never tastes; he sells it to pay his rent. The pigs he feeds are sold to pay his rent. As for beef or mutton, they are quite out of the question—they never form the farmer's food." Then as to the labourer:—"The condition of the labourer, from inability in the farmer to give him constant employment, is deplorable. They live entirely on potatoes, and have seldom enough of them, having only one meal a day. Being half starved, they are constantly upon the parish. They live in mud cottages, with only one room for sleeping, cooking, and living—different ages and sexes herding together. Their cottages have no windows, but a hole through the mud wall to admit the air and light, into which a bundle of rags or turf is thrust at night to stop it up. The thinly-thatched roofs are seldom drop-dry, and the mud floor becomes consequently damp and wet, and dirty almost as the road; and, to complete the wretched picture, huddled in a corner are the rags and straw of which their beds are composed." I have now glanced at the condition of the agricultural population in England, Scotland, and Wales. You have too recently heard the tale of its sufferings to require that I should go across the Channel to the sister island with its two millions and a half of paupers; yet bear in mind, for we are too apt to forget it, in that country there is a duty this day of 18s. a quarter upon the import of foreign wheat. (Hear.) Will it be believed in future ages, that in a country periodically on the point of actual famine—at a time when its inhabitants subsisted on the lowest food, the very roots of the earth—there was a law in existence which virtually prohibited the importation of bread! (Cheers.) I have given you some idea of the ordinary condition of the agricultural labourers when at home: I have alluded to their forced migration from the agricultural districts to the towns; and I will now quote from the report of the London Fever Hospital, a description of the state in which they reach the metropolis:—"Doctor Southwood Smith has just given his annual report upon the state of the London Fever Hospital during the past year, from which it appears that the admissions during the period were 1462, being an excess of 418 above that of any preceding year. A large proportion of the inmates were agricultural labourers or provincial mechanics, who had come to London in search of employment, and who were seized with the malady either on the road or soon after their arrival, evincing the close connexion between fever and destitution. These poor creatures ascribed their illness, some of them to sleeping by the sides of hedges, and others to a want of clothing, many of them being without stockings, shirts, shoes, or any apparel capable of defending them from the inclemency of the weather; while the larger number attributed it to want of food, being driven by hunger to eat raw vegetables, turnips, and rotten apples. Their disease was attended with such extreme prostration as generally to require the administration of an unusually large proportion of wine, brandy, and ammonia, and other stimulants. The gross mortality was 154 per cent. An unprecedented number of nurses and other servants of the hospital were attacked with fever, namely 29, of whom six died." I have another account from the Marlborough-street police report, bearing upon the same point, which is as follows:—"Marlborough-street.—The Magdalen Society constables and the police have brought a considerable number of beggars to this court recently. The majority of these persons are country labourers, and their excuse for vagrancy has been of the same character—inability to

get work from the farmers, and impossibility of supporting themselves and families on the wages offered them when employment is to be had. It is impossible to describe the wretched appearance of these men, most of whom are able-bodied labourers, capable of performing a hard day's work, and, according to their own statements, willing to do so, provided they could get anything to do. A great many of these vagrant agricultural labourers have neither stockings nor shoes on their feet, and their ragged and famished appearance exceeds in wretchedness that of the Irish peasantry who find their way to this metropolis. The magistrates, in almost every instance, found themselves obliged to send these destitute persons to prison for a short period, as the only means of temporarily rescuing them from starvation. Several individuals belonging to this class of beggars were yesterday committed." You have here the condition of the agricultural labourers when they fly to the towns. (Hear, hear.) You have already heard what was their condition in the country, and now I appeal to honourable members opposite, whether theirs is a case with which to come before the country to justify the maintenance of the Corn Laws? (Cheers.) Why, you are disinherited, and put out of court; you have not a word to say. If you could show in the agricultural labourers a blooming and ruddy population, well clothed and well fed, and living in houses fit for men to live in—if this could be shown as the effects of the Corn Laws, there might be some ground for appealing to the feelings of the House to permit an injustice to continue while they knew that they were benefiting a large portion of their fellow-countrymen. (Hear, hear.) But when we know, and can prove from the facts before us, that the greatest scarcity of food is to be found in the midst of the agricultural population, and that protection does not, as its advocates allege, benefit the farmer or the labourer, you have not a solitary pretext remaining, and I recommend you at once to give up the system which you can no longer stand before the country and maintain. (Hear, hear.) The facts I have stated are capable of corroboration. Before a select committee we can obtain as much evidence as we want to show the state of the agricultural population. We may get that evidence in less time and more satisfactorily before a select committee than through a commission. Though I by no means wish to undervalue inquiries conducted by commissions, which in many cases are very useful, I am of opinion that an inquiry such as I propose would be carried on with more satisfaction and with less loss of time by a select committee than by a commission. There is no tribunal so fair as a select committee; members of both sides are upon it, witnesses are examined and cross-examined, doubts and difficulties are removed, and the real facts are arrived at. (Hear, hear.) Besides the facts I have stated, if you appoint a committee, the landlords may obtain evidence which will go far to help them out of their own difficulty—viz., the means of giving employment to the people. (Hear, hear.) The great want is employment, and if it is not found, where do you suppose will present evils end, when you consider the rapid way in which the population is increasing? (Hear.) You may in a committee receive valuable suggestions from practical agriculturists—suggestions which may assist you in devising means for providing employment. There may be men examined more capable of giving an opinion, and more competent to help you out of this dilemma, than any you could have had some years ago. You may now have the evidence of men who have given their attention as to what can be done with the soil. Drain tiles are beginning to show themselves on the surface of the land in many counties. Why should they not also be placed under the surface, and why should not such improvements give employment to the labourers? (Cheers.) You do not want acts of Parliament to protect the farmer—you want improvements, outlays, bargains, leases, fresh terms. (Cheers.) A farmer before my committee will tell you that you may employ more labourers by breaking up land which has lain for hundreds of years in grass, or rather in moss, to please some eccentric landowner, who prefers a piece of green turf to seeing the plough turning up its furrows. This coxcombry of some landlords would disappear before the good sense of the Earl of Ducie. (Cheers, and cries of "Oh, oh," from the Ministerial benches.) You may derive advantage from examining men who look upon land as we manufacturers do upon the raw material of the fabrics which we make—(hear, hear)—who will not look upon it with that superstitious veneration and that abhorrence of change with which landlords have been taught to regard their acres, but as something on which to give employment to the people, and which, by the application to it of increased intelligence, energy, and capital, may produce increased returns of wealth. (Cheers.) But we shall have another advantage from my committee. Recollect that hitherto you have never heard the two sides of the question in the committees which have sat to inquire into agricultural subjects; and I press this fact on the notice of these right honourable baronet opposite as a strong appeal to him. I have looked back upon the evidence taken before these committees, and I find that in none of them were both sides of the question fairly stated. All the witnesses examined were protectionists—all the members of all the committees were protectionists. (Hear, hear.) We have never yet heard an enlightened agriculturist plead the opposite side of the question. (Hear, hear.) It is upon these grounds that I press this motion upon honourable gentlemen opposite. I want to have further evidence. I do not want a man to be examined who is not a farmer or landowner. I would respectfully ask the Earl of Ducie and Earl Spencer to be examined first. (Cheers from the Opposition.) And then honourable gentlemen could send for the Dukes of Buckingham and Richmond. (Loud cheering, mingled with laughter from the Ministerial benches.) I would like nothing better than that—nothing better than to submit these four noblemen to a cross-examination. I would take your two witnesses and you would take mine, and the country should decide between us. (Renewed cheers and laughter.) Nothing would so much tend to diffuse sound views as such an examination. (Hear, hear.) But you have even members on your own side who will help me to make out my case. There is the honourable member for Berkshire (Mr. Pusey); he knows of what land is capable—he knows what land wants, and he knows well that in the districts where the most unskilful farming prevails, there does pauperism exist to the greatest extent. (Hear, hear, hear.) What does he say to you? Why, he advises that, "more drains may be cut,

were chalk be laid on the downs, the wolds, and the fens; spurt on the sand, clay on the fens and heaths, lime on the moors, many of which should be broken up; that old ploughs be cast away, the number of horses reduced, good breeds of cattle extended, stock fattened where it has hitherto been starved, root crops drilled and better dunged, new kinds of those crops cultivated, and artificial manures of ascertained usefulness purchased." Why, it appears from the testimony of your own side, that you are doing nothing right. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) There is nothing about your agriculture which does not want improving. Suppose that you could show that we are wrong in all our manufacturing processes—suppose a theorist could come to my business, which is manufacturing garments, and which, I take it, is almost as necessary in a civilized country, and with a climate like ours, as manufacturing food (cheers and laughter); suppose, say, a theoretical chemist, book in hand, should come to me and say, "You must bring indigo from India, madder from France, gum from Africa, and cotton from America, and you must compound and work them scientifically so as to make good pieces, to be sold for 3s. each garment." Why, my answer would be, "We do it already." (Cheers.) We require no theorist to tell us how to perform our labour. If we could not do this, how could we carry on the competition which we do with other nations? But you are condemned by your own witnesses; you have the materials for the amelioration of your soils at your own doors; you have the chalk and clay, and marl and sand, which ought to be intermingled, and yet you must have people writing books to tell you how to do it. (Loud Opposition cheering.) We may make a great advance if we get this committee; you may have the majority of its members protectionists if you will. I am quite willing that such should be the arrangement. I know it is understood—at least, there is a sort of etiquette—that the mover for a committee should, in the event of its being granted, preside over it as chairman: I waive all pretensions of the sort—I give up all claims—I only ask to be present as an individual member. (Hear.) What objections there can be to the committee I cannot understand. Are you afraid that to grant it will increase agitation? I ask the honourable baronet the member for Essex (Sir J. Tyrrell) whether he thinks the agitation is going down in his part of the country? I rather think there is a good deal of agitation going on there now. (Hear, hear.) Do you really think that the appointment of a dozen gentlemen to sit in a quiet room up stairs, and hear evidence, will add to the excitement out of doors? (Hear.) Why, by granting my committee you will be withdrawing me from the agitation for one. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) But I tell you that you will raise excitement still higher than it is if you allow me to go down to your constituents—your vote against the committee in my hand—and allow me to say to them, "I only asked for inquiry; I offered the landlords a majority of their own party; I offered them to go into committee, not as a chairman, but as an individual member; I offered them all possible advantages, and yet they would not, they dared not grant a committee of inquiry into your condition." (Loud cheers.) I repeat to you, I desire no advantages. Let us have the committee. Let us set to work attempting to elicit sound information and to benefit our common country. (Loud cheers.) I believe that much good may be done by adopting the course which I propose. I tell you that your boasted system is not protection, but destruction to agriculture. (Loud Opposition cheers.) Let us see if we cannot counteract some of the foolishness—I will not call it by a harsher name—of the doings of those who, under the pretence of protecting native industry, are inviting the farmer not to depend upon his own energy and skill, and capital, but to come here and look for the protection of an act of Parliament. (Loud cheers.) Let us have a committee, and see if we cannot elicit facts which may counteract the folly of those who are persuading the farmer to prefer acts of Parliament to draining and subsoiling, and to be looking to the laws of this House when he should be studying the laws of nature. (Cheers.) I cannot imagine anything more demoralising—yes, that is the word—more demoralising than for you to tell the farmers that they cannot compete with foreigners. (Hear, hear.) You bring long rows of figures, of delusive accounts, showing that the cultivation of an acre of wheat costs £6 or £8 per year. You put every impediment in the way of the farmers trying to do what they ought to do. (Hear.) And can you think that that is the way to make people succeed? (Hear, hear.) How should we manufacturers get on, if, when we got a pattern as a specimen of the productions of a rival manufacturer, we brought all our people together, and said, "It is quite clear that we cannot compete with this foreigner; it is quite useless our attempting to compete with Germany or America; why, we cannot produce goods at the price at which they do." But how do we act in reality? We call our men together, and say, "So-and-so is producing goods at such a price; but we are Englishmen, and what France or Germany can do, we can do also." (Loud cheers.) I repeat that the opposite system, which you go upon, is demoralising the farmers. Nor have you any right to call out, with the noble lord the member for North Lancashire—you have no right to go down occasionally to your constituencies and tell the farmers, "You must not plod on as your grandfathers did before you; you must not put your hands behind your backs, and drag one foot after the other in the old-fashioned style of going to work." I say you have no right to hold such language to the farmer. Who makes them plod on like their grandfathers? Who makes them put their hands behind their backs? (Loud cheers.) Why, the men who go to Lancashire and talk of the danger of the pouring in of foreign corn from a certain province in Russia, which shall be nameless—(loud cheers)—the men who tell the farmers to look to this House for protective acts instead of to their own energies—instead of to those capabilities which, were they properly brought out, would make the English farmer equal to—perhaps superior to—any in the world. (Loud cheers.) Because I believe that the existing system is worse for the farmer than for the manufacturer—because I believe that great good to both would result from an inquiry—because I believe that the present system robs the earth of its fertility and the labourer of his hire, deprives the people of subsistence, and the farmer of feelings of honest independence, I hope, Sir, that the House will accede to my motion for "a select committee to inquire into the effects of protective duties on imports upon the interests of the tenant-farmers and farm-labourers of this country." (Mrs. Cobden resumed his seat amid great cheering.)

MEETINGS.

PRESTON.

On Thursday evening the 7th inst. the great Anti-Corn-Law League meeting in aid of the League Fund, took place in the Theatre Royal; the attendance fully equalled all expectation. As early as half-past seven the pit and gallery were both filled, and the boxes also were crowded. Amongst the immense company present were many of the first families in the town and neighbourhood, including a good proportion of ladies. At a quarter to eight o'clock the deputation from the League, consisting of Messrs. Cobden and George Thompson, Colonel Thompson, and Mr. R. R. Moore, made their appearance on the stage, and were received with unanimous bursts of applause. The meeting at this time presented a most imposing and encouraging appearance; the boxes had become completely filled with ladies and gentlemen, and the stage was crowded with the more immediate friends of the movement. The building had been ornamented throughout with various Anti-Corn-Law devices and mottoes. A little before eight o'clock, Mr. Livesey proposed that Mr. M. Satterthwaite take the chair, which was at once carried with applause.

Mr. Satterthwaite, on assuming his duties, was received with applause. He would merely observe, that the object for which the present meeting had been convened would be apparent from the advertisement, which was to the following effect:—"The great Anti-Corn-Law Meeting will be held in the Theatre, on Thursday evening next, 7th March, to receive a deputation from the National Anti-Corn-Law League. The deputation will consist of Mr. Cobden, Colonel Thompson, George Thompson, Esq., and R. R. Moore, Esq." The deputation were now present, and consisted of the gentlemen just named, who alone would have to address the meeting that evening. He would introduce Colonel Thompson. (Cheers.)

Colonel Thompson, Mr. Cobden, Mr. George Thompson, and Mr. Robert R. Moore, having addressed the meeting in able speeches, the following subscriptions were handed in:—

The first subscription was Mr. Thomas Miller, 200l. (Immense cheering.) This subscription was four times more than last year. J. W., 5s. John Heaton, Charles-street, 20l. Samuel Makin, 1l. Mr. Henry Miller, 100l., being five times the amount of last year. (Loud cheers.) Mr. John Hawkins, 50l. (Cheers.) (Double.) A friend, 1l. E. Pinder, 5s. Mr. Moore said he did not like to see a mercenary spirit displayed by the meeting in only cheering when large sums were announced. A small subscription was as deserving of a cheer as a large one. The following announcements were then made in rapid succession. Mr. Chatham, 3l. Mr. Westhead, Duke of York, 1l. John Tomlinson, 1s. Messrs. Ainsworth and Co., 100l. (Loud Cheers.) A Chartist, 1l. The next card was "For screws to make up the coffin of monopoly," 5l. Mr. George Thompson said he would give 5l. to bury him. James Jones, Church-street, 1l. T. H., 2l. James Harlam, 5l. R. and W. Ascroft, 20l. (Cheers.) 1l. was here handed up without a name, the card having upon it St. George and the Dragon. A friend, 2s. Thomas Smith, 5s. Daniel Clinton, 1s. A lady, 2s. 6d. —, 38, Bow-lane, 5s. John Sleddon, Edgar-street, 1l. A friend, by John Bryce, 5s. John Noble, 1l. George Atkinson, 5s. Peter Eckersley, 3s. A friend, 1l. A friend, 2l. John Brice, Church-street, 10s. James Briggs, 1l. 10s. — Mayor, 5s. — William Boys, 1l. The next subscription announced was Mr. George Smith, 50l. (cheers); one son and four daughters, 1l. each, and Mrs. Smith, 5l. (Renewed cheering.) Cheap Bread, 2s. 6d. J. Harkness, 1s. A Radical, 5l. John Evans, 10l., being the second this year. (Applause.) Lawrence Harrison, 1l. W. N., 10s. A friend, 2l. J. Jesper, five guineas. E. Swinglehurst, 6d. A friend, 20l. (Applause.) A new subscriber, 5s. Richard Fairclough, Hill-street, 1l. Turn Coat, 2s. 6d. Duke of Buckingham, 1d. (Laughter.) Anti-humbug, 2s. 6d. A lady, 10s. A friend, 2s. 6d. Thomas Sutcliffe, 1l. William Ponsford, 1l. James Mole, Peter's-square, 5s. William Mole, 5s. Slender Billy, Temperance Hotel, Lane-street, 2l. James Laurison, 2s. 6d. No Monopoly, 5s. W. Halsall, 5s. — Hoole, 2s. Ralph Dixon, 2l. Bobby Peel, 4d. (Laughter.) A poor weaver, 10d. The Chairman, M. Satterthwaite, 20l. J. Livesey, 30l. (Both these were double.) Mr. Pritt, 1l. A friend to universal peace, 5l. Nicholas Hayes, 1l. Tambolf Stanley, 1d. (Laughter.) C. Clifton, 1l. John Goodwin, 10l. R. W., 1l. M. Nelson, 5s. A friend, 5s. To out Ferrand from Knaresboro', 1l. (Laughter.) Wilkinson, 1l. Pert, 1l. D. Wilcockson, Church-street, 2l. For monopoly's epitaph, 1l. (Laughter.) George Newton, 2s. An old struggler, 10s. W. T., 5s. A friend, 5l. Ditto, 2l. J. and W. Magguffog, 20l. T. B., 1l. A friend, 2l. A Teetotaler, 1l. Sir Robert Peel, 1d. William Eccles (new subscription), 50l. A lady who dislikes sour pie, 1s. A friend to universal peace, 5l. 5s. Jane Hodgkinson, 2s. Thomas Oldham, 1s.; R. T. Duckett, 1l. H. C., 2s. A junior, 10s. 6d. A friend to cheap butter, 1s. H. T. (meal dealer), 2l. Richard Howarth, 1s. J. Wainman, 1l. 1s. For my old woman, 1l. For my young woman, 1l. (Cheers.) A last gasp, 2l. Every subscription that was announced was received with cheering.

Mr. Moore then announced that the subscriptions had reached £813; last year, only £350 were subscribed. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. J. Livesey moved a vote of thanks to the deputation, to which Col. Thompson briefly responded, and proposed a similar compliment to the Chairman; the meeting broke up soon after 11 o'clock.

HASLINGDEN.

An Anti-Corn-Law meeting, following a tea-party, was held in the Independent Chapel on Wednesday the 6th inst.; Thomas Greg, Esq., of Rose Bank, in the chair. On the platform were Messrs. Henry Slater, William Dean, James Black, Rev. P. Ramsay, Rev. S. Smith; David Whitehead, Esq., and Peter Whitehead, Esq., of Holly Mount; John Lord, Esq., and John Earnshaw, Esq., of Bacup. The meeting was addressed by the deputation, which consisted of Colonel Thompson; C. E. Rawlins, jun., Esq., of Liverpool; W. Rawson, Esq., and A. Prantice, Esq., of Manchester. At the close the following subscriptions were made:—Mr. Henry Slater, 25l.; Messrs. Dean and Cronshaw, 15l. 15s.; Thomas Greg, Esq., 10l.; in addition to 100l. previously given in Manchester; Mr. James

Black and family, 5l. 5s.; a friend per do., 1l.; Messrs. Lawrence Whittaker and Sons, 5l.; a friend per Mr. Henry Slater, 5l.; Mr. Robert Stott, 5l.; Mr. Henry Rawstorn, 5l. 3s.; Mr. Thomas Hargreaves, 2l.; Mr. John Pilling, 2l.; Mr. John Parkinson, 1l. 10s.; Mr. Thomas Worsick, sen., 1l.; Mr. James Hayhurst, 1l. 1s.; Mr. John Rawstorn, 1l.; Mr. Thomas Haworth, 1l.; Mr. James Heaton, 1l.; Mrs. Fowler, 1l.; Mr. James Brierley, 1l.; Mr. Thomas Heap, 10s.; Rev. P. Ramsay, 5s.; Mr. William M'William, 5s.; Mr. Thomas Holden, 2s. 6d.; Mr. John Whitaker, 2s. 6d.; Messrs. J. and T. Worsick, 5l.; Mr. Henry King, 2l.; A friend per do., 10s.; Mr. Bennet Greig, 2l.; Mr. Jonathan Ormerod, 1l.; Mr. Marsden Hargreaves, 1l.; Mr. James Southurst, 1l. 1s.; Mr. William Yates, 1l.; Mr. George Pickup, 1l.; Mr. Alexander Maxwell, 1l.; Mr. Thomas Myers, 1l.; a friend per Mr. Black, 10s.; a pill for Dr. Peel, 7s. 6d.; Miss Ramsay, 2s.; Mr. John King, 5s.; Mr. James Heap, 2s. 6d.; more kitchen physic and fewer Tamworth pills, 2s. 6d.; a Poor Man, the class who suffer most by the most wicked law that ever disgraced any country, 1s.; collected in small sums, upwards of 5l. It is expected that the subscriptions will be considerably increased, as many friends were out of town and otherwise detained.—*Manchester Times*.

IMPORTANT MEETING OF FARMERS AT HARLESTON.

Wednesday evening the 6th inst. a meeting of the landed proprietors, tenant-farmers, merchants, and tradesmen was held at the Swan Inn, Harleston, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament to repeal the duties on foreign corn, the duty on malt, and in favour of Free Trade generally. Thomas Lombe Taylor, Esq., of Starston, in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN in explaining the object of the meeting observed:—"You are all aware that a meeting was held in this town upon this day week of those parties who were favourable to protection—protection only. Many individuals, holding the same politics as myself, considering that meeting was, as it had been stated, to be a public meeting, attended, but, to their astonishment, found they were not allowed to open their mouths. (Hear, hear.) For this reason as well as others the present meeting has been called. Upon this occasion full and free discussion is asked for—(hear)—the fuller and freer the better. With respect to himself, he said, "I am so connected with the land, that if the Corn Laws are beneficial to those immediately interested in land, they will be so to me. I state this, trusting you will be more inclined to listen to what I may advance in favour of an entire repeal of these Corn Laws. But, however dependent I am upon land, I would not advocate any law which might be thought to advantage one part of the community at the expense of another. The Corn Laws (and I beg to remind you that we have had several,—five, I believe, during the last 40 years) may at times have been a benefit to the landowners and titheholders, but it is doubtful whether they are now a benefit even to them, and I am of opinion, and will endeavour to show that they are now, and almost always have been, an injury to the tenant-farmer." The chairman addressed the meeting at length in favour of these opinions.

Mr. R. PRIEST (Harleston) moved the first resolution:—

"That it is the opinion of this meeting that the Corn Law, whilst injuring the consumer, has failed to benefit the producer of English corn, inasmuch as it has fixed the expenses of cultivation, without securing a corresponding price."

"That the duty on malt has proved a serious injury to both producer and consumer: to the latter enhancing the price, and to the former, not only lessening the demand, but entirely preventing the use of barley in its most advantageous form as food for cattle."

"That restrictions upon trade are frequently injurious and always impolitic—preventing its expansion, and tending to benefit one class at the expense of another."

"With the view, therefore, of forwarding the cause of Free Trade, it is the opinion of this meeting that a petition to the House of Commons, in accordance with the above resolution, be now adopted."

Mr. GEO. THEOBALD, of Starston, seconded the resolution. He advocated Free Trade upon the grounds of eternal justice, nor would he think of asking for its adoption if he thought for one instant it was contrary to the spirit of reason and truth. (Cheers.)

WALTER MASON (a Chartist) rose to move the following amendment:—

"That this meeting believes the principles of Free Trade, as propounded by the Anti-Corn-Law League, to be visionary and fallacious in the extreme; and that their practical operation would be productive of the most wide-spread and devastating distress; and further, that a just protection for ALL classes in the community is most likely to secure the happiness and promote the prosperity of society."

This led to a warm discussion, and, for a time, to a warm altercation. Mr. Henry Walne, of Syleham; Mr. Leapingwell; Mr. Cudden, of Bungay; Mr. James Pratt, Needham; Mr. R. B. Hervey; Mr. Sayer, &c., addressed the meeting, and the original resolutions were carried.

The petition was then put and carried unanimously.

C. A. MILLS, Esq. (Pulham), said, so many excellent speeches had been given in support of Free Trade, that he would not occupy the time of the meeting with any observations, beyond merely stating his conviction to be in favour of Free-Trade measures. (Hear.) He should conclude by proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman for his excellent presidency. (Cheers.)

WALTER MASON seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks, and could not avoid saying that he felt proud that the little town of Harleston, seated in the midst of an agricultural district, had originated the movement among agriculturists in favour of Free Trade. (Cheers.) Nor had this movement been the only one which had originated in Harleston, calculated to prove of benefit to agriculture. Recollect, farmers' clubs also originated in that town. (Hear.)— *Ipswich Express*.

BRISTOL ANTI-CORN-LAW SOCIETY.—A meeting of the Bristol Branch of the Anti-Corn-Law League was held on Wednesday evening the 6th inst., at the large Public Rooms, Broadmead, George Thomas, Esq., in the chair. There was a considerable attendance of members. The Chairman commenced the business of the evening by announcing that it had been arranged to have a tea meeting on the 10th of next month, in aid of the great League fund. This announcement having been received with much applause, the Chairman proceeded to address the meeting. Having referred to the formation of the Anti-League societies, he proceeded to notice the "protection meeting" recently held in Bristol, and ably criticised some of

the speeches then delivered. He next showed how completely the several Corn Laws had failed of their professed object, namely, to produce steadiness of price; and that rent having been fixed on this expectation, the farmer was deceived, and every year became poorer and poorer. He was continually losing money, and he (the Chairman) had been told that if the farmers of England were to be sold up, the probability was that not one half of them would be found solvent. This was all the benefit the farmer got from protection, and his interest could be promoted by the abolition of the Corn Laws. If there were a Free Trade, he would soon come to know what the lowest prices would be likely to be; the prices, too, would be more equalized, and he would be enabled to make such arrangements with his landlord as would ensure to him a fair return for his capital, skill, and labour. The Chairman went on to remark that the farmer paid double the rent he did in 1791, although he did not get more for his corn. The fact was, that the laws were passed in order to keep up rents. The farmer had been deceived, and, in order to show that he had derived no real prosperity, it was only necessary to instance the fact that, during the last thirty years, there had been three committees appointed by the House of Commons to inquire as to the distress of the agricultural interest. (Hear.) There could be no clearer proof that protection, as a means of benefiting the farmer, had completely failed. The Chairman concluded amid loud applause.—H. Visger, Esq., in the course of an able speech, showed the effects of the Corn Laws on the shipping interest, and how their repeal would necessarily benefit that interest, and cause an increase of employment.—The meeting was subsequently addressed by the Rev. J. J. Waite and Mr. Waring; and, after a vote of thanks to the chairman, broke up.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING, RICHMOND.—On Saturday, Colonel Thompson and Mr. Pilt attended at this town to address the farmers. The chair was taken by—Maxwell, Esq., the mayor; and the audience, which consisted principally of the townspeople of Richmond, and was large and respectable, was addressed for about two hours by the League deputation on the usual topics. There were a good many farm-labourers present, and a few farmers; the bulk of the latter, however, staid away. Effectual means had, it appeared, been taken to produce this result, so much desired by Pro-Corn-Law landlords, who seem to have a morbid dread, amounting to horror, of the farmers reading Anti-Corn-Law tracts, or listening to Anti-Corn-Law speeches. A meeting of farmers was held at twelve o'clock, whether for some Protection Society purpose or not is not ascertained, and an active Pro-Corn-Law agent went round amongst the farmers in the market-place, betwixt twelve and one o'clock, warning and entreating them not to attend the League meeting, as the "itinerant orators were a set of vagabonds." Whether from conviction, or from other motives less honourable either to them or to landlord influence, few attended; but the landlords may depend upon it that, for all this, farmers will read and think, and the issue is not doubtful.

DARLINGTON.—Two meetings were held in this town on Monday. In the afternoon, Colonel Thompson and Mr. Pilt addressed a meeting of about 150 to 200 persons; and in the evening, Mr. Moore and Mr. Pilt addressed a crowded audience of from 250 to 300 persons. It happened, unfortunately, that on the day of meeting, the place fixed upon and placarded was obliged to be given up, in consequence of the dangerous illness of a young man, whose bedroom was near the room of meeting; and only one hour before the time appointed was notice given of the change of place. The afternoon meeting was therefore small; but in the evening, considerably more went away, unable to gain admittance, than those who were so fortunate as to get seats or standing-room in the place of meeting. The addresses of Mr. Moore and Mr. Pilt occupied nearly three hours, and, inconvenient and heated as was the room, the attention of the audience was sustained to the last. It is quite apparent that here, as elsewhere, men want to hear all that can be said on the subject. *They are in earnest.* They believe the question involves their interests, and the national interests; and we are satisfied that the question has such hold on the national mind, that it will not be dismissed until it has received a satisfactory practical solution. No subscription was commenced at the meeting, in consequence of the unavoidable absence of several gentlemen who were expected to head the list; but a subscription will be opened soon, and it is understood that Darlington will not lag behind other places in liberality.

BRIMFIELD, NEAR LUDLOW, March 7.—Mr. Falvey, of the National Anti-Corn-Law League, has delivered five lectures on the subject of Corn and Colonial Monopolies, to crowded audiences in Leominster and Ludlow. His first lecture was delivered on Friday last, to about 500 persons, in the Assembly-room, Lion Hotel, Leominster, amongst whom were some of the most respectable tradesmen of the town, and several farmers from the neighbourhood. Mr. Falvey was opposed by a liquor merchant, but his arguments were so promptly and forcibly met by Mr. F., that when he found he was losing ground he fell into a passion, and was finally biased down by the meeting. Mr. Falvey proceeded to Ludlow, and addressed a meeting in the Market-square, on Monday afternoon, it being market-day. He addressed two large and enthusiastic meetings on the evenings of that and the following day, at which Free-Trade resolutions were carried unanimously. Last evening we had an excellent meeting, at which Mr. John Southall took the chair. Mr. Falvey delivered a most energetic and telling speech. A vote of thanks was given to the chairman, and a vote of thanks to the League, for its exertions in the cause of Free Trade, was carried with tremendous cheering; after which the meeting separated.

HARTLEPOOL.—On Tuesday evening, the 5th instant, Mr. Addell delivered a lecture on the Corn and Provision Laws, the Coal Tax, and Free Trade, in the Long-room, Turf Hotel, Hartlepool. The room was crowded to excess long before the hour for commencing the lecture; and the lecturer was heard with the greatest attention, though he spoke for an hour and a half. Joshua Johnson, Esq., was called to the chair; and after the lecture a number of resolutions in support of Free Trade, and condemnatory of the Corn Laws, were carried by general acclamation. Some subscriptions to the League Fund were then received, and the subscribers made arrangements for increasing their number and co-operating with the League.—*Newcastle Courier.*

GLASGOW TOWN-COUNCIL.—At a meeting of this body, held on Thursday, the 7th instant, Mr. Cross, a member of the council, in an able speech, proposed a series of resolutions in favour of Free Trade. An amendment was proposed by Bailie Hogle. On a division, there voted for Mr. Cross's resolutions, 19; for the amendment, 6; majority, 14.

ULVERSTON, March 7.—A correspondent of the *Kendal Mercury* gives a graphic description of "a protection meeting" held in Ulverston on the 29th ultimo. He says:—"At two o'clock, the time advertised, small signs of a muster appeared, not one person being in the room. Time passed on, and a few dropped in lazily. By-and-by more numerous bodies entered; and it was ascertained that several persons were running to and fro in the market, goading the farmers to attend, as they anticipated some opposition. At three o'clock, the muster-roll seemed to be strong enough, Mr. Woodburn, solicitor, and manager of the meeting, called upon some one to propose a chairman. Nobody seemed prepared, and some minutes elapsed. At this time a party of gentlemen from the board of guardians entered the room, apparently moved by curiosity to see how things were going on. Mr. Woodburn then proposed that Edward Braddyll, Esq., should take the chair. Mr. Braddyll came forward and declined the honour, as he was far from Ulverston, and could not stay long in the room. Several other gentlemen were then nominated.—Mr. Townley, Mr. Ainlie, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Hartley, &c. &c.; but some would not take the chair, and others did not seem to be desired by the audience. At last Mr. Gibson proposed an old farmer of the name of Ash-honour, was gently moved into the chair. At this moment, the Rev. Edward Hawkes, of Kendal, requested permission to offer a few observations, as he thought it was not expedient for any class of persons engaged in agriculture to petition for the preservation of the existing protection to agriculturists. An

indescribable tumult then arose. The most inhuman shouts and yellings were raised, and chiefly by persons dressed as gentlemen. A butcher threw open the window behind the chairman, seized Mr. Robert Briggs's hat, while he was endeavouring to obtain a hearing for Mr. Hawkes, and flung it out of the window. Others called "fling him after it." After some time spent in this manner, it was regularly proposed and seconded, that Mr. Hawkes should be heard, and the chairman consented. But he had no sooner stated that the history of the operation of the sliding scale, during the first year of its enactment, proved that it was most injurious to the tenant-farmers, by causing a fall of prices in wheat to the extent of 13s. per quarter in the three months from July to November—the time when the farmer had to take his produce to market to provide for rent-day—than the same clamour was raised, and so pertinaciously persisted in that Mr. Hawkes desisted from any further observations. The remaining proceedings were hurried through without the slightest attempt at order or regularity, and the audience proceeded to sign the petition. Great dissatisfaction having been expressed at the violent and unreasonable conduct of this meeting, several gentlemen here determined to summon a public meeting, and issued a placard announcing it at the same place, to be held on Wednesday evening, March 6, at half-past seven o'clock p.m., and the object was stated to be "to discuss the principles of Free Trade, and to take such other measures as may seem desirable, in order to secure the complete adoption of them in the commercial system of the country." At the time appointed a large number of persons had assembled, which gradually increased until the room became very full, and around the platform densely crowded. Mr. Hartley, of Low Mill, proposed that Thomas Ainsworth, Esq., of the Floss, should take the chair. W. Wilson, Esq., of High Wray, seconded the proposal, and the nomination being confirmed, Mr. Ainsworth took the chair amidst the cheers of the meeting.—The Rev. Mr. Hawkes, W. Wilson, Esq., of High Wray, Mr. Blinn of Penny Bridge, in excellent speeches, proposed and seconded a series of resolutions embodying Free-Trade principles.—Mr. George Hartley moved a resolution, "That a Free-Trade Association for Lonsdale North of the Sands be now formed, and that the following gentlemen be appointed a committee, with power to add to their number." (Here follows the list of committee.)—Mr. Welch, of Backbarrow, seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.—Mr. Hawkes then moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was carried by acclamation, and supported with three hearty cheers.—Mr. Wilson rose, and after a few observations in explanation, said that they should not be doing their duty if they did not acknowledge their obligation to Mr. Hawkes for the noble and successful manner in which he had come forward in defence of Free-Trade principles in Ulverston; and he, therefore, moved the thanks of the meeting to him for his services.—The vote was passed with three hearty cheers.—A shout of three times three for the working class was hailed and heartily responded to; and the meeting broke up highly delighted, and determined to work out the principles advocated.

ANTI-LEAGUE MEETING AT SHAP.—The "dear broad" meeting of Westmorland and Cumberland "landowners, tenantry, and other persons favourable to agricultural protection," called by Sir George Musgrave, Baronet, of Eden-hall, took place this day (Friday), in the National School room at Shap. The hour appointed for the gathering was twelve o'clock at noon; but, owing to the non-arrival of several gentlemen who were expected to take part in the business of the day, the muster was delayed till some minutes after one. The number present, as nearly as we could estimate it, was from 320 to 350; among whom were Sir George Musgrave; R. Burn, Esq., of Orton-hall; Captain Wilson, of the Howe; Edward Wilson, Esq., of Abbot-hall; G. E. Wilson, Esq., of Everham; J. Hill, Esq., Bank-foot, Appleby; the Rev. R. Milner, Orton; the Rev. R. W. Fisher, Hill-top, Kendal; W. Ellison, Esq., of Sizergh; Mr. Benn, Lowther; Mr. Wm. Turner, travelling tea-dealer; and Mr. Gregg, of Kirkby Lonsdale. Of the tenant-farmers and statesmen of the county we could see but very few, except those marshalled by Mr. John Benn, the son of Lord Lonsdale's steward, and some others who, we were informed, were tenants-at-will of Sir George Musgrave; of Mr. Hasell, of Dalem; of the Messrs. Wilson, of Rigmaden and Abbot-hall; and of Mr. Alderman Thompson. These parties attended, of course, at the "spitting," and to do the bidding of their landlords; and, if we may judge of their inclinations from their respectful countenances and the slight and reluctant applause elicited by the speeches addressed to them, we should say that a large majority of the attendants would have preferred any other entertainment whatever to that of standing as passive auditors of the statements which their common sense could not but reject as absurd and illogical.—*Kendal Mercury.*

THE ANTI-LEAGUE ASSOCIATION.—At a meeting of the Broad Silk Handloom Weavers' Union, held on Saturday, we find from the *Morning Chronicle* that the following statement of the prosperous condition of the funds at the disposal of the so-called "Anti-League Association" was publicly made:—"Mr. Sherrard said, that according to an arrangement with Mr. N. Doran Maillard, who attended the last meeting of the weavers, he and the secretary met the committee of the Anti-League Association, on the Monday evening, about five o'clock. Mr. N. D. Maillard and a few gentlemen were there. After speaking upon the business about to come before the meeting, he mentioned to him that he and the secretary had been requested to appear there to support the resolutions, that they had lost nearly two days, and that it was but just they should be paid for their time. Mr. D. Maillard then took a half-sovereign from his pocket, which he gave to him, and remarked that he had no money in his pocket to remunerate the secretary, but that he should hear from him on Tuesday morning. The secretary, however, has never heard anything of his half-sovereign." (Loud laughter.)

BRIBERY BY LORD DUNGANNON'S AGENTS AT DURHAM.—Our readers are already aware, that, subsequent to the election of Lord Dungannon for the city of Durham, in April last, after the time for petitioning against his return would have expired according to the old law, his lordship's agents, Mr. George Wilkinson and Mr. John Ward, solicitors, of Durham, paid head-money on the 8th of May, to a great number of the freemen who had voted for his lordship. On this being discovered, a petition was presented, under Lord John Russell's act (which declares head-money paid after an election to be bribery), and Lord Dungannon was unseated on the 14th July. At the recent Durham assizes, being the earliest at which the indictments could be prepared and the evidence collected, separate bills for bribery against Mr. Ward and Mr. Wilkinson were preferred before the grand jury, who found these bills on Wednesday last. We understand that each indictment contains allegations of three separate acts. The defendants immediately surrendered, and gave bail to take their trial at the next Durham (summer) assizes.

MACHINERY, FREE TRADE, AND THE WAGES OF LABOUR.

"I offer only simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense."

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

SIR,—In reference to the above subjects, Mr. Dixon of Manchester, the other day, advised the working men of Bolton to oppose every agitation which had not for its object to secure to every working man the possession of ten acres of land, and a minimum rate of wages of 15s. a week. Mr. Dixon deprecated an extension of trade, manufactures, and improvements in machinery; and recommended his audience, by all means, to "get on the land." Allow me, Mr. Editor, to offer a few remarks, suggesting a somewhat shorter mode of improving the condition of the working classes, by means of the greatest possible improvements in machinery, coupled with perfect freedom of exchange for its productions. In other words, to produce as much at as little expenditure of labour as possible, and then to exchange the articles so produced on the best terms, either at home or abroad, for the articles of consumption which the labouring and other classes require; or, if more intelligible, to work less, and yet, by a skillful application of labour,

and favourable conditions of exchange, to enable those now employed to labour and to consume, and those who are already, more or less consumers, to consume more. To increase the amount of all kinds of commodities in the country, and to enable every man to obtain a fair share of them, measured by his industry, his skill, his temperance, his economy, his perseverance, and his general prudence and good management. I disavow altogether any attempt to secure comfort to the idle, the intemperate, and the extravagant. No legislation can reach these.

It is objected to the use of machinery and to an extension of foreign trade, that, so far as we have had experience of them, they have not kept up wages.

Now, I have an impression that workmen in general can earn, by a day's labour, as much of any article, on which there is no "protective" duties, as they could thirty years ago. I believe, for instance, to take the article of clothing, that a labourer working with a spade, which costs half-a-crown, and has not been improved for centuries, and earning his two shillings or half-a-crown a day; or an operative cotton-spinner, earning his twenty to thirty shillings a week, on an improved machine, which costs two hundred and fifty pounds, can either of them earn, by a day's labour, as much or more clothing than they could thirty years ago.

Mark, Mr. Editor, I seek not to cram my nostrils down the throats of your readers. I ask every cotton-spinner, or day-labourer, to examine and calculate for himself, and deny my position if he can.

In many classes of factory hands—say card-room hands and pleasers—they can earn more clothing considerably—in some cases double and treble—than they could 30 years ago. If a family of six persons, for instance, required the factory labour of two individuals to clothe the whole family 30 years ago, I maintain that now such a family will require less than the labour of two individuals to clothe it. If this be so, who will assert that the working classes have been excluded from the benefits of improved machinery?

When labouring for food, another state of things arises. Food has been made scarce and dear by act of Parliament. A factory-labourer must produce from five to twenty-five times the quantity of manufactured cottons to procure the same quantity of food he got thirty years ago. In other words, a master cotton-spinner, or a master manufacturer, must sell so much greater a quantity of his produce to pay wages than he did thirty years ago. If those wages were paid in his produce—in kind—as in some instances agricultural labourers are, then I assert that there is no individual employed in the cotton trade who does not earn more than he could have done thirty years ago. Wages are only reduced when he is working for food, or other "protected" articles; and it is not only folly, but it is the grossest injustice as well as blindness, to abuse employers, and, at the same time, to maintain the laws which make food scarce and dear.

There is no absurdity I know of equal to that of working men, under the specious name of "protection"—which means robbery—advocating laws to make food scarce and dear. Horses kicking up their heels in the stable at a feed of corn, or donkeys braying with open mouth a denial to the offer of a bunch of hay, would be rational beings in comparison.

I repeat here, that I pay away as much of my productions in wages as any cotton-spinner did thirty years ago. If my workmen support a law which makes their wages lose their purchasing power, they do me an injustice when they blame me. They must thank their own folly in supporting such a law. The laws which regulate the distribution of wages and profits will not cease to operate because they allow their prejudices to overcome their judgment. They might as well complain that winter is cold or that grass is green, as lay blame on employers, because they cannot with the same labour earn as much food as formerly; themselves all the while doing all they can to prevent food being had at natural and not artificial prices.

I will here remark, that, in discussions about machinery, it might seem as if the machine itself dropped from heaven, without cost, at the beck of a grasping capitalist. I rather think our foundrymen, millwrights, engineers, machine makers, bricklayers, stonemasons, carpenters, slaters, plasterers, plumbers and glaziers, quarrymen, and the vast variety of workmen called into action before a single machine can be started, could tell a very different story.

Mr. Dixon says, employers would reap all the advantage of Free Trade, as they have, he says, the power to fix the rate of wages according to their will and pleasure. If so, I ask, why do not they reduce wages at this moment? To return to the argument. If any food were imported under a system of Free Trade, it must either be paid for, or else the foreigner would give it us for nothing. If paid for at all, it must be paid for in manufactures, or else in gold, purchased by manufactures; no matter which. In either case, more labour would be required to produce these manufactures.

It remains for Mr. Dixon to show how this increased demand for labour would tend to enable the employer to reduce wages. If improved machinery be introduced, the labourer himself partakes of the advantage of the cheaper manufactures produced by it. Of this advantage no one can deprive him. If he buys his manufactures cheaper, he has so much more to spare to purchase articles of furniture, or other luxuries. If he has his food cheaper by Free Trade, and his clothes cheaper by improved machinery, and his wages kept up to their present rate, or even raised (as I maintain they would be, in spite of the admitted selfishness of employers), then I am at a loss to conceive how he could fail to have his condition improved.

But Mr. Dixon repeats, all this is of no use. Cheaper food will do you no good, except you raise it off your own land. By the same rule, every one should make his own shoes; he should be his own tailor and baker, and butcher. I imagine, that if he has cheap food and cheap clothing, it is of little importance whether he produces these articles himself, or exchanges the produce of his own labour for them.

I will suppose, for the sake of argument, that a thousand families are taken from our population, and ten acres of land each given to them rent-free, then, I maintain, that our factory operatives, where good machinery was used, and with Free Trade, would have a greater command of the comforts and necessities of life; they would be better fed, and better lodged, and better clothed, and with fewer hours of labour, than these thousand families.

I should be glad to see this disputed; and, if I make out my case, then it settles the main question, namely, whether it is the interest of the operatives to join the Free Traders, or to take the advice of Mr. Dixon, and agitate for the destruction of machinery and of the factory system, the maintenance, under pretence of "protection," of the Corn Laws, the sugar duties, and all other monopolies; the abolition of foreign trade; the distribution of the land in lots of ten acres a piece, and a minimum rate of wages of 15s. a week.

I am, Sir, yours very respectfully,

A BOLTON COTTON-SPINNER.

Bolton, Feb. 26, 1844.

P.S. Objectors are requested to keep to the question, namely, the influence of Free Trade upon the condition of labourers. If disposed to abuse Free-Traders or Free Trade, machinery, employers, shopkeepers, capitalists, new poor-laws, Whigs, or what not, I specially request this may be done in a separate letter, and printed separately; so that we shall not be compelled to wade through it to get at any arguments which may be offered.

CONSERVATISM.—There is a noble conservatism as well as an ignoble. Would to Heaven, for the sake of conservatism itself, the noble alone were left, and the ignoble, by some kind, severe hand, were ruthlessly lopped away, forbidden ever more to show itself! For it is the right and noble alone that will have the victory in the struggle; the rest is wholly an obstruction,—a postponement, and fearful imperilment of victory.—*Orville's Past and Present.*

Alfred H. Helywell, Nottingham,
Liverpool,
2nd
110
Glasgow, Fourth Remittance.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A VOICE FROM AMERICA.

Boston, U.S.A., Jan. 30, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—The Britannia, just arrived, has brought me several numbers of the LEAGUE, and I have enjoyed the high satisfaction of reading their contents, and observing with what overwhelming power the friends of Free Trade are advancing towards the consummation of the great and glorious object they have in view, and for which they are struggling so ardently and successfully. We are utterly surprised, on this side the water, at the gigantic strides which you seem to be making towards the abolition of the Corn Laws. The election of Mr. Pattison, for London, filled us with the greatest astonishment.

We have from the first rather desired than hoped for your success, but now we confidently expect that the glorious principles of Free Trade will be first embraced by Great Britain. Indeed, our national jealousy almost begins to be excited, for it would certainly be more agreeable to us that our own country should have the high honour of first illustrating the truly humane and Christian principles of Free Trade. But we cannot wish you to wait our tardy movement, nor ought we to grudge you the honour of so glorious a triumph, since it will not be obtained without a most arduous and heroic struggle.

Every enlightened friend of humanity in this country rejoices at the progress of the great Anti-Corn-Law movement. I say, every enlightened friend of humanity, for it is, unfortunately, but too true that we have multitudes in this country who are so blinded by ignorance and prejudice—so deceived and deluded by designing and interested monopolists—as not to perceive the great truth, that Free Trade must be the interest of every nation on earth. The great mass of the people in the United States do, however, cordially sympathize with you in your movement, and rejoice at every indication of your triumph.

My own interest in your operations is not a little enhanced by the acquaintance I have made with your country and countrymen, during the past year, while travelling through the length and breadth of the United Kingdom. I have seen your people; I have examined into the causes of their miseries; and believing, as I do, that the Corn Laws are one of the chief instruments of their oppressions, and that the abolition of them is one of the first and necessary steps towards their deliverance, I do look with the most intense anxiety upon all efforts made for that object.

How fallacious the idea that the people of England must necessarily starve! That the population is so dense that it cannot be fed! That the industry of England cannot produce bread enough for the people of England! How preposterous, I say is all this, and yet I often heard these assertions while travelling in your country. Out upon such libels on the most industrious and hard-toiling people on the face of the earth! There is not one word of truth in all this. The industry of the United Kingdom does produce enough, or rather perhaps I should say, would produce enough, if let alone by her rulers, to feed, clothe, educate, and make happy every man, woman, and child in the nation. Why, Sir, you can produce corn as cheap in Lancashire, Yorkshire, or Staffordshire, as we can in Ohio, Illinois, or Tennessee. You would not, indeed, produce it by the same process, but if there were that freedom of intercourse between the two countries which the repeal of your Corn Laws would at once bring about, you would get your corn as cheap and as plentiful by your manufacturing as we do by our agricultural industry. Is it not so? If you remove your restrictions on our provisions, you need not fear we shall long keep up our restrictions upon your manufactures. We never should have had a protective tariff in the United States had you admitted our corn, &c., free of duty. Nothing is more certain than this. Every man in America who understands the subject, knows that it was the argument that "Great Britain will not take our bread stuffs, therefore we ought not to take her manufactures;" that, alone, induced the people of the United States to introduce the odious system of commercial restrictions into their legislation. We were all averse to every thing of the kind. Now we have built up artificial interests, and created monopolies, and consequently shall have a struggle to get rid of them; but such is the real omnipotence of the people here, that they need only to see their true interests as they would be presented by the repeal of the British Corn Laws, to induce them at once to raise aloft the banner of Free Trade, and "open every port to every product."

Go on then, my dear Sir, with the utmost confidence that we shall reciprocate any and all liberal movements on your side the Atlantic. We are ripe for it, and shall do it.

I am surprised, and I will say, somewhat alarmed, at the herculean labours of Messrs. Cobden and Bright. I say alarmed, for I greatly fear that such unremitting efforts will destroy their health, and impair those energies which are so essential at the present exigency to the advancement of the cause. I had opportunity several times, while in England, to hear them speak, and know the fervour and zeal with which, under all circumstances, however adverse and dangerous, they advocate the rights of the people. I know their devotion to the work, and I do hope that their friends, and the friends of humanity in whose cause they are labouring, will recollect that they are men, and subject to the same physiological laws as other human beings, and that these laws cannot be violated with impunity. I wish my friends Cobden and Bright, yourself, and all others engaged in this glorious League, should live long and enjoy good health, so that you may continue to be a terror to all monopolists, the joy and rejoicing of the poor and oppressed, and the admiration and praise of the truly liberal and philanthropic throughout the world.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

George Wilson, Esq.,
Chairman Anti-Corn-Law League, Manchester.

TEA DUTIES.

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—Perhaps at no period in the history of Great Britain have the duties of the Government been more onerous than at the present moment.

The experience of the last few years has disclosed an amount of destitution almost without a parallel, and altogether irreconcilable with the high state of civilization

and extended commerce of the country, unless that commerce has been conducted on erroneous principles.

For the present there appears returning prosperity; but who can calculate on its being permanent? It is absolutely necessary that we have food for the inhabitants; but it is nearly equally so, that we have employment as the means of purchasing food. With a population increasing at the rate of 300,000 per annum, who can venture to predict, that three years hence, when we will have nearly a million more hands seeking employment, such will be had, or that we may not then have the recurrence of a similar convulsion to the one we have now passed?

There are two ways in which employment may be obtained: the one in the finding new markets for our manufactures, and the other in allowing a full development to those we already have. The former we have just accomplished in the opening of the five new ports in China; and in the latter I mean to show, that the amount of duty levied on tea enters largely into the question, and that, in point of fact, the extension of our trade with that country will mainly depend on the quantity of tea that can be consumed here.

The article of tea is in almost universal consumption, and it is only limited by the ability to consume. Tea is not now a monopoly, the whole tax beyond the value in the market of the world being paid into the exchequer; but in one sense, if the tax is exorbitantly high, it is very nearly the same thing to the people—it places it beyond their reach. The present duty is 2s. 2d. per lb., which is 100 per cent. on all good qualities, and 150 to 200 per cent. on all the middling and lower kinds. During the latter part of the East India Company's monopoly the duty was exactly 100 per cent., which bore equally on all sorts; but since the opening of the trade this was commuted to 2s. 1d. per lb., which, with 5 per cent., is the present amount. 2s. 1d. was fixed, as being a fair average; but since that period tea has fallen considerably in price, and it is now out of proportion to the value, and a much higher per centage than was originally intended.

The Government have just obtained a most advantageous treaty with China, in the admission of our ships and manufactures into that extensive region on extremely moderate terms. They have been asked by our merchants, on the principle of reciprocity on which they lay so much stress, to respond to that treaty by admitting all kinds of tea at 1s. per lb.; and I trust they will do so. They have now an overflowing exchequer, and, if ever, now is the time to make a grand experiment on the consuming powers of the people, by the admission of the great staple articles at so low a rate of duty as to give scope to vast consumption,—thereby increasing the comforts of the population, extending the demand for our manufactures, increasing the employment of the operatives, and enlarging the quantity of the exchangeable commodity of the merchant.

Were the duty reduced to 1s. per lb., there cannot be a doubt the consumption would be greatly increased. The same amount of money expended would of itself purchase one-fourth more quantity; besides, it would place it within the range of a lower grade, and, of course, more numerous body of consumers.

The present consumption is 40,000,000 lbs. for Great Britain and Ireland, or about 1½ lb. per head per annum. The allowance by families to their female servants is two ounces per week, or 6½ lbs. each per annum; and this quantity is much below what persons in comfortable circumstances consume; and certainly there is no reason to suppose that the consumption of the majority would not amount to this were it only within their reach. Supposing only one half of the population were enabled to consume in the proportion of 6½ lbs. each, this would amount to no less a quantity than 84,500,000 lbs. per annum, or 4½ millions lbs. beyond doubling the present quantity, and at once paying a revenue fully equal to the duty of 2s. 2d. per lb.

The reduction in the price of tea is not the only advantage to the consumer; this is immediately followed by an increased demand for his labour. The cost of this extra quantity of tea may be estimated at about three millions sterling, which must be paid for by an export of our manufactures to that amount; and it is not too much to suppose that the money put into circulation in the production of these manufactures would give a stimulus to the home trade to an almost equal amount, and thus benefit, in no small degree, the agriculturists,—the parties most opposed to change. Who can tell the amount of benefit to the community of the productive employment of a single individual? Who can tell the effect in all its ramifications of his earnings put again into circulation, and accumulating as they ascend higher and higher in the scale, until they reach the pocket of the peer.

To carry 44,500,000 lbs. more tea would require a fleet of nearly 100 ships, which, at average freights, would yield an income of £500,000, and give employment to 2000 seamen, besides calling into activity a vast amount of profitable labour, in a great variety of forms.

The time has gone by when the commerce of the country is to be viewed merely as a medium for taxation. The question must now be, how light can the duties be made? And if a given amount is to be raised by any article, the rate must be so low as scarcely to interfere with the free current of trade, or prevent its greatest possible expansion; to abstract as little as possible from the earnings of the great body of the people, thereby enabling them to consume not only the productions of this but of every other country.

There is another most important point in connexion with the reduction of the duty on tea, the effect that it will have on the consumption of sugar. If the increase in tea be 44,500,000 lbs., it must necessarily be followed by an increased consumption of sugar of 100,000 tons, the proportions being 5 lbs. to 1 lb.; and the additional revenue on this extra quantity alone would amount to £2,500,000 sterling at the present rate of duty.

March 9, 1844.

A FREE-TRADER.

Fordingbridge, 9th of 3rd mo., 1844.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—In presenting to the Council of the League our collections from Fordingbridge, for the use of their fund, I may congratulate them on the amount being more than three times that subscribed last year. Thanks to our Anti-League friends for much of our success; they are capital auxiliaries in stirring up those who have hitherto thought but little on the subject; if people can only be induced to think, they must in time be

Birmingham, Fourth Remittance.

Glasgow, Fourth Remittance.

Liverpool, Fourth Remittance.

Nottingham, Fifth Remittance.

Holywell, Flintshire.

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| J. Birch, Temperance Coffee-house, Price-st. | 41 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Blows, Bartholomew-street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Wm. Middlemore, Holloway Head | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Herbert Hodson, Digbeth | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joseph Gillott's workmen | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| B. H. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| John Buckley, Glib-beath | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. F. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Burgess of St. George | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Workpeople of J. B. Nettlesford | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Friend | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Workmen of J. Tongue, Parade | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. Stokes, Baskerville-house, Bread-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. Wilmot, Bread-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| G. H. Simpson, Camden-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Workpeople of Joseph Rawlings, Deritend | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| J. B. Rodway, Edgbaston-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Edward Williams | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Aaron and Son | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. Vitta | 1 | 9 | 6 |
| Amount collected by E. V. Blyth | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| Workpeople of John Rubery | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Bodington, cornfactor, Warston-lane | 2 | 9 | 0 |
| Friends to the Repeal of the Corn Laws, per Mr. Spicer, Snowhill | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Workpeople of Souter and Son, Gt. Russell-st. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. J. Gibson, 19, Weaman-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| B. Beasley and Son, 21, Ludgate-hill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Wright, 27, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Richard Edmonds, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Wilkins, Hockley-hill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Wright, Balsall Heath-road | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Tye, 33, Meriden-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Farmer, 18, Oxford-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Mackay, Coventry-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Friend | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Solomon Sacks, Bordesley-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Joseph Oakes, Oxford-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| League Incog. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| X. Y. Z. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Woller, Edgbaston-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Pereira, Worcester-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| An Old Friend | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Charles James, at Mr. Ault's, Broad-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Friend | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Mr. Harrison's Workpeople, Fisher-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| James Barlow, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Barlow, jun. do. | 3 | 12 | 3 |
| James Barlow's Workpeople | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Gilman, Gosta-green | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Cosens, Moland-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. B. Cooper, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mr. Chadnor, Islington-row | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Cresswell, do. | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Mrs. Hollyman, Islington | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Turton, Broad-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Durning, Eagle Foundry | 0 | 11 | 9 |
| Small sums | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. Sims, Little Hampton-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Haden, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| G. Farmer, Little Hampton-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend to the Cause | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Hickman, William-street North | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| A Friend | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Smith and Kemp's Workmen, Brearley-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Smith, Buckingham-street | 0 | 11 | 4 |
| Mr. Turley's Workpeople, Hospital-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mr. Stamp, Sumner-lane | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mr. Willmore, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Taylor, do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Bullock, Cleveland-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mr. Mills, Howard-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Spicer, Snow-hill | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thomas Waddleton, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Waddleton, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joseph Fish, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Sam. Reading, Great Hampton-street | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Small sums | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Wm. Morgan, solicitor, Waterloo-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Whyte, 132, Tringate | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| James Lumden, Queen-street (Lord Provost) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Steel, 25, Thistle-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. W. Auld, Tollcross | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| King and Co., Camlachie | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexr. Frew, Port Dundas, (collected by) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Tallaway, 10, George-street | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Wm. Carawell, jun., 26, George-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Guild, distiller, Camlachie | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Hugh Aitken, dyer, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Robt. Aitken, do., do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Colin Frame, Queen-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Lawson, Glassford-street | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| J. H. McFarlane, distiller, Port Dundas | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Workers of Lapraik Reid and Co., E. Milton-street, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Buchanan and Cairns, Wilton-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Watson, 3, Brandon-place | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Gibson, Melrose-street | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| James Hedderwick and Son, St. Enoch-square | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| A. and J. Walker, Mile-end, the workers of | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Stewart, 7, Dalmarnock-road | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Thomson, 82, Miller-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| T. and D. Wilson, 145, Ingram-street | 0 | 12 | 6 |
| Workers of James Buchanan and Co., coach-builders, Union-street | 6 | 8 | 10 |
| Workers of Johnson, Galbraith, and Co. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Workers of M. McFarlane and Co., distillers, Port Dundas | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Andrew Hamilton, miller, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A. G. | 0 | 4 | 7 |
| Small sums | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Huddersfield, { John and Edward Dent | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 11th Remittance, { Floyd and Booth | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Malton, { Preston Cobb | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2nd Remittance, { John Wainwright, surgeon-dentist | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| { An Enemy to Monopoly | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| { John Hardcastle, tenant-farmer | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| { Walter Taylor | 0 | 8 | 6 |
| Watson, Brothers, and Co., 22, Fenwick-street | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Christopher Cooper, 128, Richmond-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mrs. Cooper, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Morecroft, 3, Clayton-square | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Morecroft, Rockferry, Cheshire | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss Louisa Morecroft, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Geddes, Temple-place | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| H. W. | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| John Blaylock, Tranmere, Cheshire | 0 | 2 | 4 |
| Peter Harris, 20, Clarence-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| George Kellar, 83, Grafton-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Stephenson, 4, Limekiln-lane | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| E. R. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joseph Nieburg, St. Mary's-place | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Jonathan Burton, Carrington, near | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Hinton, Barker-gate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Herbert, St. Mary-gate | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| John Keely and Son, Orchard-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| T. and W. Hill, Byard-lane | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Luke Hardy, Derby-road | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Hall, Lister-gate | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Lloyd, Hafod, near Mold | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward H. Williamson, Greenfield | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George P. Noakell, Flint | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| J. F. Buckley, Walwen | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Lawrence | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Alexander Leask, 46, High-street, Montrose | 1 | 0 | 0 |

brought to see the sad effects of "monopoly" on the welfare of the community.

Low wages and want of employment in the agricultural districts form a part of the evils arising out of this selfish system.

The Game Laws form another part, which cannot well be modified before a repeal of the Corn Laws; the destruction caused by game alone, with its appendages to preserve it, might be estimated at an amount equal to what it costs the country in foreign importations of corn. What is it prevents leases and other fair adjustments between landlord and tenant, but these acts of Parliament. What hinders the due cultivation of the land and its progressive improvement but that delusive dependence on mis-called "protection."

Perhaps the most painful part of monopoly to parents (farmers as well as others) are the difficulties it throws in the way of settling their children in business. Let every parent make his child acquainted with the grand impediment to his getting forward in life; teach him that monopoly cripples the resources of native industry—that there would be more than room enough for all, were it not for unjust laws to make a few rich at the expense and impoverishment of the many; that monopoly is stationary whilst the population progresses, consequently, that all born beyond a limited number must be consigned to pauperism. Let us impress these truths on the minds of our offspring, and lead them to subscribe to the League; and let them know that this is a benevolent institution formed to remove these appalling evils. I am not enforcing this advice without setting the example. I consider our children would do better without an inheritance with Free Trade, than with riches and the present system of monopoly. It is well worthy of remark, that even the monopolist, with all his possessions, would do vastly better if the energies of the nation were allowed full development. He is like "the dog in the manger," who would neither eat the hay himself nor suffer the ox to eat it.

With my best wishes for the League's prosperity,

I remain respectfully, &c.,

G. Wilson.

JONAH NEAVE.

We have received the following letter from an Essex farmer occupying above a thousand acres of land, enclosing a contribution to the fund of the League.

"To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

"SIR,—I have read with feelings of pity and sorrow the reports of the meetings of tenant-farmers in this county, to form what they call an "Agricultural Protection Society." Pity, because it is distressing to find men whom I believe mean well so led away by their prejudices; sorrow, because it is the means of creating and increasing a party spirit, and of disturbing instead of appeasing the already troubled waters. I sincerely wish they could be brought to reason upon the subject—to take a dispassionate view of the case: surely it would well become the goodwisher of his country to read and to think upon a matter of such serious import—one which, advancing with such rapid strides, must ere long occupy every one's thoughts. I, Sir, am a tenant-farmer; all that I possess, all that I hope for, is bound up in land. When first the subject of the Corn Laws engaged my attention, I was so wedded to agriculture that it was some time before I could bring myself to believe that they were not a "protection" to the interest; yet every succeeding day has convinced me they are exactly the reverse, and I am now thoroughly persuaded that, unless they are speedily repealed, agriculture, as well as every other pursuit, will sink into nothing: in fact, that we shall eventually become a cypher among nations.

"I much fear that many of my brother farmers are led away by their superiors; it more behoves them to look deeper into the facts of the case, and ascertain whose interests they are most promoting by their mad career; it has long been my opinion that we are the tools of a more wary class. To sum up all, Mr. Editor, my purpose is to say that the doings (?) of one portion has induced another portion of the Essex tenantry to join the League (myself among the number), and we most heartily wish you speedy success in your arduous undertaking.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"HENRY ST. JOHN JOYNER.
"Chadwell-place."

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF HAREWOOD,
PRESIDENT OF THE YORKSHIRE SOCIETY

For Keeping up the Price of Bread and the Rent of Land.

MY LORD,—At the meeting of landowners and farmers over which you presided at York on Thursday week, your lordship and most of the other speakers brought grave and heavy charges against the Anti-Corn-Law League. As an humble member of that League, I undertake to prove that these charges are untrue. I am able to show that your assertions are unwarranted, your arguments false, your fears exaggerated, and the cause you undertake to defend incompatible with the general and permanent interests of the nation. I can show, on the other hand, that the principles and objects of the Anti-Corn-Law League are just, benevolent, and patriotic.

At the above meeting an association was formed which you modestly designate "The Yorkshire Protective Committee for the Defence of British Industry." But I appeal to common sense whether it would not have been more candid to take the title which I have put at the head of this letter, and to call yourselves "The Yorkshire Society for keeping up the Price of Bread and the Rent of Land." It is true, this does not sound quite so disinterested and public spirited, especially on the part of gentlemen nearly every one of whom has, or believes he has, a pecuniary interest in dear corn and high rents. But it is impossible to read the proceedings at that meeting, and not to see that the object, first, last, and midst, with the speakers was, to keep bread at a high and artificial price in this country.

Now, as bread is the life's blood of "industry," I ask if it is rational to talk of "protecting and defending British industry" by making bread scarce and dear? The first and great object of all industry is to obtain bread; and surely it is the oddest way possible of "defending industry" to raise the price and stint the quantity of that indispensable article! You might with some show of reason allege that the industry of the corn-growers would be "defended" by making corn dear, though this would not, I conceive, be true either of the farmers or their labourers, at least in the long run; but, admitting that it were, still the corn-growers must be much more numerous than the corn-eaters, and of course the "industry" of the corn-eaters cannot be "defended" by keeping the price of corn unnaturally and unnecessarily high.

Let us not be deluded by words. Men often talk of the "price" of corn; but the only thing that is of the slightest consequence to the labourer is the quantity he can obtain by

his labour. The larger the quantity, the better he is off; the less the quantity, the worse he is off. Now, your society sets about to "protect" and "defend industry," by making corn scarce in the country! For this is the only conceivable end of the Corn Laws. They shut out foreign corn, and they do it on the express ground that it is cheaper than our own, that is, it could be obtained with less labour. No man can pretend to deny this. But this shutting out of cheap corn has necessarily the effect of diminishing the quantity in the country, and, by so doing, it raises the price. It makes the labourer's food scarce and dear. He must either eat less bread, or he must buy it with more labour than would be necessary if there were no Corn Laws. Is it not, then, a palpable delusion to call your society one "for the defence of British industry?" Ought you not rather to say that it is a society to keep up prices and rents, at the expense of industry?

It is common, my lord, for the speakers at Pro-Corn-Law meetings to talk of the principles of Free Trade as "fallacies," as "delusions;" and that wise gentleman, the Earl of Tyrconnel, said at the York meeting:—

"Gentlemen, of all delusions, I look upon that of Free Trade as the greatest delusion that was ever attempted to be palmed upon our country." (Hear.)

Permit me, then, very briefly, and very plainly, to state what the principles of Free Trade really are, and then to appeal to the common sense of my readers, agricultural or manufacturing, whether those principles are either "delusive" or "fallacious."

"Free Trade" means perfect freedom for every kind of industry; and it includes liberty to every man to employ his money or his labour in the way that he himself thinks most advantageous, and to buy and sell wherever he can do so with the greatest profit.

This freedom is man's natural right. Of course, it ought not to be invaded in society, unless such invasion can be shown to be necessary for the general good of the community. But the general good of a community requires that its individual members should exercise their natural right of choosing their own occupations, and carrying them on where they please,—at home or abroad, by land or by sea, in tilling the earth, or making cloth, or getting metals, or buying and selling what others have made, or in whatever way each man finds best suited to his particular talent, taste, or means. It is obvious that this must be the general rule and practice in every community. Governments could not, if they would, take upon them to tell every man what occupation he should follow, or where he should settle, or how he should employ his money, or whom he should serve. And it would be the height of folly for them to do it if they could: because the self-interest of each individual is at once his strongest stimulus to exertion, and his surest guide in the search for profit or subsistence. Unless we could find a minister who has several millions of eyes, and an omniscient acquaintance with all the men and all the circumstances of the country which he governs, it would be preposterous to take from the individual subjects of that country the right of using their own limbs, under the guidance of their own reason, for the providing of their own subsistence.

This will not be denied. It is too plain for an instant's doubt. Neither will it be denied that, inasmuch as a nation is made up of individuals, the prosperity of those individuals makes up the prosperity of the nation. The richer and more comfortable are the individual families, the richer and happier is the nation.

These things are perfectly indisputable. But they are as practically important as they are indisputable. For we have here the rule of national policy. And upon this rule all Governments do and must act in 999 out of 1000 cases. This rule of Freedom of Industry—which contains in it, when practically applied, an admirable self-regulating and self-adjusting principle—determines how many men shall engage in each particular employment, so as to keep the wants of the community duly supplied. It is this which regulates the supply of food, of clothing, of commodities of every kind, and the number of tradesmen and labourers of every class, for each village, town, city, and county of the entire kingdom.

Just imagine the wild confusion, the ruin and starvation, that would ensue, if Government should take upon it to settle these things, instead of leaving them to settle themselves under the guidance of individual instinct and self-interest. Suppose Sir Robert Peel or Mr. Gladstone were to prescribe how many acres of your estate should be sown with wheat, oats, or turnips,—how many butchers there should be in Leeds,—how many bakers in York,—how many mills in the West Riding,—how many grocers in London,—how many ships should sail from Liverpool or Hull,—how many coal-pits should be worked in Staffordshire,—how many pairs of stockings should be made at Nottingham,—how many barristers there should be in Westminster Hall,—how many physicians and surgeons should pass the Colleges,—what should be the rates of wages and prices and profits in all these employments,—if in these and like matters Government should undertake to dictate, is it not certain that the result would be to produce a mass of ridiculous blunders, and to make confusion hopelessly confounded?

Well, then, we see that the principle of freedom of industry and freedom of trade regulates the endlessly diversified affairs of the millions of our population. It regulates them as infallibly as Providence itself; because it is the wise and beautiful law of nature, that men, in promoting (without compulsion or dictation) their own interests, promote the interests of the community,—or, as the poet expresses it, that "self-love and social are the same." We see that this rule of freedom applies to all the operations of industry, small and great, simple and complicated, near and remote; it resembles the law of gravitation, which keeps atoms and worlds alike in their places.

I dwell upon this principle of Free Industry or Free Trade—for they are the same thing—because if it were generally understood, in its grandeur, its excellence, and its universal applicability, we should never hear such egregious folly as that in the sentence above quoted from the speech of Lord Tyrconnel. It is from the want of a distinct perception of the infallibility and omnipotence (so to speak) of this law of nature that statesmen have presumed to substitute for it the dictates of their own short-sighted and erring judgments—that they have undertaken to restrict commerce, prohibit exchange, and force particular kinds of employment.

There are many, indeed, who admit the rule, but take upon them to make exceptions to it wherever their own particular interest seems to require it. In so doing, however, if they promote their immediate interest, they seldom or never promote their permanent interest; and, if they benefit the few, they invariably do it at the expense of the many. One man asks Government to "protect" corn; another, to protect manufactured goods; another, to protect cattle; another, to protect sugar; another, to protect iron or copper; another, to protect ships; and each one of them by the "protection" which he himself gets injures all the rest! Common justice requires that if one is "protected," all should be "protected;" but common sense shows us, that where all are "protected," none are protected. The comparative state of each is just the same as it would have been if "protection" had never been thought of; but all are really and alike injured by such a monstrous system of mutual shackles and balanced burdens.

The claims of individual interests to "protection" are just as irreconcilable with the general good as if individual farmers should pray for and could obtain an unfair proportion of the sunshine or the showers. If the thing were practicable, is it not clear that the arrangement which frustrated the one field would starve the next? And are we not certain that, after all, the man who thus attempted to monopolize the favours of Providence would manage the rain and sunshine ill, and would have just such crops as his greedily folly deserved?

The principles of freedom apply just as much to foreign trade as to home trade. Commerce distributes over the globe the productions which are peculiar to certain climates, soils, or districts, and enables each nation, by exchanging its own particular products for foreign commodities, to obtain all that it requires. One country has peculiar natural advantages for producing corn, another for timber, another for iron, another

for clothing, another for wine, and another for sugar. It is the interest of each to produce the commodity for which nature has designed it, and to barter that commodity with other nations for the articles in which they respectively excel. For example, nature has given to the southern states of North America peculiar advantages for growing cotton, and to England peculiar advantages for manufacturing it. The interest of each country is to obey the dictates of nature; by doing so, England obtains her cotton-wool much cheaper than if she grew it herself (even if her climate would grow it at all), and America obtains her prints and muslins cheaper than if she manufactured them herself. The man would be a dolt who should say that England ought to grow her own cotton, or Georgia and Alabama to manufacture their own clothing. In the same way Portugal is adapted by nature for producing wines, and England for manufacturing woollens; the exchange is mutually advantageous; and every man feels that the Portuguese Government is as short-sighted in attempting to force manufactures, as the English Government would be if it were to force the growth of wines.

A particular country may be adapted for producing a dozen or a hundred different articles, and yet it may not be adapted for a dozen or a hundred other articles which are equally desirable for its inhabitants. What then? Will not Free Trade best determine what articles the country should produce, and what articles it should import? Can a government tell this so well as individual producers, consumers, and dealers? Of this we may be certain—and I wish the landlords understood the truth, simple and self-evident as it is—a country will import nothing that it can produce as good and as cheap at home. Your lordship will not send to London for game or garden stuff, which you have in abundance at your doors; but you will get your oranges from the Azores, rather than grow them in your own hothouse. And ought not a nation to act on the same common-sense principle? And will it not so act, if you let it alone?

Those who talk of "protecting domestic industry" forget that you can import nothing without paying for it by the produce of domestic industry. Foreigners do not give us their commodities—they sell them for an equivalent. The only question for us is, whether it costs us less money and labour to produce the equivalent, or to produce at home the commodity which we purchase by means of it. If we find it cheaper to import, we ought to import; if cheaper to produce at home, we ought to produce at home. To act on any other principle is to outrage common sense, and to throw away our money and labour.

I am persuaded, my lord, neither you nor any of the speakers at the York meeting would venture to dispute any of the above positions or arguments. You would admit them as incontrovertible: but when we come practically to apply them, you seek out for shifts and pretences to escape.

Now, these incontrovertible principles are precisely the principles of the Anti-Corn-Law League, neither more nor less. They ask nothing but freedom for industry. They want no favour or "protection," no restrictions or fetters. They would cheerfully grant to others all they ask for themselves. Their cause is based on common sense and common justice. They are favourable to commerce, which enriches the nation. They are equally favourable to domestic industry, by allowing it to run in those channels which experience shows to be the most productive. And they do not hesitate, as you do, to apply principles which are undoubtedly true to practice. They have the firmest possible conviction that the carrying out of their principles would conduce to the highest and the permanent prosperity of the nation, and moreover that their adoption is indispensable to prevent evils of the greatest magnitude.

With these enlarged views, and these just and patriotic objects, the Anti-Corn-Law League has claims on the support of every enlightened and good man. It is superior to your censure, and may despise your calumny. Yet, my lord, you are represented in the Yorkshire Gazette—I would fain hope falsely—to have not only talked of "the ruinous and unconstitutional proceedings of the Anti-Corn-Law League," but to have uttered the following incredible slander. You are reported to have said,—

"There are other views in this Anti-Corn-Law League agitation than those which meet the eye of the public. What happened to a farmer the other day, in Lincolnshire or Norfolk, I forget which? He attended a meeting, and openly stated his opinions against the Anti-Corn-Law League, which every Englishman has a right to do, when his crops and his stacks were burnt that night! No man in his senses can doubt the intentions of the Anti-Corn-Law League!"

Now, my lord, if this be a correct report of your speech (which I hope it is not), I tell your lordship that a fouler and more disgraceful calumny was never uttered. If this report be correct, you have dared to charge the League with encouraging midnight burnings! You have dared to launch this hideous slander against a body whose only crime is that they wish industry to be free, and food to be abundant and cheap! But it is impossible that the Gazette should have reported you correctly. It is quite incredible that you should have cast such a charge, where you were so ignorant of the circumstances as not even to know whether the alleged fact took place in Lincolnshire or Norfolk! Such a wild and wanton outrage on probability and on decency is beyond belief. On the other hand, if you should let the report of your speech pass uncontradicted, many will certainly suppose that the report of the Gazette was correct. I hope you will do yourself the justice to disavow it.

The Anti-Corn-Law League, my lord, has no object on earth but obtaining the repeal of laws which the greatest statesmen, the wealthiest and most enlightened landowners, and the most experienced merchants have declared to be false in principle and mischievous in practice. Among these I may mention Lord Grenville, the Marquis Wellesley, Mr. Huskisson, Earl Spencer, the Earl of Leicester, Earl Fitzwilliam, the Marquis of Westminster, Earl Duane, Mr. Alexander Baring (in his better days), and Mr. Samuel Jones Loyd. You are also perfectly aware that even Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, with all their Conservative and Agricultural connexions, are in principle Free-Traders, as was shown over and over again in the debates on the tariff. The Prime Minister made it his boast that he should render provisions cheaper; and he told the people that this would enable them to pay their taxes better, and even to bear the new burden of the income tax. Is it, then, a crime in the Anti-Corn-Law League to hold the very same principles, and to seek the very same objects, as the head of the Government, with much greater consistency? They wish to make provisions cheaper, and especially bread, the staff of life; they wish to see the nation better fed; they wish to enable it to sustain its burdens more easily. They believe that the supply of food lies at the foundation of the national prosperity. They see that the Corn Laws have placed its trade and industry in a false position, which the rapid growth of the population on our limited soil is every day making more dangerous. They deride the outrageous absurdity of supposing that, by the free admission of foreign corn, "half the land of this country would be thrown out of cultivation,"—an absurdity of which your lordship was guilty in your speech at York,—knowing that nature has placed insuperable bars to the importation from distant countries of any considerable proportion of the food required for 27,000,000 of people. But what they want is, that the people should possess all the advantages which nature would confer upon them, being assured that thus the prosperity of the nation would be carried to the highest point of which it is capable.

I sum up what I have said on the elementary principles of this great question in the following propositions:—

1st. Domestic industry obtains its largest and best reward when it is permitted to exert itself in whatever channel, whether of agriculture or commerce, it finds to be the most profitable.

2nd. We can import nothing from abroad, without paying for it by Domestic industry.

3rd. Abundant and cheap food is the greatest of all material blessings to the people.

4th. The Corn Laws, by violating freedom of industry, and

amongst the people, and that a great and oppressive evil is being done to the country,—an evil which grows with the growth of the population.

It is my intention to send a letter to examine and refute the arguments of Lord Eversham, Mr. Bethell, Mr. John Hand, Mr. Milnes, and other speakers at the York meeting.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your lordship's most obedient servant,
EDWARD BAINES, JUN.

Lancashire Mercury Office, March 2, 1844.

A WEEK IN WINDSOR FOREST.

BY ADAM BROWN.

No. II.—Prince Albert's Farm continued.

From what I heard said by some of the natives of the forest relative to the undue number of Scotchmen—gardeners, grooms, farriers, and others—filling offices up to the Master of the Household and the Master of the Horse, both in the royal establishment and in the service of noblemen and gentry in the neighbourhood, I expected to find that the two farms of his Royal Highness would be managed by Scotchmen. Such was not the case: both were Englishmen; one of them a native of Norfolk. But the number of Scotchmen and other strangers employed about Windsor is certainly deserving of remark. So also is the bitterness which distinguishes the conversation of the native workmen in reference to those strangers. At first I attributed it to the ignorance and prejudice of the individual who spoke to me; but from subsequent experience, among various labourers and mechanics, I found the sentiment of opposition to strangers and exclusive "protection to native industry," a very general one. It reminded me of the evidence of a witness examined before the parliamentary committee on the payment of wages two years ago. His name was Oldfield. He came from Chorley, in Lancashire, and was examined relative to Mr. Cobden's printworks.

Question 1775. (By Mr. Ferrand.) "Is not Mr. Cobden considered one of the best masters in that part of the country?"—
"Yes, he is."

Question 1776. "And he pays his workpeople in money?"—
"Yes, he does. The only thing I have heard against Mr. Cobden is, that he employs too many Scotchmen: that is the chief complaint in our neighbourhood."

Mr. Cobden, being in principle a Free-Trader, doubtless procures his workmen from any part of the kingdom, or perhaps from any other kingdom, where he can get the most useful supply. So do those who manage her Majesty's establishment. But if the inhabitants of that part of Berkshire in which Windsor stands, and of the parts of Bucks, Middlesex, and Surrey adjoining, returned a majority of the members of Parliament, or themselves formed that majority, they would pass a law to protect themselves from the employment of Scotchmen or any other strangers. They would enact laws for the "protection of native Windsor gardeners, for the protection of native grooms, for the protection of native farriers, and for the protection of everybody who belonged to that part of England, to the exclusion of everybody who belonged to any other part of the world.

So would it be at Chorley, in Lancashire; and so in every county and parish in England. Those who now form a majority in Parliament do not enact a law to exclude Scotchmen from Lancashire, nor Lancashiremen and Scotchmen from Windsor, because the employment of strangers in any one locality does not injure their own supposed interests. They do not themselves work for wages in the stable, the farrier's shop, the garden, or on the farm. The wages of labour being the property in which only working men have an exclusive interest, it is the working men only who would protect themselves against the importation of working strangers. But the majority of members in the Houses of Lords and Commons have the power to protect themselves; and they do so. They are owners of property which is valuable only in proportion to the amount sold of corn, cattle, sheep, pigs, butter, cheese, and other farm produce which they are dealers in; and believing, most erroneously, that by restricting the use of such articles to what they furnish is the only way to keep up prices, they make a law to that effect.

It would be intolerable if the native inhabitants of Lancashire had the power of excluding every workman from the factories who was not a native of that county. It would, like the protective law of the landlords, be highly pernicious. That general intercourse which sharpens the intellect, obliterates prejudices, and makes men courteous and helpful to one another, would be obstructed, and never would have existed, and civilization and science would be unknown, if the men at Chorley, in Lancashire, or the men at Windsor, in Berkshire, had the power and the will—they have the will, but happily not the power—or if the men of any other county or parish had the power, of objecting to the employment and settlement amongst them of men from other counties and parishes and nations. Yet their ignorance of the value of human intercourse, of county with county, nation with nation, race with race, is the same kind of ignorance which makes the parliamentary majority of landowners set limits to the commercial intercourse which they think would lessen the price of that produce of the land in which they are dealers. They who thus act because they can, and the men who would so act if they could, are governed by the same motives, and labour under the same mistakes. As it is with the intercourse of individuals, so it is with nations. Prejudices are removed; asperities softened down; projects for commercial transit are undertaken and accomplished jointly which none could have done singly; new energies are awakened; new power created—power which tends to elevate the whole human race nearer to the moral image of their Maker, and place them at a greater distance from the degradation and destructive propensities of the savage. Let us increase the intercourse of nation with nation, and we render the possibility of war the less; while, by an interchange of commodities, each nation becomes richer than when it stood alone. The supply of wants creates new ones in communities of men as in individuals. The lowest tribe of savages have fewest wants; they never know what enjoyment is, so they do not seek to enjoy. Give England a supply of that corn and sugar of which she has too little under the present protective duties, and new wants will be created, the profits of supplying which will do far more for those who are now protected than their monopoly does for them.

On the contrary, concede the principle of protection from free competition, and concede it in practice to those who demand it, but have not the power to obtain it, as well as to those who demand it, and have the power to

obtain it for themselves, and who enforce it for themselves, and where would we end? The civilization to which we have attained through a common intercourse with one another would prevent us from returning all at once to the life of the savage. But such protection from competition, if possessed by all who desire it, would at once enable the Lancashire workmen to turn every one out of the factories who were not Lancashire men; which act of protection to the natives by themselves would be their own destruction by the entire stoppage and annihilation of those works in which they are employed. Such a power would enable the Berkshire blacksmiths to demand, and enforce their demand, that Berkshire blacksmiths should have the exclusive privilege of shoeing the royal stud. It would be the same with grooms, with valets, with coachmen, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, everybody; and the consequence would be, that there would be no work and no payment for any of them: for under such intolerable and savage despotism the monarchy and civilized society could not exist. The very idea of such "protection to native industry" represents an impracticable monstrosity; for such a law of "protection," could it have existed by any possibility, would have prevented the existence of those very employments, of which the working members seek to be so protected from a competition with persons not born in their own localities. Under such a system the town of Maidenhead, where the coaches used to stop before the Great Western Railway was made, would want protection from Slough, where the trains stop, and which is now growing into a town since the railway has been made. The owners of land in the parish of New Windsor, where the inhabitants are numerous, and the corn produced is scanty, would pass a law of protection against the corn-growers of the parishes of Egham, and Staines, and Datchet, where the corn grows more plentifully.

I have followed this subject farther than I intended when making the remarks about the number of Scotch men employed at Windsor; but the fact of such men being there, together with the objection to them on the part of the forest-born workmen, is a matter worth noting in these days of "protection to native industry."

I have said Flemish Farm and Norfolk Farm, which are both occupied by the Prince, are each managed by an English bailiff. But both the farms and the bailiffs are under the immediate superintendence of one of the gentlemen of the Prince's establishment, Major-General Wemyss. I had not a sufficient opportunity to ascertain the general's merits as an agriculturist. Everybody spoke well of him as a gentleman; and he had no fault that I heard of with any, save with a few of the natives, and their objection to him was, that he was a Scotchman, and brought too many of his own countrymen about Windsor, to the injury of the native workmen.

In journeying towards the homestead of Flemish Farm, after quitting the men who were draining, I left the field they were in on my right, and proceeded westward. The field in which two men were spreading manure, and three ploughs were beginning work, lay on my left; and I was now about ten hundred yards from the eastern boundary of the farm where I first entered. At every step I had ascended higher and higher, and was now on an elevation, the highest part of which, several acres in breadth, lay northward to my right, and was covered with a thicket of young timber.

Looking to the west, at the distance of three or four hundred yards, there lay down below me, in a hollow, the Prince's barns and stables, wagon-shed, rick-yard, and bailiff's house. There was no road from this part of the farm to the homestead, nor from any other part, save in one direction, where a road ran along the low grounds northward and north-west, to meet the Windsor road from Ascot Heath and country adjoining. But though there was no road, properly so called, by the way I approached the homestead, there were wagon tracks plenty. The manure, which was in process of being ploughed into the field above, had been brought up from the farm-yard evidently with prodigious labour. The ground was cut up by the wheels; and, as is always the case where there is not a proper road, the wagons and carts had travelled over a space sufficient for three or four or five roads. The ruts were like open drains; and the upturned earth was so rough, and yet so soft in the melting frost, that to walk was almost impossible.

I turned aside amid the rushes and furze which dotted a piece of old pasture ground of considerable breadth, extending downwards to the houses. This was exceedingly wet, although it was a hanging declivity, facing the south-west, and bore all the appearances of poverty and sourness of soil. It being winter time, wetness might have been accounted for; but the rushes told that they enjoyed that wet bed even in summer, when other vegetation, on such a soil, tries to raise its head and thrive, but at last dies in the hopeless effort.

The bailiff's house is a plain whitewashed cottage of two floors, fronting up the hill. It stands on the north side of the farm offices, the rick-yard being on the south side. As I approached it I saw nobody, and nothing moved within the compass of the eye but a little dog, which came half way up the hill, proclaiming with much noise that I had better not come any farther. I moved forward, however, and it, being in front of me, moved backwards, disputing every step of the way.

I saw, by the appearance of newly-thrashed bean straw in front of two barn doors, that somebody was or had recently been at work thrashing beans, and I advanced into the yard. There was nobody. All was quiet, and, for the time, deserted: even the little dog was away. I suppose, when it saw me pass into the farm-yard, it ran off to its master, to tell him that he had better come himself, for the stranger would not be stopped by all the barking which it could bark.

Accordingly, its master came, and it came with him, and, holder than ever, told me I had no business there, and intimated that if it was only big enough it would let me see what it would do. The master bade it be quiet, but it was determined to let me know that this farm was its farm,—this yard its yard,—that house its house; that its own house was its own castle; and that until I explained who I was, what I was, and what I wanted there, it would not yield its right to challenge me. Nor did it until I had explained all that, and entered into familiar conversation with its master.

First of all he told me that there was very little to be seen that could in any way be interesting to a stranger; and probably he was right. But the fact of this being the Prince's farm was a sufficient reason for me feeling an interest in it,—as I hope it will be a sufficient excuse for

this detailed description. He showed me a four-year-old heifer, which was being fattened for the next Christmas show in London, and told me that two more from Scotland were to come soon for the same purpose.

Other matters, such as the want of good water and good roads, the great difficulty of getting either, and the daily toil and loss arising from the want of roads, were spoken of. But it is necessary to explain here that the observations which I may now make, and the information I may convey to others, have been described from various sources.

This farm is supposed to have been taken from the forest and the Great Park, sixty or seventy years ago. At first it consisted of 400 acres, but has been lessened to about 350, in order that certain meadow land in the park which grows hay for the deer to feed on in winter might be extended. It is a heavy clayey soil, and very difficult to work. The homestead has been unfortunately placed on lower ground than the general elevation of the farm, which renders it necessary that nearly all the manure from it should be conveyed up hill; and it is carried up hill without roads. There is only one road, as I said before, and it leads out to Windsor. A large quantity of manure had been taken along it by the wagons to a field, where it was laid in a ponderous heap at the bottom, to be carted upland when required. Had there been a road from the farmyard towards the high ground, the manure-heap might have been laid at the top of this field as easily as it was brought to the bottom, and then one horse would have done as much in dragging it out, when the time comes to lay it out, as three horses will do; and this without breaking and tramping the land as three horses will. There is probably not a quarter of grain grown on this farm, nor anything else of equal value, which does not cost ten or fifteen per cent. more in its production than it would cost if there were good hard roads. And if we take into account the improvements which might be effected in changing the elements of the soil, but which cannot be effected without roads to convey the materials, the loss would appear enormous. But of those possible changes in the nature of the soil more hereafter.

Meantime let me call the attention of those who talk of the danger to English agriculture of a large and cheap importation of foreign wheat to the fact that in all those countries from which we could get a large supply, so far as the fertility and extent of fertile soil could produce it, there are no roads, neither private nor public.

Flemish Farm, I was told, would not be a bargain at more than 20s. an acre, annual rent; although, from the competition for land which now exists, there would be no difficulty in getting farmers to bind themselves to pay 30s. an acre.

George III. used to hold this farm. In that sovereign's latter days, and in the reign of George IV., it was let to a tenant who was bound to give it up when required so to do. He made a poor struggle in it, as any tenant under such circumstances might be supposed to do. Everything went to wreck, so I was told, and no useful improvement was effected beyond the mere necessities of the moment. But a fortunate day was in store for him. William IV., after his accession, chose to take the farm into his own hands. The tenant was paid to go out of it; and found himself what he had never been while he held it, a rich man. The present bailiff succeeded him, and found everything in a deplorable condition.

I observed that one of the wagons on this farm, and all of the wagons used in the Great Park, had belonged to his late Majesty; and this I discovered by seeing on them letters with the royal arms, which indicated that they now belonged to her Majesty Victoria the Fourth. It stood thus:—"V. R. IV." with the royal arms between the V and the R. This at first puzzled me, but on looking narrowly into it I found that there had once been a W where there was now a V, and that for economy's sake the half of the W had been painted out, and the other half left. Perhaps, on her Majesty's accession, somebody recollected what the enormous cost had been to the late king. £4000 alone, for the old trashy stock and implements of Flemish Farm, was enough to make the bailiff, or any one else, dread the employment of one of those who think they have only to set their feet on a royal farm to be sure of making a rich job.

Those days, however, are gone by. Her Majesty attends personally to many affairs which used to be managed or mismanaged by others; so the common report about Windsor says. There are people there, and many of them, who lament the departure of the days of George IV., when they could get more profitable jobs than they can get now; when, as a bricklayer told me, they "could get a pint of beer almost any how, any where, at any time;" but even those people are constrained to admit that the superior arrangement of everything under her Majesty does more good than a profuse but uncertain expenditure would do. In every case where the Queen has personally interfered to make an alteration in any usage, the change has been directed by practical good sense, which none deny, save those, perhaps, who have been personally interfered with. Added to this, there is the kind consideration of the Queen and the Prince for the public who visit the castle and the regal domain of the park. It is rare that in any nobleman's park, or near any private residence whatever, there is such freedom given to visitors as about the residence of her Majesty. It is rarer still for strangers to be so kindly permitted to approach the head of the family, to be bowed to, and their presence taken as if conferring a favour, as is the case with the Queen and the Prince. But rarest of all is it, that exalted personages, who, like them, fill the eyes of everybody, should, by the force of virtue alone, compel every evil-speaking tongue to speak well of them.

I am now about to give some opinions on the propriety of the Prince becoming a farmer, and on the benefit which other farmers may derive from a certain line of management being adopted which may be profitably introduced on Flemish Farm. This will lead me to speak of what the soil is, and what it may be made. But the subject is too large to enter upon in the present letter.

The speech of the Rev. J. Aspinall, rector of Althorpe, Lincolnshire, which was so rapturously received at the late evening meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law League in this town, has been reprinted by the National Anti-Corn-Law League, only a just tribute to one of the most splendid addresses on the subject that has been delivered in any part of England.—*Hull Rockingham.*

"Pa, I know, now, about the sliding scale." How so? "I tumbled down, to-day, on the flags in the street, and found it was owing to a slippery Peel."

AGRICULTURE.

WHAT IS RENT?

In rejecting Mr. Cobden's motion for a select committee to inquire into the effect of protective duties on the interests of tenant-farmers and farm-labourers, the landowners of the House of Commons have given a new proof of the hollowness of all their pretences at their "protection" meetings. It is not our present purpose to go over the ground of last Tuesday's debate; but there was one point touched upon in the course of that discussion which was much mystified by the Pro-Corn-Law speakers: we mean the proportion which rent bears to the produce of land. Mr. Gladstone professed to believe that the suggested inquiries involved some very abstruse and recondite investigations into the theory of rent. This was a mere delusion, a cloud of nonsense by which the speaker proposed to cover his intention of opposing a reasonable inquiry. But without undervaluing scientific formula for investigating rent, when properly applied, we propose to take a practical farmer-like view of the subject. And that view, after all, corresponds with great accuracy to the most scientific one. Now, what is the simple and natural mode of estimating rent? A farmer about to take a farm will ascertain what are the outgoings, as taxes, rates, tithes, and so forth; he will then estimate the quantity of produce which, according to his proposed system of farming, it will be in his power one year with another to take to market, and he calculates the prices he expects to receive for such produce; he will also calculate the cost of the labour he may require to raise the estimated produce, the amount of capital he may be able or willing to employ on the farm, and the lowest rate of profit for which it be worth his while to engage in farming. Until this process has been gone through—and it always is gone through with more or less of accuracy—he cannot form any opinion as to the proper amount of rent. The rent will be the surplus of the whole produce to be sold which shall remain after meeting all the foregoing expenses. Now, it depends upon the existing competition amongst farmers for farms whether the whole of this surplus shall or shall not be given for rent, or whether some incautious or unintelligent farmer may not agree to give even more than all the surplus, paying all beyond the actual surplus either out of his capital, or by getting into debt, usually with his tradesmen. And the same state of things will exist whenever the farmer shall be disappointed in receiving for produce the prices on which he founded his calculations. When rent is paid out of capital, the farmer must either diminish his stock, or lessen the number or lower the wages of his labourers, and he commonly resorts to all those methods of making up the rent. But the direct effect is a smaller produce in the following year, and thus in each succeeding year the rent eats deeper and deeper into the farmer's substance, until he is sold up, or voluntarily retires from the farm a pauper. That this has been the course run by hundreds of farmers during the existence of the Corn Laws is admitted by the monopolists, and a very little consideration will show how those laws have, in various ways, contributed to such unhappy results. The Corn Law of the day has always affected to keep up prices beyond the natural level, but it has been only in seasons of comparative scarcity that it has really done so. But as farmers, landlords, and landvaluers have all been led to found their calculations upon the prices held out by the Corn Law, whenever prices have fallen below that rate, the farmer must have necessarily paid some part—often the whole—of his rent out of his capital. In this way the Corn Law has been most prejudicial to the farmers. Then high prices of corn—whether really obtained or only expected—induce the farmer to rely too much upon his corn crops; he takes a corn crop somewhat too often; he is satisfied with a very small produce; and as a certain amount of corn may be grown under an inferior system of cultivation, requiring comparatively little labour, the farm-labourer suffers not only from the high price of food, but from want of employment.

Nothing can be further from the truth than the assertion, or assumption, so commonly made by the monopolists, that high prices induce either extended or improved cultivation, for directly the reverse is the fact; though unquestionably rents are thereby increased for a time; that is, so long as farmers can be deluded into engagements under which they have occasionally to pay rent out of capital. When prices are high, less capital, skill, and labour are required to raise a certain amount of marketable produce, and, from the smaller capital necessary to cultivate a given quantity of land, greater competition for farms is created. Both circumstances tend to increase the surplus or rent offered to the landowner.

This applies to average English farming. It is true that, by means of considerable capital employed upon a farm under the security of a safe tenure, where the farmer looks chiefly to growing large crops without reference to prices, a larger

actual rent may be paid to the landlord, while a greater share of the whole produce may be retained by the farmer than under a system of high prices and low produce; but this is always disregarded by the monopolists, and the effect of their Corn Law is to prevent such permanent undertakings.

With this practical view before us of what rent is, let us examine Lord Worsley's statement of the "expense of managing a farm," which he received from "a farmer of great experience," and it will be seen how utterly delusive all such statements must be. According to this statement, an acre of light land, such as that of Lincoln-heath, will produce:—

| | | | |
|--|--------|--------|--|
| 1st year, 3 quarters of wheat at 56s. | | | |
| a quarter | £8 8 0 | £7 7 0 | |
| Deduct for seed | 1 1 0 | | |
| 2nd year, value of turnips | | 2 10 0 | |
| 3rd year, barley, 4½ quarters at 30s. | 6 15 0 | | |
| Deduct for seed | 0 15 0 | 6 0 0 | |
| 4th year, clover, | | | |
| To value of pasturage | 2 0 0 | | |
| Deduct for seed | 0 12 0 | 1 8 0 | |
| Making a total of receipts per acre during a | | | |
| rotation of four years | | 17 5 0 | |

In order to grow that produce, the following estimate of expenses is given:—

| | |
|---|---------|
| Rent for four years at 20s. | £4 0 0 |
| Parochial charges at 3s. [this is an overcharge of 3s.] | 0 15 0 |
| Tithes | 0 5 0 |
| Cost and keep of horses at 15s. | 3 0 0 |
| Labour, viz., farm-labourers | 1 0 0 |
| mechanics | 0 5 0 |
| Artificial manure | 2 10 0 |
| | 16 5 0 |
| Interest of capital employed, supposed to be | |
| £1200 on 200 acres, at rather less than 4½ | |
| per cent. | 1 0 0 |
| Making the total cost per acre | £17 5 0 |

Now, upon the face of it, this account balances most suspiciously, to say nothing of the slight overcharge of 3s. an acre, which would seem to indicate an intention to calculate up to a foregone conclusion. Lord Worsley multiplied these figures by 200, as giving the outlay and return of a farm of 200 acres of arable land on Lincoln-heath. We have had some individual experience in these farming estimates; we have seen precisely the same kind of accounts of the expense of an acre of wheat produced before every agricultural committee since 1813, in which the price of corn was assumed to be the act-of-Parliament price of the day, and which were imagined by those who put them forward to be decisive evidence that nothing less than some arbitrarily high price would enable the farmer to continue cultivation. It is a maxim of common sense, as well as of law, that "deceit lurks in generalities," and where these estimates are not merely fanciful or fabricated, the error will commonly be found to arise from the calculator basing his calculation on loose data, not on what has actually occurred within his own experience, but which he imagines, to use Mr. Cobden's expression, "might, could, would, or may," under some possible circumstances, occur.

No farming accounts or calculations are of the slightest value unless the actual payments and receipts are stated, and the acreage, description, and locality of the farm, as well as the real amount of capital employed, are given; and every one who has endeavoured to investigate this subject in a spirit of fairness will admit the difficulty of obtaining such accounts. Every farmer has some reason for not stating his own receipts and payments; most have some exceptional benefit or disadvantage on which they rely to take their own case out of the general rule, for it is obvious that, if such calculations as that of Lord Worsley prove anything, they prove too much. If they are true, no profit has been made in farming for some years; for Sir Robert Peel, in 1842, stated the average price of wheat for ten years was about 56s. a quarter. Now, this renders all such statements valueless. But, as this farming calculation is now put forth as evidence in support of a law intended to keep wheat at 56s. a quarter (though it cannot do so), let us analyze it a little. Now, it so happens that we have, as a help to such analysis, an account of the farming in that very district of Lincolnshire to which Lord Worsley's statement refers. We allude to Mr. Pusey's account of "Agricultural Improvements in Lincolnshire," in the last number of the "Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society." There, after detailing the high farming by which "Lincoln-heath, lately a warren, is now on a bright frosty day in December like a sheep market," Mr. Pusey shows that "noble crops" are raised "upon land for which a few years since the rent was paid by two rabbits an acre;" and that such results have been brought about by repeated dressings "quite unexampled" in other districts. Now, Lord Worsley's statement gives twenty-four bushels of wheat as the produce of an acre, which, instead of being a "noble crop" on land rented at 20s. per acre, is a very indifferent crop, and is from eight to ten bushels an acre less than the best farmers on light land grow as their average crop. Upon strong land good husbandry will produce a much larger crop. Next, £1 1s. per acre is deducted for

seed, which gives three bushels at 7s.; whereas a good farmer would sow more than two bushels to the acre, and, when the land has been got into high condition, still less seed will produce better crops. It is only on land in a low state of cultivation that thick sowing is necessary; and we shall presently see that the scale of expenditure stated by Lord Worsley is sufficient to insure good farming. Here, then, we find eight bushels an acre of produce too little, and one bushel of seed expended too much—equal on one-fourth of a farm of 200 acres to fifty-six quarters of wheat. And precisely the same sort of calculation applies to barley, which may perhaps be increased by good husbandry in even a greater ratio than wheat.

Then we find the turnips valued at £2 10s. an acre; but Mr. Pusey tells us that from 10 to 12 large Lincoln sheep are wintered on each acre of turnips; and will any one who understands farming believe that no more than £2 10s. can be made by wintering 12 long-woolled sheep? Why, the wool alone would exceed that sum.

The statement of produce is one of very moderate farming. Now, let us turn to the outgoings; and here we shall somewhat alter the order of Lord Worsley's items. The wages of farm-servants are set at £200, giving, at an average, slightly under 12s. a week for each man, eight men employed throughout the year; a number fully sufficient to cultivate 200 acres in a manner much superior to average farming. The cost of horse-keep is exorbitant, unless the system of tillage be extremely high, and then much larger crops than we have mentioned should be the result. Tithes and parochial charges are also high, and both items would fall with any permanent reduction in the price of grain; while £125 yearly for artificial manure, which probably includes oilcake and similar purchased food for stock, might be profitably increased. If £1200 be employed on 200 acres of land, it is certain that an extra £500 would give increased produce in a proportion far greater than the additional capital. Nor is 4½ per cent. too high an interest for farming capital. This brings us to the only remaining item in Lord Worsley's account, namely, the RENT. Now, until the farmer has received back year by year all that he has paid as the expense of cultivation, whether it be horse labour or human labour or artificial manure, the tithes and rates which fall upon him as the occupier, together with the ordinary interest of capital, he has no fund properly applicable to rent. To put forth, therefore, an alleged calculation, in which rent forms a fixed item, is simply a delusion. But this is quite clear, even upon their own showing, that, if Free Trade in corn shall produce a permanent reduction in the money returns of farmers, the rent, that is, the surplus, must be the first source from which reduction must come. This can, no doubt, be met to a great extent by increased production on the part of farmers, but for that purpose they must be freed from the numerous disadvantages with regard to tenure and other matters under which they at present labour. In the meantime, nothing will sooner dissipate from the minds of farmers all the landlord-created chimeras than a practical, business-like examination of the question, WHAT IS RENT? Let such an examination be the business of every real farmer.

LANDLORD COMMON SENSE—PECULIAR BURDENS.

It is some compensation for the evils which are produced by the blockheads of a community taking the lead in its affairs, as is just now the case with the landowning and farming classes, that a vast portion of the latent, or at all events inactive, common sense of the same community is thereby aroused. Thus, we recently had to present to our readers the excellent letter of Mr. Bosanquet, a Conservative landowner of Herts, in favour of Free Trade, as earnest of the fruits which the Pro-Corn-Law agitation will produce in that county; so we have now before us a letter addressed to the farmers of Buckinghamshire, by a Whig landowner of that county, Sir Harry Verney. Differing, as we shall have occasion to do, from some of the conclusions of Sir Harry Verney, we cannot but congratulate the landowners upon his reasoning and sensible tone, and the business-like way of dealing with the question of the Corn Laws. Sir Harry says "the question is one of principle," and that he has endeavoured to satisfy himself whether legislative protection from foreign competition "has produced consequences beneficial or injurious to the farmers and the community at large."

He then rapidly traces the progress of the Corn-Law legislation "of the proprietors of the land" from the middle of the last century down to 1839, and shows that, notwithstanding the prohibitory duty of 80s. a quarter, "wheat in 1821-2 fell to 33s. a quarter; and that, under the law of 1828, 'by which less fluctuation in prices was promised, the price of wheat became higher than it ever had been under the [nominally] more protective law of 1815, and the fluctuation was from 35s. 4d. in December, 1835, to 81s. in January, 1839.'"

He then says that these laws have not produced "the promised benefit either of high or steady prices, and that they have not led to good farming," and asks—"who will maintain that our soil may not be made to produce double the amount of sustenance that it now yields for man or beast?" What intelligent agriculturist can read the following description of the actual state of husbandry on some of the best lands of England without doubting the value of his so-called "protecting" law? Sir Harry says:—

"Is it right that a system should be persevered in that pro-

vent, or at any rate that has not forwarded and effected to the extent that the country demands, an augmentation of produce? Look at the bad condition of farm-houses and buildings in many parts of the country. See how constantly four, or even five, horses are used in a plough when two would suffice; and consider that whole districts are cultivated with very small returns, although cultivated at an expense unnecessarily great. Why are manure heaps left in the field, where they lose their richness and fertilizing qualities? Why is the refuse from the farm-yard and dwelling-house allowed to escape into the common ditches, and to produce a rank crop of noxious weeds, instead of adding to the richness of the land? Why do we see ponderous four-horse waggons doing work for which two horses with light carts are sufficient? Why is farming expensive in particulars, in which cheaper cultivation would bring more produce? And why is there such unwillingness to expend capital, where that capital would give an ample return? The answer, I believe, is—imperfect farming, encouraged by unwise legislation.

And he adds that all the promises of the "farmers' friends" to keep up prices by act of Parliament have failed, "simply because it was impossible that legislation could regulate prices;" and the great landowners who passed, and now seek to maintain, the Corn Laws were most short-sighted in expecting to benefit themselves by a monopoly:—

"They should have considered, not so much the immediate price that we might get for our produce, as the great and ultimate advantage that you and I and all of us might obtain if the markets and resources of the country were extended. Remember how closely the manufacturing and commercial interests are allied to our own. Consider for what reason it is that land in our country is worth so much more than elsewhere. It is because we have better customers—I mean the multitudes who are engaged in manufacture and commerce. Why have our markets been improving during the last few weeks? Because, as Sir Thomas Fremantle said at Buckingham, the state of the manufacturer is improving."

And let us hear a landowner, a magistrate of Buckinghamshire, and one who diligently and impartially administers the duties entrusted to him. He says:—

"My friends, it is with pain that I contemplate the condition of the agricultural classes, especially of the agricultural labourer. See his damp, unwholesome, ill-ventilated, crowded cottage—ride through a village, where groups of men are standing about, unable to obtain work. Remark the downcast look of a man, as honest and upright as the most honest and upright amongst us, who has gone round from farm to farm and cannot obtain labour: follow him home to his family, and see him enter his cottage, where his wife and hungry children await his return, hoping that he may have obtained employment and food: but he has failed. The charity of a farmer, or the kindness of those who divide with each other the widow's mite, of some neighbour less poor only than himself, supports the family for a few days, until the order of admission to the workhouse is obtained. There are few, I hope I may say, no deaths from want in our agricultural districts: every poor family that has a crust, or a dish of potatoes, will divide it with their poorer neighbour who has none: in every village there are farmers and farmers' wives ready to assist a starving family. But are there no diseases brought on by poor living? no constitutions impaired by unwholesome and insufficient diet, want of clothing, and bad dwellings? are not the minds as well as the bodies, of our peasantry often enfeebled by their sufferings, and unfitted for the very exertions that would better their condition? Yes, as well as I do the reply to such questions."

Is not this another of those offensive answers to the monopolists' pretence that the agricultural labourers have been benefited by the Corn Laws, which they invariably receive whenever they meet with any who know the truth, and dare proclaim it?

And what is the remedy? Sir Harry Verney tells the Buckinghamshire farmers what we have again and again asserted, when he says:—

"It would be worse than useless, it would be mischievous, to address to you these observations, if no remedy could be suggested; but there is a remedy, and one which, aided by your landlords, it is in your power to adopt, viz., an improved system of farming. This would at once afford employment to the labourers, and the money which you now expend in poor's rates for the maintenance of their families would render them industrious and happy, and would yield to you a profitable return. In order to carry out such a system, you would require your farm-buildings to be adapted to increased produce from your land. You ought to have well arranged farm-yards, with the needful barns, and cow-houses, and stables, and with cess-pools, into which all your cattle-sheds and yards should drain. You ought to have encouragement and assistance in effecting permanent improvements, such as draining, &c.; and, having obtained these things, which it is as much your landlord's interest as his duty to provide, you ought to have the assurance of such permanency of tenure as will enable you to reap the fruit of any capital that you may embark in the cultivation of the soil."

Leases would enable the industrious agriculturist to do that which other classes do, namely, borrow from others a certain proportion of the capital he employs upon his farm. Sir Harry says:—

"I wish the wealth of the capitalist to be poured on your fields. I wish him to learn that it will never give him a more certain and speedy return than when employed by the skill and industry of the agriculturist. The coffers of our rich men are overflowing. Investments are sought in forming railways on the Continent, in the state stocks of America. In buying or selling land in New Zealand or Australia, in uniting the Pacific and the Atlantic by a canal, in working the silver mines of Chili or Peru; but there is a better and safer investment than any of these, one which, while it brings to the capitalist an ample interest, will augment the farmer's gains, and drive a equal poverty from the cottage of the peasant; investment in cultivating the soil of our own fair country, and in furnishing employment to our own honest peasantry. For such a purpose the capitalist will not advance his money without some permanency of tenure. Confident as the tenant may be in the good faith of one, under whose ancestors his forefathers have held their land for a century, the neighbouring banker or the capitalist in London cannot be expected to make the requisite advances of money except upon the security of a lease. We have in this country skilful farmers, we have the best labourers in the world, we have abundance of capital, and we have land on which the expenditure of capital will give an ample return. I desire to see a system adopted under which these possessions of ours may be brought to work for the common good; and for that system a certain permanency of tenure is requisite."

Nor is this system of making advances to farmers new; during the constantly rising prices of the war, advances were readily, often too readily, made by country bankers. But the most favourable way in which such advances could be made would be upon the security of the lease itself, to be repaid by certain definite instalments. On this topic, however, we shall have more to say elsewhere. Sir Harry Verney also thinks the £500 tenant-at-will clause in the Reform Bill has proved most injurious to agriculture by preventing leases, and rendering the farmers mere political tools in their landlords' hands. So far Sir Harry Verney's letter is unexceptionable; but he concludes by assuming that there are exclusive burdens on land, though he

fairly proposes to subject that assumption to the test of inquiry, and says:—

"Agricultural members should never have permitted the Minister to resist a motion for inquiring into the peculiar burdens on land. It was proposed by a member who wished to prove them inconsiderable. The farmers' friends ought to have accepted the challenge, because they could prove them disproportionately and unfairly heavy, and that they are increased in every successive session of Parliament; because they could show that they are, in a great measure, sustained for objects that benefit the whole community, for instance, that personal property is protected by expenditure to which only real property contributes; and that justice demands that burdens imposed for the benefit of all classes should not fall on one alone. The nature and amount of these burdens ought to be investigated; they ought either to be compensated by a duty or removed."

And he would prefer the removal of these ideal burdens to a compensating duty. For our part, if the landlords will go into the inquiry, and can prove that they have exclusive burdens, they may be relieved therefrom as they like best, for in truth the notion of the existence of such burdens is a pure hallucination. How a man so obviously clear-headed as Sir Harry Verney could have fallen into it passes our comprehension.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"A Five-guinea Subscriber."—As the accounts are not made up, his first question cannot be accurately answered. In reply to his second, we have to state that arrangements for a systematic canvass of London are in progress.

"Anonymous."—The attention of the League is earnestly directed to the subject of registration.

The secret history of the parties engaged in getting up the Anti-League Society is a valuable document, of which we shall avail ourselves at the proper time.

"T. B. T., "R. S., "A. D., "X. Y. Z., "A Labourer."—The instances of aristocratic oppression which they have sent us show how erroneously the poet has spoken of "the short and simple annals of the poor." The ruin which the system of the Corn Laws has brought upon farmers and farm-labourers is an iniquity without a parallel even in the dark and blood-stained annals of monopoly.

"P. L." sends us the following spirited stanzas on unfurling the banner of Free Trade:—

"Unfurl the stainless banner—
The glorious flag unfurl,
Free as the winds that fan her,
Free as the clouds that curl;
Free as Heaven above us,
Free as wave and air,
And human hearts will love us
Who set it floating there.
And human forms who wander
In snow, and frost, and rain,
I hear them singing yonder
The song of want and pain;
I hear the children pining
With tiny voice and sad;
Oh, when shall we, with shout and glee,
Those wailing voices glad?"

"Then, when o'er girdling ocean,
Its folds of purest white,
Free as love's emotion,
Pure as young delight,
Blithe as radiant morning,
And steadfast as its glow,
Our noble banner acroving
The chains that bind her now.
Then, loose her folded glory,
And rend the chains away!
For rusted, foul, and gory
With human woe are they;
Till, free as Heaven above us,
It revels on the air,
And human hearts will love us,
Who set it floating there!"

P. L.

"J. B."—The time for compromise is past.

"J. T."—The League wars not with the dead, and the influence of the person he wishes to expose has been irrecoverably consigned to the tomb of all the Capulets.

"A Rate-payer of Windsor."—The grievance of which he complains does not properly come under the cognizance of the League.

"M. M."—Such tricks in procuring signatures to Pro-Corn-Law petitions are so numerous that we should exhaust our entire space were we to attempt their exposure.

"J. J."—His stanzas have great merit, but some of the lines violate the laws of metre.

"T. W."—An equitable land-tax is a national right, because property in land was originally constituted on the principle of the proprietors being bound to provide for the defence of the country. The lords of the soil were vassals to the crown as well as suzerains to their serfs or tenants; but their constant policy has been to maintain their feudal rights while they got rid of their feudal obligations.

"R. M."—His appeal is powerful, but in some passages it rather goes beyond the line of prudence. He should remember that discretion is not less necessary than valour in an important contest. "The sons of Zeruliah are yet too strong for us."

"A. B." assures us that the farmers in Renfrewshire are secretly inquiring for expert poachers to protect their crops.

"B. B." is thanked, but the League cannot meddle with a subject so remotely connected with the question of Free Trade.

"R. C."—The ingenious clerk who has written the twenty-five petitions for Halifax and its neighbourhood to support the cause of monopoly is not likely to acquire fame for himself or afford satisfaction to his employers.

"O. P. Q." will find that his hints have been attended to. "The Song of the Gathering" is very unequal: some passages have the true lyrical spirit, but others are deficient both in metre and point.

"G. W. W." is thanked, but the matter of his communication is too much expanded and weakened by a tendency to declamation.

"Z. X. Y." should send his suggestion to "H. B."

"X. Y."—The *John Bull* has taken the Bible as its cognizance, but significantly represents the book as permanently shut.

"W. J. J." has a right to vote.

"J. H." is thanked.

A subscriber at Wakefield sends us the following:—"A little fact which strengthens and confirms the great fact, 'that the Corn Laws are obstructive of agricultural improvement,' has lately come to my knowledge, and I hasten to give you the particulars, of which you can make such use as you think proper."

"A person in this neighbourhood who keeps a cow occupies a field belonging to an individual of respectable though not of independent property. Two or three months ago the tenant applied to the landlord to drain the field, as the rent is high, and in reply was told by the latter that he could not consent to bear the whole expense, but would provide the necessary tiles, on condition that the tenant would perform the other part of the work. To this the tenant demurred, saying that he would consider of the proposition. Early in last week he intimated to the landlord his willingness to accede to the terms proposed; but he received in reply that, since the proposal was made, Sir Robert Peel had declared his determination to make no alteration in the Corn Laws,

and that, therefore, rents would be kept up without the landlord incurring any expense, and that he (the landlord) must, therefore, now decline laying out the money in tiles that he had originally proposed."

"This circumstance, certainly, took place only with reference to a single field, but the principle is no doubt equally at work in reference to whole estates, or even districts."

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,"

"A SUBSCRIBER TO THE LEAGUE FUND."

"G. W. W."—Under present circumstances we are unwilling to enter into any discussion of the currency question.

"A Member" cannot, under the circumstances, claim a vote.

"J. F. B."—One shilling.

We insert one of "J. R.'s" songs; the other is of inferior merit:—

A CANTICLE OF THE TIMES.

"Though great must be his *guerdon*, who gives to future years
The banquetings of monarchs, and the gazing bouts of peers;
For courtly pageants well describ'd he well deserves his bay:
Content am I; the poor alone, Heaven help them! claim my
lays."—REID.

"What, are ye answered yet?"—*Shylock*.

"A father gazed upon his fading child;
He saw her young eyes' lustre wane away,
And that ripe lip that once upon him smil'd,
Blanch'd by the touch of premature decay."

"The music of her happy laugh was gone—
The voice that oft at eve had sooth'd his care
Now seem'd the echo only of a moan;
The sad low plaint of famine bred despair."

"She died! and then the grief-wild father now
Knew that the cruel, unrelenting hand
That set the seal of death on that fair brow,
Grew from a mortal, not divine, command!"

"And whilst he stood beside her aqualid bed,
Deep indignation mingled with his sighs;
And blest with holy breathings for the dead,
Would aullen thoughts of retribution rise."

"Proud crested chiefs, who sternly have denied
Freedom to patient, much-enduring toil—
Who, with oppressive laws and selfish pride,
Have banish'd commerce from our ocean isle."

"Ask ye of him allegiance mild and meek?
Ask ye of him submission to your power?
Or that devoted love the virtuous seek,
(And find) to buckler them in danger's hour?"

"Your laws have made the hearthstone cold and drear,
Where once content and peace and plenty met;
And she who lies all shroudless on her bier,
She died of hunger. 'Are ye answered yet!'"

Edinburgh, Feb. 29.

The following copy of a petition has been sent us, with a request that we should republish it: we gladly comply:—

"To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled:—

"The humble petition of the Committee of the London Peace Society,

"Sheweth:—

"That your petitioners are fully of opinion that war, upon whatever pretext it is engaged in, is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the true interests of mankind; and that the practice of having recourse to arms for the purpose of settling disputes, cannot but be displeasing to Almighty God, whilst it is fraught with unnumbered evils to all parties connected with it, and is altogether unavailing for the equitable adjustment of such disputes:—

"That your petitioners do consequently regard the existence of large military establishments as an evil on all accounts to be deprecated by every lover of peace and good government, and as repugnant to the free spirit of the British constitution:—

"Your petitioners do therefore pray your Honourable House, that there may be no increase whatever made to the existing military establishments of the empire; and that your Honourable House will take into their most serious consideration the propriety of immediately adopting such measures as may, by your Honourable House, be deemed most suitable and effective for removing the fearful temptation to war which such establishments present:—and,

"Your petitioners are the more encouraged to urge this upon the attention of your Honourable House, because, in common with their fellow-subjects at large, they have received with unfeigned satisfaction the confident announcement made from the Throne at the opening of the present session of Parliament, that 'the general peace, so necessary for the happiness and prosperity of all nations,' is expected to continue uninterrupted."

"And your petitioners will ever pray, &c."

An esteemed correspondent sends us the following strictures on the annexed extract from the speech of the Rev. H. F. Yeatman, at Sturminster:—"Why, I know well, that when the new tariff was under consideration in Parliament, a deputation of English clay merchants waited on the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and represented that they could not compete with the foreign clay merchants without a protecting duty of 20 per cent.; they waited also on my ever honoured and learned friend, Geo. Banks, Esq., one of our most vigilant and ever active representatives in Parliament; and I know, Sir, that, mainly and instrumentally through Mr. Banks's great exertions, a sufficient protecting duty was granted in favour of, and in support of, the British clay merchant against his foreign competitor." The above is reported in the *Sherborne Journal* of the 22nd Feb., and is an extract from the speech of the Rev. H. F. Yeatman, delivered at Sturminster, but, being totally destitute of foundation, it seems to require some answer. The clay trade has no protecting duty under the new tariff; George Banks, Esq., was never asked to apply for, and never did exert himself to obtain, a protecting duty; there are not, and never were, any foreign competitors; and the clay merchants never waited on the Vice-President of the Board of Trade with such a representation: being themselves exporters of clay to foreign countries, they have no reason to ask for a protecting duty in favour of, and in support of, their produce against any foreign competitor. A reference to the new tariff will show that the importation of clay is allowed free of duty, but that there is a duty on exportation of 5s. per ton. Previously to the new tariff being passed, the importation was allowed free, and the exportation subject only to a nominal duty; by the new tariff it was first proposed to lay on an export duty of 30s. per ton; but George Banks, Esq., exerted himself on behalf of the clay proprietors and merchants, who are undoubtedly under great obligations to him for, in this case, advocating the principles of Free Trade; and there is every reason to believe, that mainly and instrumentally through his great exertions, the export duty was lowered and finally fixed at 5s. The gist of the argument of the Rev. H. F. Yeatman is, that the principle which regulates one trade ought to be applied to another; and as he has chosen the clay trade to exemplify the position, I am led to ask whether the Anti-League party would be content with the same kind of protection which the clay trade receives? Whilst I entirely acquit the Rev. H. F. Yeatman of any intention to mislead, I would suggest that it might be prudent for him to consider whether he is supporting his own case by directing public attention to the manner in which the same parties who give agricultural protection deal with some other trades. There are parties interested in the clay trade, proprietors of lands as well as merchants, in this county, and also in Cornwall, favourable to the principles of Free Trade; and it is that they may not be chargeable with inconsistency that I think it necessary to point out how much in error the Rev. H. F. Yeatman is on this point."

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 8d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE beg to announce that the next Meeting in COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE will take place on WEDNESDAY EVENING, the 20th instant. The Right Hon. the EARL OF RADNOR will take the Chair precisely at Seven o'clock. Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., Mr. Charles Lattimore, of Whithamstead, Hants, and other gentlemen, will address the meeting. Tickets of admission may be had on application at the Office of the League, 67, Fleet-street, from eleven to four o'clock on Monday and Tuesday. Registered Members admitted as heretofore.—Doors to be opened at Half-Past Six o'clock.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, March 16, 1844.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

Manchester, March 12th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been directed by the council of the League respectfully to call your attention to the following clauses of their address to the people of the United Kingdom, issued previous to the commencement of their plan of operations for the present year:—

"Prompt measures will be taken to ascertain the opinions of each elector, in every borough, with the view of obtaining an obvious and decided majority in favour of the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws."

"Every constituency whose representatives have not hitherto supported Mr. Villiers's motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws will be invited to memorialize its members to vote for such motion when next brought forward."

The period is now arrived when active measures should be adopted for carrying out the objects of this announcement. The council, therefore, respectfully, but earnestly, request that you will, at your earliest convenience, endeavour to form a committee, or, if there be an Anti-Corn-Law committee in your borough, that you will call them together for the purpose of submitting to them the following recommendations:—

1. That a memorial be immediately prepared, to be signed by the electors of your borough, requesting your representatives to vote for Mr. Villiers's motion in the present session for the abolition of the Corn Laws.

2. That the committee proceed to divide the borough into districts, and also to prepare canvassing-books, containing the names of the voters for each district, as accurately and as carefully as if for an election.

3. That intelligent and trustworthy persons be appointed to canvass the whole of the electoral body for signatures to the memorial; and that every elector be called upon, in order that the opinions of the entire constituency on the question, as far as practicable, may be ascertained and registered in the canvassers' books.

4. That the canvassers be instructed to be especially careful not to receive any signatures but those of persons whose names appear on the register of electors for the present year; that each person shall sign for himself; or that, where the elector cannot write, the memorial shall be only signed for him at his own request and in his presence.

5. That the canvassers be also requested to enter in their books memorandums of all changes which may have taken place since the last registration, either in the residence or qualification of electors, whether householders or freemen, and to make a report of all such cases to the committee. It is hoped that by attention to these latter particulars much useful and important information will be obtained for improving the register during the present year, by removing those who have no qualification or have lost their right to vote.

6. That, as soon as the memorial shall have been completed, the committee shall make a return, addressed to the chairman of the council, at Manchester, specifying

The gross number of electors on the register for the present year.

The number of double entries on the register, and also of the amount to be deducted on account of deaths and removals from the borough since the last registration.

The number of signatures attached to the memorial.

7. That the same committee should hold itself in readiness to enter upon the business of registration in your borough, with a determination to increase as far as possible the strength of the Free-Trade portion of the electoral body.

As the council, in their address, have not this year recommended petitions to Parliament for repeal of the Corn Laws, it becomes the more urgently necessary that the business of memorializing should proceed without delay. It should be entered upon at once, and not a moment should be lost until the memorial is placed in the hands of your representatives.

The council are the more encouraged in recommending this course from the success which followed the very limited adoption of a similar proceeding previous to Mr. Villiers's motion of last year. Few memorials were presented on that occasion, but those few produced a considerable accession to the Free-Trade minority.

The council rely with confidence on receiving the most prompt and energetic co-operation of their friends throughout the country, and especially in the parliamentary boroughs, in support of the motion of Mr. Villiers, and in augmenting the strength of the Free-Traders in the various constituencies, by close and continued attention to the registration of electors. The present aspect of the Free-Trade movement, and the position now assumed by the supporters of monopoly, imperatively require this at our hands; and we trust that your committee will at once enter upon the discharge of these duties, with a determination not to relax its exertions until the question has been brought to a successful issue.

I am, dear sir, respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

(By order of the council)

GEORGE WILSON, Chairman.

The circular of instructions, to which we alluded in our leading article of the 2d inst., as in preparation, has now been issued by the council, and will

be seen above. Its directions are plain and practical. We earnestly hope the importance will be felt of their being acted upon at once, and everywhere.

There is no time to be lost. The interval from now to the expected coming on of Mr. Villiers's motion in the House of Commons is not at all too long for the canvassing to be completed, and the results brought into the form in which they will most conduce towards the desired result. We call on the friends of Free Trade in every locality to help. Any person, whether himself a voter or not, who enables the committee of his district to ascertain that but a single Free-Trader is wrongfully omitted from the registration list, or but a single voter for monopoly wrongfully inserted therein, renders a valuable service to the cause. And that service is doubled by any one who can so instruct and convince his enfranchised neighbour as to obtain his signature to the memorial for supporting Mr. Villiers's motion, though he may heretofore have exercised his franchise for the support of monopoly.

These memorials are, in fact, a poll of the constituencies upon the specific question at issue. They afford the electors an opportunity for retrieving past errors, or redoubling former exertions. In this one act of memorializing our representatives we concentrate the various exertions that have usually been expended upon separate petitionings. It is, for the present year, the single palpable form in which our principles and wishes present themselves to the attention of the House of Commons. It is absolutely necessary for it to be as complete as possible. Any neglect is treason to our cause at a most critical moment.

About it, then; and with the spirit and perseverance of those who are worthy to fight the great battle of commercial freedom against the most powerful class ascendancy, by which industry has ever been plundered of its rights and fettered in its operations. Enrol yourselves, everywhere, on behalf of Free Trade. Let the magnitude of its peaceful, but resistless, army be shown in the great muster-roll of memorialists. If your numbers appear as we hope, the stroke is decisive. "Up to your duty," and work as if the cause were to be made triumphant now, or never.

REVIEW.

The Poetical Works of Ebenezer Elliott. People's Edition. Tait, Edinburgh.

This cheap and beautiful edition of Ebenezer Elliott's Poems is highly creditable to the public spirit of its enterprising publisher. We rejoice to see poems of and for the people placed within the reach of every class of readers. To the wealthy Elliott's verses are valuable, as the exposition of the feelings which rankle in the bosoms of those who are the victims of class-legislation; while to the industrious poor they afford, at least, the consolation of knowing that intellect sympathises with their sufferings, and genius denounces their wrongs. It would be out of place to give a formal review of productions so long before the public, and so highly and justly appreciated. We shall, however, take the opportunity afforded by this cheap edition to extract a few of the pieces which have been most effective in pointing out to the great body of the operatives the nature of the wrongs which they suffer from the bread-tax, and to combine with them a few extracts illustrative of the peculiar powers of the author. There is a melancholy sweetness in the following lines, reminding us of the effect produced by the dirges of the dead wafted to the ear from a distance on the evening gale:—

SONG.

TUNE—"The Land o' the Leal."

"Where the poor cease to pay,
Go, lov'd one, and rest!
Thou art wearing away
To the land of the blest.
Our father is gone
Where the wrong'd are forgiven,
And that dearest one,
Thy husband, in heaven."

"No toil in despair,
No tyrant, no slave,
No bread-tax is there,
With a maw like the grave.
But the poacher, thy pride,
Whelm'd in ocean afar;
And his brother, who died
Land-butcher'd in war;

"And their mother, who sank
Broken-hearted to rest;
And the baby, that drank
Till it froze on her breast;
With tears, and with smiles,
Are waiting for thee,
In the beautiful isles
Where the wrong'd are the free."

"Go, lov'd one, and rest,
Where the poor cease to pay!
To the land of the blest
Thou art wearing away;
But the son of thy pain
Will yet stay with me,
And poor little Jane
Look sadly like thee."

A fiercer spirit breathes through the lines en-

titled "The Black Hole of Calcutta;" it opens with the following bold burst of interrogatory:—

"What for Saxon, Frank, and Hun,
What hath England's bread-tax done?
Ask the struggle and the groan
For the shadow of a bone;
Like a strife for life, for life,
Hand to hand, and knife to knife,

"Hopeless trader! answer me,
What hath bread-tax done for thee?
Ask thy lost and owing debts;
Ask our bankrupt-throng'd Gazettes.
Clothier, proud of Peterloo!
Ironmaster, loyal too!

"What hath bread-tax done for you?
Let the Yankee tariff tell,
None to buy, and all to sell;
Useless buildings, castles strong,
Hundred thousands, worth a song;
Starving workmen, warehouse full,
Saxon web, from Polish wool,
Grown where grew the wanted wheat,
Which we might not buy and eat.
Merchant, bread-tax'd trade wont pay—
Profits lessen every day;
Sell thy stock, and realize,
Let thy streeted chimneys rise;

"And when bread-tax'd ten are two,
Learn what bread-tax'd rents can do.
Sneak! that wouldst for groat a year
Sell thy soul, and sell it dear!

"Self-robb'd servile! sold, not bought,
For the shadow of a groat!
Unbribed Judas! what thy gain,
By sad Europe's millions slain—
By our treasure's, pour'd in blood
Over battle-field and flood!
Bread-tax'd profits, endless care,
Competition in despair.

"With thy bile, and with thy gear,
Wheels and shuttles gainless here,
With the remnant of thy all,
Whither, reptile, wilt thou crawl?
What hath bread-tax done for me?
Farmer, what for thine and thee?
Ask of those who toil to live,
And the price they cannot give;
Ask our hearths, our gainless marts,
Ask thy children's broken hearts,
Ask their mother, sad and gray,
Destined yet to parish pay."

"Bread-tax'd weaver, all can see
What that tax hath done for thee
And thy children, vilely led,
Singing hymns for shameful bread,
Till the stones of every street
Know their little naked feet."

"Building lawyers' nominees!
What hath bread-tax done for thee?
Ask thy fainting thoughts that strive
But to keep despair alive;
Ask thy list of friends betray'd,
Houses empty, rents unpaid,
Rising streets and falling rents,
Money-fights for half per cents;
Ask yon piles, all bread-tax built,
Guiltless, yet the cause of guilt,
Swallowing fortunes, spreading woes,
Losing, to make others lose.
Bread-tax-eating absentee,
What hath bread-tax done for thee?—
Cramm'd thee, from our children's plates,
Made thee all that Nature hates,
Fill'd thy skin with untax'd wine,
Fill'd thy purse with cash of mine,
Fill'd thy breast with hellish schemes,
Fill'd thy head with fatal dreams—
Of potatoes basely sold
At the price of wheat in gold,
And of Britons sty'd to eat
Wheat-priced roots instead of wheat."

Passing over some passages, the strength of which is rather weakened by unnecessary coarseness, we come to the conclusion, and make no comment on the reflections which its powerful appeal suggests.

"Peer, too just, too proud to share
Millions wrung from toil and care!
Righteous peer, whose fathers fed
England's poor with untax'd bread!
Ancient peer, whose stainless name
Ages old have given to fame!—
What shall bread-tax do for thee?
Make thee poor as mine and me:
Drive thee from thy marble halls
To some hovel's squalid walls;
Drive thee from the land of crimes,
Houseless, into foreign climes,
There to sicken, there to sigh,
Steep thy soul in tears, and die—
Like a flower from summer's glow,
Withering on the Polar snow."

"Church bedew'd with martyrs' blood,
Mother of the wise and good!
Temple of our smiles and tears,
Hoary with the frost of years!
Holy church, eternal, true!
What for thee will bread-tax do?
It will strip thee bare as she
Whom a despot stripp'd for thee;
Of thy surplice make thy pall,
Low'r thy pride, and take thy all—
Save thy truth, establish'd well,
Which—when spire and pinnacle,
Gorgeous arch, and figured stone,
Cease to tell of glories gone—
Still shall speak of thee and Him
Whom adore the Seraphim."

"Power, which, likest Heaven's, might seem
Glorious once in freedom's beam;
Once by tyrants felt and fear'd,
Still as freedom's dust revered!
Throne, established by the good,
Not unstain'd with patriot blood,
Not unwatch'd by patriot fears,
Not unwept by patriot tears!

What shall bread-tax do for thee,
Venerable Monarchy?
Dreams of evil, spare my sight!
Let that horror rest in night."

"Winhill" is a poem which, in many passages, may challenge comparison with Coleridge's "Hymn in the Vale of Chamouni." The conclusion will be recognised as a brilliant specimen of the genuine sublime even by those who differ most from the political principles of the writer:—

"Thy voice is like thy Father's, dreadful storm!
Earth hears his whisper, when thy clouds are torn;
And Nature's tremour bids our sister-worm
Sink in the ground. But they who laugh to scorn
The trampled heart which want and toil have worn,
Fear thee, and laugh at Him, whose warning word
Speaks from thy clouds, on burning billows borne;
For, in their hearts, his voice they never heard,
Ne'er felt his chastening hand, nor pined with hope deferred.

"O Thou whose whispering is the thunder! Power
Eternal, world-attended, yet alone!
O give, at least, to labour's hopeless hour
That peace, which thou deny'st not to a stone!
The famine-smitten millions cease to groan;
When wilt Thou hear their mute and long despair?
Lord, help the poor! for they are all thy own.
Wilt Thou not help? did I not hear Thee swear
That Thou would'st tame the proud, and grant their
victims' prayer?"

"Methought I saw THREE in the dreams of sleep.
This mountain, Father, groan'd beneath thy heel!
Thy other foot was placed on Kinder's steep;
Before thy face I saw the planets reel,
While earth and skies shone bright as molten steel;
For under all the stars Thou took'st thy stand,
And bad'st the ends of heaven behold and feel,
That thou to all Thy worlds had'st stretch'd thine hand,
And curs'd for evermore the Legion-Friend of Land!"

"He is accursed!" said the sons of light,
As in their bowers of bliss they listen'd pale;
"He is accursed!" said the comets, bright
With joy; and star to star a song of bale
Sang, and sun told to sun the dismal tale,
"He is accursed!" till the light shall fade
To horror in heaven's courts, and glory veil
Her beams, before the face of Truth betray'd;
Because he curs'd the Land, which God a blessing made!"

"He is accursed!" said the Prince of Hell;
And—like a Phidian statue, mountain-vast—
Stooping from rocks, black, yet unquenchable,
The pale shade of his faded glory cast
Over the blackness of black fire, aghast—
Black-burning seas, that ever black will burn;
"He is accursed!" and while hell shall last,
Him and his prayer heaven's marble roof will spurn,
Who curs'd the blessed sod, and bade earth's millions
mourn!"

The fervid fire of the ancient lyric appears in every line of the following hymn. Tyrtæus never uttered more stirring strains; and the righteousness of his cause gives Elliott a moral sublimity which was wanting in his Greek prototype:—

"Lord! to the rose-thy light and air
Impart the glory which they share;
To air's embrace her sweets she owes—
With morn's warm kiss her beauty glows:
Give us Freedom! Give us Freedom! Free Trade!"

"Hark! how it floats the vale along!
'Tis music's voice—'tis Nature's song!
It charms the woods, the rocks, the skies;
And hark! how echo's soul replies!
Give us Freedom! &c."

"The lone flower hears the skylark sing,
And trembles like his raptur'd wing;
But pays the song that cheer'd and bless'd,
With dewdrops, shed beside his nest.
Give us Freedom! &c."

"The wild bird hears the foodful seed
To farthest wilds, where birds would feed:
Lo! food springs up where hunger died,
And beauty clothes the desert wide!
Give us Freedom! &c."

"Streams trade with clouds, seas trade with heav'n,
Air trades with light, and is forgiv'n;
While man would make all climes his own,
But, chain'd by man, laments alone.
Give us Freedom! &c."

"Where torrid climes intensely glow,
Lo! trade buys gold with polar snow;
Then let Bourdeaux hire Glasgow's loom,
And in our hearts Gaul's vintage bloom!
Give us Freedom! &c."

"Thy winds, O God! are free to blow;
Thy streams are free to chime and flow;
Thy clouds are free to roam the sky;
Let man be free his arts to ply!
Give us Freedom! &c."

"The fiends would chain the winds and sea,
Who furnish men and libel thee;
Lord! give us hope! O banish fear;
'From every face wipe every tear!
Give us Freedom! &c."

There is a vindictive feeling in another of these hymns which removes it a little beyond the range of our sympathies; but we quote it both for its fervid force, and still more for the note of warning which it strikes in tones not to be mistaken:—

"Lord! bid our palaced worms their vileness know,
Bleach them with famine till they earn their bread!
And, taught by pain to feel a brother's woe,
Marvel that honest labour toils unfed!"

* It was a maxim of the Roman law, that whoever made his property a nuisance, should cease to be a man of property; and this maxim was but a commentary on the unwritten law of God—unwritten, or, with the pen of desolation, written over the face of fallen empires. When the patricians of Rome destroyed the Licinian law, and monopolised the soil, did not their heads then ever after fall like poppies?

"They never felt how vain it is to seek
From bread-taxed trade its interdicted gain;
How hard to toil, from dreary week to week,
And, ever labouring, labour still in vain.

"They never heard their children's grim despair
Cry, 'Give us work, ere want and death prevail!'
Then seek in crime, or in desponding prayer,
A refuge from the bread-tax crowded jail.

"They never saw the matron's breaking heart
Break slowly o'er her son's desponding sigh;
Nor watch'd her hopeless mate, when glad to part
From all he lov'd and left beneath the sky.

"They heed not, though the widow wrings her hands
Above her wo-worn husband's nameless grave,
When her last boy departs for distant lands,
Rather than live, or die, a bread-tax'd slave!"

"But, Lord, thou hearest when the sufferer cries!
Thou markest when the honest heart is rent!
Thou hearest when the broken-hearted dies!
And thou wilt pardon when thy foes repent.

"Then, let them kneel—oh, not to us, but thee!
For judgment, Lord, to thee alone belongs!
But we are petrified with misery,
And turn'd to marble by a life of wrongs!"

There is exquisite beauty in the following lines:—

"Star!—brightest far of all that beam
O'er nightly hill, on wood and stream!—
Fair is thy light o'er wilds afar,
And lovely is thy silence, Star!
How calm thou art! while forests rave,
And tempests wing the groaning wave.

"What hand unseen hath rent thy shroud?
Black rolls on high the broken cloud:
Lo! Care walks here with troubled eye,
To chase thee through the hurried sky!
Why, what art thou? A world like this,
Of weeping toil and fleeting bliss?"

"A world where wretches curse their birth,
And whence they eye the bread-tax'd earth—
A star to them, as thou to me?
Then, frantic in their misery,
Wish they could mount the maneless wind,
To leave their woes and thee behind?"

"O for my mother's wormy bed!
Would I were as the dust I tread!
That me no more might power enthral,
And weave for Hope a funeral pall!
Or lawless law, his helpless slave
Fling, shrieking, over rock and wave!"

"Then, gentle earth! to this sad heart
Ere venom'd fangs no more would dart!
But oft, with many a cherished tear,
A form of grace might visit here;
And oft bend o'er her poet's stone,
Like a torn willow all alone.

"Star! would'st thou then make haste to streak,
Through widowed locks, a wither'd cheek,
And on her forehead, once so fair,
In shadow, paint her faded hair?
O for repose! my soul is press'd
Down, down to earth, and yearns for rest."

The simplicity of the following stanzas, and the tone of moral earnestness pervading the appeal they make, recommend them to the memory of the head and the sympathy of heart:—

"The gnat sings through its little day;
The tiniest weeds, how glad are they!
Man only lives, on tears and sighs,
A living death before he dies!"

"Yet while the tax-gorged lords of land
Blast toil's stout heart, and skill's right hand,
We curse not them who curse the soil;
We only ask for 'leave to toil!'"

"For labour, food—to us our own;
For woven wool, a mutton bone;
A little rest, a little corn,
For weary man, to trouble born!"

"But not the sneer of them we feed!
Their workhouse graves! their chains for need!
The dying life of blighted flowers!
And early death for us and ours!"

"We only ask to toil and eat!
But hungrier men with us compete;
For they who tax our bread, and smile,
Deprive of bread our sister idle!"

We must make room for another of a different character:—

THE UNWRITTEN WORD.

"Hast thou not spoken, God,
When wrongs unchain the slave;
And slaves make every sod
A slave's or tyrant's grave?"

"Dost thou not speak to all,
When names made bright by thee,
Blaze comet-like, and fall
From heaven to obloquy?"

"How like a trumpet's blast,
By thee in whirlwind blown,
Thy stern Napoleon past
Through shrieks of states o'erthrown!"

"What crush'd him, disarray'd,
When perish'd man and steed?
Thy outraged laws of trade!
They crush'd him like a weed!"

"A voice of many sighs,
Woe's still small voice of doom,
Whisper'd—'and seas and skies
Sang, 'Lo, the Island-Tomb!'"

"For hosts, of many tongues,
That voice array'd in might;
A universe of wrongs
Arm'd wrongers for the right."

"But curs'd by battles won,
What learn'd they, triumph-taught?
That victory, self-undone,
Hath lost the fight unfought."

"Napoleon could not shake
What pigmies have overthrown!
O outraged England, wake!
O Nature, claim thy own!"

"When shall we hear again
Thy still small whisper, God?
O break the bondman's chain!
Uncurse the tax-plough'd sod!"

"If still thy name is love,
Be Labour's sons thy care!
And from thy earth remove
The vermin all can spare."

"Deaf reptiles—they devour
The honey and the tree,
Root, branches, fruit, and flower:
But not our trust in thee!"

Space compels us to omit much more which we had marked for extract; but we lament this the less, because the cheapness and beauty of this volume must ensure for it a general circulation among all who admire genius, and desire to see justice to humanity the proud achievement of our generation.

LODGERS' RIGHT TO VOTE FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.—The Court of Common Pleas, under the provisions of the late Registration Act, has decided that a "room" is within the meaning of the Reform Act, such a "building" as will confer the right of voting upon its occupier.

The number of cattle, sheep, and pigs, imported last year, under the new tariff, amount only to 2099, whilst during the preceding year it was 5316.

THE FUNDS.

| | Sat. Mar. 9 | Mon. Mar. 11 | Tues. Mar. 12 | Wed. Mar. 13 | Thurs. Mar. 14 | Fri. Mar. 15 |
|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Bank Stock..... | Shut | Shut | Shut | Shut | Shut | Shut |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | Shut | Shut | Shut | Shut | Shut | Shut |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann. | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ |
| 34 per Ct. Red. Ann. | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 34 per Ct. Ann. new | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ |
| Long An. Rk. 1860 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Cons. for Acc. .. | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ |
| Exc. Bills .. | 73 pm. | 71 2 | 70 2 | 70 3 | 70 3 | — |
| Ind. Bds. und. 10000 | — | 88 90 | 88 90 | — | — | — |
| India Stock | 282 | 283 4 | — | 285 | 286½ | — |
| Belgian | — | 104½ | 104 5 | 104 | 104 5 | — |
| Brazilian | 81 | 81½ | 79½ | 81½ | 82½ | — |
| Chilian | — | 101 | — | 104 5 | 104 5 | — |
| Columb. ex. Venes. | 14½ | 14½ | 14½ | 14½ | 14½ | 16 |
| Danish | 101½ | 101½ | 101½ | 101½ | 101½ | — |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 56½ | 57 | 57½ | 57½ | 57½ | 57½ |
| Dutch 2½ per Ct. | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 |
| Mexican, 1837 .. | 47 | 46½ | 46½ | 47 | 46½ | 47 |
| Portuguese, conv. | — | 38½ | 38½ | 38 | 38 | 38 |
| Buenos Ayres .. | 25½ | 25½ | 25 | 25½ | 25½ | 25½ |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 35½ | 35½ | 35½ | 35½ | 35½ | 35½ |
| Do. 3 per Ct. | 30½ | 30 | 30 | 30½ | 30½ | 30½ |
| Peruvian | — | — | — | — | — | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, March 11.—The supply of Wheat from Essex and Kent was very short this morning; the condition of most of it was very inferior. The best dry samples sold readily at last week's rates, but other descriptions of English and Foreign Wheat met a slow sale. There was a good supply of Barley, and last week's prices were barely maintained. Though the supply of Beans and Peas was not large, they were not taken off so readily as last Monday, and other prices of that day were with difficulty supported. In addition to a good supply of Oats during last week, most of which remained on hand, there were several cargoes fresh up this morning from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The sales were very limited, at a decline of 6d. from this day week.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

Currency per imperial measure.

| | | | |
|---------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
| Wheat, English, Red | 45s to 55s | Peas, Maple | 28s to 30s |
| New, do., Old | 52s to 61s | Malt, Pale Suffolk and | — |
| Do., do., White | 60s to 68s | Norfolk | 54s to 58s |
| New, do., White | 60s to 68s | Chevalier | 60s to 63s |
| Old, do., do. | 60s to 68s | Brown | 58s to 60s |
| Dantzic | 57s to 63s | Oats, English Feed | 20s to 22s |
| Stettin | 50s to 57s | Do. Short | 21s to 22s |
| Barley, Malt | 34s to 38s | Scotch Feed | 21s to 22s |
| Distilling | 32s to 34s | Do. Potato | 23s to 25s |
| Grinding | 28s to 32s | Irish Feed | 19s to 20s |
| Beans, Tick | 26s to 27s | Do. Short | 20s to 22s |
| Harrow | 28s to 30s | Do. Black | 19s to 20s |
| Pigeon | 32s to 34s | Do. Galway | 17s to 19s |
| Old Harrow | 33s to 34s | Flour, town made and | — |
| Peas, White | 28s to 30s | best country marks | 45s to 50s |
| Do., Bollers | 31s to 33s | Norfolk and Buf. | — |
| Grey | 26s to 28s | folk | 40s to 44s |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 4th to the 9th of March, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 5322 | 8084 | 3473 | 1867 | 717 |
| Scotch | 167 | 1560 | 3702 | 25 | — |
| Irish | — | 198 | 16838 | — | — |
| Foreign | 2350 | — | — | — | — |

Flour, 7593 sacks, 2065 bls. Malt, 10816 qrs.

MARK-LANE, Friday, March 15.—There are very short supplies of English Wheat, Barley, and Oats since Monday; not a single Irish or Foreign vessel has arrived during the week with any description of grain. There is scarcely any business doing, and prices are nominally the same as on Monday. There was no alteration in the duties yesterday. The inquiry which we noticed last week for Egyptian Beans has ceased, in consequence of the holders at Liverpool having been willing to accept rather lower rates than the holders here; some sales have been made there at 18s. per quarter.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

Account of Corn, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 11th to the 15th of March, both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 1410 | — | — |
| Barley | 2180 | — | — |
| Oats | 840 | — | — |

Flour 1290 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT OF THE NUMBER OF QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED MARCH 8, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|-------------|---------|-------------|--------|-------------|
| | Qrs. | Aver. price | Qrs. | Aver. price |
| Weekly | | s. d. | | s. d. |
| Averages .. | 104,694 | 56 0 | 81,358 | 53 6 |
| Aggregate | | s. d. | | s. d. |
| Averages .. | 54 4 | 83 5 | 19 6 | 30 8 |
| Duty | 18 0 | 5 0 | 7 0 | 11 8 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

TUESDAY, MARCH 12.

BANKRUPTS.

- J. SCHOLEFIELD, Cheapside, cutler. [Shield and Harwood, Queen-street, Cheapside.]
 W. SMITH, Strand, printer. [Webber, Caroline-street, Bedford-square.]
 T. ADAMS, Newport, Isle of Wight, publican. [Foster, Jermyn-street, St. James's.]
 C. EICK, Rotherhithe, iron rivet manufacturer. [Taylor, Clement's-lane, Lombard-street.]
 A. SPARKER, Jewin-crescent, Jewin-street, City, wine and spirit merchant. [Chisholm, Cook's-court, Lincoln's-inn.]
 W. POTT, Macclesfield, silk throwster. [Abbott, Charlotte-street; E. and R. Bennett, Manchester.]
 T. MILLAR, Liverpool, hosier and draper. [Abbott, Charlotte-street, Bedford-sq.; E. and R. Bennett, Manchester.]
 R. ALKOP, Manchester, grocer. [Johnson and Co., Temple; Hitchcock and Co., Manchester.]
 R. CROWDER, West Auckland, Durham, ironfounder. [Stevenson, Darlington; Burn, Great Carter-lane, Doctors'-commons.]
 W. SMITH, Nottingham, smallwareman. [Cowley, Nottingham; Mottram and Co., Birmingham.]
 G. WOOD, Ingram, Northumberland, banker. [Nicholls and Co., Bedford-row; Kent, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.]
 G. LIMBERT, Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, shopkeeper. [Williamson and Co., Gray's-inn; Blanchard and Co., York.]
 C. A. STOREY, Leeds, corn and flour merchant. [Summers Princes-street, Leicester-square; Hay, Leeds.]

DIVIDENDS.

- April 4. R. Brain, Rodney-street, Pentonville, copperplate printer—April 3. E. Cooper, High-street, St. Giles's, stationer—April 3. R. H. and J. Frary, Oxford-street, carpet warehousemen—April 4. J. Wolland and W. Wolland, Kxeter, turners—April 4. P. and M. D. Protheroe, Bristol, West India merchants—April 4. J. Harford and W. W. Davies, Bristol, iron masters—April 3. C. F. Dawson, Birmingham, victualler—April 3. M. Cook, Evesham, Worcestershire, hotel keeper—April 3. S. Cook, Dudley, Worcestershire, draper—April 3. C. Powell, Coventry, watch manufacturer—April 3. W. Stone, Birmingham, printer—April 3. J. H. Perryman, Birmingham, bookseller—April 4. T. Redshaw, Bourn, Lincolnshire, saddler.

CERTIFICATES.

- April 12. R. Tebay, Winchester, plumber—April 2. J. Reaveley, Hammond's-wharf, Queenhithe, paper commission agent—April 2. W. and I. Dunnage, Tooley-street, plumbers—April 2. C. Parlow, Blackman-street, Southwark, tailor—April 2. T. Alford, Harrow-road, Paddington, licensed victualler—April 3. G. Chamberlain, Wivenhoe, Essex, shipowner—April 2. H. Jones, Cheapside, jeweller—April 3. W. Stinton, Duke-street, Grosvenor-square, cook.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

- W. GEDDES, Aberdeen, commission agent—A. MARSHALL, Aberdeen, brassfounder—D. MINTYRE, Glasgow, grocer—J. CALDER, Redmill, Whitburn, victual dealer—H. BROWN, jun., and Co., Glasgow, ship and insurance brokers.

MR. BEARD'S DAGUERRETYPE, or PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS.—These inimitable and much-admired Portraits, in which further improvements have lately been effected, are taken by the Patentee, at 84, King William-street, City; 34, Parliament-street; and at the Royal Polytechnic Institution, 809, Regent-street. By whom, also, Licenses are granted for exercising the Invention in provincial towns and districts.

CHINESE COLLECTION and GRAND DISTRIBUTION (admission free), value £5000, on the principle of the Art-Union, in prizes, consisting of Chinese curiosities and Parisian novelties, on April 6, at the Chinese and Parisian Magazine, 7, Old Jewry. Every subscriber will obtain a handsome prize, consisting of Chinese jars, pictures, &c., or a splendid package of French ingenuity and taste. This division will take place under the highest patronage. The prizes are now on show at the above establishment. Tickets, 6s. each, may be obtained by applying as above, or at the retail branches of the Chinese and Parisian Magazine, 44, Foultry, and corner of the Old Jewry, Cheapside; also of Hewitt and Co., 16, Philpot-lane. W. Ancier and P. Ledoux, rue de Lombardes, Paris, will supply the Parisian articles, and the indefatigable exertions of the proprietors for the last ten years will furnish a magnificent collection from the Celestial Empire.

TAYLOR, Brothers, and HEWETT, Chinese and Parisian Magazine, wholesale department, 7, Old Jewry, Cheapside.

THE AMERICAN ROCKING-CHAIR.—None are genuine unless they have "Luck, Kent, and Cumming," painted on the bottom. This chair, so much admired by all who have visited America, for the remarkable ease, pleasure, and comfort which it affords, is just imported, and for sale at the extensive Carpet and Upholstery Establishments of LUCK, KENT, and CUMMING, No. 4, Regent-street; Carpenter's Hall, 68, London-wall; and WM. CUMMING and Co., 98, Hatton-garden. It is asserted with confidence that there is no piece of furniture in use in civilised society more sought after and approved of when known. The price, 32s., with a liberal discount to the trade. Stout persons and Invalids will find these chairs invaluable.

GOWLAND'S LOTION, for Purifying the Skin and Preserving the Complexion.—The use of GOWLAND'S LOTION is speedily followed by the disappearance of every species of eruptive malady, discolouration, &c., and the establishment of a pure Surface of the Skin, accompanied by the brilliant circulation which constitutes the "Tint of Beauty," whilst as a refresher it preserves the most delicate Complexion, and sustains to a protracted period the softness of texture and vivacity peculiar to earlier years. "Robert Whaw, London," is in white letters on the government stamp, without which none is genuine. Price 3s. 9d., 6s. 6d., quart 12s. 6d. Sold by all Perfumers and Medicine Vendors.

STOOPING OF THE SHOULDERS AND CONTRACTION OF THE CHEST, so injurious in Young Persons and oppressive to Invalids and the Indolent, entirely prevented, and gently and effectually removed, by the occasional use of the Patent ST. JAMES'S CHEST-EXPANDER, which is light, simple, easily employed outwardly or inwardly, without bands beneath the arms, uncomfortable constraint, or impediment to exercise. The great improvement it causes in the figure is immediately apparent; but the permanent benefit of this invention is its obvious tendency to prevent the incursion of consumption and other pulmonary diseases in youth, and to afford a comfortable support to the chest and back in the aged and weakly, or those who are accustomed to sedentary occupations. Full particulars may be obtained on application to Mr. A. Binjon, 40, Tavistock-street, Strand, London, by enclosing a postage stamp.

SEA SICKNESS—THOMPSON'S REMEDY.—This nearly tasteless and easily administered remedy has proved efficacious in upwards of 80 cases in 100, when the directions for taking it have been observed, and will be found invaluable for delicate Females and Children travelling by sea. Sold wholesale by T. Thompson and Son, chemists, Liverpool; W. Edwards, 67, St. Paul's Churchyard, London; J. and R. Raines and Co., Dundee; F. Lockhart, and Co., H. C. Baildon, Edinburgh; the Apothecaries' Company, Glasgow; Wm. Jackson, 10, Lower Macleanburgh-street, Dublin; A. Mordaunt, Southampton; Evans, Sons, and Co., and J. J. Jackson and Co., Liverpool; and by most respectable Druggists in the principal seaports in the United Kingdom, in packages, price 3s. 9d., and in tin cases, equal to six packages, price 11s. A post office order for 2s. 11d. will ensure its prompt return by post.

FOR STOPPING DECAYED TEETH, Mr. THOMAS'S RUCCIANUM. price 4s. 6d.—Patronised by her Majesty, his Royal Highness Prince Albert, and her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent. This valuable RUCCIANUM for Stopping Decayed Teeth, however large the cavity, is far superior to anything ever before used, as it is placed in the tooth in a soft state, without any pressure or pain, and in a short time becomes as hard as the enamel, and will remain firm in the tooth for many years, rendering extraction unnecessary. It arrests all further progress of decay, and renders them again useful in mastication. All persons can use Mr. THOMAS'S RUCCIANUM themselves with ease, without the aid of a dentist, as full directions are enclosed.—Prepared only by Mr. Thomas, Surgeon-Dentist, 68, Berners-street, Oxford-street, price 4s. 6d., and will be sent by post to any part of the kingdom.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 26.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1844.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 87, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

PROTECTION TO BRITISH INDUSTRY.

The self-constituted stewards of the food of the people have confessed that the industrious in England want protection, and that unfair conditions interfere with the remuneration of labour. They have raised the cry of "Protection to British industry;" we join it heartily, simply demanding that the words should have a meaning, and earnestly hoping that the phrase will have a reality. Does industry in England need protection? Assuredly it does, if the operatives and labourers are not, by the produce of their toil, adequately fed, housed, and clad. Are they so now? Let the reports laid upon the table of the Houses of Parliament give an answer. Food is dear, while flesh and blood are cheap; the fact meets us everywhere: it is sulkily acknowledged by our opponents, and sorrowfully proclaimed by ourselves. Industry does not obtain its due reward; a fair day's work does not procure a fair day's wages for the sempstresses of London, the labourers of Dorsetshire, or the serfs of Ireland. Industry, then, wants protection, not against something which may exist, but against something which does exist; not against a speculative future, but against an oppressive present; not against possible freedom, but against real monopoly. How the leaders of the Anti-League could ever have joined in a cry which contains within itself the sentence of their own condemnation, is explicable only on the supposition of their having become the victims of that monstrous folly which proverbially goes before perdition. Of such recklessness, indeed, we see, and not without some regret, many sad evidences; assertions are hazarded in high places with such utter disregard not merely of truth but of plausibility, or even possibility, that our wonder at the hardihood of the speakers is surpassed by our wonder at the patient politeness of the hearers. A noble duke, the consistent patron of gambling on the race-course, and gambling instead of trade in the corn-market, declares that Mr. Cobden fled from a meeting which he never attended, before an opponent whom he never met. It is perhaps a ducal privilege not to inquire into facts before making assertions; but accuracy in matters of easy exposure has hitherto been deemed necessary in aspirants to political leadership, and its recent abandonment seems to argue utter desperation. Again; we find a magistrate accusing himself of misprision of treason, by avowing himself cognizant of a plot against the state of which he has not given information, and, with still greater infelicity, virtually asserting that the ministers whom he supports deserve impeachment, seeing that they had laboriously collected evidence, and had yet forborne prosecution. It would be a good subject for a Newdigate prize-poem—"The aspect of the Lancashire riots, as seen by the Premier through a Gregorian telescope;" but if this aspect were such as it is described in Newdigate prose, Sir Robert Peel should stand at the bar as a criminal, and would be sure of a conviction without the aid of a Smith or a Pennefather. Another worshipful gentleman informs his gaping auditors that the League is a dangerous conspiracy against Church and State. But does he not see that such a charge falls less heavily on the League than on the well-paid and highly-salaried

functionaries intrusted with the guardianship of Church and State? Conspiracy in our day has been taken in so wide an acceptance, that it may mean anything which anybody dislikes; and yet with all this latitude for accusation, and all this eagerness to accuse, the League is left to pursue the even tenor of its way without any sign of a monster brief and case of pistols being provided for the Attorney-General.

Protection to rent was the avowed object for which the Corn Laws were established by Lord Liverpool, and it was long the war-cry of the monopolists; with short-sighted craft they substituted for this intelligible proposition, "Protection to agriculture," that they might seem to include the farmers in their combination to maintain their own selfish interests. But this enlargement of the cry has led to consequences which were not anticipated by the monopolists. When the farmers were told that they needed protection, they naturally began to inquire what were the things against which they required to be protected? Many of them discovered that stern realities were more onerous than remote probabilities,—that high rents, uncertain tenures, and game preserves were substantial wrongs, while the menaced competition with foreigners was a remote and contingent evil. The Monopolists soon felt that the farmers had begun to interpret the cabalistic war-cry in a sense different from that which its devisers had intended; they found that "Protection to agriculture" had a meaning more extensive than the exclusion of foreign corn; even Sir Robert Peel attributed to it a wider signification, making it include the destruction of hares and rabbits, the purchase of a bull in Birmingham, and courses of lectures on agricultural chemistry. A new cry became clearly necessary, and in an evil hour for themselves, but to the decided advantage of the general community, they raised that of "Protection to British industry."

It is instructive to glance at the short-sighted policy which led the Monopolists into this error. They learned from the newspapers that a noisy and unscrupulous party, composed of the remnants of the Trades' Unionists, the rag-end of the Chartists, and the least sane portion of the Socialists, had taken it into their heads that some legislative artifice could be devised which would raise the natural rate of wages just as the Corn Laws had raised the natural price of food; they further learned that these men had placed themselves beyond the reach of argument by drowning remonstrance with clamour whenever reasoning was tried with them. Here, then, were apparently three grounds of union between the extremes of Monopoly and of Chartism,—a cry for protection, in its undisguised meaning, of "robbing somebody else,"—unreasonableness in discussion, and unscrupulousness in the use of means. An alliance was accordingly proposed, the high-contracting parties being the titled Monopolists on one side, and the mendicant leaders of Chartism on the other. It requires no great stretch of imagination to picture to one's self the lord of Goodwood enacting the part of Cleopatra, and purchasing the aid of Chartism with much the same spirit that the Egyptian queen bought "the pretty worm of Nilus;" we can fancy the agent employed to buy the *Northern Star*, describing his success in the terms used by the clown in the tragedy, "Truly I have him; but I would not be the party that should desire you to touch him; for his biting is mortal; those that do die of it, do seldom or never recover." We may further suppose the duke to inquire into the efficacy of this perilous agency in opposing the progress of the League in the North, and the go-between, still using the language of the clown, "Truly the trades' unions make a very good report of the worm; but he that believes all that they say will never be saved by half what they do; but this is most fallible—the worm's an old worm. You must think this, look you, that the worm will do his kind." At the Freemasons' Tavern the worm has been "doing his kind" with a vengeance.

It needs little argument to show that the Trades' unionist cry of "Protection to labour," however similar in sound to the Monopolist cry of "Protection to British industry," is wholly different from it in meaning, object, and purpose. Of this fact the leaders of both parties are well aware, but they hope for a season to disguise it from their followers. The itinerant lecturers of Chartism want money, the Monopolists want support from the masses; each hopes to gain by a profitable exchange, but each dreads the power of the other to supply the pressing want. We know that the itinerants of Chartism have not the masses to give, and we suspect that the

Monopolists will not be very generous of their cash to the self-elected leaders of non-existing multitudes.

But, however this may be, we are far from regretting that the cry of "Protection to British industry" has been raised; so far as Corn Laws can afford protection to the agricultural labourer against foreign competition, he has had it for more than a quarter of a century. What is he the better for it? Is the remuneration for his industry greater than it was before the Corn Laws existed? What says the labourer himself,—is he contented with his lot, and satisfied with his wages? He neither is, nor ought he to be so. Well, then, it is not against foreign competition but against something else that protection to British industry is wanted; it needs to be protected against a system of monopoly which on the one hand limits the amount of profitable employment for labour, and on the other, raises the price of the necessaries of life. It was a sad blunder in the Monopolists to raise the cry of "Protection to British industry," for it provokes the question, "Against what does British industry require to be protected?" and the solution of this question is within the capacity of all men and women, and most children, between Caithness and Cornwall.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Seventh Week, ending Saturday, March 23.

Grave events are in progress, in relation to FREE TRADE, for which the public are, even yet, scarcely prepared, and the full importance of which is but dimly understood. The great breach which has occurred in the ranks of the Ministerial supporters may be apparently closed; a truce may be concluded for a time; and the hopes of mere partisans, who look only to the game of ins and outs, may be doomed to a longer disappointment than sanguine and impatient expectations may think endurable. But, nevertheless, there are sufficient indications that the Government is on the top of its own sliding scale, and is going downwards; and though there may be "rests" at particular stages, and the momentum may be occasionally checked rather than accelerated, the movement is necessarily that of a falling body. Let the public, then, be prepared for the "beginning of the end;" another GENERAL ELECTION rises on the horizon; when it arrives, the battle will be for pure and unlimited Free Trade, without the use or the abuse of party; and the great body of the constituency, called on to decide, not so much for and against Whig and Tory, as for and against themselves, will decide whether British enterprise and industry are to remain in the prison-house of an ignominious bondage, expiring under the weight of their fetters, or are to have their manacles struck off, the prison doors thrown open, and FREEDOM written on every work of their skill, and every exertion of their industrial power.

The event on which these expectations are based is the defeat of the Ministry by Lord Ashley and his supporters, and that we are not exaggerating its importance will best appear from a plain narrative of facts.

Every body is aware that Lord Ashley is the leader of the "Ten Hours" agitation, or, in other words, that he is the chosen advocate of those who contend that the daily labour in factories should be restricted to that period. Now, freely conceding to Lord Ashley the unquestioned character of a humane man, desirous to ameliorate the condition of the working classes, nobody will deny that the ten hour agitators have been in the accustomed habit of painting the manufacturing districts as regions of immitigable horrors—that they are the "dark places" of our land, full of "the habitations of cruelty;" that there, Mammon is lord of the manor; that his stewards are the master manufacturers, who look upon human beings as mere flocculent particles flying about their machines; and that MIND and MORALS, all that makes the distinction between the brute that perishes and the being that lives for ever, are there ground down into "devil's dust," in order that more wool and cotton might be spun. This may not be precisely Lord Ashley's style; but it is the style of the *Times*, the *Post*, of Oastler and Ferrand, of all whose heated imaginations scorch their judgments; and they have been supported by honest and dishonest evidence; by well and by ill founded complaints; by individuals deceived and by individuals malignant; and the whole has been embodied in the shape of the Ten Hours agitation.

Now, nobody likes to be overworked—the very cook in her kitchen, whatever taste she may have for her employment, has a decided objection to perpetual boiling, roasting, frying, and long, at times, to be dressed in her gayest attire, and to go forth, occasionally, to see green fields, and breathe fresh air. The factory operatives, therefore, have joined very generally in the desire that

Parliament should interfere to shorten their hours of labour, and to make the manufacturers pay the same wages for a smaller quantity of work. And, if it could be done, with justice to all parties, who would oppose so reasonable a desire? The very slave-driver, unless he be a mere manufacturer of Cuba cigars, does not wish to kill his valuable slaves by over-till; and as all the manufacturers of this country are not precisely demons in human shape—nay, as there are positively some amongst them who know the meaning of religion, and can read the Bible—there are not a few of them disposed to act towards their workmen in the spirit of the merciful man, who is kind even to his beast.

But here ensues a great difficulty. The system under which we live is plainly but aptly illustrated by the common saying of the candle burning at both ends. The law-makers of this country have erected, according to Sir James Graham, a "House of Cards," of which, if one be touched, the whole fall down. The system, of which the Corn Law is the corner-stone, renders Human Food scarce and dear, and Human Beings abundant and valueless. In the nightly struggle going on between a restricted field of employment and an increasing population this wonderful fact is created—that a vast factory, with its complicated machinery, its capital, its skill, its power, is reduced to look to the last hour of every day for the turning point of its profit. Most strange, most wonderful, yet most true. Lop off, therefore, that hour, without enlarging the field of industry, and you will shut the doors of all these factories, ruin those whose capital is invested in them, and very effectually shorten the hours of labour of the operatives, by giving them no employment at all.

There were those, however, deeply interested in the maintenance of monopoly, of whom it is no evil-speaking to say, that they used Lord Ashley as their tool. The landlords are protected—tell the operative that Parliament will protect him too. Pay no heed to the talk about rates of profit, and so forth—the greedy, grasping manufacturers are too rich already, and we will make them disgorge. This is the style of argument in which, in this most thinking country, the genius of HUMBUG grins at COMMON SENSE. For poor BABBLE-TONGUE, blind of an eye, casts his purblind vision over the question, and, with gibberings unutterable, mopes and mews about "Protection to British Industry." One might smile at Babble-tongue, if it could be safely done. But the creature has power; and Christian forbearance, and dignified contempt, scornful derision, all evaporate, and in their place come burning indignation, when one thinks that in his withered, impotent hand Babble-tongue grasps, and tries to crush, the destinies of a mighty empire.

At the last general election many were the pledges of the farmers' friends—many the vows of the Ten Hours friends of the manufacturing operatives. Let this, however, be remembered to the honour of Lord Ashley, that he refused to accept of office under the present Government, because Sir R. Peel refused to pledge himself to the principle of the Ten Hours. Meantime, the thing has gone on; the Corn Law has become a changeling; the New Tariff is law; and the corn of Maine may come in, if it likes, by the Canadian back door. Agitation, too, has gone on; a flood of light has been poured in upon the dark condition of the agricultural labourer; and he has been exhibited lying in an ignorance, a squalor, a poverty, from which the factory operative, toiling through a long day, would start back in amazed horror. Another event also occurred. Sir Robert Peel, instead of holding a high hand over the monopolists, fell down on his knees, and promised to sin as little as he could, for the future, with that accursed thing called Free Trade. Murmurs of satisfaction broke out when they saw him on his knees; soon would they place him on his back; and, if necessary to keep him down, would walk over his body. They have done so.

On Friday night week Lord Ashley brought on the debate whether or no the duration of labour, as regulated by the proposed Government Factories Bill, should be "Ten" or "Twelve" Hours. Of Lord Ashley's long speech what can be said? It was of great length, marked by an apparent straightforward candour, and presenting fearful pictures of demoralisation, exhaustion, and injury, to say nothing of mortality, as the result of factory labour. Yet even the *Times* admits that it was a one-sided picture. The great opponent, on Friday night, of the noble lord was Mr. BRIGHT, whose speech, in a great measure, reversed the medal, and, by its exposure of the trustworthiness of some, at least, of the authorities on which Lord Ashley relied, made him lose his temper. His lordship, whose general manner is mild and conciliatory, replied with a pertness which was mistaken for smartness, and, therefore, elicited great cheering. But the tables were turned, when Mr. Bright, producing specific authority, compelled Lord Ashley to acknowledge that one of his most notable informants, on whom he had bestowed both his money and his meat, was unworthy of his kindness and his credence.

The debate was adjourned from Friday till Monday, and the interval was not one of "rest" to the Government. The individual who, under the forms of our constitutional government, bears the dignified title of "Whipper-in" to the Government supporters (does not the use of this "slang" term imply that it must have originated and been perpetuated by a legislative assembly composed mainly of fox-hunters?) had a serious task assigned him. He went about in the Carlton Club, and elsewhere, whispering in mysterious accents to the country gentlemen that, if they voted for Ten Hours, then down would go the Corn Law! In other words, he plainly told them that the Corn Law was built upon the extra and excessive toil of the Factory Operative! His language, when translated, meant this:—"Oh, country gentlemen, your own Ministry know a great deal more than you; they know that the Corn Law so cuts down the rate of profit that, if you cut down daily labour, the loss will fall, not on the master manufacturer, if he is able to carry on at all, but on the wages of those whom he employs. Therefore, beware what you are about! Vote for ten hours at your peril! Ministers will not and dare not do it!"

But "Young England" also spoke to the country gentlemen; and the country gentlemen, anxious to show Sir Robert Peel that they could be independent, shook

their heads in saucy defiance, and the Whipper-in went to report the failure of his mission. Monday came, and it was whispered in the Reform Club that Ministers were not unlikely to be defeated. So strange an announcement whetted curiosity to the utmost. "Let us all vote," said many of the Liberals, "for the Ten Hours, on the principle that the labouring population of this country work too long, and eat too little; and if the consequences of interference be a fall in wages, then the Corn Law and all other monopolies must be swept away."

Monday came; and with it came the sitting of the House. The public, admitted as strangers into the House, were not all aware of what had been going on, or what was apprehended; but there were the initiated, with peering eyes, looking unutterable things—

"With arms encumbered thus, or this head-shake, Or by pronouncing of some doubtful phrase, As—Well, well, we know;—or, We could an' if we would;—If we list to speak;—or, There be, an' if they might;—"

and these, when they did venture on their oracles, would point out to you the anxious faces of the Ministers, apprehensive of their first Parliamentary reversal.

Mr. Warburton opened the adjourned debate, and, in a speech of science and statistics, showed that all these wild stories about factory horrors were apt to dissipate, when touched by the probe of investigation. Other members addressed the House, enlarging on the Rights of Labour—an excellent matter, if coupled with the Rights of Food. Sir George Grey also spoke, and admitted his conversion to the principle that excessive factory labour was exhausting to the human frame, and destructive to domestic life, when viewed more especially in reference to females and children—but hinted that the Corn Law lay at the bottom of all this controversy. The same line of argument was adopted by Lord John Russell, who briefly stated that the great evil of the working population of this country was excessive toil and scanty subsistence. Then, as if to show that this was not a mere manufacturer's question, such men as Mr. Fielden and Mr. Hindley, who derive their wealth from manufactures, pleaded the cause of the Factory Operative.

But the speeches of Sir James Graham and of Sir Robert Peel were the remarkable things of the debate. Sir James Graham emphatically addressed himself to the country gentlemen. His tone, his manner, his words, were all significant to his own side of the House. "Beware," he said (and the country gentlemen knew that he was lecturing them), "what you are about; reduce the hours of labour to ten instead of twelve, and you will reduce the wages of the operative twenty-five per cent. The whole system is a house of cards," he added; "displace one, and it will all tumble about your ears!" Sir Robert Peel was as emphatic, if not more so. What are you about to do? he said, in effect; see the thousands upon thousands who, in this country, are dependent for their wages on the profit which is extracted from the last hour of the day's toil! And he cried aloud, as if to startle the country gentlemen by the warning sound, that never, during his whole life, would he forget the horrible scenes of 1841-1842, when, in Paisley alone, from twelve to fifteen thousand individuals were dependent on charity.

All was in vain—the Government were defeated by 179 to 170.

Next day Lord Ashley stated the nature of the clause he intended to propose on the Friday. He would permit twelve hours till October next; after that time, eleven hours for the ensuing two years; and then, with this long preparation, commence the ten hours. But Sir James Graham declared the determination of the Government to resist all interference with their absolute twelve hours, and their intention to take the "sense of the House," once more, on the subject, on Friday (yesterday). The result is, of course, unknown to us at the early hour at which we are obliged to go to press.

On Tuesday, Mr. John Ricardo, the member for Stoke-upon-Trent, and who inherits with the name the clear, sound, far-reaching principles of his celebrated relative, brought on a most important motion:—

"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions to her servants not to enter into any negotiations with foreign powers which would make any contemplated alterations of the tariff of the United Kingdom contingent on the alteration of the tariffs of other countries; and humbly expressing to her Majesty the opinion of this House, that the great object of relieving the commercial intercourse between this country and foreign nations from all injurious restrictions will be best promoted by regulating our own customs duties as may be most suitable to the financial and commercial interests of this country, without reference to the amount of duties which foreign powers may think it expedient for their own interests to levy on British goods."

This motion he supported by an able speech, full of details. He showed the folly of diplomatizing with other countries for commercial treaties, through long and expensive negotiations, instead of boldly acting on an independent, which he proved would be the most profitable, policy. Commerce, he showed, required no leading-strings; it could walk alone, if they would only let it. Never mind what other countries did; open our ports on equitable principles; make it the interest of other nations to send here their corn, wine, and oil; and depend upon it, the more that comes in, the more we must send out, profitably to all concerned. If we had to send gold to one place, we would have to send goods to another, in order to get the gold; and all our transactions with all parts of the world would be settled, regenerated, balanced, by those magic bills of exchange, which harmonise exports and imports, and, like winged messengers, go forth to every country and clime.

The powerful case made by Mr. Ricardo was met by Mr. Gladstone in that evasive way which, unhappily for his own reputation, he is doomed to assume, by the neutral and equivocal position in which the Government stands. All he had to say was, that the resolution was "broad," "inconvenient," "abstract," and so forth.

Lord Howick made a most admirable speech in favour of Mr. Ricardo's motion. He at once took up his ground on the abandonment of reciprocity, showed the folly of all that vast laborious trifling of which our commercial diplomacy has been composed for the last thirty years, and, in a tone of fine statesmanship, called on the Government to place the greatest of commercial countries in its natural position, that of setting an example of sound principle to all the nations of the earth, but needing the aid of no other reciprocity than that which the self-interest of other countries may inspire. He also spoke of the struggle of capital and labour in this country,—the rate of profit down to the lowest point,—the pressure on the

springs of industry,—everything calling aloud for a bolder and a better policy.

The matter was too strong to be resisted; so, while Mr. Home was speaking, all the Ministerialists suddenly disappeared, leaving Sir Robert Peel and Sir Edward Knatchbull "alone in their glory," then in walks a Ministerial Member, moves that the House be counted, and, before the Free Traders could rush to their places in sufficient numbers, it was found that there were only thirty-nine present, one less than makes a House, and so the whole was brought to a conclusion by an adjournment.

A similar fate, on Thursday night, attended another Free-Trade motion. Mr. Ewart brought on the following resolution:—

"That it is indispensable to the maintenance and extension of this country that those duties be repealed which press on the raw materials of manufacture, especially the raw materials of the woollen and cotton trade."

"That it is expedient also that those duties be greatly reduced which press on articles of interchange in return for our manufactures; especially such articles of interchange as at the same time concern the subsistence of the people; being (besides corn, which is the subject of superior and separate consideration) such articles as tea, sugar, coffee, bacon, butter, and cheese."

"That it is expedient that those duties also be greatly reduced which, by their amount, encourage smuggling; being at once injurious to the revenue and dangerous to the morality of the country; such as the duties on tobacco, silk goods, and foreign spirits."

"That whatever temporary deficiency of revenue be caused by such reduction ought, until the revenue regain its former amount, to be sustained by the property, and not by the trade and labour, of the country."

Mr. Ewart was making an excellent speech, full of the science of commerce, when suddenly it was moved that the House be counted, and only thirty-eight being present, there was necessarily an adjournment.

The only remedy for this state of things is for the country to return a House of Commons which will supersede all necessity for listening to Free-Trade arguments; by granting FREE TRADE itself.

MEETINGS.

GREAT MEETING AT COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.

The usual aggregate weekly meeting of the members and friends of the National Anti-Corn-Law League took place in Covent-garden Theatre on Wednesday last. The house was densely crowded in every part, and the proceedings were altogether of the most enthusiastic character. At seven o'clock the Right Hon. the Earl of Radnor (chairman of the evening) advanced on to the platform. His appearance was greeted by several rounds of applause. The noble lord was accompanied by Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. Bright, M.P., and several other influential members of the Council of the League.

Among the gentlemen on the stage at this time were the following:—

John Bright, Esq., M.P., Dr. Bowring, M.P., Joseph Brotherton, Esq., M.P., Thomas Glasborne, Esq., M.P., Hon. Edward Bouverie, Edward Ellice, Esq., M.P., Rear-Admiral the Hon. D. P. Bouverie, James Pattison, Esq., M.P., Sir William Haynes, Bart., E. Vickers, Esq., Sheffield; Lawrence Hill, Esq., Glasgow; F. H. Toone, Esq., Colonel T. P. Thompson, James Wilson, Esq., R. R. R. Moore, Esq., Wm. Evans, Esq., Manchester; Robert P. Collier, Esq.; J. B. Scott, Esq., Manchester; W. Locket, Esq., Manchester; James Brotherton, Esq., Summers Harford, Esq.; Rev. J. Barlett, Salisbury; Charles Squarey, Esq., Salisbury; Charles Lattimore, Esq., Wheathampstead; James Chidwell, Esq., Winchester; George Chidwell, Esq., do.; N. Gedke, Esq., W. Thornburrow, Esq., Henry Whitwell, Esq., George Beacon, Esq., Henry Birkbeck, Esq., C. Green, Esq., Edmund Gurney, Esq., George Ridout, Esq., George Crawford Heath, Esq.; Alexander Smyth, Esq., Glasgow; W. Scott, Esq.; Thomas Harbottle, Esq., Manchester; J. M. Muscott, Esq., G. Parsons, Esq., J. U. Harwood, Esq., Anthony Austin, Esq., J. Barton, Esq., the Lord Provost of Glasgow; Alexander Johnston, Esq., late M.P. for Kilmarnock; Henry Lloyd Morgan, Esq.; James Harvey, Esq., Liverpool; J. Ackroyd, Esq., Bradford; Hamer Stanfield, Esq., Mayor of Leeds; Benjamin Walton, Esq., Wolverhampton; Henry Ashworth, Esq., Bolton; — Hunt, Esq.

Lord RADNOR having taken the chair,

Mr. SAUL (the secretary,) read the minutes of the last meeting.

The Noble CHAIRMAN, who, as he advanced to the table, preparatory to addressing the meeting, was received with renewed and reiterated applause, then spoke as follows:—Ladies and gentlemen, it becomes my duty now to open the proceedings of this evening; and, in doing so, I must claim your indulgence, for, though I am not altogether unaccustomed to public speaking, notwithstanding the practice I have had, I always speak with considerable difficulty. I have another reason for which to claim your indulgence this evening, and that is, that though I am not altogether a very young man, yet this is my first appearance upon this stage. (Cheers.) But, ladies and gentlemen, having been invited to make my appearance here this evening, and having been honoured with the offer of the chair, I have not hesitated to accept the honour, and that very willingly for several reasons. The first reason that weighed with me was this, that I was anxious, in as public a manner as possible, to pay my tribute of admiration and applause to the gentlemen who have been engaged in the same cause with myself, but who have been much more active in their exertions—I mean the gentlemen of the League. (Loud cheers.) I have been desirous to express, in as public a manner as I could, my admiration of the ability, the perseverance, and the courage with which, now for several years, they have been carrying on the contest with Monopoly, and standing up for the principles of Free Trade. (Loud cheers.) I have been the more anxious to give utterance to this opinion at the present time, because I wish to express my entire disapprobation of the abuse that has been lavished upon those gentlemen. (Cheers.) The common expressions of scurrility and abuse which have been poured out upon them I really think are quite beneath our notice; but there have been one or two notable exceptions, of so serious and so flagrant a character, that they may, perhaps, deserve a little attention. They have been accused of inclining to lucubration, — a crime which I am sorry to see by the papers this day, is still prevalent in counties not far distant from the League, in which I now stand. Ladies and gentlemen, no satisfaction has been made by more than words, or by penance, rank, and station; but one noble lady, who publicly gave expression to the accusation, when I had stated to him that I should make some appeal

various upon it, though he admitted that he had made it, neither withdrew it nor came forward to justify it, or to state the grounds upon which he had alleged it. (Cheers.) How my Lord Harewood, or any other person, can justify to himself such conduct, remains for him to explain. I, for one, do express here now, as I did in the House of Lords (and I am sure you will agree with me in expressing it also), my utter contempt for such an accusation, and my confident assurance that the charge is perfectly groundless, and that the gentlemen against whom it was levelled are as incapable of any such act as the noble lord himself. (Cheers.) Other accusations have been made against those gentlemen of the League. It has been said that they are interested persons, and that they only agitate this matter for their own exclusive benefit, and to accumulate money in their own pockets. Supposing this accusation to be true, I am yet to learn that any person in any situation of life is not entitled, and is not bound by the duty which he owes to his family and to himself, to consult his own interest, provided he can do so without injury to others (cheers); or, as I think I shall be able to show you in a few words, in this case, to the benefit and advantage of the whole community. (Cheers.) Whether our adversaries can say as much for themselves remains for the country to determine; but I maintain, that even admitting, for the sake of argument—and for the sake of argument only—that these gentlemen are carrying on this contest for the mere purpose of supporting and promoting the cause of manufacturers as distinct from other classes of society, I say they are really doing that which is beneficial to the country. (Cheers.) I am old enough, ladies and gentlemen, to remember the times when war was raging, and when this country, in consequence, was brought into great straits; the younger part of this company may not recollect it, and I hope they may never hereafter experience the horrors of war (cheers); but during those times I remember well that the great theme of admiration, and the great boast of the various Ministers who brought forward the budget upon different occasions for the purpose of raising money for the support of the war, was the flourishing state of the commerce and manufactures of this country. It was upon the resources supplied by their means, in consequence of the success attending their industry, that this country principally relied for the support of the war, and for obtaining what has been called "the sinews of war"—money, and which happily brought the war ultimately to a successful conclusion. (Cheers.) I say, therefore, that, generally speaking, upon this ground alone, if there were no other, manufactures are deserving of the greatest encouragement. But let us consider a little further what these manufactures do for us. This is a great country, very highly civilized, very fully populated, having advanced far in all the arts of civilization and in all the refinements of civilized life. The country itself from its size, its natural soil, and its climate, is not capable of supplying all the wants and of satisfying all the desires of its refined and civilized population. How, then, are the articles the country needs to be acquired? (Hear, hear.) They are to be obtained from foreign lands. (Cheers.) How are they to be procured from foreign lands but by exchanging the produce which this country can afford to give. Our natural products are few in comparison with those which we wish to obtain from other countries, and it is only by working up raw materials into manufactured articles, articles desired and coveted by other countries, it is only by the accumulation of wealth invested in our excellent machinery, it is only by the skill and the industry of our manufacturers, that we obtain the means of sending out those exports in exchange for which we receive the commodities of other countries which we require for our use. (Cheers.) The value of the exports, the produce of the manufactures of this country, last year was upwards of forty-seven millions sterling. Very little of that consisted of raw material produced in this country. I don't say none of it was, but it was a very minute part indeed; the great thing was the additional value given to the natural article by the labour, the ingenuity, and skill of our manufacturers. (Cheers.) I say, therefore, that by promoting the manufactures of this country, we increase the means of ministering to the comfort and enjoyment of the people, by procuring for them those articles which are necessary for their use from foreign countries. But is that all that manufactures have done for this country? Let us look for a little to our own internal state. The population of this country has vastly increased in the course of the last few years. It increases now at the rate of about 1000 *per diem*. How are these persons to be employed? What gives employment to them? Is it the agriculture of this country, which is sometimes talked of as being the great fundamental interests of the country? No, it is not; but it is the manufactures. (Loud cheers.) It is a curious thing to observe,—but we know the fact from an examination of the census which has, for some time past, been taken every ten years,—from the classification of the different orders of people as exhibited in that census, that the agricultural population of this country has been gradually diminishing. (Hear.) It appears from the census returns that the proportion of the population employed in agriculture in the year 1811 was 352 out of every 1000. In the year 1821—the next period at which the census was taken—the population employed in agriculture was not in the proportion of 352 but of 332 out of every 1000. (Hear, hear.) In 1831 the proportion had again diminished from 332 to 281. (Hear, hear.) Now, the census was taken again in 1841, but the classification of the different orders of the community has not yet been made public. Supposing, however, that the proportion went on as in preceding years, the number of persons employed in agriculture would be 240 out of every 1000. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) From this you will readily perceive that there has been a gradual decrease in the proportion of the population employed in agriculture, and that this increased population, if not employed in agriculture, must be provided for in some other way. (Hear.) You will observe, too, that if this continues in the same ratio as hitherto, in 1851 the number employed in agriculture will be 205 out of every 1000, and in 1861 it will be reduced to 175 in every 1000. (Cheers.) Now, if the manufacturing interest has been able hitherto to absorb this increasing population, which is not called for in agriculture, it is most desirable, I think you will all admit, that no check should be given to those manufactures which may be called upon hereafter to absorb so large a portion of the population. (Cheers.) I find, also, that exactly in the same proportion, or, at least,

contemporaneously with the diminution of the number of people employed in agriculture, the number of persons employed in the manufacturing counties has increased. (Hear.) I find that a good many years ago,—so long since as 1870, nearly 300 years since,—there was some account taken of the population of the country; that population then was considerably less than at the present moment. I find that it was pretty nearly equally apportioned in different parts of the country; but, in order to make the comparison to which I desire to draw your attention, I should remark that the country has been divided into two several portions—the agricultural part and the manufacturing and commercial part—and it happened, singularly enough, that what may be called the commercial and manufacturing counties, in 1814, consisting of fourteen counties, occupied just one-third of the whole area of the country, while those termed agricultural, being 38 in number, occupied two-thirds of the whole area of the country. Now, in the year 1870 the population was divided in the same proportion as the area of the kingdom: that is to say, the manufacturing and commercial area was one-third of the whole, and its population was also one-third; and the agricultural area was two-thirds, and its population two-thirds of the whole. At that time the population in the one-third of the area, or in the manufacturing and commercial counties, was 1,239,000, and in the agricultural counties 2,498,000, the proportion in area and in population being nearly equal; that is, one-third area manufacturing and commercial comprised one-third of the population, and two-thirds area agricultural included the remaining two-thirds of the population. But in the year 1801 the proportions very much altered; and in the manufacturing and commercial counties the population increased to upwards of 3,900,000, whilst in the agricultural counties it was 4,400,000. It was then not quite equally divided, the proportions being 47 per cent. for the manufacturing and commercial counties, and 53 per cent. for the agricultural counties; a very unequal proportion as compared with the area of the country. At each succeeding period the proportion became more unequal. In 1811 the population of the manufacturing and commercial counties was 48 per cent.; in 1821 it was 49 per cent.; in 1831 it was 52 per cent., above half of the whole; and in 1841 it was 54 per cent., that is, 8 per cent. more than half of the whole population of the country. (Cheers.) So that that part of the country which occupies only one-third of the area of the whole, but which is the manufacturing and commercial part, contains 54 per cent. of the entire population, while the other two-thirds, which form the agricultural part, contain only 46 per cent. (Cheers.) Then, I say that it is a manifest benefit to the whole country that manufactures should flourish, and should be enabled to employ so large a proportion of the population. We know well enough that the population of this country increases; we know well enough from the melancholy statements which have lately been made public, and to which no reply has been or can be given, for they cannot be refuted, that the agricultural counties are overburdened with population. We hear lamentable accounts of cottages crowded with the poor, who are suffering both in health and morals. What, then, can be a better or more advantageous resource for the agricultural counties than to have a district—one-third part of the country—devoted to commerce and to manufactures, which can absorb, if not completely at least to a great degree, the surplus population, much to their own as well as to the advantage of the public. (Loud cheers.) And that they do so to the advantage of the people themselves, I think will appear evident from the circumstance that the poor-rates in the commercial and manufacturing counties are much less in proportion than the poor-rates in the agricultural counties. (Cheers.) I have not got the return of the total amount of poor-rates down to a later period than 1841; but that, you will recollect, is the precise period at which the census was taken; and in that year the poor-rates paid in the commercial and manufacturing counties—which, as I have already frequently told you, though it formed but one-third of the area of the whole country, employed more than half of the whole population—amounted to only 42 per cent. of the whole of the poor-rates of the country; whilst the poor-rates in the agricultural counties—which occupied two-thirds of the area of the whole kingdom, and which only contained 46 per cent. of the population—amounted to 58 per cent. of the whole poor-rates of the country (cheers), the result being, that the amount of poor-rates paid in the manufacturing and commercial part of the country was at the rate of 4s. 10d. per head of the whole population, whereas that paid in the agricultural part was at the rate of 7s. 10d. per head. (Cheers.) Then, I say that the manufacturers and the manufacturing interest of this country deserve the support of the nation, not only for the good things that they bring to us from abroad in exchange for their manufactures, but likewise for the benefit that they confer upon every class of the country, and more particularly upon the agricultural portion by absorbing that population which otherwise would be a burden upon the country, more especially upon the proprietors and occupiers of land. (Loud cheers.) Another ground upon which we say that the manufacturers deserve the support of all classes of the people is this, that by their great skill, ingenuity, activity, perseverance, and industry, and by the excellent machinery which they use and which they are daily improving, all the necessities of life that pass through their mills are gradually becoming cheaper, and in consequence more within the reach and scope of small incomes. (Cheers.) This appears in a very remarkable manner when the price of those articles is contrasted with the value of agricultural produce. And here, ladies and gentlemen, perhaps I may be allowed to say that I am the less unwilling to hold up, in this way, the manufacturing interest, not in hostility to, but in comparison with, the agricultural interest, as I myself am wholly and solely connected with the latter interest. (Great cheering.) I have no connexion whatever with manufacturers except from acquaintanceship and goodwill, and from my belief that they are a most important part of the community. Gentlemen—I don't say ladies, because these are things, perhaps, to which they don't much direct their attention (laughter)—but gentlemen here are aware that returns are made annually to Parliament of the value of exports, and that there are always two columns in these returns, one representing, as it is called, the official value, and the other representing the real or declared value. The reason of the difference is this: that some 150 years ago, in the year 1694, a practice was commenced of

entering the value of the exports of the country, and a certain sum of money was put down opposite to each item as the value per lb., or the value per owt., or whatever it might be at that period. The sum or official value has never been varied, but the real value has varied very much; and as it was very desirable to know the real value as well as the official value, it has been the practice for some years past—I don't know how many—to give the declared as well as the official value. The declared value, therefore, will point out what is the real value of the articles exported: the official value will give you no insight into what the real value is at the present time, but it will give you a perfect insight into what it would have been in the year 1694; and it will likewise give you a perfect and accurate measurement as to the quantity that has been consumed. (Hear.) Now, it appears from this that the principal articles of manufacture have decreased in value (the comparison has been taken in three years)—the decrease being at the rate of about 60 per cent. Well, then, upon the other hand it appears that agricultural produce has increased in value: while the other has decreased and diminished, agricultural produce has increased in value at the rate of 143 per cent. (Cheers.) So that now the agricultural produce, which in the year 1694 was worth £100, is now worth £243; whilst, on the other hand, the manufactured goods which in 1694 were worth £100, are now worth only £40 (loud cheers)—a matter of which the agriculturists have, I think, no right to complain (renewed cheers), inasmuch as the result is that agricultural produce to the amount of £100 would now purchase produce, in mines and manufactures, to the extent that £600 could have done in the year 1694. (Cheers.) Now, I really think that if this do not make the agriculturists rather wish that manufactures should thrive and flourish, I don't know very well what will. (Laughter and cheers.) It shows at least that the benefit is all on one side, and that side in reality is theirs. (Loud cheers.) For these reasons amongst others, I for one am anxious, and I think that the country ought to be anxious that manufactures should flourish; and my desire to express that anxiety has been one of the reasons which induced me to accept the offer made to me to address you this evening. (Cheers.) If I do not weary you (loud cries of "Go on," and great cheering), there are one or two other reasons (hear, hear, hear,) which I would urge before I resume my seat: one of them is my anxiety to express here, in as strong a manner as I can, my adherence to what are now called the principles of Free Trade. (Great cheering.) I believe that the principles of Free Trade are those upon which the happiness and the welfare of this country will in future depend. I believe, however, that their success will very much depend upon the exertions of you, ladies and gentlemen, and other persons, who have on former and similar occasions to the present, met in this theatre, and to your and their continued exertions in furtherance of them (cheers); for we have some resolute, and, I believe, some very interested opponents. (Ironical cheers.) I consider, however, that the principles of Free Trade, as they are said to be the principles of common sense, are also the principles of benevolence, charity, and of universal goodwill. (Loud cheers.) I believe, gentlemen, that they are the soundest principles upon which any country can stand—the principles upon which, hereafter, the universal world will be guided and governed. (Loud cheers.) Now, let us consider, gentlemen, what these principles are, as carried out at the present time in this country. I have heard it imputed to the persons who espouse them, that they are hostile to the credit of the country, and hostile to the national faith, for it is said that if Free-Trade principles are carried out there will be an end to the payment of interest on the national debt. Now, I totally dissent from that proposition. I freely admit that, if we were precisely in that state in which one could wish to be, it might be convenient to have no taxes at all to pay (loud cheers); and that it might be very advantageous to commerce to be disencumbered of all customhouse duties, and everything of the sort. But this is not necessary for Free Trade; what is essential for Free Trade is, that there should be no tax imposed excepting what is absolutely necessary for the purposes of revenue, but, above all things, no tax imposed for the purposes of protection (cheers)—no tax imposed for the purpose of protecting one interest against another. (Cheers.) Those are what I believe to be really the true principles of Free Trade—the principles upon which I believe that gentlemen here around me, and all persons who seriously contend in behalf of that object, wish to maintain. (Cheers.) But it is said that all these principles are very good and very true, and that they are right in the abstract (laughter), but not in the concrete (renewed laughter); they will not apply, above all things, to the article of food—it is so important an article, the food of the people, that they will not apply to that. (Loud cheers.) Now, really, if these principles are good, it is the more necessary it appears to me that they should be enforced. (Hear, hear.) If they are not good at all, why enforce them at all? but if they are good, it becomes the more important that they should be adhered to, especially in the most important article of food. (Cheers.) But it is said that agriculture wants protection, and that if it is not protected it will be ruined. Whether it has been ruined or not under protection we will just inquire. Let us see what protection has done for agriculture. We are told that for hundreds and hundreds of years there have been Corn Laws in this country. Now, I admit it. I look in the statute-book, and I find laws relating to corn many hundred years back: four hundred, five hundred, six hundred years back. But I observe this peculiarity up to a particular period, that the object of the Corn Laws in ancient time was to secure food for the people by the introduction of foreign corn when there was a scarcity at home, and to take care that there was a supply from abroad when we did not grow enough at home for our own national supply. (Hear, hear.) But there was a particular period when the views of the Legislature took a different turn, and after the Restoration, at the time of Charles II., there were then commenced a series of laws affecting the introduction of corn, not for the purpose, as heretofore, of supplying the people with corn, but for the purpose of protecting the landed interest. (Hear, hear.) Now, there have been a great many acts passed since. The first act that I am aware of is an act of 12th of Chas. II. Since that period there have been, I believe, some 110 or 120 acts of Parliament regulating the importation and exportation of corn. (Laughter.) I think the number is a pretty good proof

that none of the Corn-Law doctors have exactly hit upon the right remedy. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) Many people have tried their hand at it, and I think I am right in saying, that in every three, or in every two-and-a-half years, there have been bills introduced regulating the exportation and importation of corn. (Hear, hear.) This has been done for divers reasons; but in the early stage of the business, when there was no concealment of the matter, I find that the object was clearly avowed. I find this in the acts of Parliament that were originally passed. The 12th of Chas. II. was the first act passed for imposing duties on the importation and exportation of corn. The second was the 15th of Chas. II., fifteen years afterwards, and in the preamble of this act, entitled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Trade," it is stated, "Forasmuch as the encouragement of the tillage of land ought to be, in an especial manner, regarded," and so forth; "and in order that there may be much more corn produced, greater number of people having cattle employed, and other lands rendered more profitable; and whereas a very great part of the richest and best land of this kingdom cannot so well be otherwise employed and made use of as in the feeding and fattening of cattle, and that by the coming in of late of vast numbers of cattle already fatted,"—it does not say that the people could not eat them (loud laughter),—"such lands are in many places much fallen, and like daily to fall more, in their rents and values, and, in consequence, other lands also. Therefore be it enacted, that certain penalties be imposed on the importation of cattle." (Laughter.) Now, here the object was fairly avowed. The importation of good and fat cattle had been very apparent, and in consequence of that it was said that the rents and the value of land had fallen; and, therefore, the landed proprietors, who were predominant in the Legislature, enacted penalties against the importation of cattle. (Cheers.) And, in conformity with the same principle, that act not having been very efficacious, three years afterwards another act was passed, 18th Chas. II., c. 2, reciting "That the provisions of the preceding act have not been effectual, and that thereby the rents and values of the lands of this kingdom were much fallen, and like daily to fall more," and enacts that the importation of cattle from and after 2nd. Feb., 1666, "is a public and common nuisance, and should be so judged and deemed to be to all intents and purposes whatsoever." (Loud laughter and cheers.) It must certainly have been a nuisance to those whose rents fell, but how it could be a nuisance to the public in general I am quite at a loss to discover. However, there it is in the statute-book. It was so voted. (Laughter.) That, in early times, was the nature of what is called "protection" to land; and we see the animus, the mind, and the intention with which these acts were passed. From that time to this the Legislature, with one or two exceptions to which I shall presently point your attention, has been constantly employed almost every other, or every third year, in passing bills for the same purpose. A few years after this, in the year 1689, another bill was passed, in which a new principle or practice was introduced, which was that of giving bounties for the exportation of corn. Now, this might be very advantageous for those who grew corn, but for the public in general I think you will at once perceive how very injurious it was. By this act money was raised by a tax on the people of this country to buy up corn, which, as it rose in price, was bought up and sent abroad. That was the principle adopted; but, however, as I stated before, nothing prospered under protection; and it is remarkable enough, that, during the seventy or eighty years that this extreme protection was enacted by the Legislature, there were no fewer than seventeen or eighteen acts of Parliament passed, suspending and prohibiting, for a time, that exportation; so that it is manifest, I think, that even this which was the extreme of protection, did not effect its purpose; it did not produce that which it was intended to produce, a very large supply of corn, though the protection was as great as it possibly could be by giving bounties on the exportation of corn. (Hear.) This system went on until about the year 1774, and then an act was passed, which was the exception, to which I said I should draw your attention, diminishing that protection to corn, and declaring, that after corn had attained the price of 48s. it should be admitted at a duty of 6d. That continued, in fact, till the year 1815. I say in fact, because, though several acts of Parliament were passed during the intermediate period with the same view of protecting corn and limiting the price at which corn should be admitted, the prices never fell so as to come within the provisions of those acts: Free Trade in corn, therefore, continued up to 1815. Thus those acts were altogether unnecessary, and a dead letter; and, I believe, in no period of English history will it be found that agriculture flourished more—particularly in the latter part of that period—being a time of war: notwithstanding all the disadvantages and difficulties that must occur from war, the distresses arising out of it, and the great taxes raised to carry it on; I say, at no period did agriculture flourish more. (Hear, hear, hear.) In the year 1815, a law was passed by which protection was given of a different kind from that to which I alluded before, a protection which was an absolute prohibition until corn reached a particular price. That act, I dare say you all know, was repealed; and, in 1828, another act was passed, giving protection to corn, not quite so great, but still very great: that was again repealed two years ago, still leaving protection somewhat less. Under these systems of protection, I would ask the question, Has agriculture flourished? During this protection we heard nothing but complaints about agriculture,—nothing but complaints of the distress of the farmers and landowners. Parliament has been called upon to consult, and committees have been appointed over and over again, on the subject of protection; but it has never answered its purpose; and I believe that, as in other cases, so in this, Free Trade would be most beneficial to agriculture. (Cheers.) At all events, no system of protection hitherto adopted, or which has been in existence during the last 150 years, has answered its purpose. (Cheers.) But I am afraid I am trespassing on your attention. (Cries of "No, no," and "Go on.") My anxious wish is, for the sake of agriculture, that protection should be removed from it, and I for one wish to see the total abolition of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) But I am told that ill effects would ensue from their abolition; and when one wishes to inquire into these matters it is very well sometimes to see what our adversaries say. Now, I dare say there are very few people in this assembly who are not aware that some days ago in

the House of Commons, a speech was made, not immediately for the abolition of the Corn Laws, but on a question relating to them by an hon. gentleman here present (Mr. Cobden). (Loud cheers.) That speech, I believe, is admitted by all persons, even by his opponents, to be one of consummate ability, and one which contains the soundest and most powerful arguments. (Cheers.) It was answered by Mr. Gladstone, who is an official man (laughter), the President of the Board of Trade—a man undoubtedly of great talent and ability; I therefore read and looked with great anxiety to his speech, to see what could be said in answer to the other. Now, I find very little in that speech, except this:—"You, Mr. Cobden, think so and so, other gentlemen think so and so. (Laughter.) This is a matter of very great importance. It is a question which agitates the public mind; it is a matter about which a great deal of excitement exists, and therefore,"—the natural conclusion I should have thought would have been—"let us inquire and see who is right." That was what Mr. Cobden proposed, but no; the answer was—"This is a matter about which there is so much anxiety and doubt, we had better say nothing about it; we will not do what you require, by appointing a committee." (Laughter and cheering.) The whole of Mr. Gladstone's speech, as it appears to me, is pretty well comprised in these few words, excepting one or two passages, on which, with your permission, I will make a few comments. The first part is exactly in the strain which I have mentioned:—"The hon. gentleman was prepared to show that protective laws were useless, and positively injurious to farmers and farm-labourers. Well, many hon. gentlemen were prepared to argue the very contrary." He does not come to any conclusion there. "He (Mr. Gladstone) had himself heard the hon. member for Wiltshire argue with great ingenuity, and a good deal of truth, that one of the most inconvenient results in effecting any change of the Corn Law was the sudden and violent change as regarded the farmers." Now, I am acquainted with the member for Wiltshire—I know his feelings and opinions, and I have read the evidence which he has given—and I am astonished that such sentiments should come from him or from any other person, because I find by the evidence which he gave in 1814, that previously to the passing of the act which was prohibitory of the importation of corn till the price reached 80s., he declared that corn could not be grown at a profit in this country at a lower price than 96s.; and yet he was instrumental in the passing of an act of Parliament by which a pretty stout change was effected. Well, the hon. member for Wiltshire reasoned thus:—"The landlord must live." (Laughter.) Now, when I read that I was really surprised; and somehow or other there came into my head a story which is told of Cardinal Fleury. The cardinal was one day walking in his grounds, when he was met by a man who put a pistol to his head and asked him for his purse. The cardinal remonstrated, and the man rejoined, "Oh, it does not signify—I must live!" (Loud laughter.) To which the cardinal, with a great deal of coolness, replied, "My dear fellow, I do not see the necessity for it at all." (Renewed laughter.) Now, I do not wish to apply that tale to the agriculturists; and, whatever my Lord Harewood may say, I do not think the gentlemen of the League would apply it either. (Cheers.) But, however, after reading a little further, I find that I had had something like a second-sight anticipation of what was coming, for I read on, "The landlord must live, and if he cannot get a fair rent for his land, he will endeavour to effect that object by taking it out of the pockets of the farmer." (Loud laughter.) Now, this is very like petty larceny—it very much resembles what the man attempted with Cardinal Fleury. (Laughter and cheering.) This is said by Mr. Gladstone to possess a good deal of ingenuity and truth—but not much honesty I think, (laughter); and, with respect to its ingenuity, I dare say that within the vicinity of this place, or in this city at least, there are many gentlemen who could act very ingeniously in the same way. (Loud laughter.) In point of fact, he said, "If you press upon the landlord, you will force him either to farm his own land or to adopt cheaper modes of cultivation." Now, I have often heard of landlords managing their own land; but generally they do it very badly—something after the manner of the lawyer who pleads his own cause, and is said to have a fool for his client. (A laugh.) A gentleman may farm his own land, but generally he is a loser by it. What, however, is the other alternative? "He must adopt cheaper modes of cultivation." Why, I really wondered when I read such a sentiment, for I was of opinion myself that that was the very thing we wanted. The agriculturist says he wants protection, because the modes of cultivation are so expensive; and that, if you can find cheaper modes of cultivation, he will not want the same degree of protection;—or that if you get the cheapest modes of cultivation, he will not want any protection at all. (Cheers, and laughter.) "And he confessed it was no absurd or improbable supposition, that if there were any great pressure on the landlords as a class, they might extend their efforts to new modes of managing and cultivating their lands—he did not mean new modes of carrying on the process of cultivation." That is a pity! (laughter,) because that is the thing which is most desired. (Cheers.) "But," he adds, and I beg you to attend to this, "he meant that other persons of a different class or description would settle upon farms, which, being no longer occupied by men of limited capital, a system of wholesale management would be introduced with a view to the more economical regulation of agricultural produce." Now, I sometimes read—I don't say hear, because in these protection societies persons who dissent are not admitted—(loud cheers)—but I read that at these protection societies it has been thrown out as a reproach, and a most unjust and unjustifiable reproach it appears to be, that these gentlemen of the League have accumulated immense wealth. For instance, they say that Mr. Cobden has realized £200,000 or £300,000: you never heard of a farmer doing that, and why don't you? (Cheers.) Because they don't adopt cheap modes of cultivation—(cheers)—because they don't do as, says Mr. Gladstone, they would be compelled to do if Mr. Cobden carried his point—because they do not like persons in a different description of business to expend large capital in the cultivation of land. (Cheers.) Now, it is perfectly well known that, supposing this question were settled, and that there were the same certainty that there has been with respect to raising manufactured goods, there would be a great deal of capital ready to be employed for that purpose—(cheers)—a great deal of capital in money—of capital in science and in know-

ledge, which is now kept out of the market—which is precluded from being employed thus advantageously to the country by the uncertainty of trade—an uncertainty produced by the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) What would have happened in the manufacturing districts if people had been content with the employment of a little capital,—if, instead of having a large engine—I do not know of what size the engines are, say perhaps 300 horse power or more,—they employed an engine of eight or ten horse power instead, do you think you would have our manufactured goods cheapened to the extent they now are? By no means. But it is because great capital has been employed and well directed, and because great science, knowledge, industry, and constant attention have been given to manufactures, that they have risen as they have done. (Cheers.) I, for one, see no reason to think (and it is a thing devoutly to be wished), why the same industry, the same capital, the same knowledge, the same science should not be applied to agriculture with like success. (Cheers.) Well, then, Mr. Gladstone went on to say—this is the quotation—"And it was quite possible," he admits this, "it was quite possible that such products might be raised at a cheaper rate when the cultivation of the land was taken out of the hands of the farmer, who held a middle place between the landlord and the labourer." And why not? Why is the whole country to be precluded from such advantages lest there should be a violent change in the condition of the farmer? He then goes on to say, "Of course it must follow on his supposition that many farmers would be superseded, not having capital enough to carry on the cultivation of their farms under the new system, and, after suffering the greatest inconvenience themselves, would aggravate the evil in the case of others for whose farms situated in other places they would become competitors." Now, this really is exactly like a person whom I am very well acquainted with, who has a great aversion to railways. His aversion to them arises from the fact that they have superseded the use of inns and posthorses. He contends that it is exceedingly hard upon the innkeepers for people never to go to their inns; accordingly this gentleman, who lives some distance from London, and is within reach of a railroad which would bring him to town in two hours and a half, whenever he has occasion to come, either drives over the evening before twenty miles to meet a coach which brings him to London in seven or eight hours, or else he starts off early in the morning with post horses, which he sometimes finds great difficulty in procuring, and passes a day in his journey to London, fearing lest these innkeepers should be injured by having their custom taken away. (Loud laughter.) I quote from the *Morning Chronicle* the admission of Mr. Gladstone; the whole case, and the very point which we all desire, and which others profess to desire, is, in reality, conceded. (Hear, hear.) But there is one other sentence, which I must give. He says it would displace the farmer and the farm-labourer. He said—"Well, if one looked at the case of the labourer, there were many who were seriously of opinion that the danger of causing a great and sudden displacement of rural labour was the best and most valid argument against a change in the Corn Laws." Against a great and sudden displacement of rural labour! Have any gentlemen here read the accounts of the agricultural labourers in Dorsetshire? ("Hear, hear," and applause.) If so, do they think there would be any great misery inflicted by displacing some of them, where the poor-rates are as high as 7s. 10d. per head, while in the manufacturing districts they are only 4s. 10d. per head? (Cheers.) It appears to me that the argument is all the other way, and that what I have here read from Mr. Gladstone's speech is conclusive upon the point, that nothing could be more beneficial to agriculture, to the farmers, and to the agricultural labourers themselves than a repeal of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) Gentlemen and ladies, I am afraid I have detained you much too long. (Cries of "No, no.") I shall detain you but a few minutes longer. I say that even beyond the point I have been urging, both for the sake of the manufacturers themselves, and for the sake of the manufacturing interest itself, and likewise for the interests of the agriculturist,—not only on these grounds am I for a repeal of the Corn Laws, but still more because I think the Corn Laws and all protective laws in point of fact fly in the face of Providence, and deprive us and others whom they may affect, of the benefits arising from the beneficial arrangements of Providence. (Cheers.) It is one of the most beautiful matters of contemplation, and so ordained by a beneficent Providence, that one country supplies one thing for the wants of mankind, and another country supplies another—all countries combining to acquire those things which may be supplied from different parts of the globe. (Cheers.) The object of such a dispensation as I look upon it is this—to bring men into amicable relationship with each other—to prevent hostilities and animosities—to make every person and every nation feel that they are dependent on the good will and good offices of others, and to bring them into kindly intercourse and benevolent communication one with another. (Loud cheers.) Countries are united—some continents, some islands like our own—by the sea, which is called the great highway of nations, affording a means of intercourse to distant parts of the world, being by Providence so ordained. This is manifest, since you can go to any part of the world upon its surface. I never yet heard of any country or island, not uninhabited, where the people were so uninformed and ignorant as not to have some means of navigation—some means of employing that element which sometimes appears so formidable and threatening, but which is the means of communication between the old world and the new—between different countries and different climes. (Hear, hear.) If we prohibit the introduction of the products of other countries, we set at nought this beneficent arrangement, and do what we can to interfere with its operation. I think, therefore, to cultivate friendly intercourse between different classes of mankind is the ordination of Providence; and that it is flying in its face, and going directly in opposition to it, if we wrap ourselves up in our own consequence and dignity, and refuse to have any communication with other nations. We have now seen an era of peace of nearly thirty years—and it appears to me from what I have seen of the world, from what I can collect of the feelings of the world at large, and, generally, from the feelings of governments, that the time for wars is at an end. (Loud cheers.) And I believe that the progress of knowledge and education among the different people of the world has been such that had ge-

verments would find it difficult to incite them to war in the way they formerly did. (Cheers.) I therefore hope, for the sake of those who are to come after us—younger people than myself—that the days of war are over, and that the days of universal peace and amity throughout the world are not far distant. (Cheers.) But nothing is more likely to produce this result than the extension of commerce, and the termination of all protection. (Hear, hear.) Let us consider the case with respect to our Corn Laws. Some years ago a proposition was made to the Government of this country, that if they would lower the duty upon corn, the country making it would reduce the tariff with respect to the introduction of British goods. Unfortunately that offer was rejected by the English Government; and, notwithstanding that there has been no feeling of hostility between the two countries since, I believe that the friendship existing between them would have been much strengthened by the consciousness that each country was dependent on the other for the necessities and for the enjoyments of life. (Loud cheers.) Nothing is more likely to lead to a continuance of peace and tranquillity throughout the world than the abolition of restrictive laws, and of all protective duties. (Renewed cheering.) By promoting Free Trade I believe you will advance that which will be most advantageous to the interests of the country—which will tend most to strengthen it—which will tend most to its enrichment—which will tend in a great degree to the enlightenment and refinement of the lower orders of the people—and which will tend more than anything else to bring about that which must be the dearest wish of all mankind—"Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will towards men." (The noble earl resumed his seat amid immense applause.)

The noble CHAIRMAN then said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I have now the pleasure of introducing to your notice Mr. Lattimore, a tenant-farmer, who will next address you.

Mr. LATTIMORE, of Bride Hall, Hertfordshire, on coming forward was loudly cheered. He spoke as follows:—Ladies and gentlemen, I appear before you this evening as a tenant-farmer, and I beg to say that, should there be any here who entertain a doubt upon that point, I shall be very happy to satisfy them. (Cheers.) I am a farmer by choice, and I have chosen to be one from my natural bias and inclination in preference to any profession which could have been opened to me. My feelings and my inclinations are identified with farming. I am a farmer to some extent, and I trust you will give me credit when I state, that I have no desire to injure that interest; but entertaining views similar to those propounded to you by the noble lord, I believe that, so far from benefiting the agricultural interest by keeping up a system of monopoly, we are actually inflicting a great injury on ourselves. ("Hear," and cheers.) From all the facts that have been adduced—from the protection societies which have lately been established, showing that the parties who projected them have no argument, but a great deal of abuse—I am still more than ever confirmed in the conviction that, in promoting the cause of Free Trade, I am really promoting the cause of the agriculturists. (Loud cheers.) You have already heard some observations which have been made by the noble lord who has just addressed you, respecting the answer given by Mr. Gladstone to the speech of Mr. Cobden, the hon. member for Stockport (cheers), inviting these gentlemen to search and examine into this matter, not to do anything rashly or hastily, but to look well into it, and try to find out the advantages which accrue from the present protective system to the tenant-farmer and the agricultural labourer; and you have also heard how the question was shirked. I was always confident that it would be so shirked, because I feel assured that evidence would be fairly given by the tenant-farmers and labourers throughout the country as to the operation of this system of the Corn Laws upon their interests, and that such evidence would have proved the best argument that could have been adduced for a repeal of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) The noble lord has also mentioned a remark made by Mr. Gladstone, to the effect that a repeal of the Corn Laws would displace a certain class of farmers, and throw a great deal of labour out of employ. Now, I am very happy to say, and I feel confident that a very great increase of employment would be given to labourers by a repeal of the Corn Laws (hear, hear), for it would be the means of bringing additional capital to the farm, which would enable the farmer to give employment to a greater number of labourers, whereby an additional amount of produce would be obtained, and blessings thereby dispensed throughout all classes of the community. (Loud cheers.) I am sure that a committee of intelligent farmers would give that their verdict and honest opinion upon such a case. Why, then, is the Corn Law not repealed? Because there is something else connected with it—there is the political part of the case. (Great applause.) I am here as a tenant-farmer, to say that farmers have no interest whatever in this part of the question. The landlords may in some instances expect to obtain some advantage from our present system of patronage and colonial government, church and state, army and navy promotion (laughter); but I say we, farmers, have no advantage from it—no interest to expect from it; and therefore it is on the simple basis that, as citizens of one common country, who have all an interest in good government, in equitable laws, in the increase of employment, of food, of health, and of morality among all classes of our countrymen—it is upon this basis that I, as a farmer, hold that man to be an enemy to his country as well as to his class, who tries to draw lines of demarcation, and to keep up those feelings of rancour and hostility between the agriculturists and manufacturers, which the Protectionists are at this hour promoting. (Cheers.) I lately read a speech made by the Duke of Richmond in the House of Lords, and you know that he is the top of this movement, as it were, the knob of the machine (laughter), in which he makes it his boast that he has got all the sympathies, feelings, and affections of the farmers with him, or words to that effect. (Hear, hear.) Now, I beg to tell the noble duke, that he is very much mistaken upon that point. (Cheers.) It is very true that he can command a certain number to rally round his standard; with your permission we will just see who they are. (Hear, hear.) We will analyze them. (Loud applause.) There is a certain class of amphibious farmers, who mix up land-valuation, auctioneering, and such like; I will give the noble duke the whole of that class to begin with. (Hear, hear.) Then there is another class of farmers, who may be occu-

plers of their own land to a certain extent, and they, some of them at least, may fancy that they have an interest in monopoly; I will give the noble duke the benefit of them also. Then we will take the leaseholders, those who have long leases, or who are leaseholders for life; and there are many such who think that they have a vested interest in monopoly. If you come to the tenant-farmers, I would give that portion of them who live under the immediate interest of their landlords to the noble duke; but, as a great body, the intelligent farmers of this country—though, in some instances, they may be induced to say, that neither their hearts, their affections, nor the interests of their families are by any means with us—I say, nevertheless, they are on the side of the people. (Applause.) The present position of the farmer (and I speak as a tenant-farmer), is a very anomalous one. You have heard the noble lord speak of their condition—you have heard him say that they have not been very prosperous—and I admit that there is ample reason for the remark. Under existing circumstances they never will be prosperous—they never can be prosperous. (Hear, hear.) Why, farming is a very simple process—it is only a question of income and expenditure; and, if certain burdens on the land—in the shape of rent, tithes, rates, taxes, and other demands—consume three-fourths of the produce, it is quite clear only one-fourth is left for the labourer and the farmer. (Cheers.) When you hear great sympathy expressed by certain landlords for labourers, you never hear of their giving up anything to enable the labourer to live better; they do not say that they will take their rent on the corn system, or that they will take the smaller produce and leave the larger for the labourer; but, it is clear that unless they produce more and take less, labourers cannot have more than they now have under existing circumstances. (Hear, hear.) We must, therefore, consider what we have in the background. The landlords do not intend that the labourer should have more, neither do they make sacrifices in order that they may obtain more; and, therefore, I do not give them credit for any sincerity in the matter. (Cheers.) The noble duke talks about the political independence of the farmer: I wish he possessed it. (Loud cheers.) He says he is entitled to it, and I admit it; but I say, under the Chandos clause, it is impossible for him to enjoy it. (Hear, hear, hear.) Will the noble duke give them the ballot? (Cheers, and laughter.) To prove the sincerity of those protective landlords, I invite them either to repeal the £50 Chandos clause, or else to give to the farmers the means of exercising the franchise conscientiously under it. (Cheers.) There is another subject not much talked of at these protective meetings, and that is the game system. (Cheers.) Now, there is a great deal of injury inflicted upon the farmers of this country, and there is a vast quantity of agricultural produce destroyed by game preserves. I do not hesitate to say that many farmers have been ruined in this country solely by the game system. (Cheers.) The very law itself is based on injustice and false principles. It makes game the private property of the landowners; but it does not make him liable for the damage it does to his neighbour's property. I think you will agree with me, that this is unjust. (Loud cheers.) Then there is the law of landlord and tenant. The landlords' property is very clearly recognised by the laws of our country; this proves the influence they have had in Parliament; but the law does not so distinctly recognise the property of tenants. Now, if they would extend protection to the tenants, if they would get their property clearly recognised by the Legislature, and protect the consciences of the farmers by the ballot, I should have some hope that we might get on better. (Cheers.) I have a very strong opinion upon this point; having suffered much political persecution for want of such protection. I believe that the basis of the liberty of the people of this country consists in the unfettered exercise of the elective franchise; and this applies not only to the farmer, but to the people generally. (Cheers.) And I venture to say, that our political landlords—for there is a great distinction, you must observe, between landlords—have endeavoured to carry out the compendious ideas of the monster Caligula: they know that our liberties have but one neck, and they wish to sever it at a blow. (Cheers.) It so happens that the noble earl who presides over the meeting this evening has lately been called upon to speak upon the question of the political franchise of the tenant. He happened to have a tenant unworthy of such a landlord. (Cheers.) The foolish man had some misgivings of his own upon the matter of voting, and, instead of inquiring of his neighbours or others who were willing to teach him, he wrote a letter to the noble lord, which, I think, was an insult to him; but, nevertheless, it afforded to that nobleman an opportunity of expressing his opinions upon the subject; and I am glad to say that as a farmer I honour him for those opinions. I will read an extract from his reply to his tenant. "You will be pleased to observe, that when you give a vote for a member of Parliament you are executing a sacred trust reposed in you by the Legislature, not for your own personal benefit or advantage, not in order to indulge any predilections you may have for one candidate or another, not in order to give effect to any wishes or fancies of me who am your landlord, but for the benefit of the people at large" (loud cheers); "and that if you give it either ignorantly or intentionally, in a manner not consistent with that which is most conducive to their benefit, you violate that trust: in the one case most culpably, in the other, without blame, because through ignorance. But, at the same time, if that ignorance is wilful, and occasioned by a refusal to be informed, or by any neglect in acquiring the information which was within your reach, it is itself not by any means free from blame." (Loud and long-continued cheering.) These are the sentiments of the noble lord who now presides over this meeting. I only hope that I, as a tenant-farmer, shall never fail to respect and appreciate such sentiments. (Cheers.) Permit me to say that I feel this the more deeply, because I have been told that when my property was invested in the soil of another, I bound myself to support his political views; but I had never entered into any political contract, and therefore it was most unjust afterwards to attempt to introduce one. I have been told that I should not be permitted to reap that which justice would award me, by giving me back what I had laid out. Such is the contrast between the noble lord and other landowners; I trust, when you consider such contrast, that you will never fail to show your superior respect for the noble lord, and for those who think and act with him. (Loud cheers.) Now, it is neces-

sary for me to say a few words upon the present state of the farmers. (Hear, hear.) I recollect when a boy, that an old farmer, a most honourable and experienced man, bade me mark him, and said, he felt convinced, from his past experience, that if the Corn Laws should continue for another twenty years, the then race of farmers, with their capital, would be nearly annihilated. (Cheers.) In the parish in which I heard that, I have lately calculated the number of tenants and their condition. There are 21 farms in the parish let to farmers, in addition to others farming their own land. Those 21 farms have had 50 tenants; 21 farmers, now, of course, occupy those farms—but what has become of the 29 who previously occupied them? A few of them, of course, have gone to their final account, but the rest will be found in union workhouses, or in a state of miserable dependence, their prospects destroyed, their hopes blighted, their families ruined. (Loud cheers.) And now I beg to say, as a practical man, that I feel confident that in the course of the next three years, under existing circumstances and with a continuance of the present laws, a greater number of changes will take place in the occupancy of farms than have occurred in any three years preceding. Now, I say, with these facts before me, that if I were to support monopoly I should at least be an unwise, and, as I think, a dishonest man (cheers); and I beg to state as my opinion that if the English farmers generally understood and felt the evils of the present system, and allow it to continue, as the Duke of Richmond says it will, that their attachment to what injures them will indeed be—

"A surprising truth—
The beaten spaniel's fondness not more strange."

(Cheers.) I conceive, also, that the abolition of the Corn Laws would naturally lead to an abolition of feudal privileges; I am confident that you can never obtain the full produce of your soil, or give full employment to the labourer, so long as you maintain the feudal privileges of the country. (Cheers.) I consider, too, when we look at the great advances of rents since the operation of the Corn Laws, that we may fairly regard the Corn Laws as a rent question. (Cheers.) I think it more a rent question than a question of protection to the farmer. I am at a loss to know how it can protect the farmer when its tendency is to annihilate and sweep him away from his occupation. (Cheers.) Another point upon which I must touch is the position of the labourers. Noble lords say it is necessary to continue the Corn Laws for the sake of the labourers. Now, I believe, if they could reduce the condition of the labourers to the full extent that they desire, their state would indeed, be low enough. (Cheers.) It is a melancholy subject for reflection, that in this country the reward of labour and of industry should be so small as it is. You have heard of the wages for making shirts—of the miserable price for which some poor women in this great city toil day and night, and which scarcely enables them to obtain the means of subsistence; I add to that, that in the agricultural districts, also, the poor labourers with their utmost exertions can barely procure a sufficiency of food to satisfy the cravings of nature. I have known an instance of a labouring man with his wife, and a family of six children all under nine years of age, who have vegetated, I won't say subsisted, upon 9s. a week, out of which they had to pay 2s. a week for rent, and actually to pay poor-rates out of the remaining 7s. ("Hear," and cries of "Shame.") Eight persons compelled to keep soul and body together out of 7s. a week! Now, you will no doubt think this almost incredible; but I do myself believe that but for the sympathy of those who surrounded them they must have been lost for want. (Cheers.) I should like to see noble lords who are advocates of the bread-tax, go to such places and take it in kind. (Hear, hear.) Could the wretched wasted forms and haggard countenances of their children, with the stamp of misery upon their brows be depicted, it would be a study for an artist, and would form a fitting adornment for a protection hall. (Loud cheers.) I have often thought, and Heaven forgive me if I was wrong, that more attention is paid in this country to our dogs and horses than to the poor. I say then, under all these circumstances, to which I might add numerous instances of misery and degradation, that the labourers at least have gained no advantage from the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) You must not suppose that I am charging the farmers with not paying more than they should pay to their labourers; I say that it is not in their power to do so; for, unless more be produced from the soil, or less be taken from them in the shape of rent, it is impossible that the labourer under the present system can have more. (Cheers.) But one great advantage of the repeal of the Corn Laws to the labourer would, I conceive, arise from an increased demand for his labour, enabling him to obtain for himself a larger proportion of the necessities of life. If he could do that he would be much better off; and, unless you can give him that, all the pity and all the arguments of noble lords will be of no avail. (Cheers.) I cannot help remarking here upon what appears to me to be the grossest hypocrisy upon the part of many who express an anxious desire to promote the spiritual welfare of the poor, whilst, at the same time, they use their utmost endeavours to prevent them obtaining an increase of food. Why, nature has implanted within man so forcibly his physical wants (undoubtedly for the purpose of promoting human activity) that it is vain to hope for any mental improvement till these wants are first attended to. (Cheers.) It is vain to preach to a starving man. First supply his physical wants, and then he is in a condition to listen to you; but I say that the man is a hypocrite who pretends that he is desirous of promoting the spiritual welfare of the poor if he raise his voice against any measure calculated to obtain for them an increase of food. (Cheers.) It is well known that in a savage state man advances by slow degrees to civilization, and civilization tends to promote a higher tone of morality. Thus the character of man is raised by imperceptible degrees, and it is quite certain that man is a cook long before he is a gentleman. (Cheers and laughter.) With these convictions upon my mind, I feel confident that the only chance of raising the character of the farmer, and of increasing the food of the country, is by the total abolition of all monopolies. (Cheers.) By retaining these monopolies, we are violating the laws of nature and the law of Providence, who hath wisely dispensed His bounties, giving different productions to different climates, with the beneficent intention of promoting the good, the convenience, the welfare, and the happiness of all. (Cheers.) Another feature in this case, which ought to have influence with every well-disposed and intelligent

man, is, that by the abolition of monopoly we take the surest means of promoting a kindly feeling with every country in the world; for by such a course all nations would advance in civilization, feeling their mutual dependence upon each other, so that no Government would be able long to oppress them. I have no doubt that the hostile tariffs of America have had their origin in the operations of the Corn Law. (Cheers.) Take away that Corn Law; open the trade of this country with America and with the world, and I am sure that the good sense of the American people would soon cause such restrictions to be removed, whilst they would, at the same time, hold out the right hand of fellowship, not only to this country, but to the world at large. Gentlemen, as an agriculturist, I don't feel highly honoured by the great outcry that has been raised of "protection to agriculture." Agriculture is a pursuit as honourable—perhaps as conducive to health and right feeling—as any profession we can pursue; and no one need feel shame to be engaged in that which has been the occupation of the wise and good of all ages— which, in the zenith of imperial Rome, formed the dignified relaxation of the immortal Cicero—which employed the pen of the accomplished Virgil; in which was nursed the manly mind of the noble Cincinnatus; and which, in our own country, has been followed by a Leicester, by the noble Radnor, by our Spencer, by our Ducie, by our Kinnaird (cheers), and by many others who may be considered as the finest noblemen of our country. (Cheers.) I say it is an insult to them and to the intelligent tenant-farmers of this country to tell us that the goodly vessel of British agriculture dare not put out to sea save under the rotten flag of protection, lest, perchance, some petty bark of competition should board that stately vessel, and make us all prisoners. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I have a far higher opinion of British agriculture. (Cheers.) I believe that we have resources enough within our own soil to give employment to the poor and food to the country, if we would but abolish all monopoly, give ourselves full freedom in the exercise of our natural powers, unfettered by political degradation, and unshackled by those feudal privileges which cripple us, which destroy our energies, which add to the mental degradation, and enfeeble the physical capabilities of the people. I hail, therefore, with delight the intellectual discussions which take place weekly within these walls; I congratulate you upon such magnificent assemblies; I know that there are hearts in this meeting which sympathize with the wants and the sufferings of the poor, hearts anxious to promote the independence of agriculture, and secure the happiness of all classes. (Cheers.) I feel confident of the issue of this struggle—I know that if good principles be developed, they will wax stronger and stronger; and there is a certainty that ultimately they will arrive at maturity, and bear fruit in due season. (Loud cheers.) I have detained you very long—I have to apologise for doing so, and to thank you for the kind attention with which you have listened to me. (Cheers, and cries of "Go on!") Believe me, what I have spoken is the language and feeling of my heart; I utterly disown anything in the pursuit of agriculture which should make me look with jealousy or suspicion upon the welfare of another man; and, I say, depending as we do upon the genial revolution of the seasons, and the benignant smiles of Heaven for success, it is our duty to promote kindly feeling and to hold out the right hand of fellowship to all; in the words of that distinguished prelate, whose name at least I hear, when upon his way to the stake, I say:—"Be ye of good cheer, for I trust that we shall by this discussion have kindled such a flame in England, not of discord, bitterness, and animosity, but of concord, universal benevolence, and good will, as, by the grace of God, shall never, never be extinguished." (Mr. Lattimore was loudly cheered on resuming his seat.)

The CHAIRMAN then announced that Mr. Hunt, who was also a tenant-farmer, would address the meeting. Mr. HUNT came forward amidst considerable applause, and spoke as follows:—"My lord, ladies, and gentlemen, I do not appear before you on the present occasion from a belief that I may be able to render much service to the cause which the League meets weekly in this place to advocate; but I have come here at the request of some friends of mine, being willing to throw in my humble mite towards aiding them. (Cheers.) At this late period of the meeting, and occupied as your time has been so much better than I could have occupied it, I do not intend to address to you many observations. Before I proceed any further I will just state to you that I am a tenant-farmer, a tenant-farmer only, and, comparatively speaking, a poor tenant-farmer. All the capital that I have is invested in agriculture, and therefore you may reasonably suppose that I could not, if I knew it, do anything to injure my own interest. I am one of those who believe that very mistaken notions prevail as to the value of agriculture. I compare commerce and agriculture to a pair of scissors, very good when the two parts are properly united together, but separate and apart nearly valueless. (Loud cheers.) However agriculture in days that are gone might have been of primary importance in this kingdom, I believe at the present period that state of things has passed; and, although myself engaged in agriculture, I believe the manufacturing interest to be of paramount importance in this country. It appears to me that it is in consequence of those mistaken notions to which I have alluded that the Corn Law, more particularly that of 1815, was imposed. It is well known that during the war it was a very easy matter to pay rents, and for landlords to receive them; and it is equally clear to my mind that the landowners, who formed a large majority in both Houses of Parliament at that time, they do at the present moment, passed the Corn Law with the view of securing their incomes, instead of trusting to those means to which they ought to have resorted for that purpose. I consider that the viciousness of the principle which was then adopted has produced from the first, and is still producing its legitimate effects. All bad principles and vicious laws are sure to cause injury, and these enactments, which were passed professedly for the benefit of the agricultural interest, I believe are productive of real injury to it. It appears to me that the landowners of this country have been trusting to these laws to maintain their rents, instead of directing their attention to the improvement of the article from which they derive their income, as manufacturers have been compelled to do; and hence arises the present disastrous state of things. There is a great deal said about protection, in Parliament and out of Parliament; and there are protection societies, as we all know,

formed; but my opinion is, that that which is called protection is a real injury; and that the best defence which the farmer and the landed interest can have is the application of right principles. (Cheers.) I would just for a few moments investigate the present condition of the landed interest of this kingdom, more particularly with reference to tenant-farmers. Landlords, as I have said before, instead of turning their attention to the improvement of their estates, and adopting those measures which would best secure an economical expenditure and a large return, have been trusting to these Corn Laws for their rents; and the farmers have been too much led away by the delusion, that by legislative enactments they would be enabled to make their rents; the consequence has been—and to a great extent is at the present day—that the landowners have reduced their tenants to a state of great political vassallage. (Cheers.) I know something of the habits of farmers; I have mixed with them all my life, and I am bold to declare it as my firm conviction—one which I believe the tenant-farmers of this country, as a class, cannot deny—that they have no political independence, neither have they scarcely any political sentiment. (Hear, hear.) Among the landlords there are honourable and bright exceptions, as has been shown in the case of our noble Chairman this evening (cheers); but, generally speaking, I declare that the tenant-farmers of this country are driven hither and thither, to and fro, by their landlords, wherever they may please to take them. Notwithstanding this state of things, they have not derived that pecuniary advantage which we might reasonably have expected they would have obtained before they consented to surrender their privileges and liberties as intellectual beings. (Hear, hear.) I believe that at the present time the condition of the tenant-farmers of this kingdom is deplorably bad; and I am satisfied that it is not likely to improve under the restrictive laws now in force. (Cheers.) Another consequence of these laws, and an evil consequent upon the present state of agriculture, is, that there is by far too small a demand for agricultural labour. I will tell you how I prove this statement. The landowners of this country—as our friend Mr. Cobden very aptly and properly said in the House of Commons the other night—have certain old-fashioned notions which they do not like to break through; and having derived their rents, as they imagine, from the Corn Laws, they are apprehensive that the repeal of these Corn Laws would compel them to surrender these old-fashioned notions, and hence they stand up for them. In the first place, then, I maintain that one effect of these legislative restrictions is a bad system of agriculture. Since I left Bristol this afternoon, I am satisfied that I passed over thousands and thousands of acres of land which, by a comparatively small but judicious outlay of capital, might be made to produce more than double what it now does, thereby calling into demand a greater amount of agricultural labour, and thus benefiting that class of the community. (Loud cheers.) As our friend Mr. Cobden very properly said, the landowners of this kingdom, as a class, have a great dislike to the conversion of their old pastures into tillage-land; but it is known by all who have paid attention to the subject, and I believe all good farmers will admit the fact, that one hundred acres even of the poorest pasture-land, properly managed and brought into tillage, would not only give employment to a much greater number of labourers, and circulate a large amount of money in the improvement of this land, but the produce would be, in many instances, more than doubled; and labour, also, would be required not only at the outset, but permanently. (Hear, hear.) Speaking of the agriculture of this kingdom as a whole, I believe that by any improved or better system of farming—I think I am very much below the mark but I, at all times, dislike to exaggerate—I believe, if the land of this country were properly cultivated as it should be, that it would yield the largest amount of return for the capital expended on it,—that where one agricultural labourer is now employed, we should want at least three, and that not temporarily, but permanently. (Cheers.) You must know that in the cultivation of land under the best system, not only is greater capital required, but more labour is necessary; that the returns are larger, and consequently, that the net profit is greater. Now, I apprehend—and those of us who are tenant-farmers, and advocate the repeal of the Corn Law, all believe—that the landowners of this country,—who at present consider that their interests depend upon these laws, and that they of course could not look to them for protection if they were repealed—they would be driven—as they ought to be, in my opinion, and as the manufacturer is—to improve the article from which they derive their income; and hence a larger amount of labour would be called into requisition. (Loud cheers.) But I would also tell you, that notwithstanding what the President of the Board of Trade said recently in the House of Commons respecting the landlords taking their farms into their own hands, and so forth, although I admit there may be exceptions to that which I am about to state, yet, speaking of them as a class, they cannot cultivate their own land, because they have not the means. (Loud cheers.) Well, then, if we should have by the repeal of the Corn Laws—as I most assuredly believe would be the case—a very improved state of agriculture, that must be effected by a judicious outlay of capital, generally speaking, by the tenant-farmers; and these farmers would only consent to that outlay under the protection of long leases, the granting of which would destroy that which is one main ingredient in the present system of the political tyranny which exists among landlords. (Loud cheers.) I should just like to show you how the thing works under the present system, which is usually that of annual leases. Every good farmer, while he farms for himself, must, of necessity, farm also for his landlord; no farmer can farm well without improving the property of the owner of the soil. If a man, under the present system, lays out a large sum of money in the improvement of his land, trusting to the kindness and forbearance of his landlord, expecting that he will not take advantage of him, why, under peculiar circumstances, his expectations may be realized. But, on the other hand, death may intervene; the property may change hands, and thus the tenant may be prevented, from various circumstances, from reaping that which he had sown. But the thing in the present day, and under the present system, works in a much more injurious manner than even this. If a farmer invest £300, or £400, or £500 in the improvement of his farm, and an election comes on, his landlord forwards to his agent, probably, a letter; the agent sends to the tenant "the Duke of So-and-so's compliments," or "Mr. So-and-so's compliments, and would feel

obliged by his voting for So-and-so." If he neglect or refuse to vote as he is requested he receives a notice to quit. The consequence of this condition is that he has to subvert to this political degradation, or to take the chance of being turned out of his farm, with his property remaining in its soil. I believe that the repeal of the Corn Laws would certainly effect much improvement in the agriculture of the kingdom, which can only be effected, generally speaking, as I said before, by investment of capital by the tenant-farmers. This they would only do under the protection of leases, which I imagine is the great obstacle to the repeal of the Corn Laws in the minds of a large proportion of the landowners at the present time. But I am bold to inquire also—and I would ask the question in any meeting of tenant-farmers—what have we as tenant-farmers done for ourselves? There are none of us who have grown rich; many of us have become poor; and a large proportion of us are struggling on and suffering in many instances great privation. (Hear, hear.) While protection is continued, let us see—for it should be shown to us most clearly—that that protection which it is said is afforded to the farmer has been productive of benefit to us. We are told at these protection meetings that upon the repeal of the Corn Laws such and such consequences would follow. They ought to show us that under the present system we are deriving great advantages, which I believe they would fail in showing. Then, again, great sympathy is expressed at these meetings for the agricultural labourers. I yield to no man in a desire to benefit not only the agricultural labourer, but the working classes of my fellow-countrymen of every kind. (Cheers.) I am bold to give it you as my opinion that, speaking of the agricultural labourers of this kingdom as a whole—there may be exceptions, and those exceptions will be found in the neighbourhood of large cities, towns, and manufacturing districts, where they receive much better and higher wages than they do in the purely agricultural parts of the country—the nearer to a manufacturing town the greater the number of manufacturers, or more contiguous to populous cities, there the rate of wages is the highest; and in proportion as you recede from those places towards the purely agricultural districts, there the wages are the lowest. I say, that having paid considerable attention to the subject, and speaking of the agricultural labourers of this kingdom as a body, I believe that, at the present time, their rate of living is very much below that of paupers in our union workhouses. In the county from which I come—Gloucestershire—which is not considered as one of the lowest in this respect, there are hundreds of families living at this present time, on 7s. a week. (Cries of "Shame.") There are districts in Somersetshire, also, where, I am told, they are receiving no more. In these localities, complaints are made by the farmers that they cannot keep their property—their gates and stiles, and so forth—from being carried away. I tell them, in reply, that it is for this very reason: the poor say they must live, that the rate of wages which they are receiving does not enable them to provide themselves with the necessaries of life, and at the same time with fuel; and, consequently, they are driven to thieving. This must, and I may say does, produce a very demoralizing effect upon those classes. But there is one sure criterion to which you may direct the Duke of Richmond or any other protectionist, in order to prove whether what I have said is correct or not. I believe, taking the average of the kingdom, the weekly expense of maintaining the poor in our workhouses is somewhat about 2s. per head, not including any charge for rent. According to this rate, an able-bodied labourer, his wife, and four children, living in the workhouse, would be maintained at a public cost of 12s. a week, exclusive of rent; and if we add 1s. 6d. for rent, it would make it 13s. 6d.; this, I believe, taking the average of the kingdom, is about half as much again as the independent labourers are earning out of doors. (Hear, hear.) These gentlemen talk about the condition of the agricultural labourers, and since I first spoke on the question at our county meeting at Gloucester, I have had many of them conversing with me, and calling me to account for what I then said, and I have asked every one of them who has spoken to me, "Will you tell me how often you consider your agricultural labourers eat meat?" They invariably answered, "We cannot tell." (Hear, hear.) I have asked them, "Do you think they taste fresh meat once a month?" and I have not met with a single farmer who could look me honestly in the face and say, "I believe my labourers do taste fresh meat once a month." I give it as my honest and conscientious opinion, that, speaking of the large proportion of the agricultural labourers, neither they nor their children taste fresh meat anything like so often as once a month. (Loud cries of "Shame.") One of the tenants of the Duke of Beaufort recently admitted this fact to me; he said, carrying his argument rather too far for his own purpose in endeavouring to prove the goodness of his position in reply to my question, "Do not talk of the agricultural labourers not tasting fresh meat! I know scores of farmers who cannot get it." (Loud laughter and cheers.) And yet all this is carried on, remember, and this state of things exists under what is called a system of protection to agriculture, which we must cry out for ever to maintain. (Loud cheers.) Well, then, I believe in the first place, that farmers would be extremely benefited by the repeal of these laws, in consequence of the change it would compel in the present system of agriculture. Upon this point I wish farmers to remember—and if I could speak to persons of that class, I should say the same thing—that they have been in serious error in estimating their ability to make their rent from corn, and corn alone. If we have received a higher price for our corn under some circumstances, what has been the case with other things? What has been the price of other produce—our cheese, butter, and those articles which I consider only as necessaries, and which ought to be within the reach of every poor man, but which, under the present system, must be regarded as luxuries by them. How often do they get these articles; and, in consequence of their not getting them, how have the farmers' prices of stock been depreciated? This is a part of the subject which occasions to my mind at times, when I think of it, infinite pain. The difference in the rate of living which may be experienced by the same class of persons under different circumstances, is, to me, truly awful to contemplate. (Hear, hear.) A few years ago, while the iron trade in Lancashire was very brisk, there was a demand for all kinds of agricultural produce from that neighbourhood; not only was the whole district round, around the

glens, but we had butchers and shopkeepers from all quarters coming to Bristol for vegetables, cheese, butter, flour, and all such things; and not only so, but we had butchers coming to Bristol market, taking every week live stock to the amount of several hundred pounds, for sale in those manufacturing districts. At that time no one contended that the mechanics were living luxuriously; they did but live, and live decently. Since the change in the state of that trade, not only has Bristol market been entirely forsaken by this class of purchasers, but stock is actually brought from that quarter into our markets; and I believe that the consumption of produce in that iron-manufacturing district, for the last eighteen months or two years, has not been much more than one-third what it was in prosperous times. (Hear, hear.) This is a painful subject, as I said before, because it shows that it is considered that the mechanics there did but live before, and you see what a deplorable state they must be in now. (Hear, hear.) We are told, also, by many who advocate this protection, that a repeal of the Corn Laws would lower the price of wages; but I believe the effect would be very different: the price of wages, as Sir Robert Peel stated, must be regulated by the world's market; demand and supply must and will settle the price of labour at all times. (Loud cheers.) That is found to be the case at the present time; we farmers, when we have an increased demand for labour in the summer season, are obliged to pay higher wages than we do in winter: at the latter period, when there is less demand for labour, wages are considerably lower than at other times, and this result must inevitably follow. If, then, a repeal of the Corn Laws would lead to the improvement of the system of agriculture, it would call into demand an amazing amount of labour; three men would be required where only one is now employed.—I believe in that respect I am under the mark,—and, as a necessary consequence, we must, at least, pay as good, if not higher, wages than we do at the present time. (Hear, hear.) This is so self-evident to my own mind that I am quite astonished any one should dispute the proposition. I wish to be distinctly understood upon this point, that my brother-farmers may know I maintain that the abolition of the Corn Laws would improve our system of agriculture, call into demand a greater amount of agricultural labour, and hence the prosperity of England would be very much increased. I am perfectly ready to admit that if the Corn Laws were repealed, and, at the same time, the farmers and landowners pursued the present negligent system of management, which is by far too common, that the agriculturists, as a body, must go down; but I believe we should be driven not to our wit's ends, but to exercise our wit's ingenuity, and by so doing we should be able to do as the manufacturers have already done—to keep pace with the times. (Loud and continued cheering.) It is not my intention to detain you many minutes longer, because I know you are expecting to hear a gentleman whom it has been my pleasure to listen to many times. (Renewed cheering, and cries of "Go on.") From what I have said, you will easily be able to gather my sentiments upon this important subject. You will see that the opinions which I have expressed also militate very much against the argument which is used by many, that a great deal of land will be thrown out of cultivation by a repeal of the Corn Laws. Those men who call themselves the farmers' friends—these very men, I say, have proved themselves to be false prophets before; and hence it is that I must take leave very much to doubt what they say at the present time. The Duke of Richmond, who wishes now to be our champion, if I am not mistaken, a few years ago said that, if the duty were taken off wool, we should have no mutton to eat, and that our sheep walks would all be thrown out of use; and yet, in the face of that statement, wool has increased in value, and the number of sheep has increased also. There was a time when the agriculturists of this very county, I believe, petitioned against the improvement of the roads leading to the metropolis, because they said it would lessen the value of their land; and yet all experience has proved that their lands, and all other land, is very much increased in value by facility of communication with towns. These men also claim particularly to be our friends. Before the last general election they did the very same thing; they went to the farmers in the counties and said, "No surrender! the Corn Laws as they are!" and the farmers, under the influence of their landlords, returned a monopolist House of Commons. I believe no set of men were ever so deceived as the farmers were on that occasion: and I am convinced that within six months after the passing of the last Corn Bill, and the alteration in the tariff, if the independent voice of the farmers of this country could have been taken, that ninety-nine out of every hundred would have said, "Sir Robert Peel is a bad doctor, and we will call in a fresh physician if you please." (Cheers and laughter.) And yet these very men who profess to have been deceived on this question are now rallying round these identical farmers' friends, in the shape of agricultural protection societies. I rejoice in the formation of these associations, because I believe that they must either now be driven to discuss the question, or, if they remain silent, confess themselves beaten. Truth need fear nothing from discussion. I acknowledge that, from all I have read, I have never yet been able to meet with anything like what I could consider an argument on the question in favour of protection. Such a state of things as this, I believe, cannot last much longer; and then, as I said before, they will be driven to discuss the question. This discussion, I have no fear, will tend to elicit the very same information which would have been brought out by the committee moved for by Mr. Cobden, had it been granted. (Loud cheers.) I have forgotten the name of the member who used the expression, but, I believe in the debate which took place on our friend's motion, some member said, that there was a Mr. Day, who had been to some meeting, and had shattered the arguments of the Anti-Corn-Law League to pieces. I hope these protection societies will let in on our dark minds this light of Day (laughter and cheers), and, if they can, convince us of our error; but I confess to you I am very apprehensive they much fear their ability to do any such thing, and for this reason:—some of you, perhaps, recollect that a few weeks ago there was a county meeting held in Somersetshire. Though not living in that county, I attended, thinking I might pick up some information which, as a farmer, might be valuable to me. A more conclusive refutation of the principles of protection which were advocated at that meet-

ing, I never heard, and a more triumphant decision by any assembly I believe was never arrived at. These protection societies have hitherto invariably precluded discussion. A few days after the Somersetshire county meeting and that of Gloucester, a society of this sort was established in Bristol. From the advertisement calling the meeting I considered—and some of my brother farmers were of the same opinion—that every man who professed himself a farmer and agriculturist had a right to attend and discuss the question, and we resolved to do so. We applied to the intended chairman, and we were told—"No discussion, gentlemen, if you please." (Laughter.) If we had gone there, and the question had been fairly discussed, I have no doubt that the majority of those present would have determined to form a society for the protection of agriculture in connexion with the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Loud and continued cheering.) In reference to that meeting I will just observe that I believe some London papers—our *Mark-lane Express* I know—boasted largely of the presence of 600 farmers, literally crowded into a room that would scarcely hold 200. (Laughter.) Whilst, then, I rejoice in the hope that discussion will be elicited by these societies, I am afraid they are very much disinclined for it. I should have noticed, had time permitted, some of the objections and arguments which are used by these protectionists as affecting taxes, and a variety of subjects which I shall not now refer to, any further than to this one point. A great deal has been said about the taxes which the farmers pay. I believe that farmers do not pay an inordinate or improper proportion of taxes; but I wish to show you what, in my opinion, has been the effect of the remissions of some of the taxes which have been made, professedly for their benefit. These landed gentlemen are wise in their generation, and they know very well that they can only reasonably expect their rents from the surplus of the farm produce after the expense of its cultivation and maintenance are paid. They know that the charges of cultivation must first be paid. If a riding horse or a shepherd dog is wanted, and a tax is laid on it, they know, in point of fact, that that tax must come out of the rent, because it would lessen the surplus; they therefore very ingeniously remitted the taxes on our riding horses, our windows to a certain amount, and also on our shepherd dogs, knowing, as I believe they did, that such remission would be so much augmentation of their rents. This I am satisfied is the real fact of the case. Now, from what I have said you will see that I am opposed to these laws from purely interested motives, letting alone any higher consideration. But you may also gather from what I have said that I am opposed to them because I believe them to be immoral and inequitable laws. I consider they are immoral as regards our labouring population; and I hold them to be inequitable, inasmuch as they were imposed for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many. (Loud cheers.) On these high grounds alone, independent of any other consideration, I argue for the abrogation of these laws. Rather than live on the wages of industry, I would doff my coat and go to work to-morrow. (Renewed cheers.) The religious society with which I am connected interfere, comparatively speaking, but little with politics. I myself consider that this subject ought to be discussed calmly and deliberately, apart from politics. If I were to express my political creed perhaps I should not agree with many, and I might go further than most; but I look to measures and not to men. I would simply state my creed to be *civil, religious, and commercial equality*. (Loud cheers.) Whilst, then, I disclaim any political feeling, I would also candidly and openly avow, that I advocate the repeal of these laws from a belief that they are injurious to my own interests, that they are injurious to the poor, and also that they are decidedly unjust. I wish my brother farmers calmly and seriously to investigate and inquire into the matter. I hope and trust the Anti-Corn-Law League will not relax their efforts in enlightening my brother farmers on this question; let them go into counties and hold their meetings. If they could only employ a few good practical farmers as lecturers in this cause, I believe they would do an immense amount of good at the present time. (Hear, hear.) I know that the minds of the farmers are now very much alive to the subject, and that serious inquiries are going on among them in respect to it. I have also reason to know that the effect of our county meeting in Gloucester has been entirely to change the opinion of many farmers who were before decided opponents of the repeal of these laws. I wish to encourage the League to the continuance of their valuable labours, and I desire my brother farmers seriously and calmly to investigate this subject and to act independently. I would persuade them, if I could, that the principal element of power is knowledge. Let them acquire this knowledge, let them become enlightened on this subject, and then I would only ask of them to do what their conscience would dictate, and become free in every sense of the word. I would say to them, remember, that he only is a freeman whom knowledge on this question makes free. (Mr. Hunt resumed his seat amidst loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN rose and said that he had now the pleasure of calling upon Mr. Cobden to address them.

Mr. COBDEN then came forward amidst the most enthusiastic and frequently-renewed cheering and waving of hats and handkerchiefs, which prevented the honourable gentleman for some time from addressing the assembly. Silence having been obtained he proceeded as follows:—My lord, ladies, and gentlemen, I think you will now be at no loss to understand why it was that I was refused a parliamentary committee to inquire into the condition of the tenant-farmer and farm-labourer. (Hear.) I have now come from that assembly to which I alluded, and appear before you as a court of appeal. The gentlemen who have just addressed you are our first witnesses. (Cheers.) You have been addressed to-night by two *bona fide* real live farmers. (Laughter.) As to their talents as speakers, judge for yourselves. I have had an opportunity of visiting the farm of one of those gentlemen, although I have not yet had the same privilege with respect to the other; but I have been over Mr. Lattimore's farm at Whethampstead, in Hertfordshire, and I challenge his brother farmers in that county to tell me whether I am not correct in saying that he is one of the best practical farmers in that county. (A voice, "He is.") Nay, more: I will undertake to say, although in that gentleman's presence, that his farm produces on an average in the year one-third more crops than are ordinarily raised upon the same acreage in his parish, and that he employs

twice as many labourers as are commonly employed upon the same surface of land. (Cheers.) But, ladies and gentlemen, this is only the beginning of the evidence which we intend to lay before you, obtained from the lips of practical agriculturists, as to the real nature of the benefit which the Corn Laws confer upon their order. You have heard some statements to-night respecting the agricultural labourers; I wish we could bring a few of them upon this platform, and let you see the garments of those men whom we are told are "the best of home customers for the manufacturer." (Hear, hear.) Our friend, Mr. Hunt, has told us, that at the protection meetings which are now being held in every part of the country discussion upon this subject is not allowed. No, gentlemen; examination into this subject is not liked by the landlords, either at county meetings or in Parliament. I have courted discussion at all my county meetings for Free Trade. I have held twenty-eight open-air meetings in as many counties, inviting all comers, at all of which I was invariably glad to find an opponent. (Hear, hear.) Some mention has lately been made of one Mr. Day, of Huntingdon. I believe that a nobleman—the Duke of Richmond—stated in his place in the House of Lords, that I ran away from Mr. Day at Huntingdon. This statement is only one of those slips which his grace is in the habit of making. The fact is, I was not at Huntingdon at all; it was the only place which I did not happen to visit. Huntingdon is the only locality in which we were ever outnumbered by a majority. I do not mention this, however, to take any credit for myself, but I allude to it for the purpose of accounting for the defeat, on that occasion, upon another hypothesis. Somehow or other, Huntingdon has always been a little behind the other counties of England. (Hear, hear.) It is a curious historical fact connected with that county, that it was the last place where they burnt old women for witchcraft. (Laughter.) It is a remarkable circumstance, but nevertheless true, that up to this day a sermon is annually preached in Huntingdon by a fellow of one of the colleges of Cambridge, who goes there once a year for that purpose, in fulfilment of a bequest made by some charitable person—against the sin of witchcraft. (Loud laughter.) Do not you think it would be a pious act for some man to perform, in making his will, to institute a second foundation, by which another of these fellows of Queen's College, Cambridge, should be required to preach a sermon every year against the Corn Laws? (Hear.) For I do not see much difference between burning old women for witchcraft and starving poor old women and little children by bad laws. While I am upon this subject of the Duke of Richmond's high authority, Mr. Day, I may mention that the protectionists have been very extensively circulating a pamphlet written by that gentleman with very great industry and ingenuity,—I wish I could say with as much truth and candour,—in which he has gone through all the speeches that we have made for the last five years—and it is no slight task; I give him credit for his industry; and out of that heap of rubbish—for I must say that we have talked a great deal of nonsense in past times—he has collected everything that he could find least worthy of being recorded. By ingeniously transposing sentences and suppressing dates, this person most dexterously manages to give a totally different meaning to that which the speakers had intended. I need not to trouble you with more than one instance. Mr. Day wants to prove my inconsistency; and how do you think he attempts to do it? He first quotes from a speech in which I told the operatives of Lancashire, that they ought to have their bread at one-third, or thirty-three per cent. less than what they were at that time paying. He then makes an extract from another speech of mine, in which I stated to the farmers of Bedfordshire, that I did not think with a free trade in corn that their corn would be cheaper *than it then was*. Now, though he gives a date to the first quotation, which was in 1810, when wheat was upwards of 70s. a quarter, he does not mention the time of the second extract from my speech, at Bedford, which was delivered only last June, when wheat had fallen more than thirty-three per cent., being at that time only 47s. per quarter. (Hear, hear.)

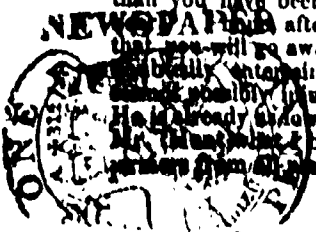
Some little interruption was here caused by an individual in the meeting, which produced a general call for his expulsion from the theatre.

Mr. COBDEN resumed: No, no; we never turn any one out here; we wish our opponents to stay, that we may put some common sense into their heads. (Laughter.) I think I have shown you that Mr. Day is about as good a pamphleteer as the Duke of Richmond could find, and one whom I should think that nobleman would do well to quote from frequently for the future. Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard to-night the statement of our agricultural case. Some persons have been at a loss to understand how Free Trade would benefit the merchant, manufacturer, and consumer, without lowering the price of food. All these individuals invariably proceed upon the erroneous assumption that we have already enough to eat. (Hear, hear.) They forget that under the present system, regularly and constantly, there are at least 10,000,000 people in these islands who never have a sufficiency of food (hear, hear); and that the growers of wheat—for that is their darling pet article—are raising their produce for the subsistence of not more than 20,000,000, at all events, out of the 28,000,000 of our population. By this restrictive and suicidal system, the rest of the community are thrown out of the market for wheat, and are compelled to live upon potatoes, oatmeal, barley bread, or beans. (Cries of "Shame.") We say, let these people into the markets—bring them into a condition to become consumers of your wheat—and then you may sell all you now grow to the people who are at present your customers, and also bring your paupers into a state in which they may earn wherewithal to buy the wheat which is brought from abroad. A calculation was given to me the other day by a very large biscuit baker, and a statement like this is worth something as coming from a practical man. He says—"If you give to the people of these islands 24 ounces more bread a day, it will amount to 3,000,000 quarters of wheat. If you allow the 10,000,000 of your population who have an insufficient supply of food to have the workhouse allowance in addition to that which they already have, it would amount to an importation of 10,000,000 quarters of wheat." (Hear.) This is the compensation we offer to the landowners and farmers of this country, if they will allow the people to prosper, instead of determining, as they now do, that they will have paupers to subsist upon their land, whereas they might have them for customers in the towns. (Cheers.) But there

are periods when corn is sold as low—pay, lower—in this country under the present system of the Corn Law than it would be with a perfectly Free Trade at all; because, when you have famine seasons—as you must always have if you will limit your supply to this narrow island, with its capricious climate, in which you very often have three or four years of famine in succession, as we had from 1838 to 1842—what is the consequence? Why, you starve down your population; you banish them from the country. (Hear, hear.) I tell all those farmers who would like to have their customers at home, that, during the four years from 1838 to 1842, no less than 500,000 people emigrated from this land to find food in other countries. ("Hear, hear," and cries of "Shame.") At the termination of these periods of dearth, when there has been but one good harvest, the agriculturists are astonished to find that they have not customers ready to consume the extra produce of their land. Why, the fact is that they have in the meantime been destroying their customers; bringing the labouring classes down to potatoes and oatmeal, and sending away every man who could get the money to carry himself off to those countries which are not cursed with a Corn Law. (Loud cheers.) Now, I am of opinion—and I have stated the same sentiment in the House of Commons, where I am not in the habit of paying compliments, or saying anything that would be too pleasing to its members—that neither landlords, farmers, nor labourers, have derived any benefit from this system. (Hear, hear.) I believe that land would be more valuable in this country if you had at once an entire abolition of the Corn Laws. I applied to the Government last autumn, and asked them to send out to Switzerland, and instruct our ambassador there to obtain accurate accounts of the value of the land in that country, which I am prepared to say is worth more than that in England; and yet in Switzerland there is a perfectly free trade in corn. (Cheers.) I say most unfeignedly, that if I were going to take a farm upon a twenty-one years' lease, I would rather have it at the present rental, if the Corn Laws were abolished to-morrow, than I would place upon myself the burden of cultivating the land if I knew this system of restriction would continue (hear); because, in the first place, I should be sure that I should be surrounded by a prosperous community, capable of consuming all I could produce; but I would not confine myself to the production of old-fashioned wheat. In the other case, I should dread the retribution which is coming on the land and the farmers—in the shape of pauperism, the income-tax, and rates of every description, county rates as well as general taxes—which, if this system continues, threatens to render the land valueless both to landlords and tenants. (Loud cheers.) With these convictions in our minds, and backed as we are by the most intelligent landowners and farmers, why need we continue to treat this as a class question? (Hear, hear.) We will not do so. We are no longer a body of manufacturers and traders; we have the best of the landlords and farmers with us. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) I do not despair yet of representing the county of Buckingham in Parliament. (Laughter.) The time is not far distant when the landowners will be just as anxious to claim for themselves the merit of being Free Traders, as we find now in the House of Commons a body of West Indian proprietors standing up and virtuously professing their abhorrence of slavery. (Laughter.) You see what we have done for agriculture already. Look what the League is doing to promote, at this very time, the best interests of agriculture, by the improvement of tillage. Who can go through the country without seeing that beautiful spectacle—the red draining-tiles—sparkling upon the surface of the land in all directions. (Hear.) If we have done all this by exciting the mere *fright* of Free Trade, what would *Free Trade itself* do for the land? (Cheers.) I had a letter the other day from Northumberland, in which the writer, who is himself connected with agriculture, tells me that the manufacturers of agricultural implements, draining-tiles, agricultural chemists, and persons of that class connected with scientific improvements of that description, ought to subscribe and present me with a piece of plate for what I had done for their interests; and he says he will be bound that the Duke of Buckingham would subscribe to it. (Laughter.) Picture to yourself a candle-labrum standing on a tripod! (Renewed laughter.) What shall we have for the design? Why, a plough at one corner, a power-loom at another, and a ship at a third. There would then be the union of manufactures, commerce, and agriculture. (Renewed laughter.) I have no doubt we shall all shake hands upon this question in less than five years from this time (hear, hear), and therefore I am anxious that we should make the repeal of the Corn Laws less and less of a class question, and take in more and more of agriculture in the view which we have of it. (Cheers.) I say the agricultural ground is the strongest upon which we can stand. Why, you have heard what has been said to-night relative to the present condition of the farmers. A gentleman upon the platform told me just now that he was in company the other day in the south with fifty farmers, and a wise man at his elbow whispered in his ear and said, "There are not two out of the whole fifty men who will not be bankrupts in less than three years." You have also heard what has been said of the condition of the landowners,—that they cannot cultivate their own land, inasmuch as they have not got the means. (Hear.) I was once at a large dinner in a midland county upon the occasion of a ploughing match. The company were very free and joyous after dinner. There were present a miller, a land-valuer, and a worthy baronet, and they talked very freely upon the circumstances and condition of the farmers in the county. I listened attentively to the discussion, the result of which was that they all agreed that if the tenantry of the county were sold up they would not be found solvent. The conversation subsequently turned upon the landowners, and the result of this discussion also manifestly was, that if the landlords of the county were sold up, they too would not be found to be solvent. Having listened to all their statements, I ventured to make this remark:—"Well, gentlemen, you have had all your own way for this last twenty-eight years, and it does not appear that you have been able to take care of yourselves; now, let us Free-Traders have a turn, and we will see if we can do better for you than you have been able to do for yourselves." (Hear, hear.) After the evidence we have had to-night, that you will go away with this impression, which I unfeignedly entertain, that what we ask in Free Trade is not a possibility, it is the agricultural labourer. (Hear.) He is already doing as he can be. You have heard from Mr. Villiers, I believe would be verified by intelligent persons from all parts of the country,—that if your land

was cultivated, not up to an imaginary picture—not up to the pitch of garden cultivation—although you never can stop in improvement till you come to that,—but if the land of England was cultivated up to the point at which the farmers in the north of England—I mean in North Northumberland and in Scotland—have brought their farms, that the land in this country would then produce double what it does now, and would yield three times the demand for labour which it does at present. (Cheers.) You have also heard some statements relative to the superstitious reverence which the landowners have for their acres; that they will not allow a change to be made in their estates which may be even displeasing to the eye. (Hear.) They will not only not suffer the avenues of trees to their mansions to be touched—one would not quarrel with that—but even will not allow the removal of those which are scattered over their estates, blighting the crops, interrupting the sun, and foiling the best efforts of the farmer. Not only will they indulge in such fantastical luxuries, but they will not allow the green pastures to be ploughed up, because their grandfathers before them looked on that pasture, and they will, therefore, continue to look at it till it actually becomes not grass but moss. I say this superstitious veneration for land as it is, would disappear before that stern necessity which must be imposed on the owners of the soil, when they see they have no other means of deriving rents to meet their mortgages and show themselves at the accustomed periods in the West-end circles, but by looking upon land as traders regard the commodities in which they deal, as something which, by the application of science, skill, and capital, they may draw the utmost possible produce from. I ask these farmers present, what is it that is most wanted in land on England? They will tell you, capital. ("Hear, hear," from Mr. Lattimore and Mr. Hunt.") By capital I mean not sacks of money; they would be useless; but what is wanted is more sheep; five, where there is now but one; three heads of cattle where there is now but one; better plough and harrows; under-draining in every acre. That is the capital they want, and that capital would be valueless unless it were allied with labour to give it a constant increasing production. (Cheers.) Now, I ask, how it is that there is not capital on the land necessary for its proper cultivation? Why, in this country, at the present moment, there is a positive *plethora* of capital. Money is down to two per cent.; every trade and manufacture is over-ridden by competitors having capital and wanting employment. Yet the complaint is that you agriculturists have not capital enough to till your land. Why is it? There must be a reason for it. You have heard the cause in the explanation of these intelligent agriculturists: they want security in the application of that capital. (Loud cheers.) This Corn Law, which they say is for the benefit of the agriculturists, deters the capital from being invested in land, because upon the Corn Law rests those other monstrous evils and grievances to which Mr. Lattimore and Mr. Hunt have referred. The landowners, not trusting to capital, skill, or the application of science to their land, what do they rely on? Why, the Corn Law. And how can they maintain it? By political means alone; by compelling their tenants in subjection as tenants-at-will they make every thing subservient to political power, and political power wholly subservient to the maintenance of the Corn Law; and, thus revolving in a vicious circle, the Corn Law is made to react on cultivation: thus it is at the basis not only of bad farming, but of the very humiliating grievances which the farmers labour under. It is not our business here to talk of game, but of corn; but if the landowners pass a law by which they prevent the people of these islands from being supplied with food from other countries, they invite an inquiry as to how they use that land upon which alone they insist that we shall be fed; and if we find that they are wasting the produce of the soil for their own senseless amusement, and denying the people the right of getting food elsewhere, then the game, parks, and every other arrangement they have about their estates, become a fair question of consideration. (Cheers.) When I was in Scotland recently, at a public meeting in Cupar in the county of Fife, a farmer sent a letter to me, which I read at the meeting; he gave me his name, which was published. This person was a tenant of Captain Wemyss, the member for that county. He stated that he and two other farmers rented 700 Scotch acres adjoining the preserves of that gentleman, and that he had a clause in his agreement by which he was entitled to receive compensation for damage done by the game, to be assessed annually by valuers to be agreed upon. He told me this astounding fact, which has never been contradicted, that in the year 1841, they received as compensation for destruction done to the crops upon that 700 Scotch acres—only one-fourth of which being in crop could be damaged by the game—£700; and yet he said that was not an equivalent to him for his loss, that nothing could compensate the farmers for the damage done by game; for it not only destroyed the crop of the year, but it poisoned the land for future crops, and it spoiled the fruits of not merely one year's labour, but the efforts of four years' preparation of the crop which was destroyed by the game. I have taken some pains to inquire as to the amount of damage done by game in this country. I have had intelligent farmers who have given me as their opinion, that, taking into account turnips, corn, and other things injured, the produce destroyed by game every year in this land would be equal to 2,000,000 quarters of corn. If we are not to be supplied with corn elsewhere, I say we have a right to call on the landowner to destroy these vermin that are eating up the corn which the people ought to have. (Loud cheers.) I am glad to find our agricultural friends here have put their brother farmers on the right scent: instead of being hallooed on by their political landlords to run hooting after the League, as a bugbear set up to amuse them, let them stick to grievances nearer home; let them call these politicians to account for their game-preserves. What is the system? A landlord lets his farm to a tenant: one of the clauses in the agreement states, that the game—rabbits, hares, &c.—are to be carefully preserved for the landlord and his friends. What does the landlord do then? He lets the manor to somebody else, to have the privilege of shooting and hunting over this land, which he has let to the farming tenant. There is one tenant who preserves the game, and another tenant over him, who has the privilege of destroying that game, without ever having paid the expense of its keep; and that is an ordinary and common process carried on. Therefore, I say, let the farmer look to those glaring evils near home; he would then find that our grievances are his grievances, our interests his interests. Now, at this late hour, I should be sorry to

detain you. (Cheers, and cries of "Go on, go on.") But I have had transmitted to me from the United States of America a speech delivered by a senator of that country; and I am sure it would be gratifying to him as an ardent advocate of Free Trade there, to find that we reciprocate his sentiments from so gorgeous an assembly as this. The gentleman I allude to is named M'Duffie, and he has been for twenty years the Villiers of the Legislature of the United States. (Cheers.) He has sent me a copy of a speech he delivered last January. The people in America appear to be just precisely occupying the same ground against manufacturing monopolists which we maintain here against landowning monopolists. Fifteen millions of the people are there tyrannized over by a mere fraction of the community, who have managed to get possession of the political power, in order to uphold what is called "protection to native industry." (Laughter.) Now, these 15,000,000 of the community depend for their subsistence upon agriculture; they have the broad lands of the great West, where 200,000,000 human beings might subsist in comfort on the soil, without forge, factory, spinning-jenny, or power-loom; yet a few thousand men, who have established manufactures, have persuaded that country, with its universal suffrage and vote by ballot, to adopt the system of protection, and thereby deprive their own backs of clothing, as we have managed to allow our stomachs to be deprived of food. (Loud cries of "Shame.") They have an oligarchy of calico-printers in America. Mr. M'Duffie begins his attack upon the manufacturing monopolists in this way:—"A large proportion of the prints and calicoes consumed in the United States, and of which every female of the middle and poorer classes is a consumer, cost, in Manchester, from 6 to 12 cents a yard; but they are charged with duties of from 75 to 150 per cent. by the ingenious contrivance of an artificial and false valuation." Just like our sliding scale. "These articles are used by the wives and daughters of every farmer, planter, and labourer in the United States, who have no false pride to prevent it; and it is difficult to estimate the immense quantity which would be imported and consumed under a moderate duty. But when these articles come to the Custom-house, the importer is required to pay from 2½ to 6 times their original cost; not to raise revenue, but to exclude them altogether, and give the domestic manufacturers the exclusive right to supply the market at their own prices." That is our case completely. Change manufacturers of prints to growers of corn, and Mr. M'Duffie might be supposed to be Mr. Villiers talking in the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) Here is the way in which he apostrophizes the oligarchy of the madder hogshead:—"Can they, consistently with their constitutional power—with any principle of sound policy, and without violating the principles of everlasting justice—permit their statute-book to be longer tarnished by a law imposing these unrighteous burdens, not for the legitimate purpose of raising revenue, but for taking money out of the pockets of one class of the community and putting it into those of another?" That is our case again completely. But Mr. M'Duffie goes on to state what are the arguments used by the protectionists there in defence of their monopoly; and, really, the Duke of Buckingham himself, if sent to the United States, could not have got his fallacies more completely by heart than they seem to have. (Laughter.) They tell Mr. M'Duffie that America must be independent of foreigners; they appeal to their national pride, and maintain that it is for the dignity of a great nation that they should make their own calicoes and gown pieces, or else they would be no longer independent of foreigners. (Laughter.) I think Mr. M'Duffie's answer to these statements is worthy of being repeated to this assembly. He says, "Mutual dependence between nations, created by the exchanges of an extensive commercial intercourse, is the highest state of political independence that can exist between the civilized nations of the earth. Mutual commercial dependence is mutual political independence. And I undertake to say, with all becoming solemnity, that God has not, in all His merciful dispensations, conferred any greater temporal blessing upon the human race than by that which has given rise to commercial intercourse among nations, substituting the usual blessings of prosperity, peace and good will, in the place of the curses of war, desolation, and a mutual spirit of hatred and revenge." (Loud cheers.) I look a little farther, and find the arguments with which he has to combat. I perceive that the manufacturers of the Birmingham of America say, "You must look to your home trade: you are sure of your own home trade,—that is actually at your doors. Would you risk your home trade for the sake of foreign dependency?" Then Mr. M'Duffie reasons, and Mr. Villiers speaks again. He says, "Distance makes no difference. Our natural markets—derived, not from human charters, but from the providence of God—are Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and the other manufacturing towns of Europe. When you cut us off from these, you perpetrate the same injustice as if you were to prohibit the Massachusetts farmer from dealing with a neighbouring manufactory, by a prohibitory duty on their exchanges." Why, nothing could be sounder or better than this reasoning. We reciprocate with Mr. M'Duffie, and say, "Our natural market—derived, not from charters or acts of Parliament, but from the fiat of the Omnipotent himself—is the broad valley of the Mississippi, and that the corn which is grown there is as much ours by right, if we can produce in exchange for it the manufactures of Leeds, Birmingham, or Manchester, as that grown in the county of Buckingham itself." (Prolonged and most enthusiastic cheering.) The next argument is one which we have been familiar with for the last five years. Mr. M'Duffie says, "There is another argument, of which, I believe, the manufacturers keep a constant supply stereotyped for the use of their customers; that high duties upon foreign imports diminish, instead of enhancing prices!" The answer which is given by Mr. M'Duffie is a very good one. He says, "If high duties produce low prices, it would seem to follow that low duties would produce high prices; and the manufacturers should go strenuously for reduction." We may draw some consolation from what we find our friends doing in America. (Hear, hear.) In the first place, we may learn that there is an active and energetic spirit at work there, anxious to meet us on reciprocal terms, as soon as we shall have abolished our restrictions on the trade with the United States. We may draw another consolation. The Yankees boast of having thrown overboard what they are pleased to call the lumber of our crown, church, and aristocracy; they say they are very much more enlightened than we are, and that England is lagging behind in the race of



intelligence and sound policy. Why, here we are with a noble earl in the chair, who is an honour to the peerage. (Tremendous cheering, and waving of hats and handkerchiefs.) Here we are with a crown to which we profess as strong an allegiance as the best protectionists we have (cheers)—with an aristocracy whose just privileges I do not wish to impair; and yet, notwithstanding, here we are under these circumstances, which our brethren across the Atlantic would assert to be such great disadvantages in running the race of commercial liberty, but still we shall have Free Trade first. I would lay a wager, if I were in the habit of betting, that we shall beat them in this respect yet. (Cheers.) I now will draw another moral: we have sometimes been met in our agitation with this unreasonable objection,—"Why don't you, instead of stirring up the country on this practical question of Free Trade, enlarge your basis of agitation, and, in place of going for this isolated question, advocate some great organic change which will give you that and everything else at once that you want?" I point to America, with its universal suffrage and republican institutions; they have neither obtained Free Trade nor got rid of slavery (cheers); and Mr. M'Duffie and his enlightened colleagues have as arduous a task to accomplish, to persuade the democracy of that country that it is for their interest not to purchase their clothing, salt, iron, and every other article of utility which they wear or consume at double the price at which they could buy in Europe; they have as arduous a duty to perform to persuade the democracy of America to adopt the enlightened principles of commercial freedom as we have in this old and encumbered country of England. This, therefore, should be an argument to mitigate the unreasoning hostility, sneers, and indifference of those who tell us that this practical agitation would not be necessary under certain forms of government, or with certain constitutional changes. I point to America to prove that it would be necessary under any circumstances to teach men what are their interests, to meet the fallacies that are presented to their minds, and which ever take the guise of specious self-interest, it would be as necessary under any future form of government which might be adopted as it is now; and that is our justification in constantly pressing this practical question on your notice. (Loud cheers.) Now, gentlemen, let me not detain you any further, I will ask how long will this absurd system be allowed to continue? There are the Americans with their piles of pork, bread, and beef, under which their warehouses groan, and which are actually rotting on their wharves. At New Orleans a quantity of flour which was collected one summer fermented and threatened to produce an epidemic in the town. Here are we in England with our heaps of goods, piled up one above another, and yet these two countries, so circumstanced as to be able mutually to aid and relieve each other by the interchange of their superfluous commodities, are separated by these restrictive laws; and these people, united as they are by language, blood, laws, and many kindred institutions, are denied the right—for it is an inherent right—to supply each other's necessities. (Tremendous cheers.) How long, I say, shall this absurd system be allowed to continue? Nature cries aloud against it—all the improvements in the arts war against it. What is the use of braving the Atlantic Ocean with our steamers, and bringing the continent of America alongside our shores? What is the use of these mighty developments of science, if you will not allow your commercial legislation to keep pace with the glorious discoveries and improvements of the age? (Loud cheers.) Such a system cannot, because it ought not to last. While we are speaking here, our voices will go across the Atlantic to Mr. M'Duffie and his fellow-labourers. We tell him from this spot that we are willing to shake hands with him, and offer him co-operation in our war against monopoly here and there. (Enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.) Ay; that cheer will be heard on the other side of the Atlantic; and I do not know that we could finish better than with such a cheer. And so, gentlemen, I leave the subject, having before I sit down to announce that Mr. Gisborne—who is here present, and who was to have spoken to-night, but pressed me forward into the service—has kindly volunteered to attend next week. (The honourable member sat down amidst enthusiastic cheering, which lasted for a considerable time.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said: Ladies and gentlemen, I have now to announce to you that the proceedings of this evening are closed; and that another meeting will be held on Wednesday next.

Mr. COBLEN proposed, that, before the meeting separated, three cheers should be given for Earl Radnor; and, in order that they might be good ones, he himself would act as fagman. Three hearty cheers were then given for the noble earl, followed by vehement and long-continued waving of hats and handkerchiefs. Silence being restored,

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and gentlemen, I have scarcely voice left to thank you for the honour you have done me; I feel that I am most sincerely heart and soul in the cause, and I hope you are all the same. I believe you are; so I trust that you each, in your several stations, will exert yourselves, as I shall do in mine, and we shall soon completely triumph. (The noble earl left the theatre amidst loud cheers, and the meeting separated at twenty minutes to eleven.)

SADDLEWORTH.

On Friday evening, an extraordinary large meeting of manufacturers and operatives of almost every class was held in the Ebenezer Independent Chapel, at Upper Mill, Saddleworth: John Buckley, Esq., Mossley, in the chair. The meeting was addressed by R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., R. R. Moore, Esq., James Lees, Esq., and others. The amount subscribed in the room was 252l. 17s. 6d. James Bottomley, Esq., gave 50l.; James Lees, Esq., 30l.; Buckley Bent, Esq., 20l. The subscriptions this year towards the 100,000l. fund in Saddleworth, given by inhabitants of that town or parish at other places, will be upwards of 900l.—which is double the sum collected last year.—*Preston Guardian*.

FREE TRADE IN ESSEX.—Two lectures on the evils of the Corn Laws were delivered in the Mechanics' Institute, Chelmsford, on Wednesday and Friday evenings, the 13th and 15th instant, by Mr. Falvey. The lectures were well attended by the leading tradesmen of the town, as well as by the working people. On the second evening, such was the interest felt in the subject, that many had to go back for want of the hall; Mr. Falvey, in the course of his lectures, fully exposed the fallacies and misstatements published by Messrs. Copland and Baker, the Essex champions of the bread-tax. Mr. Falvey lectured in the Town-hall, Maldon, on Tuesday evening, the 14th.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, March 20, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | |
|--|----------|
| Oxford-road Twist Company, Manchester | £200 0 0 |
| David Mitchell, merchant, Peterhead, Aberdeenshire | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. J. W. M'Phair, Little Hadham, Herts | 0 2 6 |
| Rev. Wm. Griffiths, jun., Wesleyan minister, Frome, Somerset | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Ashton, Hyde, Cheshire | 400 0 0 |
| Ed. Stubbs, farmer, Fish street, Wallingford | 1 0 0 |
| W. H. Tinkler, Castle-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Richard M. Brown, Crowmarsh Mill, do. | 1 0 0 |
| G. Young, Bell-street, Henley | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Partridge, Wood-street, Wallingford | 0 1 0 |
| A Friend, Fish-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| do., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Astbury, Critchley, & Co., 65, Mosley-st., Manchester | 100 0 0 |
| A. Rogers, Littleboro', near Rochdale | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Hewitt, 24, York-street, Manchester | 10 0 0 |
| Auchterarder, N.B., per Wm. Gardiner | 2 16 1 |
| Robert Sanders, Crescent, Exeter | 10 0 0 |
| Richard Thomas, Falmouth | 0 5 0 |
| John Booth, 10s., and four others, 2s. 6d. each | 1 0 0 |
| John Johnson, Clotton Lodge, Tarvin, Cheshire | 1 0 0 |
| A Chester Friend, per W. Evans | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Ashton, Bury | 200 0 0 |
| Wm. Ross, 18, Mosley-street, Manchester | 100 0 0 |
| Jas. Wrigley and Sons, Manchester | 100 0 0 |
| Thomas Collier, Howard-town, Glossop, Derbyshire | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Hegginsbottom, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Hannah Collier, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, do., do. | 0 2 0 |
| "Restitution" fourfold | 0 10 0 |
| Fred. Reyner, Newmarket-buildings, Manchester | 150 0 0 |
| Alfred Reyner, do., do. | 150 0 0 |
| Jas. Birch, 43, Cheetham-street, Red Bank, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Barratt, Sons, and Darbyshire, 80, Cannon-street, Manchester | 50 0 0 |
| Robert Chorlton and Sons, Blackfriars, do. | 25 0 0 |
| J. S. and J. Watts, New Brown-street, do. | 100 0 0 |
| John Gillibrand, Standish, near Wigan | 1 0 0 |
| Henry and Edmund Ashworth, Turton, near Bolton | 200 0 0 |
| Peter Heywood, Astley-bridge, near Bolton | 2 0 0 |
| T. Robinson, New Richmond, Pendleton, Manchester | 0 2 0 |
| John Dearden, Denton | 5 0 0 |
| Jos. Mowe, Hyde House, Haughton | 1 0 0 |
| John Irwin, Denton | 5 0 0 |
| Daniell Stubbs, do. | 1 0 0 |
| W. Wilcock, do. | 1 10 0 |
| John Feaster, Haughton, near Manchester | 1 10 0 |
| Small sum, Denton | 0 1 0 |
| Robert Thornber, Mill-street, Padham, Lancashire | 0 2 6 |
| Richard Marshall, Hepton, near do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Anderson, Burnley-road, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Stewart, Baxter's-row, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Whittam, Burnley-road, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Higham, Guy Fold, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Jonathan Pilling, Mill-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Howe, Guy Fold, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Henry Helm, Grove Cottage, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Elijah Helm, jun., Guy-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Waddington, Gowthrop-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| George Hargreaves, East-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Hirst, Church-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thos. Robinson, Lower House, near do. | 1 0 0 |
| Reuben Longstaff, Grove Cottage, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Helm, Guy-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Longstaff, Garden-terrace, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Dewhurst, East-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Whitaker, Post-office, do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Fletcher, Burnley-road, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Waddington, Bank-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Schofield, Bank-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. J. Helm, Guy-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Christopher Martin, Burnley-road, do. | 0 2 6 |
| W. Whalley, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Wilding, Church-street, do. | 10 0 0 |
| Elijah Helm, Guy-street, do. | 20 0 0 |
| James Helm, Mill-street, do. | 10 0 0 |
| Henry Helm, Guy Fold, do. | 10 0 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 16 6 |
| James Angus, Kirriemuir, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
| W. Wilcock, Denton House, Denton, Lancashire | 1 10 0 |
| John Irwin, Denton, do. | 5 0 0 |
| Dan. Stubbs, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Dearden, Prospect House, do. | 5 0 0 |
| Jos. Howe, Hyde House, Haughton, near Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| John Feaster, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Small sum, Hyde | 0 1 0 |
| John Henry Waley, Rawden, near Colne, Lancashire | 1 0 0 |
| John Wilson, Wine-wall, do. | 1 6 6 |
| Jas. Blackburn, Spring-row, near do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Pickles, Wine-wall, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 1 4 4 |
| J. T., do. | 1 10 0 |
| W. and J. Warburton, 22, Withy-grove, Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| J. and S. Dobell, 14, do., do. | 2 2 0 |
| Wm. Mayo, 13, Market-street, do. | 1 10 0 |
| Wm. Davis, 93, Hardman-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Burgess, 103, Oxford-street, C.-on-M., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Cutts, 95, Great Ancoats-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Benjn. Burton, Coronation-street, Salford, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Stones, 30, Stocks street, Cheetham, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Ralli and Marjani, Tib-lane, do. | 5 0 0 |
| A Friend, per Jas. Ashworth, do. | 0 10 0 |
| W. C. Gill, 27, New Richmond, Pendleton, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Jackson, 36, New Bridge-st., Cheetham, do. | 2 0 0 |
| Thomas Kendal, 99, Deansgate, do. | 1 10 0 |
| James Milne, 99, do., do. | 1 10 0 |
| L. G. Ziffo, Bridgewater-place, do. | 2 0 0 |
| Robt. & Jas. M'Lean, Stretford-road, Hulme, do. | 2 0 0 |
| Geo. Goodwin, 4, Renshaw-street, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robt. Gardner, 11, Upper Medlock-st., do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Bradshaw and fellow-workmen, 13, Cobden-street, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| William Morris and fellow-workmen, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| 7, Apollo-street, Oldham-road, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Hodgkiss, 88, Hodgson-street, Salford, do. | 0 5 0 |
| J. Baguly, Union-street, Ardwick, do. | 0 2 6 |
| S. Mendel, Parsonage, do. | 5 0 0 |
| Abraham Whitehead, Water Mill, New Church, near Rochdale | 3 0 0 |
| Mr. Hogg, farmer, New Bialsville by Lauder, N.B., per D. M'Laren, of Edinburgh | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Jacques and three friends, Ripon, per R. Thomas | 1 0 0 |
| Geo. Sharp, Dogley Bar, Kirkburton, Yorkshire, per B. Bowers | 1 2 2 |
| Sir T. M. Brisbane, Bart., Makerston, by Kelso, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
| M. B., do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| George Thomson, Haymount, by A. Farmer, but a friend to Free Trade | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Martin, stationer, Kelso | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Robson, Bridge-street, Kelso | 0 10 0 |
| Geo. Sim, Market-place, do. | 0 3 6 |
| Jos. Middlemiss, Horse-market, do. | 0 3 6 |
| Thos. Scott, 1s.; B. W., 2s. 6d. | 0 3 6 |
| Jas. Yates & Co., 11, Dearden-street, Hulme, Manchester | 1 0 0 |

| | |
|--|---------|
| Wm. Chadwick, Arksey, near Doncaster | £20 0 0 |
| Willoughby Wood, Campall, near do. | 2 0 0 |
| Thos. Johnson, Hallgate, do. | 2 0 0 |
| Wm. Wagstaff, at the factory, Fisher-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Grimsbaw, Young-street, do. | 0 7 6 |
| Thos. Dickinson, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| B. Hammond, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Isaac Blakie, Carr-lane, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Jonathan Allison, Market-place, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Francis Ingham, Corn-market, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Hatfield, Baxter-gate, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Thos. Brooks, High-street, do. | 0 15 0 |
| John Hatfield, do., do. | 0 15 0 |
| Jas. Aldred, French-gate, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Alderman Clark, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Snowden, Exthorpe, near do. | 1 0 0 |
| R. Milner, French-gate, do. | 2 0 0 |
| Miss Milner, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| Miss A. M. Milner, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| Master C. Milner, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Master F. Milner, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Kent, Bawtry, near do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. Embley, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| W. Marriam, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Bedford, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. Chadwick, Hallgate, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Askham, Field House, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Friend, per Mr. Crowder, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Friend, per do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| R. Milner's Workpeople, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Adin Storer, Hall-gate, do. | 1 2 0 |
| Chas. Bradford, farmer, Blaxton, near do. | 0 5 0 |
| Mr. Duncan, French-gate, do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. Thirwall, Market-place, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Dearden, Baby, near do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Hutchinson, Market-place, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Thomas Hutchinson, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Pearson, St. George-gate, do. | 0 2 6 |
| R. Dale, Baby, near do. | 0 10 0 |
| G. Armitage, Marsh-gate, do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. Cherriman, French-gate, do. | 0 2 6 |
| H. Reid, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| J. Champney, Baby, near do. | 0 5 0 |
| T. Mitchell, Wood-street, do. | 0 3 0 |
| G. Dale, Sepulchre-gate, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Scholes, Hall-gate, do. | 0 7 6 |
| G. H. Hunt, High-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Friend, per J. H., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Hy. Bright, High-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| F. Clarke, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. Coles, High-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Miss M. B., per H. Woodmansey, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Miss F. B., per do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| H. Woodmansey, Scott-lane, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Edward Duncan, Baxter-gate, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Shearwood Lyon, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Septimus Anderson, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Wragg, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| William Carlton, Corn-market, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thos. Walker, cabinet maker, High-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thos. Oxley, Spring-gardens, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Miss Wright, Young-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| E. Wood, Horsefair, do. | 0 10 0 |
| G. Parkinson, Sandall, near do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Butterfield, Spring-gardens, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Mr. Kitchen, Bawtry, near do. | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Roberts, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Lambert, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Dobson, do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| B. Beavers, Mexbro', near do. | 0 2 6 |
| Geo. Lawrence, St. Sepulchre-gate, do. | 0 5 0 |
| R. Torr, Market-place, do. | 0 5 0 |
| G. H. Jun., do., do. | 0 5 0 |
| W. Aldred, St. Sepulchre-gate, do. | 0 5 0 |
| W. L. Spencer, do., do. | 0 3 0 |
| E. French-gate, do., do. | 0 3 6 |
| Mrs. Turner, High-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 1 17 6 |
| Rev. E. Bewley, Cirencester | 0 2 6 |
| F. Mortimer, Cricklade-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robt. Perrin, brewer, do., do. | 0 10 0 |
| Amor Patrie, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Free Trader, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Richard Budd, jun., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Prudence, Cricklade-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Newcomb, corn dealer, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Coates, shoemaker, do. | 0 2 6 |
| George Bevir, solicitor, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Protection for poor hungry Britons, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Four Members of the Mechanics' Institute, do. | 0 4 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 2 0 |
| R. G. T., do. | 0 7 6 |
| Mich. Strickland, 36, Upper Albany-st., Regent-s-park | 0 2 6 |
| The Workpeople of Joseph Twigg and Brothers, New-hill Pottery, near Rotherham, per John Twigg, 6th subscription since July | 1 10 0 |
| The Widow's Mite, per John Twigg | 0 10 0 |
| William Nisbet, 27, King-street, Plymouth | 0 5 0 |
| E. R. Strickland, Glympton | 1 1 0 |
| William Stares, Titchfield Mill, Titchfield | 1 10 0 |
| J. R., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Ramsay, Kilmarnock | 1 3 0 |
| A. B. Oxford | 0 10 0 |
| Charles Till, Doncaster | 1 0 0 |
| Jane Moscrop, Percy-place | 0 5 0 |
| "One who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow" | 0 2 0 |
| "Try again" | 0 2 0 |
| John Scott, timber merchant, Morpeth | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums | 0 4 6 |
| Mr. Turner, Gatohead, per George Crawshaw | 2 2 0 |
| W. G. Balls, 30, Wilmington-square | 0 5 0 |
| J. A. and W. B., do. | 5 0 0 |
| Fence collected at the Coach and Horses, Water-lane, Fleet-street, per Edward Beaman | 0 8 0 |
| Frederick William Jacob, 59, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury | 1 0 0 |
| John Nussey, Battley, near Dewsbury | 10 0 0 |
| "From One without a Vote" | 0 2 6 |
| J. J., do. | 0 10 6 |
| Isaac Nichols, Plymouth | 1 0 0 |
| Banker's Clerk | 1 0 0 |
| W. H. Johnson, 7, Adelaide-place, Queen's-road, Dalton | 0 2 6 |
| David Robertson, 21, John-street, Cambridge-heath, Hackney | 0 2 6 |
| Received by a Juror for attending an Inquest in Tower Ward, on the body of a man unknown, who was supposed by the Jury, as stated in their verdict, to have died for the want of the necessities of life | 0 0 4 |
| Henry King, Church-street, Hackney | 1 0 0 |
| William Pollard, Chapel-end, Walthamstow, Essex | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Cox, Swallow-place, Oxford-street | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Puzey, 17, Rockingham-row, New Kent-road | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Page, 5, Wittlebury-street, Euston-square | 0 2 6 |
| Lawrence Hill, Barlanark, Edinburgh | 1 0 0 |
| Pewtress, Low, and Pewtress, 30, Gracechurch-street | 1 0 0 |
| John M'George, Brighton, per K. G. Rose, jun. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Miller and Co., Camomile-street | 5 5 0 |
| James Miller, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Alexander Strachan, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Small sums | 6 10 0 |
| A Friend | 53 0 0 |
| Riebd. Hall, Yorkshire-street | 0 10 0 |
| Thos. Riding, Burnley Wood | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Arven, do. | 0 5 0 |
| James Rawlinson, St. James's-street | 0 5 0 |
| Small sums | 0 6 0 |

Burnley, 3rd Remittance.

| James Roberts and Co., Ashton-under-Lyne | | 432 | 0 | 0 |
|---|----|-----|---|---|
| Thomas Love, Butcher-gate | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| George Stubbs, White Hart-lane | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Crane, Edwells-lane, Scotch-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Black, Kitterby-street, Stanwix | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Stoddart, Brewery-row | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Wilson, Kitterby-street, Stanwix | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| William Anderson, Butcher-gate | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James McDonald, Willow Holme | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Mason, Princess-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| William Fisher, Union-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Deakray, John-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Satterthwaite, Keys-lane, Scotch-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Kay, Abbey-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Holstead, Castle street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Wilson, baker, Scotch-street | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Sawyers, druggist, Fisher-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Sawyers, innkeeper, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Fleming, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss J. Sheldale, Abbey-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Blaylock, watchmaker, Scotch-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Atkin, Ricker-gate | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Lonsdale, Journal office | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Howe, Kitterby-street, Stanwix | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Parkinson, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Whitridge, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss Margaret Bushby, shopkeeper, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sundry Subscriptions, per T. L. and others | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Whitridge, stationer, Scotch-street | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Peter, at Mr. Holmes, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. McCutcheon, ironmonger, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Bell, currier, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Black, cloth dealer, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Donald Kyrington, currier, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Chambers, Glover-lane, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| E. Routledge, hatter, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| William Black, clothes dealer, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Robinson, shoemaker, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Noble, tailor, Law's-lane, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| C. Park, draper, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Messrs. Harrison, gunsmiths, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Howe, roper, Drovers-lane, Ricker-gate | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Bell, George and Dragon, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Sherrington, tobacconist, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Tinning, Swift's-row, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Sowerby, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Gilbertson, Malt Shovel, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Beck, Wheat-cake, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Black, cabinetmaker, West Tower-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Blain, painter, Scotch-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Johnson, farmer, Dykesfield | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Moffat and Harrison, Annwell-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Knox, Chapel-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Armstrong, builder, do. | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Potter, brushmaker, Scotch-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Noble | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Benson, stationer, English-street | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| John Sowerby, druggist, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Ramshaw, Naworth Castle | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Ivison, Warwick-bridge | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Clarke, grocer, Shaddongate | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| George Hind, Holme Eden | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Story, Shaddongate | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Pattinson, druggist, Caldewgate | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Padden, Butcher-gate | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Richardson, ironmonger, English-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Robinson, saddler, Castle-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Sowell, cutler, Castle street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| David Hamilton, Stearn-office | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Cullen, Spread Eagle, Castle-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Roy, silversmith, English-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Wilson, grocer, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Hutchinson, fishmonger, St. Alban's-row | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Charters, grocer, English-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Black, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. M. Hill, grocer, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Lewthwaite, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Ross, draper, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Duncan, Temperance Hotel, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Graham and Jefferson, drapers, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend to the League | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Blair, English-street | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Contribution from Butcher-gate Ward | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Christopher Gawthrop, Caldewgate | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Small sums | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Greaves, 273, North-road | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Hawkins, cotton spinner | 50 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Nairns, 38, Chaddock-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Chambers, draper, Fryergate | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| G. R. Penny, Fryergate | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Chatham, Woodcock's-yard, Fishergate | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Rees, Rumber Bridge, near | 50 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Wilson, Chappelside | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Jeffer, do. | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Benson, jun., Church-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Geo. Thompson (one of the deputation) London | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Barton, Marsh-lane Mill | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| D. Wilcockson, Church-street | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| T. Holden, do. | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Brown, Fryergate | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Briggs, Rosbud-inn | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Lawrence Harrison, Maudland-bank | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Isaac Wilcockson, Church-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Livsey, St. Ignatius-square | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| D. Westhead, Duke of York Inn | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Rt. Charoly, 61, Bow lane | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Anty Robinson, 38, Maudland bank | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Milner, Fryergate brow | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dr. Robinson, 40, Cannon-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Fairclough, Hill-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Jones, 08, Church-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Nich. Hoys, brushmaker, Fryergate | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Pomfret, 18, Lor-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ra. Dickson, builder, North-road | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Rd. Duckett, Fryergate | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Sutcliffe, 42, Fille-road | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Haslam, Bolton-street | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Gornall, Fryergate | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Butler, joiner, 15, Bolton-street | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| James Sharp, 5, Chappelside | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Ord, Charles-street | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Michael Satterthwaite, Fryergate | 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Small sums | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Ebenezer Mills, Upper Surrey-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend to the Cause | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Lincoln, King-street | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Peter Jones, St. Margaret | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| R. J. Barlow | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Duman, B. secondale green | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| W. Bunn, Lokenham | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| R. J. Barlow, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Bright, Larkham, near | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Henry Fillett, St. Andrew's-street | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Sheen, Cross-street, West Pottergate | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Olley, Gout-lane | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| W. H. Wells, Dileam Mills, Norfolk | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| William Ivory, Tumbled | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Samuel Brown, St. Martin's-palace | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| G. W. Howard, do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| R. R. Blake, jun., do. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| John Tassell, St. Saviour's | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J. P. Watson, St. Clement's | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Samuel Spinks, St. George's | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Small sums | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

weight of taxation on the shoulders of the consumers of food, as much as Mr. Dawson demanded an amount of protection equivalent to the taxes levied on the soil, and on the cultivators of the soil. He, therefore, moved an amendment as follows:—"That in consequence of the heavy taxes which the nation is bound to raise for the maintenance of the public establishments, it is expedient and just that the British people should be relieved from all monopolies and protecting duties whatsoever, which are beneficial only to a small class of the community, but injurious and oppressive to the country at large."—Mr. Pitt seconded this amendment in a very argumentative speech. Mr. J. B. Pitt, whose able and impartial conduct in the chair was highly appreciated, then put the question to the vote, when upwards of four hundred hands were held up in favour of the Free-Trade amendment, while the Monopolist motion was supported by only two persons, and these were Mr. Dawson and his land-bailiff. A more numerous, orderly, and enthusiastic public meeting has not been held in Selby for some time past.

LEEDS MERCURY.—**DORMAN.**—**BARNARD CASTLE, Wednesday, March 13.**—A deputation from the League, consisting of Colonel Thompson, and Messrs. Moore, Frontine, and Plint, was announced to address the inhabitants of this town and the neighbouring farmers on this day, being market day, but, owing to unavoidable obstacles, Mr. Plint only arrived at the appointed time. From 700 to 800 persons were assembled at the Union Hall, and, though the absence of so many members of the deputation was much felt (and more especially Col. Thompson), the audience listened with attention to Mr. Plint's address, which continued for nearly two hours. Mr. Chipchase presided on the occasion. Free-Trade principles have taken deep hold in this town and neighbourhood, and many of the farmers are convinced that an entire abolition of the Corn Laws would benefit all classes, including the landowners themselves.

STOCKTON, Thursday, March 14.—The place of meeting in this town was the theatre, which was filled to overflowing, the audience numbering from 600 to 700 persons. The stage and boxes were filled with the more opulent portion of the inhabitants, the seats being paid for, while the pit and gallery were thrown open to the public in general. Mr. Whalley presided, and, after some excellent and pertinent observations, called on Col. Thompson, whose speech was rapturously cheered; it was indeed most racy and animated. Mr. Plint followed in a speech replete with facts illustrative of the influence of restrictions on trade and industry. Some of his statements were questioned by a gentleman present, but were triumphantly substantiated. At the conclusion of his speech a Chartist stood forward to propose some questions to Mr. Plint, two of which he promptly and satisfactorily answered, but the audience decided by acclamation, and amidst much laughter, that the questioner had answered the others himself. There, as elsewhere, these extreme Chartists seemed to have only one object, viz., whilst apparently contending for the Charter, covertly to insinuate objections to Free Trade, and really to fight the battle of restriction and monopoly. The proceedings terminated in an enthusiastic demonstration of thanks to the deputation, and approval of the objects and proceedings of the League.

YORKSHIRE.—**MIDDLESBRO, March 15.**—The same deputation addressed a meeting of upwards of 300 persons in the Exchange Rooms of this rising port, Mr. Fallows, shipowner, in the chair. Their addresses were well received, and the proceedings terminated in a resolution approving of the League, and tendering thanks to the speakers, which was unanimously carried. The meeting at this place and that at Hartlepool were held in consequence of solicitations made to Colonel Thompson and Mr. Plint, at the Stockton meeting on Thursday, at which place they had arranged to terminate their week's labour. So pressing, however, was the invitation, that they complied, and were well rewarded by the excellent spirit displayed at each meeting, and by the evidence afforded them of the firm hold which the great question of Free Trade has on the public mind.

HARTLEPOOL, Saturday, March 16.—The meeting at this place was held in the Town Hall, — Johnson, Esq., in the chair. The first object of the meeting was to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament for a repeal of the obnoxious and ruinous tax on the export of coal, a tax which is seriously injuring the coal-owner, and has failed as a tax for the revenue. The petition was unanimously adopted, after speeches in support of it had been made by the Chairman and Messrs. Lyndsay, Wortley, Thaler, and others. The meeting then resolved itself, as the parliamentary phrase is, into an Anti-Corn-Law meeting, and Mr. Johnson had just introduced Colonel Thompson, when simultaneously on the rising of the gallant veteran, the gaslights were extinguished, it is supposed by some Tory wag; there being a fire in the room the gas was soon re-lighted, and the circumstance only afforded amusement to the audience, which was numerous, orderly, and enthusiastic. Colonel Thompson delivered one of his best speeches, and was followed by Mr. Plint. Both speakers were heard with close attention and deep interest, and a vote of thanks to them, and approval of the League, alike in its principles and its objects, was unanimously passed. Some trifling opposition was offered by Mr. Rowell, late Mayor of Hartlepool, but he did not meet Mr. Plint's refutation: and it happened that one of Mr. Rowell's assertions as to wages in the agricultural districts was completely answered by a poor man present, who produced a letter from his daughter in Suffolk, quoting wages even lower than Mr. Plint had stated, and showing that the hours of labour are longer there than in the much-abused factory districts.

RIPON.—This meeting, held on Tuesday last, in the public room, Ripon, was called by placards, announcing that Col. Thompson, T. Plint, Esq., and Archibald Prentice, Esq., would deliver addresses on the principles of Free Trade, and the injurious influence of the Corn Laws. A meeting had been held by the supporters of the Corn Laws, at which the farmers were cautioned against listening to what the speakers thought fit to designate "the lash of the Anti-Corn-Law League," and in addition to this, handbills were plentifully distributed among the inhabitants, containing the most false statements, and attempting to dissuade them from being present on the occasion. Notwithstanding these exertions of the "Pro-Corn-Law" men, the room was literally crammed, and numbers were unable to gain admission. The proceedings were of the most animated nature. Mr. R. Lynn was called upon to preside on the occasion. He stated that he should not detain them long in declaring his sentiments on the question. He was for a total, unconditional, and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, and, if he possessed the authority, he would repeal them that night. He held it to be decidedly wrong to tax the poor, and he avowed his conviction that the removal of this tax would be for the ultimate benefit of all classes. He would not trespass farther on their attention, but would call on Mr. Plint to address the meeting. At the close of an able speech, Mr. Plint moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting fully sympathizes with the movements of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and regards the Corn Laws as unjust in principle and oppressive in their influence, and is convinced that their existence is injurious to all classes of the British empire." The resolution was seconded by Mr. Thomas. Mr. Robson, coroner of Ripon, here rose, and after having made some remarks, proposed as an amendment, "That the Corn Laws are beneficial to the agricultural interests." Tomkins Lyons, Esq., landholder and magistrate, followed, and said, that he employed his labourers at the high price of 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. per day; he thought that this was very excellent remuneration. The amendment was put, and about fifteen hands were held up in favour of it. The motion condemnatory of the Corn Laws was then submitted, when a forest of hands were exhibited in its favour. There could not have been less than 400 people in the room. Votes of thanks were given to Mr. Plint and the Chairman, after the acknowledgment of which, three most hearty cheers were given for the League.

FREE-TRADE MEETING IN GATESHEAD.—The Gateshead Free-Trade Society held a meeting in the long-room of the Grey Horse Inn, on Wednesday evening, 13th inst. Mr. John Parnett was in the chair. There was a numerous but not a crowded attendance. Mr. C. W. Parnett, the secretary of the society, delivered an address, which was warmly applauded.

PLYMOUTH FREE-TRADE ASSOCIATION.—On Friday evening, the 8th inst., the members of the Free-Trade Association assembled at the Mechanics' Institute, for the purpose of hearing a lecture by the Rev. W. J. Odgers, "On the Moral evils resulting from Commercial Restrictions." The building was densely crowded. The chair was taken at seven o'clock by Mr. John Burnell, who, after some brief remarks, called upon Mr. Odgers to commence his lecture. On rising, the rev. gentleman was greeted with hearty cheering. The rev. gentleman then proceeded with his lecture, and by a variety of proofs, arguments, and illustrations, showed—1. That the Corn Laws are opposed to the laws of Divine Providence. 2. That they are opposed to the claims of humanity. 3. That they are unjust. 4. That they are opposed to the peace and happiness of the community. 5. That they stand in the way of the education and religious improvement of the great mass of the people; and, lastly, that they minister to crime.—At the conclusion the lecturer was loudly cheered. A short discussion ensued, after which three cheers were given for the Plymouth Free-Trade Association, three cheers for the Anti-Corn-Law League, followed by three cheers for "Justice for Ireland," proposed by G. W. Soltau, Esq. A vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman, and the meeting dispersed.—*Plymouth Journal.*

BURLEIGH.—On Wednesday evening the 13th inst., Mr. John Murray, of the National Anti-Corn-Law League, delivered a lecture in the Temperance Hall, Burleigh, admission free. Mr. Bligh Jones was called to the chair, and introduced Mr. Murray, who gave a homely but eloquent Free-Trade view of the character of the great monopolies which press upon the mercantile, manufacturing, and agricultural classes of the community. The lecturer was loudly and frequently applauded, and at the conclusion of his address time was given for any parties to put questions to him, but none were asked. Mr. Kennedy suggested the propriety of establishing an Anti-Monopoly Association for the town, in order to give an efficient and practical direction to public opinion on these questions: at present he would merely move that it was expedient to do so, and on some early occasion they could proceed to the formation of such a society. The proposition was seconded by Mr. Mayer, and unanimously carried. The Chairman concluded with some appropriate remarks, and after a vote of thanks to him the proceedings closed. Mr. Murray lectured at the Snayd's Arms, Tunstall, on Thursday night, and is expected to deliver another lecture at Burleigh in a few days.—*Staffordshire Mercury.*

BRECON.—On Tuesday evening, the 12th inst., a meeting was held in the large room at the Bull Inn, to take into consideration the existing Corn Laws. The assembly was addressed at great length by Mr. J. Jenkins, M.A., touching the operation of the present laws on the state of trade—the wages of labour, &c. The apartment was crowded to excess, and great numbers failed to gain admission. The greatest order prevailed, and the most profound attention was manifested by the audience to the statements of the lecturer. The following Wednesday afternoon, notice was given, by placards liberally distributed, that a public meeting would be held that evening in the Market-house (the use of the Town Hall having been refused). Accordingly, at the appointed hour of seven, a large concourse had assembled, which we have heard variously estimated at from 1000 to 1500 persons. The Rev. G. Griffiths, Welsh Independent minister, was unanimously voted into the chair, and opened the business of the meeting in a short address. Mr. Evan Jones next addressed the meeting at considerable length, and with forcible eloquence, in English and Welsh, frequently interrupted by loud cheers, which were warmly renewed when he concluded. The chairman then introduced Mr. J. Jenkins, M.A., of Swansea, as a representative of the Anti-Corn-Law League, who was greeted with much applause. After an address from Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Roberts moved, and Mr. Lloyd seconded, a resolution condemnatory of the Corn Laws; the resolution was carried with acclamation. After thanks to the chairman, and three cheers for the League, the meeting separated.—*Silurian.*

BRECON PROTECTION MEETING.—(From a Correspondent.)—The Brecon meeting exhibited in all its adjuncts how hollow are the displays which are made in favour of monopoly under the specious form of protection to agriculture, and how rotten the support which the landowners are able to give any government adhering to the Corn Laws. If the Brecon meeting with all its advantages, as being convened in a purely agricultural district—held in a town which is more immediately dependent on the agriculturists of the neighbourhood—and having no manufacturing population—is a specimen of the strength which Richmond brings to Peel, I think the Peel Government leans on a broken reed—trusts to a rope of sand. The meeting was convened anonymously, for we know not that we can designate a meeting convened without any party's name being attached to it, or responsible for it, otherwise than anonymous. And how was it made up? By the agents of the landowners scouring the country, and impressing the tenant-farmers into service for the intended county demonstration. Half an hour before the time of meeting, several carriages containing bodies of farmers were driven into Brecon as if to do their masters' bidding. One of these carriages belonged to and contained the tenants of the hon. member for Worcester, who, with his agents, seemed to take a prominent part, and became the putative father of the acknowledged bunting of the Breconshire squires—the "meeting of persons friendly to agricultural protection." "Ex uno disce omnes." A respectable authority informed me that he met a farmer whom he had known, and put the question if he came to town in order to be present at the Anti-League meeting. The honest farmer replied, that "his agent had been with him, and had requested him and his neighbours to attend the meeting, and that was all he knew about the matter. Now, was this a voluntary case? Several farmers with whom I conversed, plainly told me that they had strong doubts as to the benefits of the Corn Laws, and confessed that they were present that day only because they had been requested to attend the meeting. And yet after all this din and preparation of war, after scouring the country for days previous, and bringing into Brecon some 300 or 400 tenants, the landowners of Brecon have so little confidence in their cause and in their forces,—influenced, perhaps, by the many letter of Mr. Lloyd of Dinas, coupled, probably, with the knowledge that an advocate of Free-Trade principles was in town,—that, at the eleventh hour, they alter the place of meeting from the County Hall to a private room in an hotel in the town. At that meeting it is true that a tenant-farmer took the chair, and every resolution was proposed by a tenant-farmer, and seconded by either a landowner or clergyman; but the hon. member for Worcester was the alter ego of the chairman, in fact, did all the business that usually devolves upon that functionary; and I am credibly informed, that so well versed were the farmers in the subject-matter of their resolutions, that it was found necessary for parties standing behind to act the parts of prompters to the proposers. Not a resolution was submitted to the meeting as it was proposed; but at the conclusion the chairman held up several papers, and exclaimed—"Is it your pleasure that these resolutions should pass?" The result was disastrous to the object of the meeting as a county meeting, for which, I presume, it was intended to be passed off; for in their own meeting a forest of hands was held up against the resolutions, and three cheers given for the League. The impartial spectator could not have decided who had the show of hands. These observations will show how much importance is to be attached to the petition which was read at the meeting, and how hollow is all the show of strength in favour of "protection."

PRESENT TO THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE.—AN ENORMOUS SIMNEL.—On Thursday last a large and odd-shaped box came to the League rooms, from Bury, and greatly puzzled those present, until, being opened, it was found to contain an enormous Bury simnel, the sweet cake made in this neighbourhood for Midlent, or Mothering Sunday, and in the manufacture of which Bury has long maintained a proverbial pre-eminence. A deputation of four gentlemen presented this cake to the Council of the League in the name and on behalf of the friends of Free Trade in Bury. The deputation consisted of Messrs. John Grundy, Edmund Grundy, John Mansell, and

William Bowman. Suitable acknowledgments for the very handsome and luscious present were expressed to the deputation on behalf of the Council. We understand, that this enormous cake was designed and prepared by Messrs. Henry Womersley, Joseph Ashworth, Henry Whitbread, and Christopher Clemishaw, confectioners, all of Bury, and it does great credit to their taste in design and in ornamental decoration. Of the "proof of the pudding" we cannot speak, as it has not yet been cut. Some idea may be formed of its bulk from the fact that it measures a yard in diameter, and from three to four inches in thickness, and weighs upwards of one hundred pounds. The upper surface is coated with sugar, like a bride-cake, and this white ground is the field for a variety of appropriate and pleasing inscriptions, devices, mottoes, &c. The centre is surrounded with a very handsome wheat-sheaf, several inches high; the wheatears being formed of silver, &c. The top of the cake is divided by a circular band, or rather into an outer ring and an inner circle. In this band is the inscription, "Presented by the friends of Free Trade in Bury to the Council of the National Anti-Corn-Law League." The outer ring is separated into four divisions, by as many coronets. At what may be called the upper part of the ring, is a marquis's coronet, encircled by two scrolls, on the lower one is the title "Westminster," and in the upper one, the family motto, "Virtus non stemma" (character, not pedigree, is the rank of nobility). The two coronets, on the right and left sides of the cake, are earls'; around that on the right are the title "Ducie," and his lordship's motto, "Perseverance"; on that on the left, "Radnor," and "Patria cara, color libertas" (My country is dear, but liberty dearer). At the foot is a coronet, with the title "Kinnaird," and his lordship's motto, "Pallur qui vinolit" (He who conquers, suffers). An ornamental scroll of wheat ears and stalks fills up the remainder of this outer ring, and the wheat-stalks are so contrived as to encircle the following names of active and energetic Free-Traders:—On one side, Villiers, Brotherton, Evans, Heyworth, Thorneley, Crawford, William Ashworth, House, Ward, Rev. T. Spencer, Bowring, Christie, and Gibson. On the other side, W. J. Fox, Chadwick, James Wilson, Ewart, Pattison, Warburton, Marsland, Leader, O'Connell, Brooks, Greg, Walker, P. A. Taylor, and Phillips. In the centre of the inner circle in the wheat sheaf already described, and around it, are six circular emblematical devices in colours. The uppermost contains the royal arms; a second represents commerce by the cotton-bale, marked "A.C.L. 1844," and other goods for export, an anchor, and a ship sailing from the shore, with the motto "Commerce the sure pledge of peace." The third represents Manchester cotton factories, and the motto of the corporation, "Labore et concilio." A fourth represents a beehive and its busy occupants, with the motto "Rights of industry." A fifth represents a ship, whose pennon is inscribed "Free-Trade," with the motto "Our commerce shall be free." The sixth represents a plough, spade, and other agricultural implements, with the motto "Speed the plough." Around these devices are the names of the principal members of the Council of the League and the advocates of total repeal:—Cobden, Bright, Wilson, Colonel Thompson, Moore, and G. Thompson. The whole has a very handsome appearance, and it has been the object of considerable curiosity at the League-rooms. We understand that it is to be removed to some more public situation, where it can be more generally seen.

We received, but at too late an hour for publication, a report of the Great Anti-Corn Law meeting held at Leeds on Wednesday evening.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Elphinstone's Speech on Probate and Legacy Duties, on Thursday, the 14th instant.

MR. ELPHINSTONE: Sir, I rise, in pursuance of the notice which I have given, to ask the House to resolve itself into a committee of the whole House for the purpose of considering the statutes which impose taxes upon the right of succession to personal property after death, in the hope that the House will see not only the propriety but the justice of imposing similar taxes on real estate. (Hear, hear.) The House is probably aware, that, as the law now stands, the personal property of every person who dies worth more than £20 is subject to two taxes, called probate duty and legacy duty. Probate duty is an *ad valorem* tax imposed on the whole personal property of the deceased, which may be situated in any part of the United Kingdom, at the time of his death; and this is payable, in all cases, whatever may be the manner in which the personal property is left, whether the property be left to a near relation or to a stranger in blood. Legacy duty is a second tax on personal property, in addition to the probate duty, which is levied on the party who receives the benefit. The amount of this duty varies according to the degree of relationship of the legatee to the deceased, and widows are exempt from its operation. Legacy duties fall with great severity on strangers in blood, and in the case of natural children, who in the eye of the law are strangers in blood, are particularly severe. Administration duties (which are the duties levied when there is no will) are of the same nature as probate duties, and are imposed on precisely the same description of property as probate duties. The rate, however, of administration duty is higher per cent. than the probate duty. I think this distinction is wrong in principle, because it does appear to be unjust that a widow or children are to pay a heavier tax to the state merely because the husband, either by accident or design, has preferred that his property should be divided according to the known order of law. (Hear, hear.) There is this distinction between legacy and probate duty, that while probate duty is never in any case charged on real estate, nor on any interest arising out of land, nor on land directed to be sold, legacy duty is, in certain cases, under provisions of 43 George III., c. 48, payable upon annuities charged on land, or on land directed to be sold. Land itself, however, whether it be left as a whole in one estate, to one person, or whether it be divided into different farms and left to different persons, is not liable to the legacy duty. (Hear.) With this trifling distinction between these taxes, however, the House may take it as the general rule, that while personal property is in all cases subject to these heavy taxes, real property, be it freehold or be it copyhold, is entirely exempt. Now, I must say that I think this exemption in favour of freehold and copyhold property is most unjust to manufacturers and traders, to the great mass of the people, and to all the owners of personal property. (Hear, hear.) This act of injustice has also given rise to the injurious imputation that, inasmuch as the majority of the two Houses of Parliament consist of the owners of real property, this exemption has been made by the Legislature on private, and not on public grounds. The present legacy duty was originally imposed as a war tax; and when Mr. Pitt introduced the existing act, in 1793, he intended to apply its provisions to realty as well as to personalty; and, though the landed interest were too strong even for that powerful minister, it is perfectly well known that he stated, over and over again, that landed property ought not to be exempted from burdens to which personal property is subjected. Mr. Pitt said (Hansard XXXII., p. 658), in introducing the Legacy Bill—"In a war for protection of property, it was just and equitable that property should bear the burden. It was in the nature of things that landed property was the most permanent; it was fit that it should contribute accordingly. The legacy duty was not, however, to be confined to any species of property; it was to include both landed and personal." Mr. Pitt afterwards divided his bill into two parts: the one relating to personalty, and the other to realty. The bill for personal property passed the Commons without difficulty, and became the existing act—36 Geo. III., c. 53; but the bill for realty was opposed at every stage by the landed gentry of that day, and, after several very close divisions (in one of which the numbers were equal, and the Speaker was obliged to give a casting vote), Mr. Pitt carried the bill by only one vote. On the following day he came down to the House of Commons, and

reluctantly yielded to necessity, and, contrary to his own opinion, withdrew the bill. (Hear, hear.) The exemption which the law has given to real property is in many cases absurd, as well as unjust. Leaseholds for years are considered as personal property, and, therefore, are liable to probate duty; leaseholds for lives are real estate, and therefore not liable. There are towns in the north of England, in the borough of Sunderland, for instance, in which in one part the houses are held on leases for years, and are consequently exempt; in the other part the houses are on leases for lives, and consequently liable. (On what principle of common sense or of justice are the inhabitants of one part of a borough to be liable to a tax from which the inhabitants of another part of the same borough are to be exempt? I ask, on what principle of justice can you possibly defend these mere legal distinctions? (Hear, hear.) Why is the inheritor of a large property in a town, consisting of leaseholds, to be liable to taxation, when the inheritor of a copyhold estate is to be exempt? (Hear, hear.) The sum paid annually by the owners of personal property is enormous. I find that, in the year ending January, 1844, the state received about two and a quarter millions of money from the personal property of the United Kingdom; and the capital which produced this large revenue, and which in passing from the dead to the living became liable to this heavy amount of taxation, was no less than forty-three millions.

RETURN OF AMOUNT OF DUTY ON LEGACIES, PROBATES, ADMINISTRATIONS, AND TESTAMENTARY INVENTORIES FOR THE YEAR ENDING JANUARY 5, 1844:—

| | Legacies. | Probates, Administrations, and Testamentary Inventories. |
|----------------------|----------------|--|
| England and Wales .. | £1,114,871 6 6 | £879,367 5 0 |
| Scotland .. | 85,977 18 6 | 53,413 0 0 |
| Ireland .. | 39,034 17 3 | 66,184 10 1 |
| United Kingdom .. | 1,240,884 2 3 | 998,964 15 1 |

Total legacies and probates, &c., in United Kingdom, £2,239,766 17s. 4d.

And since the year 1797, it appears, by the papers now on your table, that the immense sum of £66,835,959 has been yielded by these taxes.

TOTAL AMOUNT OF DUTY RECEIVED SINCE 1797 ON LEGACIES, PROBATES, ADMINISTRATIONS, AND TESTAMENTARY INVENTORIES:—

| | Legacies. | Probates, Administrations, and Testamentary Inventories. |
|-------------|------------------|--|
| England .. | £31,372,977 1 s. | £27,244,677 17 2 |
| Scotland .. | 2,037,324 19 0 | 1,390,606 10 2 |
| Ireland .. | 714,250 18 1 | 1,053,821 18 0 |
| Total .. | £34,124,552 18 4 | £29,691,205 5 4 |

I have little doubt but that, if legacy and probate duties were imposed on real property, an income nearly as large as that derived from personal property would be obtained with the greatest ease and facility. In the absence of precise information, there are various ways of making this estimate. Mr. Gwynne, late comptroller of the legacy duties, whose opinion is entitled to the highest consideration, estimated that about one-third of the whole personal property in the kingdom is annually subject to the probate and legacy duties. Sir Robert Peel, when he introduced the income-tax, in 1843 assumed the annual rent of land to be £89,400,000. Taking this at twenty-five years' purchase, would make the value of real property to be £2,235,000,000; and then, applying Mr. Gwynne's principle, you would have a capital of about £33,000,000 of real property annually subject to probate and legacy duty. The capital of personal property which was subject to these duties in 1843 was £43,000,000. This produced to the revenue, as I have already stated, about 2½ millions. It is, therefore, only fair to estimate that land of the value of £33,000,000 would, at the very least, produce 1½ million as revenue for the use of the state. (Hear, hear.) There is another mode of making this estimate. It appears by the accurate tables of Mr. Porter, in his able work "The Progress of the Nation," there are about 46 millions of acres of cultivated land in the United Kingdom:—

| | Arable and Gardens. | Meadows, Pastures, and Marshes. | Total cultivated. | Wastes capable of improvement. | Wastes not capable of improvement. | Total acres in United Kingdom. |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| England .. | 10,542,000 | 13,279,900 | 23,821,900 | 2,464,000 | 32,242,000 | 32,242,000 |
| Wales .. | 890,270 | 2,225,480 | 3,115,750 | 530,000 | 1,105,000 | 4,750,000 |
| Scotland .. | 2,491,960 | 3,771,040 | 6,263,000 | 5,940,000 | 8,538,930 | 19,738,930 |
| Ireland .. | 6,349,040 | 6,735,240 | 13,084,280 | 4,900,000 | 2,414,664 | 19,414,944 |
| British Isles .. | 19,273,270 | 23,981,660 | 43,254,930 | 13,834,000 | 44,190,594 | 44,190,594 |
| Totals .. | 19,273,270 | 23,981,660 | 43,254,930 | 13,834,000 | 44,190,594 | 44,190,594 |

If we consider the large rents that are obtained near towns, in all probability the rental of these 46,000,000 acres cannot average less than £1 per acre. If this estimate of the rental be nearer the truth than that of the right hon. baronet, as I suspect it is, it would give us a larger revenue (if probate and legacy duties were imposed on land) than is now derived from personal property. (Hear, hear.) The House will bear in mind that these estimates must be under the mark, as I have not taken into account freehold houses and other real property, which are now exempt. Whether, however, these calculations are too much or too little, it is clear that a very large revenue may be obtained for public purposes, and that land is now unjustly exempt from the payment of a heavy tax to which other property is liable. (Hear, hear.) How unjust it is, how unfair it is, that while the property of a merchant who dies, leaving but a bare provision for his family, is subject to a heavy probate duty, the family of the rich landed proprietor, who dies possessed of freehold land and freehold houses to the amount, perhaps, of a million, is not called upon to pay one farthing; and the distinction between the property of a landed proprietor and of the manufacturer is the more galling from this circumstance, that the very same land which, while it remains the property of the landed gentleman, is not liable to probate duty, becomes chargeable with this heavy tax the moment it is bought with partnership capital for the purposes of the trade of the manufacturer, because it is then considered to be personal property. (Hear, hear.) On what principle of fairness does this House enact that when a freehold estate is bequeathed by a rich proprietor to his rich heir, that this valuable inheritance is not to be charged with legacy duty, but that when the very same estate is devised to be sold in order to provide for the wants of a family, it is then to become subject to this legacy duty? (Hear, hear.) The hardship on the middle classes is the greater in the case I have just mentioned, because in nine cases out of ten where an estate is devised to be sold it becomes liable to the auction duty, and in every case to a conveyance duty, from both of which taxes the heir-at-law escapes. If any distinction ought to be made as to the payment of legacy duty between land devised to be sold, and on land not devised to be sold, it ought to be in favour of the former, as land devised to be sold becomes liable to the two duties I have just named. A tax upon the transfer of landed property after death has, from the earliest time, been usual in all civilized countries. We all have read in history that by the Julian law imposed by Augustus Cæsar, a very large revenue, under the name of the twentieth penny, "vicesima pars hereditatis" was derived from a tax of this nature on succession to real property. A similar tax is at this day levied in Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy, and in some parts of Germany. I trust that the period is not distant when either a similar tax will be levied in the United Kingdom, or else that you will consent to take off those duties on personal property; they ought to be levied both on realty and on personalty,—on both or on neither. (Hear, hear.) In looking through the older acts of Parliament on this subject I have been struck with the anxiety

the landowners have shown at all periods of our history to benefit themselves at the expense of others. There is a singular example of this in St Henry VIII. c. 6. Before this act was passed (which is entitled "Tees for Probates") land directed to be sold was considered as personal property, and liable to a probate fee: but by this act land directed to be sold is exempted from paying a probate fee, and this exemption continues to the present day, as such land (though subject to legacy duty) is not subject to probate duty. When this question was last discussed in the House, in April, 1843, while no one ventured to object to the justice of the principle for which I contend,—namely, that of treating every species of property (whether real or personal) on a footing of equality (hear, hear),—two specious objections were urged: the one relating to the burdens to which landed property is subject, in consequence of the stamp duties; and the other, that a probate duty on landed property would be easily evaded by putting the property into trust. With the indulgence of the House, I wish to make a few remarks respecting both these objections. In the first place, I find on inquiry (though there are no accurate accounts), from competent persons, that out of £1,600,000 received for stamp duties on deeds, not above £400,000 can by any possibility be considered to be paid by land (which is now exempt from probate duty), either in the shape of duties on conveyances, mortgages, settlements of landed property, or leases of farms, or other matters relating to realty; the remaining £1,200,000 are paid entirely by transactions relating to personal property, such as personal bonds, leases of houses in towns, mortgages of leasehold houses, and settlements of funded property, and other personal deeds of a similar nature. I also find in all the stamp duties relating to real property, that the principle is to favour the rich man and to make the poor man pay more than his fair proportion. Take the case of a mortgage—if a small farmer is in distress, and desirous to borrow £50 on mortgage of his small patrimony, he has to pay a stamp duty of £1. A wealthy landlord with a large estate wishes to borrow £20,000 for the purpose of improving his property and adding to his income, he has to pay, not a duty of £400, which he ought to do if he paid at the same rate per cent. as the yeoman, but a stamp duty of only £20; so that in this case the rich man contributes £380 less to the exigencies of the state than he ought to do. The same principle (though not to the same extent) pervades the duty on conveyances. The stamp duty on conveying a small property of £20, is 10s.—the stamp duty on conveying a large property of the value of £100,000 is only £1000, instead of £2500, as it ought to be if the stamp on large property was in proportion to the stamp on small. When a merchant under the right hon. baronet's tariff imports a large quantity of goods, this House does not enact that the wealthy merchant of Liverpool or of Bristol is to pay a smaller amount of import duty than the humble tradesman; on the contrary, this House, with perfect fairness, puts the large importer and the small importer on a footing of perfect equality, and makes each person pay at the same rate for the goods he imports. Then, if you act on this just principle in respect to trade and commerce, I want to know why are you to act on a different principle with regard to land? (Hear, hear, hear.) The greater part of conveyances in the course of the year are conveyances of small properties near towns, which belong to the middle classes; there can consequently be no doubt but the greater part of those very conveyance duties, for which a claim is now made upon us by the landowners, are paid by the middle classes, and not by the inheritors of large landed property. However, I am ready to admit that these stamp duties on the conveyance of landed property are injurious to the landed interest—that they tend to lessen the value of their estates by increasing the expense and difficulty of selling their property. It was suggested by the late Mr. Tyrrel and by Mr. Stewart, the eminent conveyancers, that these duties on the alienation of land should be altogether abolished, and that, instead, a probate duty should be imposed. I am ready to adopt their suggestion. I can only say that, if the House agree with my proposition, I should willingly vote to relieve the landed interest from this £400,000, though I believe that the bulk even of this £400,000 falls on the middle classes and on the small proprietors in the neighbourhood of towns. It was urged in the last debate by several honourable members, that a probate duty on landed property would be easily evaded by means of putting it into trust, and that by this means the large estates would escape. This difficulty, however, if the right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer were really in earnest, might easily be avoided. At present, as the law now stands, personal property under trust, under certain circumstances, escapes probate duty; but it would be very easy to enact that whenever the *cestuique* trust (that is to say, the person who has the beneficial interest) dies, that the tax should be levied on the next *cestuique* trust entering into the enjoyment of the beneficial interest, whether the interest were derived from personalty or realty. Sir, I have purposely, on the present occasion, confined the motion now before the House to probate duties, with the view of preventing the House being misled by any of the specious arguments which were used on a former occasion relating to the legacy duties. The right hon. gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by taking advantage of the fact that, in particular cases, certain interests arising out of land are liable to legacy duty, endeavoured, by confounding probate and legacy duty, to induce the House to believe that land is liable both to probate and legacy duty, and that owners of real estate do, in a large degree, contribute to those taxes. Such, however, is not the fact, and I defy the ingenuity of the right hon. gentleman to show that, either land itself, or that any interest arising out of land (be it freehold or copyhold), is, in any single instance, liable to probate duty. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I trust I have stated enough to the House to induce it to agree to this motion. The people of England are lovers of fair play and honesty, and they cannot understand on what principle of justice Parliament imposes a heavy tax on the hard-earned savings of the working man, which he may have laid by for the support of his widow and infant children, when the property of the rich proprietor, which passes to the heir-at-law, utterly and entirely escapes taxation. I now beg to move "that this House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, on an early day, for the purpose of taking into consideration the acts 36 Geo. III., c. 52; 45 Geo. III., c. 28; 48 Geo. III., c. 149; and 55 Geo. III., c. 184, with the view of imposing the same amount of probate duty on real estate as is now in similar cases imposed on personal property; and, likewise, of considering the expediency of imposing a probate duty in all cases on the death of the *cestuique* trust (whether the trust property be realty or personalty); in order to substitute such proposed probate duty on real estate for some of those taxes which now press most heavily on the productive industry of the people." (Cheers.)

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF HAREWOOD,
PRESIDENT OF THE YORKSHIRE SOCIETY
For Keeping up the Price of Bread and the Rent of Land.

LETTER II.

MY LORD,—I showed in my first letter to your lordship, that perfect freedom of industry and trade is conducive to the highest degree of national prosperity—that domestic industry is best promoted when left at liberty to find out the most profitable employments—that foreign trade cannot (nationally speaking) supersede domestic industry, because whatever we import must of necessity be purchased by the produce of domestic industry—that, under Free Trade, nothing would ever be imported which it was not more profitable to the nation to import than to produce at home—and that abundance and cheapness of food is the greatest of material blessings to a people.

If these plain and clear propositions, which are admitted as indisputable by all men whose opinions are entitled to respect, were once firmly fixed in the mind, they would answer nearly every objection that is made to the repeal of the Corn Laws. But if these are not held as certain and invariable truths, men are liable to be misled by minor considerations, arising out of partial and temporary interests, or entangled in fallacies devised for the purpose of perplexing.

Many of the advocates of the Corn Monopoly, perceiving that the arguments for Free Trade are unanswerable, endeavour to show that there are peculiarities in the circumstances of this country which make England an exception to the general rule. And the ground most frequently alleged to justify a departure from the rule is our heavy taxation. Mr. John Rand, of Bradford, who appears to have studied the subject much less than his brother, seems to rely on this point exclusively. He said at your meeting:—"I am decidedly of opinion that the agricultural interest of this country, with the amount of taxation which it has to bear, cannot enter into competition with that of other nations comparatively free from such burdens, should protection be withdrawn; and upon this ground the meeting very properly takes its stand."

Mr. Bethell also alleges taxation, but with a contractedness unworthy of his general good sense, and dwells upon the "County Rates," the increasing pressure of which afflicts him in his quarter sessions capacity!

Now, it is true that taxation is a burden which presses upon the whole community, and is felt as a weight in every race with our foreign competitors. It is also true that the taxation of England is absolutely larger than that of any other country, though it is by no means larger when compared with the wealth and resources of the respective countries. Mr. Rand does not say whether he means to allege the *general* taxation of the country as a ground of protection to agriculture, or the *special* burdens which are said to press on *the land*. If he mean the former, it affords no more ground of "protection" to agriculture than it does to every other branch of industry; and it is obvious, as remarked in my last letter, that to protect *all* is to protect *none*. The taxes on articles of general consumption, by which the bulk of the revenue is raised, press quite as much on the manufacturer and artisan as on the landowner or farmer. No one will pretend that the agriculturists are the only class who consume sugar; drink tea, coffee, spirits, beer, and wine; use tobacco, paper, timber, bricks, glass, soap, candles, tallow, cotton, and sheep's wool; take out excise licenses; use stamps; pay probate and legacy duty, window duty, carriage and horse tax, or postage. To show that the public taxes are such as press upon the whole population who eat, drink, wear clothes, and live in houses, I will quote from M'Culloch's "Statistical Account of the British Empire" the principal articles of taxation in the year 1837. The gross produce of the several taxes was as follows:—

| Customs and Excise. | Stamps. |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Spirits—Foreign .. | Deeds and other instruments .. |
| Rum .. | Probate and Legacies .. |
| British .. | Insurance—Marine .. |
| Malt .. | Fire .. |
| Hops .. | Bills of Exchange, Bankers' Notes .. |
| Wine .. | Newspapers, &c. .. |
| Sugar and Molasses .. | Stage Coaches .. |
| Tea .. | Post-horses .. |
| Coffee .. | Receipts .. |
| Tobacco and Snuff .. | Other Stamp Duties .. |
| Butter .. | |
| Cheese .. | |
| Currants and Raisins .. | |
| Corn .. | |
| Cotton & Sheep's Wool .. | |
| Silk .. | |
| Hides and Skins .. | |
| Paper .. | |
| Soap .. | |
| Candles and Tallow .. | |
| Coals .. | |
| Glass .. | |
| Bricks .. | |
| Timber .. | |
| Auctions .. | |
| Excise Licences .. | |
| Miscellaneous Customs and Excise .. | |

It is evident, at a glance, that these taxes press upon consumption generally, that is, on the whole body of the people, and that they afford no pretence for "protecting" the owners or occupiers of land at the expense of the rest of the community. The agriculturists suffer from taxation, it is true, but not more than their fellow-subjects. To "protect" them alone, therefore, is robbing Peter to pay Paul. If they are a minority of the nation, what right have they to tax the majority—who suffer equally with themselves from taxation—for their own exclusive relief and benefit? And even if they were the majority—which they are not—where would be the reasonableness of aggravating the burdens of a minority, by shifting the load from their own shoulders to shoulders less able to bear it? General taxation affords no ground whatever for "protecting" any one interest in the country; and to attempt to protect all is ridiculous: for universal "protection" would only be another name for universal restriction. The process which is attempted has been well likened to the proceedings of a cage full of monkeys, who, being inveterate thieves, are every one pilfering from another's mess, and every one in turn being pilfered,—so that there is plenty of quarrelling and much loss of provision, but no gain whatever to any,—unless, perchance, one should be stronger than the rest, in which case he will plunder with impunity, and assume an air of lordly indignation if the weaker should remonstrate against his injustice. Such rapacious monkey would type a certain class of human—not humane—monopolists.

It is possible, however, that Mr. Rand may have meant that there were peculiar burdens borne by the landed interest, which entitle them to protection. I admit that, if there are such peculiar burdens, they ought either to be compensated or removed. But when Mr. Ward moved last year for a committee of the House of Commons to inquire whether there were any such peculiar burdens, the country gentlemen refused, for reasons best known to themselves, to go into the inquiry. Mr. Cobden is to make a similar motion this year, and I do not hear that your Pro-Corn-Law Societies have promised him their support. If it be true that there are such peculiar burdens on the land, let them be distinctly stated, and let us know the taxes themselves and their amount, on the authority of a Parliamentary Committee. To shrink from the inquiry is to betray a consciousness either that there are no such peculiar burdens, or that the Corn Laws give a compensation far beyond anything that is warranted.

Mr. Bethell, with a gravity quite enviable, says:—"Has there been any diminution made in those taxes bearing especially upon the agricultural interests? On the contrary are they not daily increasing? Are not county rates increasing, in spite of every effort to keep them down? I do not quarrel with this, for they are spent for the benefit of the country; but they form part of those expenses which fall upon the agriculturists. From the station which I occupy as chairman of a quarter sessions, I am well acquainted with the subject, and I know that the county rates are daily and hourly increasing."

Prodigious! A truly quarter sessions argument! County rates indeed! The whole amount of the county rates is little more than a million sterling; and this is, as Mr. Bethell admits, "spent for the benefit of the country"—of which country, my Lord, you and your fellow-landowners are. But I can tell Mr. Bethell that we in towns pay county rates, as well as you. To allege this, then, as justifying a "protection" of 30s. per quarter on wheat, is puerile. Yet not one single tax was mentioned in the course of your long meeting but this! Mr. Bethell says:—"The Anti-Corn-Law League do not propose that the burdens now paid by the agriculturists shall be paid by the Consolidated Fund. They do not wish that a single item of the taxes with which we are charged shall be placed to the public's account."

Modest man! Much injured landlords! You have by no means sufficient "protection!" You yourself, my lord, say:—"What is the protection now given to us? (Nothing—literally nothing!) Gentlemen, it is no more than we have a right to

ask. [But it is much more than you have a right to ask.] I thought it was my duty to ask. [Cormorant!] but I am satisfied with the present. [Wonderful!] for it works well! [for the landlords!]

Are you not ashamed of your inactivity? Your thousands upon thousands of broad and fertile acres do not content you, without taxing the poor man's crust to swell your princely income! You belong to the wealthiest aristocracy in the world. The rental of your estate has been very greatly augmented by the industry of that manufacturing population whom you are now endangering, and of whom you have the ingratitude and arrogance to speak in the following terms:—

"The great places from whence all the outcry has emanated are the districts of the cotton manufacturers and the mill-owners. It is cotton against corn [No, it is cotton wanting corn]—against the landed interest of this country—Speculators—men who grind their poor to nothing—against the farmers and the landowners!"

I will not characterize this language as it deserves; it is needless; every reader has done it for me. But I will tell your lordship that these "speculators" are men who, out of the earnings of their toil and skill, pay their workmen far higher wages than you pay your labourers; and, moreover, that these men, by their talents, their industry, their enterprise, and their inventive genius, have borne up the landowners to their present unparalleled height of affluence, whilst you have been loitering in splendid but inglorious idleness. And yet you revile them, because they ask that industry may be free—because they seek even-handed justice—because, alarmed at the growth of our population on a limited soil, at the rapid progress of foreign competition with our commerce, and at the artificial and dangerous state of this nation compared with the rest of the world, they wish that every shackle may be struck off from industry, and that scarcity may be no longer enforced by act of Parliament!

To return; the opponents of the Corn Laws have, over and over again, declared, though Mr. Bethell may be ignorant of it, that if there are any peculiar and undue burdens on agriculture they ought to be removed; but I remind your lordship that, in the principal countries of Europe, the land pays a far larger proportion of the public taxes than in England. Mr. Macgregor, the well-informed secretary of the Board of Trade, has, years since, published the following comparison:—

| | Public Revenue. | Amount of Revenue derived from taxes on land. |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---|
| In Prussia .. thalers | 61,740,000 | 26,630,000 |
| In Austria .. florins | 164,000,000 | 87,000,000 |
| In France .. francs | 1,018,750,000 | 579,669,030 |
| In England .. £ | 52,236,950 | 1,531,915 |

"In the other German States" (says Mr. Macgregor), "and in Belgium and Holland, the proportion from land taxes contributed to the revenue is generally as great or greater than in Prussia."

"The landed interests of France, Flanders, Holland, all Germany, and all Italy, pay at least one-half of the national taxation by a direct tax upon land."

The land-tax, which raises £1,174,100 is exactly at the same nominal amount now as in the reign of William III. (a century and a half since), although the whole public revenue was then only £3,895,305, and is now £50,000,000, and although the land-rental of Great Britain and Ireland has risen within that time from £9,724,000 to £47,068,881! And yet Mr. Rand, Mr. Bethell, and the landowners make an outcry for "protection," on the ground of taxation, against the corn of countries where the special taxes on land are so immensely heavier than they are in England!!! You trifle wantonly with the public patience.

I know it is said that the manufacturers are protected as well as the agriculturists. But this is a delusion. The protecting duties on manufactured goods are inoperative. In all the large branches of our manufactures, cotton, woollen, linen, hardware, and cutlery, and even to a great extent in silk, the import duties are a mere name. This is evident when it is considered that in all these branches the manufactures of England are exported largely to foreign markets, and there undersell the manufactures of other countries. Now, if we can undersell our rivals in foreign markets, we surely need not fear them in our own.

The prices of those manufactures at home are fixed by the prices that can be obtained abroad, and abroad we must sell at least as cheap as foreigners. There cannot be two prices for the same article in this country; therefore it is evident that (with trifling exceptions) the people of this country now obtain their manufactured goods as cheaply as they could be had in any part of the world. Our manufactures have no effective "protection."

The Anti-Corn-Law League has, at its largest meetings in London and Manchester, year after year, avowed its readiness to dispense with all "protection" to manufactures. And if there are any smaller departments of trade where the same readiness is not displayed, how can you wonder at it, whilst the English workman must eat his bread so much dearer than the foreigner? Repeal the Corn Laws, and you may with ease sweep away every other vestige of monopoly. Preserve the Corn Laws, and it becomes positive injustice to remove other "protections,"—for it is only cutting off the branches, whilst you leave the parent trunk and root untouched.

I scarcely need remind you, that Mr. Rand and others, in defending the Corn Laws on the ground of taxation, occupy a position in absolute hostility to that taken up by Sir Robert Peel. When that Minister proposed his income tax, accompanied by his tariff reducing the duties on articles of consumption, he said:—

"With respect to those who hold land, and with reference to those whose income is derived from professions, I have the confident expectation that the reduction in the cost of living will compensate for a great part of the pecuniary burden I impose."

Cheapness of food, then, according to Sir Robert Peel, helps a nation to sustain the weight of taxation. But, according to Mr. Rand, cheapness of food would disable a nation from bearing the weight of taxation. The principles of the two are diametrically opposite; and I scarcely need say which is most entitled to attention.

I shall conclude this letter by putting a case, and making an assertion, which may startle you. They are as follow: Suppose a nation exclusively agricultural,—with a soil even inferior to that of its neighbours,—and loaded with a heavier taxation than any other state; I assert that, even in such a case, Free Trade would be the truest wisdom, and "Protection" would be folly.

"What!" say you; "admit foreign corn, cattle, sheep, wool, fruits, and vegetables? Why, you would starve and ruin every farmer and landowner in the country? This is the *ne plus ultra* of Free-Trade Quixotism!"

And yet, my Lord, Free Trade would be demonstrably the best course, even in these most unfavourable circumstances; and—what will seem most paradoxical of all—it would be best, not only for the occupiers of land, but even for the owners.

First, for the occupiers. It is admitted that they are in bad case—with a poor soil and heavy taxes. The question is, whether it would be better for them that Government should bind them exclusively to their own agricultural produce, or should leave each man to do the best he could for himself. I assert the latter. For it is certain that not a man amongst them would leave his own occupation of tilling the soil, unless he found that he could gain a better livelihood in some other way. Not a bushel of corn, not a pound of wool, not an apple or a cabbage, would he be able to get from any other country (however cheap they might be), without paying for them. In order to pay for them, he must produce something of exchangeable value. He would not turn to any new occupation unless it were more profitable to him than his old one. Suppose that he found an occupation, such as spin-

ning worsted yarn (like Mr. Rand), by which, when the yarn was exchanged for corn and wool with another country, he could obtain more of both than he could extort from his own ungrateful soil. Would it not, beyond all possible doubt, be better for that man to spin yarn, export it, and import corn and wool, than to continue growing the latter? If it were not better for him, he would not do it. If it were better for him, he would and ought to do it. And, if he did it, you may be as certain that it would be better for him as that water runs down hill. Now, what is better for one man might also be better for a hundred or a thousand. We may be sure that not a creature would change his line of life unless he could improve himself, and if he could improve himself, who should forbid him to change it?

"Oh!" say you to yourself, "his landlord should; for otherwise the land would all be thrown up, and there would be no rents."

This brings me to my second point. I said Free Trade would be better even for the landowner.

But suppose it were not,—suppose he were a loser by it,—on what principle of reason would he be justified in keeping the occupiers and their labourers miserable, for the purpose of yielding him rents? Who made him their feudal lord and master, and bound them to sacrifice themselves in his service?

In the long run, however, if not at once, the very landowners themselves would benefit by Free Trade. We have seen that Free Trade would benefit the population generally; the increase of trade and manufactures would enrich them; the population would increase. Now, a rich and increasing population must of necessity require land, on which to build their houses, manufactories, and workshops, on which to pasture their horses and cattle, on which to raise their vegetables and at least a considerable proportion of their food. Gardens and parks would be in request. Timber would be valuable. With every addition to the population, the difficulty and expense of importing the requisite supply of food would be increased, and consequently it would become more profitable to raise food at home. As trade and wealth increased, roads would be improved, access to markets facilitated, more capital would be laid out on the soil, and the national burdens would become lighter as the people became more able to bear them. Then agriculture itself might flourish. Thus improvement would go on; unfettered industry and enterprise would ensure national prosperity; and national prosperity must inevitably bring a richer revenue to the owners of the soil than they could ever have wrung from a ground-down and starving peasantry.

You say this is all fancy. If it were so, it would nevertheless serve (like the parables of Scripture) to illustrate great truths. But cases analogous to this in every essential particular have been seen in various ages of the world; that is, cases in which Freedom of Trade and Industry has produced national greatness, and in which the land has acquired a far higher value from commercial prosperity than it could ever have received from restrictions and "protections." It was so in ancient Tyre, Palmyra, and Alexandria. It was so in the Low Countries, where the very soil was rescued from the ocean by its hardy trading inhabitants. It was so in Venice, which on her few rocky islets for many centuries governed the Mediterranean. But England and Scotland afford innumerable and indisputable proofs of the same great truths. Lancashire, Leicestershire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and many other counties, have had the rental of land doubled, trebled, quadrupled, and quintupled, solely as the effect of manufacturing and commercial enterprise.

But your lordship will observe that the case I have supposed has been purposely made the most unfavourable possible to my own argument, for the sake of testing to the utmost the principles of Free Trade. The supposed case is not the case of England, except you take it at a period when an advanced stage of commercial greatness has ensured the success of agriculture as well as trade. The soil of England is of much more than average fertility. The taxation of England is lighter, compared with her means of bearing it, than that of most countries of Europe. She has the accumulated advantages of ages,—the largest and wealthiest body of consumers for produce of every kind, and especially for wheat, in the world. Seas roll around her, which give a "protection" to her agriculturists never to be taken away. To import one-half of the corn she consumes—let alone other agricultural productions—would require her whole mercantile navy; and therefore, of course, your lordship's supposition of half the land being thrown out of cultivation by the admission of foreign corn is a wild absurdity.

But still the same invariable law governs here as all the world over. Still, freedom of industry is the grand source of prosperity. Still, restrictions and "protections" are mischievous folly. A rapidly-growing population makes the supply of food the paramount question with the nation. And if the landowners of England should selfishly cling to laws which make food scarce and dear, they will undermine the public prosperity, diminish the ultimate value of their estates, and, peradventure, impair their own security and that of all our institutions.

I shall be compelled to intrude upon your lordship with a third letter next week.

I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient servant,

EDWARD BAINES, Junr.

Leeds Mercury Office, March 9, 1844.

AGRICULTURE.

HOW MUCH GOES FOR RENT?

A short time ago it was a favourite assertion at Monopolist meetings to state, that, if half or all the rent was given up by the landlords, it would only make a difference of a few farthings in the pound upon the amount expended by a labouring man in bread. For several weeks the changes were rung upon this topic at every "protection" meeting, and landlord after landlord tried to prove his own disinterestedness by assuming that, come what may, he must be the last to suffer. We have no doubt that most of the landed monopolists believed this assertion. They have hitherto found farmers so readily deluded into promising rents they could only pay out of their capitals, except when prices were unnaturally high, that a different state of things can hardly enter into country gentlemen's comprehension. Somehow or other these calculations have been less rife of late; we have searched in vain through a multitude of Monopolist speeches delivered during the last few weeks for statements of the proportion which rent bears to produce, or the small portion of the price of corn which consists of rent. But, though the squires have dropped the subject, it is much too important to be forgotten, and accordingly the Free-Traders have taken up the question of rent, and have subjected it to an analysis which we suspect will not serve the purpose of the Monopolist originators of the idea.

Mr. Cobden, in the House of Commons, read a detailed statement of the receipts and expenditure of a farmer in a midland county, which proved that

upon moderately good land the landlord receives as rent nearly one half of the whole saleable produce. To displace that fact, Lord Worsley produced his calculation from a farmer on Lincoln-heath, which we examined last week, and roundly asserted that there must be some peculiarity in the instance cited by Mr. Cobden. But how stands the fact? Why, Mr. C. Paget, the gentleman who had supplied Mr. Cobden with his details, immediately on seeing Lord Worsley's calculation, wrote to Mr. Cobden to say that his lordship's figures completely supported his own statement. Mr. Paget's letter will be found in another column, and it deserves the attentive perusal of all who seek to understand this part of the subject. The results are shortly these: Lord Worsley deals with two hundred acres of land, which require an expenditure of £500 in manure to maintain their fertility, while the fertility of the land on which Mr. Paget's figures were founded could be kept up by an outlay for manure of £140 only. His lordship states his rent and tithe (which together make the total rent) at £1000, to which must be added £300 as the excess of expenditure in manure to keep the Lincoln-Heath land "in heart"—making the rent and extra manure £1300, while the expenses are £1350; showing that, in effect, the landlord gets at least the same "lion's" share for the poor land on Lincoln-heath as he does for the richer land in Nottinghamshire. But this is not all; for, two days after the receipt of Mr. C. Paget's letter, Mr. Cobden received a letter from Mr. G. B. Paget, of Sutton, near Loughborough, in Leicestershire (which is also in another column), wherein, after stating that he is not an advocate for free trade in corn, he fully confirms his relative's statement as to "the proportion the rent of the midland counties bears to the other money payments of a farm;" and he states, in confirmation, that the yearly rent of his own farm amounts to £787 10s., while his yearly outgoings besides rent are £840. Nor does the corroborative evidence stop here.

The *Economist*, taking up the subject, and treating it with the searching power of analysis for which that journal is remarkable, educes results for which the Monopolists will not be prepared. The writer takes the statement made by Mr. Howden, of Huddingtonshire, to the agricultural committee of 1836, of the produce and expenditure on a farm of 626 acres. Upon an average of the three years, 1832, 1833, and 1834, 176 acres of wheat, 11 acres of barley, 125 acres of oats, 62 acres of beans, 93 acres of turnips, 6 acres of potatoes, and 125 acres of grass and clover, produced (supposing the whole had been sold) £3202 15s. 4d., which was thus distributed and expended:—Cost of cultivation, £1830 8s. 7d.; corn rent to landlord £1124 7s. 1d.; residue to tenant for interest of capital, skill, and industry, £247 19s. 8d.

The *Economist* subjects this to a strict and practical analysis, the details of which our limits do not permit us to extract; but the results are, that the tenant consumes on his farm, by his horses, servants, and family, so much of his gross produce—which we have seen amounts in value to £3202 15s. 4d.—as is equal to £1128 5s. 11d., while his money expenses, interest of capital, and profits, amount to £950 2s. 4d., the expenses being £780 of that sum. If we add £1124 7s. 1d., the rent paid to the landlord, to two previous sums, we shall exactly balance the gross produce. Now, if the tenant had had no rent to pay, but only the money payments and profits (£950 2s. 4d.), he could have given his horses the same allowance of food, his servants the same wages, and retained the same profits for himself, though he had only received 22s. 2d. a quarter for wheat, 13s. for barley, 9s. for oats, and 12s. 8d. for beans! Thus, 10s. 10d. of every pound received by the farmer for the produce he can sell goes to the landlord as rent. And it must be recollected that the three years to which Mr. Howden's statement applies were years of more than average produce, and that in ordinary and deficient years the proportion paid for rent is still higher. Following out this calculation, the *Economist* shows that, inasmuch as a quarter of wheat produces 125 four-pound loaves, when the price of wheat was 48s. 4d. per quarter, the proportion of the price of every four-pound loaf consumed in this country, which went into the landlord's pockets, was 2½d.; in 1837, when wheat was 55s. 6d., the landlord's slice of every man's loaf was 2½d.; and in 1838, when the average price of wheat was much above 70s. a quarter, the landlords actually received within a minute fraction of 4d. out of the price of every loaf consumed by the industrious population of the kingdom.

It is, therefore, demonstrated that every acre of land might be at least as well cultivated as it is at present, the labourers might receive the same real wages, and the farmer the same profits, as now, if wheat sold at 22s. 2d. a quarter, and other grain in proportion, provided the rent of the landlords could be annihilated. Now, as rent can fairly be paid only out of the surplus, and when farmers are no longer deluded by the expectation of high prices they seldom obtain, they will cease to offer rents which can only be paid out of capital, if Free Trade should, as the Monopolists pretend, reduce prices of agricultural produce to a very low rate, it will be the landlords, and not the tenants, whose interests must suffer.

This is a complete answer to the statements made at the protection meetings, that the Corn Laws do not form a landlord's question; it shows that it is exclusively a landlord's question, and they know it; and hence this outcry. The very consciousness that they (if any) are the gainers by the monopoly induces them to put forward their tenants as the most interested parties. But the analysis of the produce and expenditure of a farm, which the Monopolists themselves have suggested, furnishes conclusive refutation of the landlord-fallacy.

We do not say that, with Free Trade, prices of corn would fall to any great extent; on the contrary, all the evidence on the subject shows that nothing of the sort could happen; but, if the greatest fall, which the most exaggerated statements of the wildest Monopolist alarmists have suggested, should occur, it is as plain as the sun at noonday that this loss would permanently rest on the landlords, and the landlords alone.

LANDLORD AUDACITY.

It is said of the ostrich, that when fairly run down it hides its head in a bush, and fancies itself safe from pursuit. Just so does Mr. George Banks, under the shelter of a seat in the House of Commons, venture to assert that the Dorsetshire labourers receive in some form or other the wages of 11s. a week. That such a statement should be received with a cheer by the monopolist majority there, is not surprising; for though, after all the evidence to the contrary adduced by the Monopolists themselves, not a man could have believed the assertion, its audacity was accepted as an expression of defiance to "common sense." Yet the House of Commons can no more protect Mr. George Banks from exposure than the bush can guard the hunted ostrich from capture; for that intrepid advocate of the Dorsetshire labourers, the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Osborne, has addressed to his county representative a letter in which is the following contradiction. Mr. Osborne says:—

"But there are a few observations I must make upon another part of your speech; I do not think one man in this neighbourhood who reads it can fall of being amused at your coyness in putting the average of wages at 11s., exclusive of miscellaneous advantages. The truth is, the landlords are most of them paying 9s., the farmers, some of them, 8s., but many only 7s.; doubtless, in many cases, the men have more or less of the advantages you allude to; but I can get you the names of scores of labourers who get only 7s., without any advantages whatever. There is a good deal of piecework; but yet you will find on inquiry that such is the general condition of the labourer, that we are obliged to assist many out of the rates who are in full work on full pay; we have to keep all who fall sick, with scarce an exception, and to bury all who die at the expense of the ratepayers. As to the cottages, it is not, as you would have it inferred, merely the parish houses and small leaseholds that are indelicately crowded and in a ruinous condition; the cottages of many large proprietors are in the same condition; if you wish it, I will publish a well-authenticated list of cottages that have been destroyed by large proprietors within these thirty years, over a large tract of country, and the number that have been built; and I think I shall prove to your satisfaction, that if the parish houses and the cottages of small needy proprietors are indelicately crowded, it is owing, in a great measure, to the large proprietors having caused the great scarcity of dwellings, by pulling down so many and putting up so few."

Could anything be so stinging as that passage to a man to whom party and class prejudices had left the feeling of shame? Whether the facts stated by Mr. Osborne that Mr. Banks "is a strong party man, and aspires, in the county of Dorset, to the first place amongst the honoured at the market table," form a sufficient justification of his now refuted misstatement, we leave to the good sense of the public. Mr. Osborne then says:—

"As to the great vexatious question of the Corn Laws, I do not sufficiently understand it to have formed an opinion or attached myself to either party; but I do know enough of the condition of the agricultural labourer to make me feel it my duty to use every effort to draw public attention to it. The evils I deplore and seek to expose are, in my opinion, the results of a most mistaken policy; to persevere in it, I firmly believe, will at last be the utter destruction of all that makes landed property desirable; let the present rising generation of labourers grow up under all the evil influence of their present condition, and it needs not the spirit of prophecy to foretell the curae they will become to the country. It is not too late to rescue them from a great deal of impending evil. We are all to blame, landlords, tenants, and clergy; the farmer for their indifference to the growing misery around them, the latter for not having taken a bolder line in demanding for the poor of a Christian country the sympathy that is their due."

There is much sad reality in this passage; and we only wish benevolent men like Mr. Osborne would take one step further towards emancipating themselves from class prejudices, and apply their minds to a full and fair investigation of the operation of the Corn Laws upon the condition of the labourer. That such an inquiry would lead all such men to this great truth, that the emancipation of industry from all restrictive laws is a condition precedent to the elevation of the agricultural labourer, we have not the slightest doubt.

MONOPOLIST LANDLORDS AND RURAL LABOURERS.

We believe the latest monopolist returned to the House of Commons is Mr. Sotheron, the member for the Northern division of Wiltshire. That gentleman was elected simply as a monopolist: he had taken an active part in Pro-Corn-Law meetings, and he was supported by some monopolists who differed with him in general politics. At his nomination at Devizes he declared that he should have been quite satisfied to have relied for his election upon the votes of the agricultural labourers within a circle of ten miles of that town; and at the Wilt "protection" meeting he said:—

"The great question, however, which has rested itself on his mind was, the probable consequence of Free Trade to the labourer. This was a subject to which he had given much attention."

Now, the reader will not require to be reminded of the intimate connexion between the Corn Laws and low wages with uncertain employment, or that the districts in which protection from foreign competition is most anxiously sought are those in which game-preserves, inferior husbandry, and destitution prevail. Dorsetshire, probably, bears the bad pre-eminence of being the worst cultivated and most aristocratic county in England, but Wiltshire is a formidable competitor for that crown of ey-

press. Knowing something of monopolists generally, and the monopolist landlords of Wiltshire in particular, we were not surprised to find that Mr. Sotheron's professions of regard for the labourer are sadly contradicted by his practice. In the report of proceedings in petty sessions at the County Magistrate's Office, Devizes, before T. H. S. SOTHERON, Esq., M. P., Major Grubbe, F. A. S. Locke, and P. E. Colston, Esqrs., and the Rev. A. Smith, we find the following case:—

"ASSAULT ON A POLICEMAN.—RESULT OF THE BEER SYSTEM AT ELECTIONS.—Robert Hampton, and Thomas Hampton, of Potterne, William Stephens, of Horton, Charles Eden, John May, Simon Ruddle, Charles Martin, William May, Edwin Tucker, John Gee, and George Logdon, were summoned by H. Riom, police constable, for assaulting and beating him on the afternoon of the 12th of February—the day of the North Wilt election—in the chapelry of St. James."

It appears that a great number of agricultural labourers had been brought into the town to grace Mr. Sotheron's election, to whom, as well as to the populace of the town, beer had been given in lavish abundance, and when a mob of several hundreds had assembled to witness a fight, the result of one of the innumerable drunken brawls of which Devizes was on that day the scene, the following savage attack was made upon the policeman who attempted to prevent the disgraceful disturbance:—

"On going among them Robert Hampton, the defendant, asked him what business he had there, and requested him to suffer the fight to proceed; having replied that he went to stop the fight, and that he would not suffer it to proceed, Robert Hampton began hustling him, and struck him on the left ear; the other defendant, Thomas Hampton, then struck him on the right ear with his flat; the mob then closed on him, and some of them caught him by the legs and threw him down; he was kicked and trampled on, and got many blows from all the defendants then in court. He got up as well as he could, and in making his escape from the field was struck again by Logdon and Stephens, and was followed over the bridge by the mob, who tried to break his back across some rails. He was seriously injured; so much so as to require medical aid; he was not even then perfectly recovered; he had done no nightwork since, and had been confined to the house three weeks."

That a man could sit as judge on the defendants whose brutal conduct was the result of his own act, the consequence of debauchery instigated to serve his own political objects, might well surprise any one unacquainted with the rural districts of England; but when we find that such a man had resisted a great act of justice to the community on the plea of the labourers' interest in the monopoly of corn, we must say that the whole matter reduces the value of his plea to a minimum. We shall, however, extract a passage or two from this examination, and leave the reader to judge as to the genuineness of Mr. Sotheron's love for the labourer.

"George Hunt: Saw Riom coming from where the fight had been, towards the town, with a mob at his heels; saw several of them 'pitch into him'; saw May strike him. He first saw him go into the field, and saw them all close round him and strike him; but cannot identify any of the defendants as having ill-used him there."

"Mr. Sotheron: Did you assist Riom?"

"Hunt: No, I dared not, they would have killed me."

"Mr. Sotheron: It was perfectly disgraceful in you to see the man served so, and not to help him."

"Hunt: What was I to do against 300 or 400."

"Mr. Sotheron: All you could."

"William Marshall, tap boy at the White Bear: Saw the defendant Tucker at the White Bear while the beer was given away; saw him about three o'clock go out with some beer."

"Tucker, to the Bench, said: When he went to the White Bear, to give the beer away, there were so many people there, that it was with difficulty he could get out again; he went from thence to the Cross Keys to give away beer, and then he went to Mr. Morris to give the beer, and to the White Lion, and to other houses to give away beer."

"Marshall: At half-past two o'clock, the taproom was full of people, who had all partaken of the beer that was given away; and Tucker was among them; there was fighting among them."

"Tucker, addressing himself to Mr. Sotheron: I was looking for you, sir, when the fight was going on."

Again:—

"Ann Hawkins, of Potterne, was at the fight, but did not see any one strike the policeman. Another woman named Archard made a similar statement."

"Mr. Sotheron told both these women that their conduct was shocking in being present at such scenes."

"Ruddle acknowledged being present. He had had some of the beer which had been given away. He saw a parcel of country people about the policeman beating him."

"John May said nothing except that he had been partaking of the beer which was given away."

"William Stephens said he saw the policeman down, and a lot of men on him, but did not strike him."

"Mr. Sotheron: Were you not ashamed not to help him? You were equally guilty, being present and not assisting him, as if you were one of the who actually struck him."

"—Stephens, sister to defendant, was present and saw the whole of the fight."

"Mr. Sotheron: Quite shocking."

"She saw the police man knocked down on the bridge, but her brother did not do it."

"Mr. Sotheron: You ought to have been standing there as of the defendants."

What monstrous mockery must it have been to have seen Mr. Sotheron turn up his sunny eyes and ejaculate "shocking" at deeds which were the direct and necessary result of his own act in giving away beer to an ignorant and half-starved population, to celebrate his own triumph as a monopolist of food! But hear what Mr. Sotheron the magistrate says to men incited to crime to serve the purpose of Mr. Sotheron the monopolist.

"The Bench, having consulted together sometime, proceeded to deliver their judgment, through Mr. Sotheron, who said: This is a most brutal assault committed on a policeman while in the discharge of his duty in endeavouring to stop a fight. It is a most cruel assault, and one which might have cost him his life. And we find you, Robert Hampton, Thomas Hampton, Wm. Stephens, Charles Eden, John May, Simon Ruddle, and Wm. May, guilty of taking part in it, and we convict you all. You two Hamptons, from your respectable dress and appearance, ought to have known better; you ought to have taken part with the police officer rather than against him. The other poor fellows are in a bad state of poverty, and, as I also know, of great ignorance, we shall not, therefore, inflict so heavy a fine on them as you. The sentence of the bench is, that you two Hamptons be fined £2 each, and in default of payment be committed to the New Prison for six weeks each; that the other defendants be fined 10s. each, or be committed for one month each. The costs in each case were 8s. 6d."

"The two Hamptons found security for their fine and costs, and were discharged. John May's fine and costs were paid by his brother. William Stephens begged hard of Mr. Sotheron to make it easy to him; he had a wife and four children at home to support—he paid 11s., and agreed that his master, Mr. W. Brown, of Horton, should pay the remainder out of his wages, by two weekly instalments; and the three, being destitute of work and unable to raise any money, were committed to prison for one month each."

Here we have a specimen of the "kindly" intercourse

between landowners and labourers, of which we have heard so much at agricultural meetings. This shows the way in which alone the monopolists can get up a semblance of support from the agricultural labourers. Will the moral sense of the British people permit such a cause to be long upheld by such means?

PROPORTION WHICH RENT BEARS TO THE OTHER MONEY PAYMENTS OF THE FARMER.

"Ruddington Grange, March 14.

"My dear Sir,—It is a great satisfaction to me to find the statement I sent to you so fully confirmed by Lord Worsley."

"He takes a farm which is entirely arable, while the one whose expense I stated is 230 arable and 170 pasture, which is a fair proportion for the midland counties. His rent is divided between the landlord and the clergyman; mine is paid entirely to one landlord. He takes a farm which requires an outlay for manure equal to half the rent; I, one which will maintain its fertility at an expenditure of one twelfth the rent in artificial manure; and if you refer to the explanation appended to my statement, you will see that I consider it applicable to the heavy and mixed lands, and that for the poorer light lands a rectification was required for the quantity of manure purchased."

"Now, let us take Lord Worsley's statement. He takes:—

| | |
|----------------------------|---------|
| Landlord's rent | £800 |
| Tithe rent | 200 |
| | — £1000 |
| Add excess of manure | 360 |
| | £1360 |

"His horse keep ought to have been treated like his seed-corn: it is not an outgoing from the farm, but an abstraction from the disposable produce. His other expenses are:—

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Farm labour | £800 |
| Mechanics or tradesmen's bills | 200 |
| Parochial rates | 150 |
| Interest of capital | 200 |
| | £1350 |

so that had his land been of such a quality that it would have required only £140, instead of £500, to maintain its fertility, he would of course have paid £360 more rent. The result then would have been:—

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| Rent | £1360 |
| Other expenses | £1350 |
| Manure | 140 |
| | — £1490 |

Had one third of the land been old turf, the expenses would have been reduced £200. So that Lord Worsley more than confirms my statement."

"I see the Lothain farmers estimate the landlord's share at one half, while I only state it at 25s. out of 55s. for England."

"I believe the opposition you meet with is from an honest conviction that a change would be injurious to the tenant and labourer. I am therefore very sorry that your committee has been refused."

"I am, my dear sir, very truly yours,

"CHARLES PAGET."

"Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P."

"Sutton, near Loughborough, March 16, 1844.

"Sir,—I find that the statement made by my relative, Mr. Charles Paget, and brought forward by you in the House on Tuesday evening, on the proportion the rent of the midland counties bears to the other money payments of a farm, is not considered a fair one. I know well the farm it was taken from, and do not think a fairer could have been chosen, either in respect to quality of land, situation, or management. I have spoken to many tenants, who, upon consideration, generally agree with me that the proportion is as stated. I send you the accounts of my own farm of three hundred and fifty acres, valued at a fair rent, and managed much more expensively than land usually is, or than it would be advisable for a tenant to farm:—

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| Rent of 350 acres, 176 plough and 174 grass, at 45s. | £787 10 0 |
| Labour | £350 |
| Bills | 66 |
| New implements | 20 |
| Rates | 54 |
| Interest on capital | 160 £3200 at 5 per cent. |
| Manure | 200 |
| | — £840 |

"I have not deducted for wear of horses or implements: the twenty pounds will buy new ones, and my horses I buy young, and sell all at as much or more when a little past their best. I do not charge my oilcake except at its value as manure, as I suppose the remainder is paid for in the increased value of stock kept."

"I do not agree with the object of the League, as I think there are peculiar burdens placed upon the land, and up to that amount duty should be levied upon foreign corn, and I declined to meet you at Nottingham on that account; but, knowing that discussion must elicit truth, I shall be most happy at any time to give you such statistical information as may be in my power."

"Make any use you please of this letter."

"Yours faithfully,

"Richard Cobden, Esq."

"G. B. PAGET."

CRUELTY OF CLASS LEGISLATION.—Mr. Matthew Nelson, of Preston, has two sons in America, who, to show their respect to their father, sent him three barrels of prime American flour. Mr. Nelson cheerfully consented to the charge for freight, insurance, dock-duties, portage, and carriage, but felt rather indignant when Mr. Customhouse Officer made his demand for 34s. This is just a taste of the sweets of class legislation.—*Preston Guardian*.

The Marquis of Londonderry, in a letter written from Paris, gives in his adhesion to the Durham Anti-League, but wisely adds:—"I beg to repeat to the farmers of the county of Durham what I have long since stated to my numerous and excellent tenants in Ireland—that it is prudent and wise for them to prepare for the worst; for, after the most extraordinary and inexplicable changes in the times we live in, no man can venture to predict or speculate with certainty on what may occur."

In consequence of the great length to which our Report of the Meeting at Covent Garden extends, we are obliged to omit our usual Notices to Correspondents, and several other matters, prepared for publication.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE beg to announce that the next Meeting in COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE will take place on WEDNESDAY EVENING, the 27th instant. The Hon. C. F. VILLIERS, M.P., will take the Chair precisely at Seven o'clock. Thomas Gibson, Esq., M.P., Commodore Sir Charles Napier, M.P., and Thomas Wakley, Esq., M.P., are expected to address the meeting. Tickets of admission may be had on application at the Offices of the League, 67, Fleet-street, from eleven to four o'clock on Monday and Tuesday. Registered Members admitted as heretofore.—Doors to be opened at Half-Past Six o'clock.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, March 23, 1844.

In his amusing entertainments called "Irish Evenings," Lover relates an anecdote of one of the Earls of Kildare, who excused himself for burning a cathedral on the plea that he thought the Archbishop was in it. A large section of the Monopolists have supported Lord Ashley's amendment on a similar principle: they have made an attack on the manufacturing interest in the hope of injuring the League. The fierce Kildare destroyed the church while the Archbishop escaped from his malice; and thus, too, the Monopolists will succeed in annoying the manufacturers; but, instead of destroying the League, they will give it fresh strength and additional importance. Those manufacturers who have hitherto been false to their order, and alien to the interests of their class, having received such signal proof that the landed oligarchy has resolved to prevent their growth and cripple their resources, will now come forward; and, though they join the movement at the eleventh hour, they will be found as enthusiastic, and probably more vigorous than those who have borne the labour and heat of the day. The operatives, mulcted of a portion of their wages, and having had bitter experience of what "short time" really means in the summer and autumn of 1841, will be animated by a firmer determination than ever to obtain the enfranchisement of industry, and adequate remuneration for labour. Deceived by the tales of self-elected delegates, the misrepresentations of discharged cotton-spinners, and the visionary dreams of itinerant and mendicant Socialists, the Monopolists have taken a step which it will be exceedingly difficult for them, if not quite impossible, to retrace. They have established the principle of interference between the employers and the employed. Be it so. Will the application of that principle stop at spinning-jennies and power-looms? Are there not mines and iron-works? Are there not milliners and haberdashers? What is the remuneration of the farm-labourer in Devon and Dorset? These are inconvenient questions, which the Monopolists must now assume the responsibility of answering; and these are problems of which they have forced the solution on the Legislature.

For the first time in the annals of commerce, a British Parliament has asserted its right to restrict the profits of capital and the wages of labour. The state of the money market affords sufficient proof that the profits of capital will not bear any further reduction without exhibiting a tendency to migration and displacement; and the rate of wages, even on the showing of the advocates of a ten-hours' bill, is even now exhibiting the signs of decline. No one can be such a fool as to suppose that increased wages can be had from diminished profits; and the operatives will not be long in discovering the real nature of the fraudulent boon proffered to them as an equivalent for Free Trade.

In fact the great masses of the operatives are well aware that what Lord Ashley proposes to them is what the emphatic language of Scripture describes as—"instead of bread, a stone; instead of a fish, a serpent." It is not effaced from their memory that the greater number of mills worked "short time" two years ago, and that Lord Ashley's experiment was then tried on a large scale. The arts of self-elected delegates and the itinerant agents of trades' unions cannot hide from them the nature of the results; they will look for an equivalent in place of the reduction which the Legislature is about to enforce; and we have yet to learn whence that equivalent is proposed to be obtained. We know, and the operatives know, that it can only be had from the increased demand for labour which Free Trade alone can create; and we, therefore, look upon Lord Ashley's success as the sure means of bringing into the ranks of the League large accessions of strength, both from the ranks of the

manufacturers and operatives; the Monopolists will find that they have forced into our ranks many thousands who have hitherto viewed the Anti-Corn-Law movement with suspicion or indifference.

REVIEW.

The Land and the League, a Doggerel Ballad.
London, Wright.

"Poets," according to the old proverb, "succeed best in fiction;" but here is a bard risen to give the old saw the lie; his fiction beats Munchausen hollow, but his verse falls short of the insane effusions of Nat Lee, never coming up to the memorable description of poor Nat's hero:—

"He fatten'd padlocks on Antarctic food,
And drove, full butt, against the subjunctive mood."

The Anti-League rhymers opens his ballad with a description of her Majesty's visit to France, and her reception by Louis Philippe; his stanzas, however, would be more applicable to an interview between Queen Pomare and the King of the Cannibal Islands:—

"The aged king, with tenderest care,
Conducted her to land,
Where all his royal family
Embraced her on the strand.

"That aged king did gain new life,
To see our Queen his guest,
With brave Prince Albert, and full soon
He made a royal feast."

The feast is represented as a scene of bacchanalian revelry such as might become a carousal of the Ojibbeways:—

"Now flagons fill'd with choicest wine,
And meats both rich and rare,
Were spread, that such right royal guests
Right royally might fare."

"To be royal," was deemed in old times a phrase equivalent to "being more drunk than a lord;" and in that sense our bard seems to have taken it, for the after-dinner speech which he puts into the mouth of Louis Philippe surpasses in absurdity anything that was ever uttered by the Duke of Buckingham, or even Lord Stanhope himself. The bard, however, happens to be an honest fool, and by combining two dishonest excuses he unconsciously exposes the fraudulent absurdity of both. Louis Philippe thus speaks:—

"Oft have I thought, fair Queen, on all
The griefs that you disclose:
Full thirty years of grievance sore
Hath spoil'd your realm's repose.

"In jargon of philosophy,
With coldest-hearted saws,
Your senators and ministers
Have mystified its cause.

"Over-production they did blame,
And population cursed,
And poor-houses provided for
Poor children to be nursed;

"Torn from their parents' natural care,
With scanty food beside,
Where, cold and comfortless in heart,
Right speedily they died.

"Lest over-population should
With over-produce meet,
And nature's wise provisions show
The legislature's cheat."

Here is a great truth unwittingly expressed. Over-population and over-production are inconsistent in terms, for "Nature's wise provisions" give the increasing powers of production to meet the increasing wants of population, and "the legislature's cheat" is simply that it interferes to prevent the exchange of industry's products for the supply of the people's wants; and, having thus interfered, it excuses itself with the double lie of "over-population" on one side, and "over-production" on the other. Production compensates population, and population compensates production; to assert that both could at the same moment co-exist in surplus, is the very consummation of human absurdity.

But let us return to the hiccupings which our bard irreverently ascribes to Louis Philippe:—

"Free Trade 'in theory' is fine,
In practice it won't bide,
Because the reciprocity
Is all upon one side.

"Look at your shipping, silk, and gloves!
Whose trade you've made more free;
Most ugly types of ruin those,
From reciprocity!"

From the poor creature who wrote these lines it would be unreasonable to expect comprehension of the meaning of a word of four syllables; it is clear that the term "reciprocity" is as mystical to him as "Abracadabra;" but if the poor fellow had taken time to inquire, he would have found that the instances which he has quoted are precisely those which most decisively establish the benefits of "Free Trade;" the silk manufacture especially has risen to become an important branch of industry, solely in consequence of the relaxations of the restrictive system effected by Mr. Huskisson.

We are not astonished to find this enemy of Free Trade a zealous advocate for repudiation, or at least

for such a composition with the national creditor as would reduce the public debt to one half of its present amount. In this modest proposal he is of course but a humble follower of that signal of consistency, Sir James Graham. Since the days when the Norman barons raised an outcry against the Jews, and took advantage of the popular tumult to burn all the notes, bonds, and obligations which they had ever given for borrowed money, to the present hour escape from the just demands of creditors has been the recognised policy of the English oligarchy; at one time through Sir James Graham proposing to wipe out the debt with a sponge; at another time through Lord Mountcashel and Sir E. Knatchbull modestly demanding that the industrious portion of the community should pay their mortgages and settlements for them. Their bard proposes that both plans should be adopted, but contrives so to jumble them together as to render himself unintelligible without larger comment than we can afford, or indeed than the subject deserves.

Of the second and third parts of this ballad we can say nothing; they are unreadable; Job himself would not have patience to get through two consecutive stanzas. We must therefore dismiss the ballad with our heartiest commiseration for the printer's readers; it is not likely to have any others.

The Parliamentary and Newspaper List, published by Dawson and Son, is the most complete political analysis of Parliament and the Press which has yet been issued. It contains an accurate list of the House of Commons, with a coloured indication of the party to which each member belongs. In the newspaper list we have not only an index to the political sentiments advocated, but also an account of the number of stamps used by each journal according to the latest returns. Every Free-Trade will derive renewed hopes from consulting this list; it contains abundant proof that the strength of the good cause is on the increase; and it is particularly gratifying to find that the provincial journals of greatest circulation are those which advocate a repeal of the odious and destructive Corn Laws.

DURHAM AND THE CORN LAWS.—The County of Durham Society for Agricultural Protection, recently formed, has realized £675 19s. by the subscription of 64 persons, three-fourths of whom are well-known landowners. It may be true that "protection" is a farmers' question, but the farmers of Durham do not seem to think so.

THE FUNDS.

| | Sat. Mar. 16 | Mon. Mar. 18 | Tues. Mar. 19 | Wed. Mar. 20 | Thurs. Mar. 21 | Fri. Mar. 22 |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Bank Stock for ac. | 198½ | 198½ | 200 | 199½ | 200 | — |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 99 | 98½ |
| 3½ per Ct. Red. Ann | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 3½ per Ct. Ann. new | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ |
| Long An. Ex. 1860 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Cons. for Acce. . . | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 99 | 98½ |
| Exc. Bills | 71 pm. | 47 pm. | 67 pm. | 70 | 71 pm. | — |
| Ind. Sds. und. 1000l | 88 5 | 85 pm. | 87 8 | 88 | 88 5 | — |
| India Stock | 285½ | 287½ | — | 289½ | 291½ | — |
| Belgian | — | 105 | — | 104½ | 104½ | — |
| Brazilian | 79½ | 83 | 82½ | 82½ | 82½ | — |
| Chilian | — | 101 | 105 | — | 104½ | — |
| Columbian Venes. | 14½ | 14½ | 14½ | 14½ | 14½ | 15 |
| Danish | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 101½ | 101½ | 101½ | 101½ | 102 | 102 |
| Dutch 2½ per Ct. | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Mexican, 1837 . . | 8½ | 35½ | 35½ | 36 | 36½ | 36½ |
| Portuguese, conv. | 46½ | 40½ | 47 | 46½ | 45½ | 46½ |
| Buenos Ayres . . . | — | 38 | — | — | 37½ | — |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 24½ | 24½ | 24½ | 25 | 25 | 24½ |
| Do. 2 per Ct. | 36½ | 36½ | 36½ | 36½ | 36½ | 36½ |
| Peruvian | 30½ | 30 | 30½ | — | 30½ | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, March 18.—The supply of Essex Wheat was short this morning, but there was a fair show of samples from Kent. The fine cold drying wind we have had the last day or two had not been sufficient to improve the condition much. The best dry samples were quickly taken off at fully last week's rates; but inferior qualities of English, and all descriptions of free Foreign, met a slow sale, and former prices were barely supported. The supply of Barley was short, and last week's rates were maintained. There was a good supply of Beans, and they were 1s. cheaper. No alteration in Peas. Although not a single cargo of Irish Oats had arrived up to Friday, the large quantity of 20,000 qrs. appears in the return; the whole of them having arrived in two days, Friday and Saturday. The sales to-day have been mostly confined to small parcels to country dealers. The prices of this day week were with difficulty obtained, and where vessels were on demurrage, a decline of 6d. per qr. was acceded to.

S. H. LUGGS and SON.

| Currency per Imperial measure. | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
| Wheat, English, Red | — | Peas, Maple | 28s to 30s |
| New | 45s to 53s | Malt, Pale Suffolk and | — |
| Do., do., Old | 52s — 61s | Norfolk | 54s — 58s |
| New, do. White | 48s — 60s | Chevalier | 60s — 62s |
| Old, do., do. | 60s — 64s | Brown | 58s — 60s |
| Dantzic | 57s — 63s | Oats, English Feed | 20s — 22s |
| Stettin | 50s — 57s | Do. Short | 21s — 23s |
| Barley, Malt | 34s — 34s | Scotch Feed | 21s — 23s |
| Distilling | 32s — 34s | Do. Potatoes | 25s — 26s |
| Grinding | 28s — 32s | Irish Feed | 19s — 20s |
| Beans, Tick | 26s — 27s | Do. Short | 20s — 22s |
| Harrow | 28s — 30s | Do. Black | 19s — 20s |
| Pigeon | 32s — 34s | Do. Galloway | 17s — 19s |
| Old Harrow | 33s — 34s | Flour, town made and | — |
| Peas, White | 28s — 30s | best country marks | 45s — 50s |
| Do., Bollers | 31s — 33s | Norfolk and Sur- | — |
| Grey | 26s — 28s | folk | 40s — 44s |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 11th to the 16th of March, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------|-----------------|--------|-------|
| English | 5751 | 2347 | 1860 | 1160 | 697 |
| Scotch | 69 | 620 | 2059 | — | — |
| Irish | — | 1497 | 19205 | — | — |
| Foreign | 1300 | 836 | — | — | — |
| | Flour, 6932 sacks. | | Malt, 5669 qrs. | | |

THE LEAGUE.

No. 27.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1844.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 87, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

MINISTERIAL THRALDOM.

The little debate on the little question raised by Mr. Hutt, on Tuesday night, is chiefly interesting as it illustrates the position of the Ministry, and shows the extent and severity of the thralldom in which they are held by their makers and masters—the Monopolists. Colonies have been spoken of lately as part and parcel of the Mother Country. Manufacturers have been exhorted to look first, for their market, to the agriculturists at home; and then to the Colonies; and as for the rest of the world, to forget its existence. By rhetoric of this sort, the county members were coaxed into a very grumbling acquiescence in the Canada Corn Bill. There had been a previous understanding, they were told; and that, in fact, the fixed-duty law for Canada was an integral portion of the new sliding-scale bill for this country. All this seemed very strange, but there was no help; the time was too early, and the alternatives were too forbidding, for a breach; and so, Ministers had their way, with a monitory ejaculation to "Go, and sin no more."

It was a pitiful hodge-podge, this Canada Bill; looking towards Free Trade, but looking that way without moving; creating a new monopolist interest, while affecting to abate monopoly; and strengthening the sliding-scale policy by a partial application of the fixed-duty principle. Moreover, it related just to one of our colonies, and no more. The law exists as an anomaly, a singularity in legislation, for which no corresponding singularity of circumstances can be made out with any semblance of plausibility. If a wise measure, why not extend it to all our colonies? If an unwise measure, why tolerate its existence for any colony? So argued common sense and Mr. Hutt. His proposition was to put the rest of our colonies on the same footing as Canada. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Sandon put forth the usual diversity of answers made by puzzled men who are afraid or ashamed to tell the truth; they contended that corn would come in, and therefore it must be stopped; and that corn would not come in, and therefore ought not to be allowed; and they affected to be much alarmed for the reason that the agriculturists would be alarmed without reason; the upshot of all being plainer than any words could have made it, the unspoken truth, "Our masters, the corn lords, will not let us do this; Shylock holds us to our land."

The whole thing was, in itself, trifling and trumpery; a mere chip in porridge. The decision of the great Free-Trade Question can neither be advanced nor retarded by these very subordinate incidental discussions. Mr. Hutt also laboured under the disadvantage of having his proposed extension encumbered by the manifold incongruities of the original measure. Mr. Gladstone twitted him with this; and wanted to know whether India and Australia were to have a 3s. import duty as well as Canada;

thus ingeniously converting the faults of the Government measure into an obstacle to its extension. But, although we have called the question itself trifling and trumpery, we cannot apply those terms to the qualities of consistency and independence by which an Administration ought to be characterized. Lord Stanley and Mr. Gladstone must have felt how much they compromised themselves by their opposition to the motion, and by the excuses they were reduced to devise for that opposition. They are both high-spirited men, his lordship especially, and must have been painfully conscious of the degrading work devolved upon them. Sir Robert Peel is a cruel leader and coadjutor in emergencies of this description. Like a cunning manager of a theatre, he reserves for himself the great and graceful parts; but what cares he (the theatrical manager, we mean) for the wounded pride of his gentlemanly subordinates, who have to do the chain-dance, or propitiate the grumbling gods? He orders them to go on and say something; and they comply, with burning cheeks and indignant hearts. Was Mr. Hutt's motion not worthy the interposition of the Premier? Or did he not choose, even indirectly, in his own person, to confess of what a subjugated Government he is the nominal head? We will not speculate on motives. Anyhow, the job was done; and so done as that all the world may see how unrelentingly Ministers are held to their allegiance to the Majesty of Landlordry.

Be it so; our aim is not for a bit-by-bit reform of the laws against Trade, Commerce, and Labour. Were the landlords less tyrannical, and the Ministry less enslaved, there might be sundry half-measures and compromises that would indefinitely postpone the coming triumph of a Free-Trade policy. There might also be some reliance on the readiness of Ministers to seize occasions of doing a little in the application of the principles which they hold as abstract truth. The power that is over them will not, it appears, tolerate any such dalliance with the right. They must consult even the most preposterous apprehensions and morbid "sensitiveness" of their masters. No confidence is reposed in them. Be the occasion great or small, they must evince themselves true to the very letter of their bond. Now, we care little about the exhibition which the agricultural interest, as it claims to be called, makes of itself. The readiness to be thrown into a panic at the mere shadow of an ear of wheat thrown across the waters of a wide ocean, is terrible testimony both to incapacity and rapacity. But we know the spirit we have to deal with. The condition of the Slave-ministry is the more impressive spectacle of the day. That is enough to touch the heart of charity; and we wonder that Tories, bound to them by political opinions and sympathies, and not interested in the gains of Monopoly, should not make some effort to rescue the honour of their party, and the persons of their leaders, from this most degrading vassallage.

"No compromise" is our policy, as well as that of the food-monopolists. The firmer they affect to stand, the more certain is their fall. The great peril of the Free-Trade cause has hitherto been in the many interests and influences that seemed likely to combine for some patchwork and temporary settlement. Now, every public man must take a side. The demarcation of Free-Trader and Monopolist grows broader and broader, and the indications are proportionately strong, that the only settlement must be made on the plain and broad principle. For helping on this consummation, we thank the Protectionists, however unintentional their aid. Let them but continue to hold their slaves tight enough, and we shall be as secure from treachery and compromise, as we are, in that case, certain of eventual success.

POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

King-maker Warwick was but a faint prototype of Cabinet-maker Richmond: the old baron allowed some show of liberty to his royal puppets; but the modern Duke holds his Ministerial nominees in such close duress, that they seem to have lost the power of independent action. His Grace is a hard taskmaster: not only does he hold those whom he has enslaved in rigid fetters, but he constantly keeps pulling at the chain in order to remind them of their thralldom. Pitiable, indeed, is the situation of those who have submitted to his yoke; the Premier sits sullen, and performs the ungracious task of preserving ruinous Monopoly in desperate silence; the Vice-President of the Board of Trade scarcely conceals his contempt for the sophisms he is compelled to utter; the self-satisfied stolidity of the Chancellor of the Exchequer does

not save him from twinges of conscience when he finds that his system of taxation must gradually exhaust the springs of industry; hostile tariffs spread gloom through the Foreign Office, and West Indian complaints disturb the complacency of the Colonial Department. Placing himself in the van, as the representative and leader of the close oligarchy to which the manifold iniquity of the late general election has transferred the Government of the country, the Duke of Richmond enacts the part of Lord Protector with a calm consciousness of power which Cromwell himself might have envied. At his behest, the gambling of the rich is protected, and the food of the poor onerously taxed; he is the recognised patron of speculation in Newmarket and the Corn-market; the preserver of game and of gaming; the select dictator to whom the whole power of his party is confided. The Ministers, conscious of this bondage, exert every artifice to hide their thralldom from themselves and others; they will fight no battle at his command—their only care is to shuffle over the day of strife. Committees of inquiry are refused; inconvenient debates are set aside by raising some point of order, as on Mr. Elphinstone's motion, or by emptying the House, as was done when Mr. Ricardo exposed the absurdity of the cry for reciprocity. It is found to be inconvenient to recognise a truth in the abstract as conscience dictates, and to refuse its behests in the concrete at the dictation of a master.

We are not of those who complain of the use which the ducal dictator makes of his power. We do not very deeply lament his coming forward to the succour of the blacklegs of Newmarket, Epsom, and Goodwood; it is desirable to have it known that laws restricting vice or folly were never intended to interfere with aristocratic amusements:—

"Virtue, we grant, is now an idle bonst;
But shall the dignity of vice be lost?"

We could wish, however, that this tenderness to patrician failings were accompanied by some sympathy with plebeian feelings; and, if laws are to be relaxed in special cases of unequal pressure, we regret that there was no exceptional legislation for the pauperized labourers of Sussex.

To escape from the realities of thralldom, the Ministers have taken to abstractions; everything is now viewed "in the abstract;" in other words, the truth of principles is conceded, and their application refused. Now, this is, in fact, declaring that the adversaries of Free Trade are resolved for the future to rest the support of Monopoly either on political or physical force, and to place the issue of the question simply on material strength. During the debate on Mr. Cobden's motion, it was positively ludicrous to witness the dismay with which the Monopolists looked upon every speaker getting up on their side after Mr. Gladstone, and their open reliance, not on the strength of arguments, but on the number of votes. The anxiety to evade discussion was exhibited just as strongly on the question of the probate duties, and also on the question of reciprocity. It would seem as if the only answer that could be given to reason and argument was, "The Duke of Richmond wills it, and there must be an end of the matter."

In political parties it is quite sufficient to have the command of a majority; but the error made in the Government of this country is the supposing that the great bulk of the nation cares one straw for party and its objects. The Duke of Richmond rules Sir Robert Peel, simply because Sir Robert Peel consented to take office on a party tenure, with little respect to the will of the Sovereign, and with still less to the voice of the people in the matter:—

"His towering spirit now is broke,
His neck is bended to the yoke;"

and we doubt whether he has sufficient energy to work out his emancipation. At present, all his parliamentary tactics are directed to one object,—the getting over of the session with as little discussion and trouble as possible, trusting to the chances of time for something that will compel the oligarchy to loosen their hold on himself, or enable the people to effect his and their deliverance. There have been times when he seemed to have mustered up sufficient courage to assert free agency;

"But as a dog committed close
For some offence by chance breaks loose,
And quits the clog, but all in vain,
He still drags after him the chain,"

so the Premier is dragged back to his bondage by the heavy chain of county members in his rear, and is soon fastened to the Richmond clog again.

There are, however, ominous signs of danger abroad. The conversion of the Three-and-a-half per.

Cents. is a proof that the rate of interest on capital has been depreciated, and this has even been the forerunner of a lowering of the remuneration of industry. Capital itself is but accumulated industry; it is an aggregate of past labour; its fall in value must bring down other labour with it. All the revenue derived from industry is either a remuneration for the accumulated labour which has collected the elements of industrial reproduction, or a remuneration for the labour actually bestowed on the working up of these elements. In other words, industrial revenue consists of the profits of the capitalist and the wages of labour. When the profits of the capitalist decrease in any branch of industry or in a nation generally, there arises a tendency in capital to migrate and seek elsewhere for sufficient profits; the accumulated labour is transferable: it may be fixed in any place or devoted to any purpose. On the contrary, the operative mass—daily augmenting by the natural course of population, living from hand to mouth—having no means of migration, is equally unprepared and unable to resist any diminution of wages which must follow from a falling off in the industrial revenue. Capital has taken as large a share of the reduction as it can well bear; and the next commercial crisis which supervenes from a bad harvest, or from any other cause, must fall directly and immediately upon the wages of industry.

The question seen distinctly at the extreme of the political horizon, but which may come upon us with perilous rapidity, is the adequacy of the wages-fund or industrial revenue of the country to meet the increasing demands made upon it by an increasing population. The policy of the Duke of Richmond and the oligarchy is directed to diminishing the wages-fund: the income-tax is paid out of it, the customs are paid out of it, the excise is mainly paid out of it, and the profits of monopoly are exclusively paid out of it. It is evident that the industrial revenue is simply the difference in price between the raw material and the manufactured article; and this difference is as much diminished by enhancing the price of the raw material as by lowering the price of the manufactured goods. But food is the most important raw material in every kind of production, and a tax upon food is consequently a direct reduction of industrial revenue, that is, of the fund from which wages are to be paid.

The Duke of Richmond and his associates have attempted to create a diversion in their favour by appealing to the prejudices of a portion of the operatives, and joining with them in the complaint of the increasing disproportion between work and wages. No doubt Sir R. Peel, Sir J. Graham, and Mr. Gladstone contemplated this flirtation between the monopolists and trades' unionists at first with something like satisfaction; but there is just as little doubt that they now view it with alarm, and would very gladly evade this most inconvenient of all discussions. But the recent vote of the House of Commons on Lord Ashley's motion must force the question of wages into discussion; and gladly would we put the question of Free Trade on such an issue. The 'Ten Hours' Bill will make a large reduction of industrial revenue; its promoters have never inquired whether the industrial revenue of the country is in a condition to bear such a reduction, and have not even thought of the means by which the deficiency can be supplied. But though these questions seem not to be discussed by self-constituted delegates, or by those economic philanthropists who hope to acquire a character for benevolence at the expense of other people, they will be very earnestly and practically examined by the operative masses of the North of England. It is not very long since they had experience of what "working short time" really means; another commercial crisis would renew the bitter instruction, and give them fewer hours of labour than have been charitably ordained by Lord Ashley; we doubt whether the results would ensure public gratitude to the authors of the catastrophe.

The embarrassment of the Ministry arises not merely from their being pledged to monopoly, but also from the fresh difficulties which the monopolists create around them in the mere wantonness of power. Thanks to Lord Ashley, the question of wages has been placed in such a position before the country that it must be taken into consideration, and that right speedily: the Legislature has begun to tamper directly with the fund from which wages are paid, and has thus rendered it necessary to inquire what are the abatements to which it is already subject, in order to see whether it can bear the proposed diminution without danger.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Eighth Week, ending Saturday, March 30.

We were under the necessity of leaving the important proceedings of Friday week unrecorded in our last "Mirror;" and as every man who takes the slightest interest in the progress, either of commercial freedom or of the restriction of the hours of factory labour, is now well acquainted with the results of that night's debate, we shall advert to the matter very briefly.

The first victory which Lord Ashley gained was on a kind of preliminary tactical point, though substantially it amounted to an affirmation of the principle of "Ten Hours." It was on the question of the definition of the hours of NIGHT, which, by consequence, would settle those of the DAY. On Friday week the question was tried again, on arriving at the eighth clause of the FACTORIES Bill; and here the debate was on the formal, deliberate question, whether the hours of daily labour should be "Twelve," or "Ten." There was nothing very new urged on either side; the same arguments for the protection of the Factory Operative, on the ground of humanity, were met by the same allegations that this restriction on the working of machinery would destroy the manufacturer's PROFIT, and therefore would annihilate the FUND out of which the operative receives his wages.

There were, however, one or two speeches made on Friday week worth notice. Mr. CARDWELL, the member for Clithero, who seconded the address on the opening of the session, kept up the reputation which he then acquired by a very excellent speech against the "Ten Hours." He spoke immediately behind the Ministerial benches; he was listened to with marked attention; and Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, and other members of the administration, testified, by looks, smiles, and cheers, how gratefully they felt the relief which his speech imparted. He pointed to Belgium, with its beds of coal, ready to work our machinery, now fast exporting there; and he warned the House, that if they laid restrictions on English capital, it would quickly follow the machinery. We hope some Free-Trade member of the House will get Mr. Cardwell's speech off by heart, and speak it, almost word for word, in favour of the motion to be proposed by Mr. VILLIERS, after Easter, for the total repeal of the Corn Laws.

Another speech was spoken on Friday week, which was striking, as being by far the *cleverest*, and, in many respects, apparently the most *philosophical*, reasonable, and rational which has been delivered in favour of the "Ten Hours." If any justification could be made out for a Free-Trader voting in favour of the limitation of the "Ten Hours," that speech did it. Mr. Charles Buller delivered it; and, as he is as cool as he is clever, he doubtless was perfectly conscious of the whole tendency of what he said. Certainly, no man can deny that there are evils connected with factory toil; none can deny that it would be a good thing if every working man in Great Britain could earn more money in fewer hours, and thus have more leisure for healthful recreation and moral and intellectual improvement; nor will the manufacturers refuse the boon claimed for them by Mr. Charles Buller, that of a reduction or abolition of the duties on raw materials, especially those on wool and cotton, or refuse to admit that they would thereby be better enabled to compete with foreign rivals, and therefore be somewhat better enabled to bear a reduction in the hours of labour. But if there be Free-Traders in the House of Commons, who vote for the "Ten Hours" on the double ground of humanity to the working classes, and in the hope that the limitation of the hours of labour will *compel* the repeal of the Corn Laws, they had better take the Easter holidays to think the matter over. It is quite possible that by *restraining* labour, before commerce is set free, we might bring about a state of things in which the repeal of the Corn Laws would prove as valueless as the note of a broken bank.

People are whispering that the Whigs who supported Lord Ashley were actuated rather by a desire to damage the Government than by any sincere conviction on the subject. We hope this is not true. We should be sorry to believe that such men as Lord John Russell or Sir George Grey were animated by any other than *honest* though *mistaken* motives in supporting Lord Ashley. If there were any who acted otherwise, they received a well-merited lecture from Mr. Ward on Friday week, who, in an honest and straightforward speech, characterised by his accustomed ability, rebuked the Whigs for their *mistake* in lending themselves to the support of so dangerous an experiment on the capital, the commerce, the trade, and the wages of the country.

Our readers are aware that Ministers were defeated on Friday week, by 186 to 183; and that again another division took place, when Lord Ashley was defeated by 188 to 181. By these two divisions the House was placed in the position of refusing to permit the factory operatives to work so long as "twelve" hours, or of limiting them to so short a period as "ten" hours. Under these circumstances, Sir James Graham asked till Monday to consider what should be done.

On Monday, he made a long and very able speech, to a crowded House. The decisions of the House appeared to point to "Eleven" hours as the proper duration of the factory day. But against the adoption of this compromise was the fact, that instead of putting it down, it would strengthen the Ten Hours' agitation; while, at the same time, it would be almost as fatal as that of "Ten," to the manufacturing interests of the country, and therefore to the interests of the operatives themselves. Mr. Charles Buller, on the previous Friday, had spoken of a new social state of things requiring the application of new legislative principles. Were they to act on such a dictum, it would be the commencement of a JACK CADE system of legislation. With all their respect for the opinion of the House of Commons, as expressed by a majority, Ministers not only stood firm, but had been confirmed in their conviction that a limitation to less than Twelve Hours would be fatal to the entire interests of the country, including the operatives themselves; and therefore, to get out of their difficulty, they proposed to drop the present Bill, and bring in a new one, containing the *Twelve Hours*, as before.

Member after member rose, in great indignation, to ask what Sir James Graham meant by "Jack Cade;" and Lord Ashley adopted the title, for he said, very truly, that the insurrection which was headed by Jack Cade was caused by people writhing under burdens too heavy to be borne. But this was rather unlucky of Lord Ashley. No doubt, not a few of the—

"Rebellious hinds, the filth and scum of Kent," who followed "Mr. Cade" (as Charles Buller, with most respectful gravity, termed him), were animated by that

"rebellion of the belly," so vividly depicted in "Coriolanus." But these were others of Mr. Cade's followers who had notions somewhat similar to those advocated by the *Northern Star* at the present day. Dick the Butcher says to Jack,—

"My lord, when shall we go to Cheapside, and take up commodities on our bills?"

To which Jack—*we beg pardon—Mr. Cade*, replies—

"Marry, presently."

Now, we dare avouch that not a few of your unscrupulous Chartist disturbers of Anti-Corn-Law meetings, not being very fond of earning their subsistence by independent, honest, free, unfettered industry, as becomes Englishmen, would prefer being led up to London (and if led by Lord Ashley, so much the better), in order that they might "go to Cheapside, and take up commodities on their bills." But this is a system of credit of which the shopkeepers in Cheapside would be the last to approve, and it is a sort of Free Trade which is not taught by the Anti-Corn-Law League.

Meantime Lord Ashley, who was very stout on Monday night, has shrunk from "the sound himself" had made." On Wednesday he announced that he would not oppose Ministers in bringing in their new bill—which, in fact, will be almost identical with the old one—but that after Easter he will take a discussion on it. The meaning of all this is plain. Lord Ashley has become afraid of the consequences of his success. The greatest number of members who divided on the question of ten or twelve hours was 368—the rest of the 659 members of the House being absent. By postponing the discussion till after Easter, some five or six hundred members will be able to come to town; Lord Ashley's debate will be a *sham* one; and all this talk about humanity and so forth will evaporate under the crushing weight of a majority of sixty or seventy, by which the "Ten Hours" will be rejected.

If all the thinking working population of this country do not now see where their true interest lies, they stand lower in the scale of intelligence or of honesty than we are disposed to give them credit for. Ministers have distinctly declared that the Corn Law prevents the adoption of the "Ten Hours;" in other words, Monopoly makes the working man *cheap*; Free Trade would make him *dear*, because it would increase the demand for his labour. Let them "think on these things."

On Tuesday, the following motion was discussed in the House of Commons:—

"Mr. Hutt,—That this House resolve itself into a committee of the whole House on the Corn Laws, for the purpose of considering the following resolution:—'That it is expedient that corn imported into the United Kingdom from the British possessions in South Africa, India, and Australasia, be made subject to the same duty which is levied on corn imported into the United Kingdom from Canada.'"

To the credit of the Opposition side of the House, they successfully prevented repeated manoeuvres on the Ministerial side with a view to "count out;" and so Mr. Hutt was enabled to have both a discussion and a division. Without disrespect to Mr. Hutt, we may remark that his motion was not one which Free-Traders need care much about. Mr. Ewart very justly observed that we have got *beyond* such motions; the question is not now whether corn shall come in from our colonies, but from all quarters of the world. Yet it was an additional means of compelling Ministers to confess the utter weakness, futility, and meanness of the Corn Laws. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Stanley both resisted the motion, not because it would do any *injury* to our home interests, but because it would create a *panic* amongst "fussy and fidgety men." "Panic," we are told, comes from "PAN," a heathen deity, represented with two horns, a goat's beard, a goat's tail, and goat's feet; and this may be a fit enough emblem of our stupid monopolist agricultural interest. He is said to have accompanied Bacchus to India, and, by uttering a loud scream, which was repeated by the echoes, he scared away the enemy. Englishmen may emigrate; in silence, on the plains of the Cape of Good Hope, or of Australia, they may *sow* their corn; and in solitude they may *eat* it. But the moment that, animated by the energy and the industry of Englishmen, they say to one another—"We have kith and kindred in whirling Manchester; many-sounding Birmingham holds our brothers and our sons; tinkling Sheffield has our lineage and our blood; teeming Leeds and Glasgow acknowledge our relationship—let us send them corn, and they will send us clothing and cutlery and crockery; and on both sides of the globe shall be heard spoken the English tongue, and seen the English civilization, while British commerce belts the globe!"—The English agricultural god, PAN, listens, with his goat's ears, till he hears the word "corn" at the sound of it, he screams "panic!" Ministers act as his echoes; and the whole confederacy of monopolists are in a wilder commotion than a forest of baboons at the first sound of a musket-shot. Yes! it is right and fitting that English science, industry, skill—nay, existence, should be crushed, rather than their graces of Richmond, Cleveland, and Northumberland should have their nerves disturbed by a "panic!"

MEETINGS.

GREAT MEETING AT COVENT GARDEN THEATRE.

The customary aggregate weekly meeting of the members and supporters of the National Anti-Corn-Law League was held on Wednesday evening last, at Covent Garden Theatre. The attendance was to the full as great as we have noticed upon former occasions, and not a whit less enthusiastic was the reception which greeted each speaker upon his advance to the table for the purpose of addressing the audience.

At seven o'clock Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P., Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. Bright, M.P., Mr. Glaborne, M.P., Mr. W. J. Fox, and other of the most influential members of the Council of the League, made their appearance upon the stage, when their *entrée* was, as upon former occasions, the signal for loud and long, *phew-phew-phew*. Amongst the gentlemen present upon the stage at the time, we observed

T. Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; Dr. Bowring, M.P.; John Cobden, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; William Glaborne, Esq., M.P.; H. W. Thompson, Esq., M.P.; Thomas Thompson, Esq., M.P.; William Thompson, Esq., M.P.; the Lord Provost of Edinburgh; George Thompson, Esq.; James Thompson, Esq.; Samuel Lucas, Esq.; P. A. Thompson, Esq.; and

Union, Esq.; W. A. Williams, Esq.; J. Coleman, Esq., United States; Henry Storer, Esq.; A. Scholfield, Esq., of Rochdale; C. J. Hardman, Esq., of Hastings; A. Rose, Esq.; N. Overbury, Esq., of Westbury, Wilts; Jesse Goldsmith, Esq., of Trowbridge, Wilts; Henry Lloyd Morgan, Esq.; Count St. Monetta; Count Fé; J. Wynne, Esq., of Wolverhampton; Professor Von Raumer; W. Tooke, Esq.; Joseph Alnsworth, Esq., Bolton; Wm. Tait, Esq., of Edinburgh; A. M. Biddell, Esq.; Henry Briggs, Esq., Wakefield; Duncan Macgillivray, Esq., Glasgow; Wm. Thornburrow, Esq.; Henry Ashworth, Esq., of Bolton; John Richards, Esq., Birmingham; Major-General Briggs; E. Wright, Esq., Boston, United States; — Cressell, Esq.; George Borrett, Esq., Southampton; J. Mollett, Esq.; J. B. Scott, Esq., of Manchester; W. Corry, Esq.; John Hunter, Esq.; John Bickers, Esq.; Martin Thackeray, Esq.; George Ridout, Esq.; George Crawford Heath, Esq.; Professor Kay, &c.

In the absence of the Hon. C. P. Villiers, the chair was occupied by Mr. M. Gibson, M.P. for Manchester.

Mr. SAUL read the minutes of the last meeting, which, upon the motion of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, seconded by PETER DIXON, Esq., were unanimously confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN, who on coming forward was received with vociferous applause, said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I am proud at having been invited to take the chair at one of these important meetings; but at the same time I cannot help expressing my regret at the circumstances which have induced our friends to ask me to preside. First, our able and excellent friend, Mr. George Wilson, who has so frequently presided at these meetings, is unavoidably absent in consequence of indisposition; and my friend, Mr. Villiers, who would have taken his place this evening, is also absent, I believe, in consequence of slight indisposition. I am, then, most proud to take upon myself, by invitation, the duties of the chair, though I feel that I cannot discharge them in the same able manner in which they have been hitherto discharged by those able and experienced gentlemen. (Loud cheers.) We are so well acquainted with the object which we have in view in assembling together within the walls of this theatre, and our whole proceedings are so well understood, that, perhaps, it is unnecessary for the Chairman to state to the meeting the object which we desire to attain; but if there be any here who may not have a clear idea of what is the end that the Anti-Corn-Law League desires to attain, I will simply state that the object we have in view is to accomplish the total and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws, and of all other monopolies. (Loud and continued cheers.) Dr. Horsley, Bishop of Rochester, once said that the people had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them. (Ironical cheers.) We advocate obedience to the laws while they exist upon the statute-book; but we claim the right as free citizens, as we feel it also to be our duty, to endeavour, by intelligent reasoning, to induce the Legislature to place those laws upon the basis of justice, and a due regard to the rights of both the rich and the poor. (Loud cheers.) It is in this spirit that we assemble, as I understand, upon these occasions, to discuss the Corn-Law question: we do so because we believe the Corn Law to be an interference with our civil rights; we believe that it is an unjustifiable obstruction to trade; and we believe that it is maintained for the interest of a favoured few at the expense of the great body of the community. (Loud cheers.) We desire not to interfere with agriculture; we only ask others not to interfere with trade. (Renewed cheers.) We contend that merchants have as good a right to supply the market with food by the operations of trade as farmers have to supply the market with food by the operations of agriculture. (Cheers.) All we desire is freedom to industry; and we believe that, in advocating that great cause, we are advocating the true interests of all classes of her Majesty's subjects. (Loud cheers.) I beg now to introduce to your notice Mr. Gisborne, member of Parliament for the borough of Nottingham. (Great applause.)

Mr. GIBBORNE, M.P., on advancing to the table, was received with great applause. He spoke as follows:—Certainly, Mr. Chairman, the unabated zeal of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and the unabated sympathy exhibited by the public in this subject, may well lead you and me to form somewhat brighter anticipations of its result than we should be likely to feel in another sphere, in which it is our lot from time to time to move (cheers); but, with respect to myself, I feel that I might be more usefully employed in combating this question at a market-ordinary among farmers, than in addressing an approving audience at Covent-garden. (Cheers.) We get into very bad habits from addressing one-sided audiences. (Cheers and laughter.) We always fancy we are carrying everything before us. (Cheers and renewed laughter.) Now, I do not allude of course to such persons as the noble earl who presided over you here last week. (Loud cheers.) That noble person takes his part stoutly, and maintains it in the most hostile audience that exists in these realms. (Cheers.) He is in the habit of expressing and of maintaining principles which we are here to advocate, before an audience composed of landowners and lawyers and bishops. (Cheers.) Now, you will all agree, I am sure, that the landowners either are, or think themselves to be, interested parties; and for the rest, as far as my experience goes, if I had to look for the persons who possessed the grossest ignorance upon this subject, I should look for them amongst those clothed in lawn and ermine. (Loud cheers.) Nor, when I say that we get into bad habits by addressing one-sided audiences, do I allude to Mr. Cobden. (Cheers.) He is able to take his part before any audience in the world, wherever it may be opposed to him. (Loud cheers.) We see him from time to time among us, in the House of Commons: he is hardly like a member of our system, but he comes into our orbit like a comet (loud cheers and laughter),—like a comet, making us see his brightness, conscious of his power, and leaving no doubt upon our minds that, when the great interest to which he has devoted himself shall allow him, he will take that high position in political strife which he has acquired in this great struggle; and it will always be one of the features of this struggle that it will have given to a calico-printer, known some years ago for nothing save successful industry and domestic virtue, a place which shall be the more honourable because unconnected with personal ambition or personal aggrandisement. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Neither, Mr. Chairman, do I, of course, allude to you in these remarks, but rather to myself and some smaller luminaries.—If, indeed, we be luminaries at all (a laugh)—who, hardly able to glimmer among the clouds of gossip, could have to exhibit our lesser lights in this noble and stirring cause, your approbation. (Loud cheers and laughter.) Sir, we must

be much more sanguine, but, at the same time, I think not quite so well informed a man as I am, who can expect to state any new argument upon this subject, or even to put any old arguments in a new light. (Hear, hear.) But there is one point which I have happened to see, though, no doubt, it has been referred to a hundred times over,—which I think has been a little less alluded to in connexion with this question than many other points; and it is one which, as I am a farmer, naturally presents itself to my mind: it is this:—What have manufactures done for me as a farmer, and what have I, as a farmer, done for manufactures? (Cheers.) In order to decide this question, I go back to the time of my grandfather. (A laugh.) I think that is a fair time to go back to, and I will tell you why:—it is because, if I look at the manufacturing and the agricultural interests at that time, I find that they were in about the same state of improvement. (Hear.) I think the old plough and the flail are the fair counterpart of the spinning-wheel and the old loom which used to stand in the cellar of the labourer's cottage. Now, in my grandfather's time, he got for his quarter of wheat, I believe, about two and a half such shirts, probably, as I now wear (a laugh); at this time I get a dozen such for a quarter of wheat (cheers); and therefore it is that I say manufactures have done something for me in this instance. Now, I should not like to pry into such matters, but I rather believe there is a kindred article of female wear—(cheers, and prolonged laughter.) I will make a "shift" to get through the argument presently. (Renewed laughter.) Well, I believe, with respect to that article, that the same proportion would apply. (Cheers.) I may begin with the farmer's family, and may dress every one of them from head to foot, and I shall still find the same proportion apply. Then, having dressed his family, I go to the furniture of his house, and there, I believe, the argument will be stronger, and that I shall get for my wheat an infinitely greater proportion of furniture than my grandfather got before me. (Cheers.) Then as to the implements of my trade; if I go to the Sheffield manufacturers, I shall get seven or eight times as many sickles, scythes, and axes for a quarter of wheat as my grandfather before me would have got. (Cheers.) Perhaps some of you may be conversant with farming tools; now I could follow the argument through with almost every tool that the farmer uses. I say, then, that the manufacturer does me a great deal of direct good; I am not going to allude here to the indirect good which, as a customer, he does me, though in that respect also he does me a great deal of good. (Cheers.) I need not state the other part of the case; but it is evident, if they give me more for my quarter of wheat than they gave my ancestors and forefathers, of course I give them less in return for their goods than my ancestors and forefathers gave them. (Cheers.) That, I am sorry to say, would apply to one of the most material articles in farming and in the farmer's expenditure, as well as in the articles which I have already mentioned, namely, to labour. (Cheers.) I get more labour now for my quarter of wheat than my ancestors ever got before. (Cheers.) I may say that there are only two articles of farming expenditure to which this argument and these proportions would not apply, and these are rent and taxes. (Cheers.) Now, I think if a less wise man than Lemuel Gulliver had happened to be dropped in the island of Great Britain instead of the island of Laputa, and were acquainted with all these circumstances, that he would have been at no loss to determine who made the laws of this country. (Cheers and laughter.) Another point, which he would have been at no loss to determine either, would be, who profited by large expenditure in this country (cheers); and I have certainly one great quarrel with the agricultural interest, and that is, that they have always been in favour of extravagant expenditure. (Cheers.) Some gentlemen cheer—I hope they will not be offended at what I am going to say next—but I really think that you Londoners are just as bad (cheers and laughter): almost every one of you is very fond of a great deal of pageantry, and of large expenditure; and as soon as a man attempts to curtail the public expenditure, you meet him with a hostile feeling, and call his savings "candle-ends" and "cheese-parings." (Cheers and laughter.) Now, seeing that the manufacturers have done so much for the farmers, I must say I think it nothing more than fair play that they should call upon the farmers to do something for them (cheers), and that they should say, "If you either won't or can't do that for us, why do you prevent those doing it who will and who can do it?" (Cheers.) But the agricultural interest, or at least those gentlemen who call themselves the agricultural interest—for I am a farmer and have some small interest in agriculture, and I know that I have suffered a good deal under their legislation—this self-styled agricultural interest says, "No, we will do nothing either one way or the other." (Cheers.) Now, we had some talk the other night in the House of Commons about Jack Cade legislation. I call this Friar Tuck legislation (loud cheers and laughter); and if you will give me leave I'll tell you why I so call it. I was reading a few days ago, an account of Robin Hood and his followers, which states that upon one occasion they had taken a very great spoil, and appointed Friar Tuck to make a law for its distribution. When that law appeared, it was evident to every one of them that, under it, the friar himself would get by far the largest share. Now, public opinion was against the holy man. (Great laughter and cheers.) There was an anti-distribution-law league formed against him. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) But he met them boldly and candidly; he said, "For whose benefit are laws made?" And then taking the opportunity—as is sometimes very convenient—to answer his own question, he said, "First, for the benefit of those who make them, and afterwards, it's as it may happen." (Loud cheers and laughter.) That was not all his answer; he went on to say, "Was not I the lawmaker in this last instance, and shall I not benefit by my own law?" (Renewed cheers and laughter.) Well, he was a very straightforward fellow (cheers); but I am sorry to say that I can find only one very straightforward statesman of the Friar Tuck school; that one statesman is Sir Edward Knatchbull. (Cheers and laughter.) He defended the Corn Laws in a manly way. (A laugh.) He said they were necessary in order to enable such gentlemen as himself to keep their station in society. I really think I never heard anything so unjust in my life as the outcry raised against Sir Edward Knatchbull for making that statement: why, you blamed the only sincere man of the whole party. (Great laughter.) Directly he came forward, every one set himself against him and began

to abuse him; now, I have always respected him for it. (Cheers and laughter.) The rest of the party used quite different language. They said to us when we advocated the repeal of the Corn Laws, "Oh; but you take a very narrow view of the subject; you are just able to make out that 2 and 2 make 4: that is a proposition which we don't absolutely deny, but still it is one which a wise and far-seeing statesman must take with great qualifications." (Loud cheers and great laughter.) "There are reasons of state, and you don't take a comprehensive view of all the interests of the country." Now, as I am unable to understand how taking a comprehensive view of all the interests of the country can result in giving a great advantage to one interest over all others, I own myself at once to be totally unable to argue with these far-seeing statesmen. (Cheers.) I admit at once that I can get no further than the simple proposition that 2 and 2 make 4, and I really do not believe that I shall get beyond that, at least in the matter of the Corn Law, till my dying day. (Loud cheers.) I have a particular dislike to gentlemen who meet the question of the Corn Laws in this way, because they not only wrong us by it, but they try to throw dust in our eyes at the same time. I would much rather endure Sir E. Knatchbull's opposition than that of other members of the Cabinet, because with him we know exactly what we have to meet: but with respect to the others it is impossible to bring them to any fixed point upon which we can answer them so as to settle the matter in a comprehensible manner; and that this is a subject which should be put upon comprehensible grounds, I think no one in this vast assembly will attempt to deny. (Cheers.) I don't know whether you are aware, but many of you no doubt know, that when young men enter a University they have a sort of small preliminary examination which they call their "little-go;" now, we had a "little-go" last night in the House of Commons about the Corn Laws. (Cheers and laughter.) Last year we let in corn from Canada upon certain conditions. Now, I am, I believe, a very sincere Corn-Law repealer; but I voted against letting in that corn, for I did not want to set up a Corn-Law interest in Canada—I did not want to give the Duke of Buckingham a strong ally upon the banks of the St. Lawrence. (Loud cheers.)—I did not want to encourage the Canadians to make a Corn Law for themselves, which was one of the conditions upon which we let their corn enter our ports. (Cheers.) The condition was, that if we let their corn into this country they should not let corn into their country without paying a duty. I disapproved of that, right or wrong, and therefore I voted against it. (Cheers.) Last night a similar proposition was made by a friend of mine (Mr. Huft), a most excellent, honest, and sincere man; if he have not already addressed you here, I hope that some night, ere long, you may have the benefit of profiting by his enlightened sentiments. (Cheers.) He proposed to extend this Canadian Corn Law to some other colonies. Well, I saw no reason for voting for such an extension. It so happened that nobody else of my party took similar views with myself, so that I found myself walking into the old lobby of the House of Commons surrounded by those who call themselves "the great landed interest of the country." (A laugh.) Certainly they glared at me a good deal with wondering eyes. I believe they thought I was going to wheel round about, and that I had got my left shoulder forward already. (A laugh.) But when they asked me why I voted with them, I answered in these words:—"I voted against the tinkering last year when it came from the Tory side of the House, and I thought it but consistent to vote against the patching this year, though it comes from the Liberal side of the House." (Cheers.) I am not one who thinks that the Corn Laws can ever be settled, or that they can be satisfactorily amended, by any of those tinkering or patchings (tremendous cheers); and I hope that the time may not be very far distant—but I will say a word about that just now—when we shall be able to deal with the Corn Laws upon a much more comprehensive principle. (Cheers.) Now we've had—(a voice, "Friday night?"). Didn't I hear some gentleman say, "Friday night?" Well, he is a sort of a prophet, because he has anticipated me in that to which I was going to advert. I was going to say that we have had another Corn-Law discussion,—I mean the Ten Hours' Bill. That is a Corn-Law question; but it does not suit gentlemen upon either side to argue it as a Corn-Law question in the House of Commons. (Loud cheers.) The advocates of the Ten Hours' Bill cannot argue it as a Corn-Law question for fear of losing many of their supporters, and the advocates of a longer period of labour cannot argue it as a Corn-Law question for the same reason; so that we hear extremely little about it as a Corn-Law question. Now, I voted against ten hours. (Cheers.) I am quite ready myself to take the Ten Hours' Bill if they will give me a repeal of the Corn Laws, and with it of all other restrictions upon trade. (Cheers.) And I'll tell you why I would take it upon those conditions:—I do not like a law that interferes with labour; but if you repeal the Corn Laws, that other law would administer itself; if you removed all restrictions from trade, you would want no inspectors or other persons to see that the labouring people did not work more than ten hours, for they would be in such a state of independence with their ten hours' labour that that would be the utmost limit they could be expected to work. (Cheers.) Mr. Muntz, a member of the House of Commons, who with some little eccentricity, at the same time never speaks without exhibiting a manly and independent understanding, told the House that the labouring people had no love for long hours of work—had no wish to make their children work long hours, or to deprive them of the means of education, but they were compelled by the necessity of eating, so to do. (Cheers.) Then, if you give them more to eat, you will remove that necessity (cheers); and when you have done so, those principles which Mr. Muntz sets forth will come into operation, and the poor labouring man will protect himself;—ay, and that is the only way in which he can be protected. (Loud cheers.) You may make what laws you will for his protection; they will all fail: the only way to protect him is to remove those laws which disable him from protecting himself. (Cheers.) There is only one other point to which I wish to allude, and if you will be so kind as to give me your attention, I shall not trespass on you long. (Cheers, and loud cries of "Go on, go on.") You may suppose that we, who have been with more or less activity engaged in this cause, now for some years, frequently ask ourselves the question, "When and by whom are the Corn Laws to be repealed?" (Cheers.) Now, what

respect to the *when*, my own belief is, that the first time it pleases God to afflict this country with a bad harvest,—if that bad harvest should happen at a time there is but a small stock of corn in this country,—He will at the same time, by the merciful dispensations of His providence, relieve us from these laws. (Cheers.) I believe that these laws cannot sustain above one bad harvest. (Cheers.) Well, then, by whom are they to be repealed? Perhaps you will be surprised when I tell you that I think they will be repealed by the party now in power. (Hear.) I do not know whether any of you know anything of my politics; but I never hesitate to avow in any assembly that I am a downright Radical. (Tremendous applause.) Nevertheless, I do not advise you to look to the Radical party for the repeal of those laws; they will never be able to do it, at least, in my lifetime, though I hope they may attain to great power in the lifetime of many others here present. (Cheers.) I believe, then, that the Corn Laws will be repealed by the present party and by Sir Robert Peel himself, and I will tell you why. (Hear.) We had some discussion upon this subject one day this session in the House of Commons, and some member suggested to Sir Robert Peel, that he would probably repeal the Corn Laws. Now, Sir Robert Peel disclaimed it—he disclaimed it pretty earnestly; but he is not a very rash man, and he did not disclaim it without some reservation (a laugh),—the reservation he held was, that it was impossible to say what any man would, could, should, or might do hereafter—it was one of those words he used, but I am not quite sure which. (Laughter.) I suppose, therefore, that when a bad harvest, and when the other circumstances of which I have been speaking, shall have arrived, and when Sir R. Peel sees that the Corn Laws can no longer be sustained,—and there are very few men in this country who would be quicker to see that than Sir R. Peel,—then he will go to her Majesty and will inform her that he can no longer maintain the Corn Laws; that he thinks he is not the person, after all that has passed, to repeal them, and therefore he will beg her Majesty to accept his resignation of the situation which he holds in her councils. Well, having done that, upon some gloomy day (cheers and laughter), he will be obliged to call the agricultural interest together, and he will make to them the same communication that he has made to her Majesty; and heavy tidings they will be for the agricultural interest to listen to. (Cheers.) But when they have recovered from the consternation into which such a communication must throw them, no doubt they will address him as Saul did his armour-bearer, and say, "Draw thou now thy sword and thrust us through, lest these uncircumcised thrust us through and we die." (Loud cheers and laughter.) "The armour-bearer, we know, was inexorable, and he refused; but I must say I don't think Sir R. Peel is the man who would refuse under such circumstances. (Cheers.) I believe, that having drawn his sword and thrust it through the high churchman in the matter of the Test and Corporation Acts; having thrust it through the high Protestant in the battle for Catholic disabilities; he will draw it a third time and thrust it through the high protectionist in the matter of the Corn Laws. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Having thus repealed the Corn Laws, or, at least, having told you how they are to be repealed, I have only in conclusion to thank you for the kindness with which you have listened to the few words which I have addressed to you, and will now make way for some other person who will, no doubt, be much more worthy of your attention. (Mr. Gisborne resumed his seat amidst unbounded applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bright will now address you. (Cheers.)

Mr. BRIGHT, on advancing to the table, was received with loud plaudits from all parts of the theatre, which having subsided, he spoke as follows:—It is always to me a matter of very great consolation to remember that, wherever we are advocating the great cause of freedom of trade, we do not see around us and about us all those who are working in the same great cause, but that in every part of this country there are men as earnest and as anxious as we are in the prosecution of the great work to which so many of us have devoted ourselves. And not in this country only, but in other parts of the world, in every commercial, and in every civilized country, there are some men who are, so far as they have the power, anxious to put down this wide world's curse by which this country, perhaps more than any other, has been so long afflicted. (Loud cheers.) We are met here, in the heart of this metropolis, and we meet almost every week, to discuss this all-important question. A paper published in Plymouth advertises that a very intelligent gentleman there is giving lectures in favour of freedom of trade. Another paper, published on the banks of the Tyne, informs us that a gentleman there also is calling his townsmen together, and is delivering to them lectures on the same great subject. (Hear, hear.) At this moment there are two election contests proceeding in counties purely agricultural, and among each of these constituencies the lessons of Free Trade are being taught by those who are well able to communicate the truths which we are met on this occasion to impart. ("Hear," and cheers.) Hastings and Christchurch are now called upon to send representatives to Parliament. Be it borne in mind that these battle-fields are not those which we have chosen. (Hear, hear, hear.) It requires now much consideration when a borough is to be vacated, and the scheme is thought to be more perfect when two boroughs are vacated at the same time; and only those are vacated where there seems to be no chance of returning a Free-Trade candidate. (Hear, hear.) Hastings is a borough which I have visited during the present pending contest. Its constituency are not well informed on the question of Free Trade. Until now this question has not been made the one question in their elections. The electors have been banded about from Tory to Whig, and from Whig to Tory; they have been made the instruments for returning men to Parliament, having very frequently no strong or anxious political opinions; and now the consequence of all this is easily discoverable in that borough—that when a great question is brought before them, they look at it as one entirely new, and they seem almost unconscious that their electoral right has anything important to do with the true interests of their country. (Cheers.) There is scarcely any political feeling in that borough. Men of all parties come to a meeting, and men of all parties are willing to hear what is said on this question; but I suspect that, if there were two candidates instead of one, a very large number of the electors would give a vote to

each candidate, although their opinions were diametrically opposed to each other. (Cheers and laughter.) Of Christchurch I cannot say much, not having been there, and not knowing much of it; but situate as it is in a purely agricultural county, and known as little as it is throughout the country for any political exertion it has ever made, I suspect that the case there is somewhat like the case at Hastings. (Hear, hear.) Now, we are a Mutual Instruction Society (hear, hear); we go down to Hastings for the purpose of letting every elector know the truth upon this question, and we go to Christchurch for the same purpose. ("Hear," and cheers.) We only pledged ourselves to contest these boroughs, and to inform the electors: we did not pledge ourselves to do that which is an impossibility—to return Free-Trade candidates on every occasion, especially on the first occasion of our contest in these boroughs. (Hear, hear.) But we are quite sure of this—that we are weakening the monopolist party in all these counties by each of these elections; and the landlords in Parliament, determined as they may be to uphold this monopoly, will by-and-by find themselves without support in the country, and will be obliged to yield to the voice of public opinion, which is daily gathering strength and which they have so long scorned and despised. (Prolonged cheering.) Now, the consequence of all this discussion is the dispelling of the numberless fallacies which the landowners have spread. (Cheers.) It is a fact worthy of notice that some of the largest landed proprietors and some of the clergy seem to be about the very last to get rid of these fallacies (hear, hear), and the last to cease from spreading them among their tenants. (Cheers.) The *Morning Post* of this day (laughter and hisses) has a report of a meeting held at Dunmow, in Essex—a meeting of the Essex Agricultural Protection Society (cries of "oh, oh")—from which, or from the speech of one of the gentlemen there, I will just read you an extract; and this gentleman is the Rev. Mr. Shepherd; he said:—"They did not wish to interfere with any one, but merely to protect themselves, and to prevent desolation spreading over the length and breadth of the land. He felt that, as a minister of the Gospel, he was not out of his place in attending there, and taking part in that meeting. He was then advocating a rightful cause." With respect to his being a "minister of the gospel," and "advocating there a rightful or a righteous cause," it may be that this Mr. Shepherd has been living in the seclusion of his clerical home, and has heard little and read little of that which has been passing in almost every newspaper that has been published within the last three or four years. He must know that the object of the Essex Agricultural Protection Society is to take especial care that the food of the people of this country shall not be so plentiful as to be afforded to them at its natural cost or its natural price (hear); but that, by means of the artificial scarcity created by law, food may be made dearer, even though the poorest portion of the people should thereby be prevented from obtaining their natural and sufficient supply. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) And this clergyman, doubtless, every week officiating in the capacity of a minister of the Gospel, reads from a book, nearly every page of which is a condemnation of this system ("hear, hear," and applause), and puts up a prayer to Heaven which is totally opposed to the exertions which he is making at this meeting. (Loud cheers.) He says again, "The soil had obligations attached to it which existed long before the tall chimneys were in being—long before they were heard or thought of; these obligations were entirely on the land, because there was not, at the time they were imposed, any other interest in being to divide the burdens with." Well, I believe, if there had been any other interest there would have been no burdens at all on the land. "He alluded to tithes and poor-rates, which amounted, according to a statement they had heard that day, to 11s. per acre. As occupiers and cultivators of the soil they were bound to discharge those obligations. They had done so, and they were content to continue to do so, and all they asked was, that Government would enable them to do so" (laughter),—forgetting the conclusion of the sentence, which should have been "at other people's expense." (Renewed laughter.) "They held their land upon certain conditions: that of maintaining the poor was as old as Revelation. They were there told that they should always have the poor with them. The condition of maintaining the poor, however burdensome, had always its pleasing reflection—the knowledge that they were preserving the old and infirm from want and starvation. ('Oh, oh!') It was true that the other interest had to bear a small share of those burdens (laughter); but the proportion was like that of a small rivulet to the mighty stream, and since stock-in-trade had ceased to be assessed, it had almost vanished." Now, this clergyman and these farmers seem never to imagine that the manufacturers or the shopkeepers, or those who live in houses in which they pursue no particular trade, have any poor's-rates whatever to pay. (Hear, hear, hear.) It is quite true that machinery does not pay poor's-rates; and that bales of cotton, and bales of woollen goods, and goods in shops, do not pay poor's-rates—and the reason is very clear: it would be impossible to assess them to the poor's-rates, because the quantities are always changing in all these things. (Hear, hear, hear.) The farmer pays a poor's-rate for his land; but he pays none for his cattle—none for his stacks—none for his farming implements—and none for capital which he may have by him in money, or which he may have in the bank (hear, hear); and, therefore, the manufacturer and the farmer are on precisely the same footing with respect to this charge of poor-rates. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I find, at nearly all these meetings, that ignorant men like this Mr. Shepherd (laughter, and "hear, hear,") come forward and claim a Corn Law on the ground that they are unequally taxed in the particular payment for this charge of poor-rates; and at this meeting there was a "working man," of the name of Williams, who addressed the meeting at some length, "exposing the sophistries of the League." ("Oh, oh," and laughter.) Now, it is a remarkable fact that "a working man" is received with very great cordiality indeed when he gets on one of the protection platforms; his blistered hands—his fustian jacket—and, it may be, sometimes uncouth manners—the fact that he has no property—the fact that he has no ancestry—the fact that he has no family influence—the fact that he never can hope to be anything for them or to them—all these are overlooked, and he is received most cordially as though he were a person of very great importance. (Hear, hear.) These "working men" are generally *stagnant* working men. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) They are working men who do not work. (Cheers.) They are working men who

live upon the delusions which they assist the landlords to spread among the working classes. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Now, I think the working men would do better to look after their own order than to sell themselves to an order which despises them for the purpose of assailing in this continued oppression. (Cheers.) But there are other parties who are as bad as clergymen in this matter. (Laughter.) And, speaking of clergymen, I would just spend a moment in expressing my firm and conscientious opinion that this Mr. Shepherd does not represent the opinions of the best clergymen in this country. (Hear, hear.) I am persuaded that amongst the clergymen in this country there are hundreds, and probably thousands, who are anxiously looking for the success of the Anti-Corn-Law League; but among that body, as amongst other bodies, there is a great tyranny of opinion. A clergyman who is convinced that we are right scarcely ever comes from the ranks to say so. (Hear, hear.) We know many individual cases such as this; and I doubt not that these cases are, unfortunately, more numerous than either I or any one of us may at times suppose. The *Post* has also a report of a meeting at Jedburgh, taken from the *Kelso Mail*—the Roxburgh county meeting, as it is called—a county meeting at which and from which nineteen-twentieths of the county are excluded. (Ironical cheers.) Lord Polwarth spoke, in moving a resolution, and he acknowledged that "he would much rather have seen it moved by a tenant-farmer of Roxburghshire, because he was conscious that every word uttered by a landlord was looked upon with suspicion." (Laughter and cheers.) It was a day of confession for my Lord Polwarth. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) I hope the day is coming when these political and monopolist landlords will find themselves looked upon with so much "suspicion" that they will take a little less interested part in public affairs than they have done for the last thirty years. ("Hear, hear," and cheer.) He goes on with a great many statements with respect to the manufacturers of this country and the manufacturing districts, most of which appear to be precisely the same as those that were stated in the House of Commons the other night by the hon. member for Roxburgh, and who, as I believe, is a brother, or near relative, of Lord Polwarth. He says, "They should look at the rate of mortality, and consider whether, in throwing their population upon the towns, they were not increasing the miseries of the people. In the large manufacturing towns the rate of mortality had greatly increased since the increase in the population and in the productions of manufacture, during the last ten years." Well, I am informed that, with respect to Manchester, the average duration of human life has increased about 25 per cent. within the last 40 years. (Hear, hear.) So much in answer to the statement of this noble lord. And then he says, "Neither was there with the increased population any adequate provision for the religious or moral instruction of the people." Now, upon this point we have facts which are wholly undeniable, showing that, whilst in the manufacturing districts of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, the population has increased by 127 per cent. since the commencement of this century, the facilities for public worship and the sittings in churches and chapels have increased by not less than 219 per cent. (Loud cheers.) So much for one of those facts which the Roxburgh farmers, auctioneers, land-valuers, and factors of every description (laughter) were gulled with at this county meeting. (Cheers.) He says again, "During the time in which manufactures had made such great and rapid strides the wages of the people employed in manufactures had declined." Now, it is a remarkable circumstance when contrasted with what we observe in agriculture, that every man or every person working in cotton manufactures at this day can obtain in exchange for his labour as large a portion of the produce of that labour as he could obtain 30 or 40 years ago. (Hear.) I believe that every worker in the cotton trade now can purchase a larger portion of the produce of that trade with his week's wages than he could have purchased thirty years ago. (Hear, hear.) But it is not so amongst the agricultural labourers of this country. Has not Mr. Gisborne already told you that since the days of his grandfather the farm-labourers of this country have been receiving less and less of the produce of the farm in exchange for their labour? Well, then, does not this show that, as far as the manufacturers are concerned, the duty of the manufacturers has been not inefficiently performed; that they have made everything cheaper by greater skill, greater industry, and greater intelligence; and that all those who purchase the produce of that skill, industry, and intelligence can have more of it than they had thirty years ago; whilst of the produce of the soil—that sacred property—that for which the law seems alone to be made, and to which everybody must bow down—those who work in the production of the produce of that soil are not able to obtain as much now in return for their industry as they were thirty or forty years ago? ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Well, there was another lord at this Roxburgh meeting (laughter)—Lord John Scott, brother, I believe, to the Duke of Buccleuch. He said, "To begin with the beginning, he was sure that this meeting did not consider the present amount of protection more than sufficient when they took into consideration the burdens upon the land in this country." You will bear in mind that we have asked them over and over again to point out these burdens; and nobody has pointed them out, so far as I am aware, except a Mr. Baker, in Essex, whose statement has been declared to be grossly exaggerated, by one of the members for the county of Oxford. (Hear, hear.) "He was sure that this meeting did not consider the present amount of protection more than sufficient when they took into consideration the burdens upon the land in this country, the different state of society, the different food, the different clothing, the different habits of life among the labourers, whom they would not wish to see brought back to the condition of the labourers on the Continent—whose comparatively wretched condition he had himself witnessed—whatever Cobden might say to the contrary." (Laughter.) The Dorsetshire case is, I believe, not disputed; and the Rev. Mr. Osborne states, that to send the labourers from Dorsetshire into the neighbouring counties would be no gain to them, seeing that in those counties the same state of things exists (hear); and I can assert that to send them down into many counties of Scotland would be no gain to them, for labourers there may be had for 6s. a week. (Hear.) It appears to me, then, that this Lord John Scott, living, it may be, in luxury, and associating with the Duke of Buccleuch,—a man of enormous property,—has almost, or altogether, overlooked

the real condition of the farm-labourers of this country (hear), or that he comes out before that meeting, and, with an effrontery which can scarcely be conceived possible, asserts that the labourers of this country are better off than those in many of the Continental states. (Loud cheers.) But he says more:—“Then there was another burden which the League looked upon as a trivial affair,—the burden of the national debt, which was borne by the land; and he wanted to know, until they could sweep away that debt, how they could expect that this country could maintain its position with a Free Trade?” Now, it always happens that, when the Corn Law is doing its work best, and giving us very high prices in corn, the revenue of this country seriously falls off, and, in order to quiet the fears of those who hold money in the funds, the statesmen for the time being are called upon to impose fresh taxes. (Hear.) If the Corn Law paid off the national debt, or paid the interest of it, how happens it that it did not pay that interest in the years 1838 to 1841? It is only when the Corn Law for a time ceases to do its work—and, by the blessing of Providence, we have harvests more bountiful at home, which bring us into a condition somewhat like that which we should be in if we had no Corn Law,—it is only then that the tax becomes more productive, and the revenue rises instead of falls. (Hear, hear, hear.) They said, speaking of their funds, “they did not wish in the slightest degree to infringe upon the constitution.” The constitution works so admirably for them that they have no idea of infringing upon it at all. “They were determined not to apply their funds for the purpose of influencing elections, which was infringing upon the constitution.” (Laughter.) And yet these very men insist upon their tenants voting as they vote, and their class universally throughout almost every county in the kingdom return the members to Parliament, and not the farmers or any other class of electors. (Prolonged cheering.) This is a piece of hypocrisy which one knows not how to speak of. (Hear, hear.) I cannot understand how one of these landlords can appear before a meeting, in which there are farmers or any independent persons present, and make use of language like this without blushing so deep a hue that every one present would know at a glance that he was committing a great fault in stating that which he knew to be utterly untrue. He says, “They raised the cry of cheap bread, and said the people were starving. The greedy manufacturer stopped the mouths of his workmen with the cry of cheap bread—put them into starvation to obtain his wealth, and said that the aristocracy starved them.” Now, we want to stop their mouths with bread and not with a cry. (Laughter and cheers.) No one can say that the manufacturers of this country diminish the amount of food in the country. They do not prevent the landlords growing as much as they like. (Hear, hear.) They do not force any of it to be sent out of the country. (Hear, hear.) Whatever the landowners grow the people eat; and if they be short of food at all, it must be the landowners and their law which starves them, and not the manufacturers, who are contending for freedom for industry, by which means they might be enabled to purchase food in abundance. (Applause.) Well, then, there is another paragraph which might as well have been said during the recent debate. He says, “The manufacturers do a great deal by the aid of machinery. By the aid of machinery the manufacturer got his work done by women and children. He kept no men; and as soon as the children came to a certain age, when they were not acquainted with any other business by which they could earn a livelihood, they were turned off, and the consequence was, that many became hand-loom weavers, at 5s. a week. But then, as children only were employed, these men got married in order that they might have children to support them (laughter), thereby increasing the population, and showing that, as trade increased, the greater must be the amount of misery.” Now, I know not in what other order of society you would have found a man who could put together so many things which have no sort of connexion with each other. (Hear, hear.) It is scarcely possible to understand what is meant. Here are three or four or five things, most of which are utterly untrue, jumbled together in one sentence, forming that of which no man living can make any sense whatever. (“Hear, hear,” and cheers.) In the first place, that the manufacturers keep no men is an utter falsehood, because it is notorious that, in all times of ordinary prosperity in the manufacturing districts, the labour of men is as difficult to obtain as the labour of either women or children (hear, hear); that in 1835 or 1836, there was not a working man in those districts, honest, industrious, and willing to work, who had not as much work as he chose to have; and it is perfectly absurd to hear men of this description talking about that of which they must be totally ignorant. (Applause.) It is not likely that Lord John Scott ever spent much time amongst the manufacturers in the north of England. He may have seen a mill or a chimney in passing through by the mail or by the railway; but I think he is one of whom I should not run much risk if I were to say that he had probably never in his life been inside one of these manufactories which he takes upon himself so unceremoniously to condemn. “A reduction of wages was what they were seeking for, and that reduction was to be made upon the ruin of the agricultural interest.” Now, I would not take up the time of this meeting by proving, again and again, for the thousandth time perhaps, that no reduction of wages can follow a repeal of the Corn Law. (Cheers.) We assert broadly, that, from the hour when the law was first enacted until the present moment, it has been a law working most insidiously, but most surely, a reduction in the wages of the operatives of this country. (Prolonged cheering.) And in all years of plenty when the Corn Law is almost a dead letter, wages constantly rise; but when the Corn Law operates with its intensest severity, then the people are thrown out of employ by thousands and thousands, and those who are employed receive less than their usual amount of wages. (“Hear, hear,” and cheers.) Lord John Scott then thanks the meeting for the attention with which they have listened to his observations, and congratulates them that Government have not submitted to *interested clamour*, and repealed a law this year which they made in the last. (Laughter.) As to *interested clamour*, there seems a consciousness, on both sides of the House of Commons, where this charge applies; for on the presentation of a petition, two or three weeks ago, by an hon. monopolist (laughter), he prayed the House not to listen to the *interested clamour* of parties who were speaking unfavourably of the Corn Laws (derisive cheers);

and at the term “*interested clamour*” there was a general titter among many of those who sat on that side of the House, arising, no doubt, from the consciousness that they were the interested parties in the matter. (Cheers and laughter.) Well, there is a man, a farmer I suppose, of the name of Dudgeon (it should have been Gudgeon)—(great laughter)—and he acknowledges—in speaking of the condition of the agricultural labourer—that the agricultural labourer was now a better dressed man than the tenant was some years ago.” Well, I would ask a very simple question: who dressed him? (Cheers and laughter.) If the landowners had followed up improvements in agriculture as we have in manufactures, and had produced so great an abundance, and had at the same time so materially reduced the price, there could be no doubt that this country would, above all other countries, be that where not one single industrious individual would be found who had not a full supply, at least of the necessities of life. (Cheers.) Now, I have here a practical refutation of two fallacies which are very often made use of at these meetings—one of them is, “that if we were to take foreign corn, and manufactured goods were not taken in exchange, that there would be no increase of employment in the manufacturing districts.” The other is, “that as other countries would not take our manufactured goods if we did not take their corn, we should be obliged to pay them in gold.” Now, a gentleman in the City, who is very extensively engaged as a seedsman and, I believe, a cornfactor, has given me a cash to prove how literally untrue these arguments of the Monopolists are. There is a very small article—a comparatively small article of consumption—that of caraway-seed, which is used chiefly by confectioners, but which has lately become useful in several manufacturing processes. (Hear, hear.) Before Sir Robert Peel altered the tariff, the duty upon caraway-seed was 30s. per cwt., which was a duty entirely prohibitory; but, by the new tariff, the duty was reduced to 10s. per cwt., which, although very high, is not a prohibitory duty; it is a fixed duty. (Hear, hear.) Under the new tariff there has been a considerable importation of this article; and although the annual consumption does not exceed perhaps from 300 to 400 tons, yet not less than 100 tons of caraway-seed have been imported during the first year of the operation of the new tariff, and at this reduced duty. (Hear, hear, hear.) Well, now, if wheat were in the place of caraway-seed, we will see how it would work. This gentleman, to whom I have alluded, buys in Rotterdam a quantity of this seed. I have here invoices, and bills which were drawn for payment of this seed. Here is one of them, an invoice of caraway-seed bought at Rotterdam, to the amount of £77 17s. 6d.; and here is a bill to the amount of £77 17s. 6d., drawn by the party in Rotterdam upon the merchant or seedsman or factor in London. Well, now, where has this bill travelled since it was drawn? According to the fallacy which I am combating, it would have been necessary for this factor to have gone to the bank and have taken as many sovereigns as amount to £77, and afterwards shipped them to Rotterdam in payment for this caraway-seed. But, instead of that, this bill is drawn at Rotterdam—travels to Cephalonia—from Cephalonia to Corfu, and to the bank there, from whence it comes to London, to the house upon which it is drawn here, and then the transaction is settled; but during all this time no money has passed between this cornfactor and the Rotterdam dealer in caraway-seed; and if the transaction had been in wheat, precisely the same thing would have occurred. But I have another case from the same party stronger than that, and it shows the direct payments for each particular article, in goods from one of our manufacturing towns. (Hear.) Now, here is a bill, which amounts to £49 17s. 11d., and this was drawn for a shipment of caraway-seed; it comes through several hands, and, last of all, I find that it bears the endorsement of the Sheffield Banking Company, proving that this bill went to Sheffield to pay for some article which Sheffield had sent abroad. (Loud and repeated cheers.) Now, here is another case:—£245, an invoice of caraway-seed, all from Rotterdam. Here is a bill of £120, another of £125; and this last has several names on it as the others had; last of all I see there is an endorsement of Mr. Leo Schuster, a foreign merchant of the highest respectability, with whom many here are acquainted, who is carrying on business in Manchester, and who ships goods from Manchester to the Continent. (Loud cheers.) Now, look at the effect of that small reduction on the duty on caraway-seed. There was no trade in the article previous to that reduction. What we consumed was grown, I believe, chiefly in Kent and Essex: it was used only, or almost entirely, by confectioners. There has been an importation of 100 tons, and the price of caraway-seed has not fallen in consequence (cheers); but it is now applied to several other purposes, and is beginning to be used extensively in a variety of manufacturing processes, while, at the same time, it required more shipping to carry on the trade between Rotterdam and London with this alteration in the tariff than if no such alteration had taken place. (Cheers.) The goods which went out in payment for it required shipping to carry them there; and, throughout the whole transaction, you will see nothing but unmixed good to the industry of this country, and the complete refutation of, I will not say the arguments, but the absurd and childish fallacies which these landlords are constantly preaching up to their farmers. (Cheers.) And whilst we are on the subject of these seeds, I may mention another case. There is an article—canary-seed—with which most of us are acquainted, which is used in this country to the amount of 10,000 quarters annually, the greater part for the food of birds kept in cages. The duty under the old tariff was 60s. per cwt.,—entirely a prohibitory duty; under the new tariff it is 4s. a bushel, which is also entirely prohibitory. Now, nearly all the canary-seed grown in this country is grown in Kent, probably more than nine-tenths of it. Sir E. Knatchbull is one of the representatives of Kent, and a Cabinet Minister. It is affirmed by those who are anxious to magnify the statesmanlike qualities and deeds of that worthy and now right hon. baronet, that, through his overwhelming influence in the Cabinet of Sir R. Peel, he was able, for the protection of native industry, and especially for the protection of the independent men of Kent, to resist the threatened inroad on agricultural prosperity which would have occurred if this reduction in the small article of canary-seed had taken place. (Laughter.) Now, that seed is bought, I suppose, chiefly by hand-loom weavers in various parts of

the country, by working journeymen tailors, by the shoemakers of Northampton, by men who work in their own houses and in little shops, and who have these birds,

“Whose lively song beguiles their daily toil.” (Cheers.)

Well, this magnanimous statesman must make use of all his influence with the Prime Minister to raise the price of the food of these little innocent canary birds, and to injure those men who work at shoemaking and other trades which I have mentioned. (Laughter and cheers.) Now, I believe that all the other fallacies which these people have propagated so industriously might be disposed of with just as much ease. (Hear.) The principles of Free Trade are so simple, that the mind of no unbiassed man who hears them will have any hesitation in receiving them as true. (Cheers.) Everything about him and around him, everything which he reads in history, everything which he sees in the arrangement of the universe, everything which he has in his own judgment, everything which prompts him in his heart, tells him that these principles of Free Trade should direct the world, and not that impious, that mischievous, that imbecile system of monopoly which we are here taking so much trouble to overthrow. (Loud cheering.) We ask that the world should be our workshop, and the wide world our market. (Cheers.) We are persuaded that public opinion is rolling on with a power and rapidity which nothing can now stop, and that the principle we have propounded must soon, very soon, be fully established in this country, and from our shores its adoption will soon spread to every civilized country in the world. (Cheers.) By the infringement of this great principle the landowners have brought themselves into almost inextricable difficulties. They make paupers by thousands in all the counties. (Hear, hear.) They render life and property insecure, and desolate the homes of that portion of the population over whom they ought to be the constant guardians and defenders. (Hear, hear.) They have themselves acknowledged a law which gives the pauper a right to a maintenance from the land upon which he was born; but when these paupers multiply to such a degree that rents are threatened, then they quarrel even with the law themselves had made, and the principles of their own adoption, endeavouring, in many cases, by extreme and unreasonable hardship, to prevent the paupers coming upon them for support. They passed a new poor-law—a bill which, whether it be just or unjust in principle, is, at any rate, utterly impracticable with the amount of pauperism there is at present in the country. (Hear.) Thus you find that from time to time the commissioners have had to relax its operation in many parishes and counties—and now even Government itself—is proposing to make a considerable relaxation. There can be no doubt, if the tide of pauperism cannot be checked in some other way, that this present poor-law will be as full of evils, and those of quite as great magnitude, as the old law. Then they set up a great many other cries; they know what is right, but they will not come to it. (Hear, hear.) They are like a man in the mud—the more he struggles the deeper he gets. They kick in all possible directions, and set up any false scent that the people will run after, spreading false and most childish statements, and affecting to believe them themselves; and all that they may for a time save their own order from that which is at last inevitable—a return to an honest and wise course of policy. The Prime Minister himself did not hesitate at one time to throw out an insinuation, that there was something in the spread of machinery which was very injurious to the people,—displacing labour, and causing manufacturing distress. But that charge cannot be brought forward with reference to the farm-labourers; it cannot be proved that agricultural distress arises from machinery, and therefore we are spared from that pretext. But now we have got on another scent, and they tell us that if the people would work a great deal less they would be much better off; that is, if the manufacturers of the north of England and their workmen would produce a much smaller quantity than they do, there is no doubt but that they would be very much better off. (Laughter.) What gross absurdity is this! Only look at the cotton trade, for instance; the whole world is its market, excepting such parts as are now shut against us by the operation of these laws. Five-sixths of the cotton imported is sent abroad. I should like to know how, by a law passed in this country, high prices are to be given for cottons by the various countries in the world, which owe no allegiance to the laws passed by landowners in this country. A gentleman, whose authority will ever be of the utmost weight, and which has been acknowledged to be of the very highest importance by Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell,—I allude to the late James Deacon Hume, so long secretary to the Board of Trade,—in writing in the year 1834, he says—“The distress of the manufacturing classes consists in their being compelled, by natural causes, to seek a foreign market as sellers of the goods they produce, while they are prevented, by artificial means, from going into that market as buyers of the goods which they want.” He shows that the agriculturists have, under any circumstances, the enviable advantage of selling their produce at home, in a market insufficiently supplied, while manufacturers are compelled constantly to sell their goods in a home market, which is always glutted. Mr. Hume goes into a statement on this part of the subject; and, from all he has written, it appears to have been clearly his opinion, that at least two or three hours a day of the toil of the working men of this country was a tax imposed on them by the monopoly which the landowners had created, and to sustain burdens which the Legislature of this country, if it were honest, would immediately remove. (Hear.) Working long hours is good for nobody; no man labours long for pleasure, I should think. I am quite sure that in the manufacturing districts of the north of England there is a disposition to work fewer hours; and shorter time will be worked, if not from the operation of law, at least from the influence of public opinion, so soon as it is possible to live with this shorter number of hours of toil. (Loud cheers.) Why, are not the young men in the shops insisting on the closing of their establishments at an earlier hour? (Hear.) Have not those engaged in the warehouses at Manchester compelled—I say compelled, for many of their employers were very reluctant to do it—their masters to close their warehouses one afternoon in the week? Is it possible that such alterations as those can be going on in the midst of all the factory population, and that they should not think whether it is not possible for them to have some relaxation from the protracted hours of toil to which they are now subjected? But the statements which have been made with

respect to that population are false: there is not in this country a people to whom the landowners owe more, or who deserve more perfect justice at the hands of a landowning Government; there is not a class of men who have done more towards paying the revenue of this country, or increasing the rent of all these landowners, than the working men of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. (Cheers.) I believe it to be a principle which no man will dispute, that interference with men's labour is that which ought to be attempted with the greatest possible caution, and which may lead into inextricable embarrassment. Now, there can be no law in this country, I take it, for the purpose of fixing the maximum or minimum of wages. Nothing could be worse for the working man than that the Legislature should settle the rate of wages; if they fix it in Dorchester at 7s. or 8s. a week, I should not like the Parliament to have the settlement of the wages in the county from which I come. What we ought to do, first, is to try the strength, virtue, and efficacy of every known good principle, before we have recourse to any tinkering and tampering with principles that are acknowledged to be bad. (Loud cheers.) We have, then, this principle set forth, as I have stated, throughout the world: the earth, with its various productions, its various inhabitants, with their various powers and differing wants—all this leads me to believe that we are intended to be useful to each other, to succour and provide each other with everything that the world produces at the best and the cheapest rate. (Cheers.) But let us try that principle first. Labour has never had a fair chance here (hear); manufacturing industry has never had a chance in this country. (Hear.) The intelligence, industry, and virtue of the operatives in the north of England, and the enterprising skill and spirit of the manufacturers generally, all have been crippled under laws passed by men who neither understood these principles, nor knew much about the particular class for which they would legislate. I am one of those who are persuaded that Free Trade would do almost everything for the working classes of England which the most benevolent and humane man wishes for them. (Hear.) I believe it would throw down the barrier which is now upreared between a benevolent humanity and the objects upon which it would exercise itself. I am persuaded that, from the condition of the population amongst whom I live, and the temper and disposition of the manufacturers—there would be in that county, and in those districts, a state of harmony, good feeling, prosperity, and general comfort, under a system of perfect Free Trade, such as has never yet existed in the United Kingdom. (Cheers.) We ask the Legislature no longer presumptuously to interfere between the laws of nature and Providence and the industry of the people over whom they rule. We are persuaded that these principles are gaining ground throughout the population of this country; that, whether in the metropolis or the remotest town or village, every day added to our ranks many intelligent, energetic, hard-working individuals, who will perseveringly carry on this struggle to its final issue. (Cheers.) I have reason to believe that there are now present, in this theatre, distinguished individuals from foreign countries; at least I have heard that such personages would be here to-night. If such be the case, I acknowledge, in their presence, that this Corn Law is a measure whose injurious working has been found out long ago in every country but this; that there is not an intelligent foreigner in existence who does not point it out as the worst stain on the legislation of our country. (Hear.) With all that they know of the intelligence, enterprise, and virtue of the people of this country, it is a matter of the utmost astonishment to them that, for thirty years, we have permitted such a law as this to remain upon the statute-book. (Hear, hear.) But we tell them that the Corn Law is tottering to its fall. (Cheers.) We need not any great public demonstration to prove this; there is confirmation enough of the fact in the House of Commons itself; those men who have so loudly talked about protection in the field, are wholly motionless and voiceless in the senate; they leave it to the only clever men of their party, the members of the administration, to answer the speech of my friend the member for Stockport when he moved for his committee; and what answer did the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) make? I know not whether the speech in moving for the committee, or that made in refusing the motion, was the most powerful in advancing our cause. (Cheers.) If there be no man among the landowners who can defend the Corn Laws, not one in the Ministry who dare say a word in favour of this measure; if they must all use evasive language, and retreat into all sorts of pretences rather than come fairly forward and defend their position; and if throughout the whole country opinion be gathering in favour of the abolition of all protection, then, I say, let them make, in the country, what opposition they like; let those miserable newspapers in the monopolist interest write what they please of us, still there is no power on earth that can maintain this unjust system; and we, many of us, I doubt not, shall live to see the industry of the people of this great country entirely free, bringing them everything which the wide world offers in return for their honest labour. (The honourable member sat down amidst enthusiastic cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN came forward and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Fox will next address the meeting.

W. J. Fox, Esq., on coming forward was received with the most enthusiastic and long-continued cheering, which having subsided, he addressed the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen—Some very just observations were made by the honourable member who spoke first this evening upon the undesirableness of taking a one-sided view of a question, and of associating exclusively with those with whom our opinions are identical and our sympathies are strong. But this evil, be it little or much, is almost unavoidable upon the question of the Corn Laws, because, so far as logic is concerned, it is a question which has but one side to it. The Pro-Corn-Law Associations will not admit us at their assemblies, and they will not come to our meetings; we must bear the evil whatever it be, endeavouring to gain a remote point for the contemplation of the subject. I think that an intelligent foreigner, especially if not intimately acquainted with the mechanism of society in this country, who should attend several of these meetings in succession, would be strongly impressed with the conviction that our most sanguine expectations are sure of being realized. (Cheers.) In the unprecedented number that have been gathered together week after week in this metropolis, to the great assemblage here of persons of all ranks and classes of society—in the voluntary order

and harmony of your proceedings—in the interest excited by topics sometimes leading to remote considerations, and strange ones, as they would generally have been deemed, for great public meetings to have addressed to them—in the concurrence of the views which are put forth here with those of the soundest philosophers upon the production and distribution of national wealth; and the response which there is to your opinions and feelings throughout the country manifested, from time to time, in the most distant counties and towns—and in the determination which is by you and by them evinced, never to shrink from the assertion of the principle we hold, nor to abandon or relax in the demand for its practical application,—in all these circumstances, I apprehend that such an observer would see evidence that the repeal of the Corn Laws, and of all other monopolies, are marked down as the inevitable result. (Cheers.) The same honourable gentleman referred to a time when the country shall be visited by a bad harvest as that which probably would be the date of the abolition of the Corn Laws. It is melancholy to look at the question only in that association. But I would suggest, on the other hand, that some additional element is necessary. Though we have had bad harvests, we find that they have inflicted tremendous suffering on the people, and have led to no reform in our Ministerial policy. If there be a cause why, in future, such a dispensation should wear a different aspect from what it has in times gone by—why that which has only been evil shall at some future period become a good and a blessing—I find that modifying clause in another result of the same Providential superintendence, which, whilst it orders the clouds and the winds, and regulates the fertility of the soil, or visits it with barrenness, also stimulates in human hearts a love of justice, an impatience of wrong, and a determination by peaceful but unconquerable perseverance to win from the hands of power the rights and interests of the many. (Loud cheers.) While the intelligent foreigner whom I am supposing would behold in your assemblages only reasons for expecting the abolition of the food monopoly, he might be induced per chance to visit another place, and breathe a different atmosphere, where no such impression would be conveyed to his mind, but where every symptom which he contemplated would be one of stubborn and dogged resistance to this wise, just, and beneficent measure. And what are the symptoms by which that resistance would manifest itself? As far as we see, on the one hand, the prospect of this repeal shows itself in the frank communication of expression of sentiment—in the heartening one another up for the conflict on behalf of the helpless against the powerful—in the endeavour to carry out to the world, in human institutions, that great provision of nature by which the diversities of all regions are framed to minister to the wellbeing of every nation. As such are the symptoms by which he would be led to expect this result here, what would he find as existing in the forms and demonstrations of the opposition—the dead and seemingly impassible resistance—by which that result is opposed? Why, he would find in that place an affected silence upon the subject. He would see a number of persons met together, professedly to consult for the welfare of the nation, where the one topic that occupied the mind and heart of the nation was continually passed over—where, on that momentous question which you have heard here discussed, all voices are mute, none countenancing its being brought forward. No measure tending to relieve the people from the pressure laid upon them in relation to the necessities of life has as yet found its way, still less been adopted there; and we are reminded of the old story of Queen Elizabeth, who, when the Parliament had been very sluggish indeed, applied to its Speaker—afterwards Chief Justice Popham, and said—“Well, Mr. Speaker, what has passed in the House of Commons?” The Speaker, with a low bow to her Majesty, could only reply, “If it please your Majesty, seven weeks have passed.” (Cheers and laughter.) Even inquiry is forbidden there! They tell us we do not understand the subject; but assuredly they offer no assistance towards its better comprehension. They complain of the burthens that weigh down the agricultural interest, and render protection necessary; but it is from others that the desire and proposition comes to ascertain what those burthens really are. Still the inquiry is refused; we are not to be allowed to know what the peculiar pressure is; we must take it all upon trust. They seem to think that examination into these matters would be as perilous to the cause which they wish to uphold as an inquisition with lighted torches would be into the state of a gunpowder manufactory. (Hear.) Yet, meanwhile, assertions are reiterated by their retainers out of doors, and great license is given to their tongues. Statements are made of the conduct, motives, and proceedings of manufacturers and others, which, if they have in them a particle of truth, ought to be put in the most distinct form, and be supported by the clearest evidence. They go on, taking a latitude of speech of which there is no parallel in the proceedings of any other body. They put forth, as you have heard in some quotations to-night, declarations of attempts by manufacturers to excite, to oppress, and enrage the people of this country, which are so unsubstantial and devoid of all verisimilitude, that if this work goes on much longer their speeches will pass into a proverb: we shall talk of the mendacity of monopoly, and it will become a familiar saying of any one grossly regardless of truth,—“He lies like a Pro-Corn-Law lord.” (Loud cheers and laughter.) Connected with this affected silence there is a pretended bustle on trivial and unimportant matters. Resolutions are passed, going in one direction one night, and in another direction another night. There is great talk of humanity, with little appearance of solid advantages to be bestowed on the community. They march up the hill, then down again, and remind us of Dr. Young's description of the impenitent sinner, who, after suspecting himself a fool,

“Resolves and re-resolves, then dies the same.”

In the course of these proceedings the great sensation of the session appears to have been an allusion to that memorable character in history, Jack Cade. This has acted so strongly that I think it would be well worth while if a select committee of country gentlemen were appointed to inquire into the history and principles of “Mr. Cade,” as he is now more respectfully termed. They would find very much in them that might be instructive, with this impartiality, that it would have a bearing on both sides of the question. In the authentic chronicles of Shakspeare we find a leading principle of

Cade's followers to have been, that “the members of the royal council were no good workmen.” That, perhaps, may be thought not applicable to some recent displays of the statesmanship of the present Cabinet. Cade was a great regulator; he meddled with business which he did not understand; and yet in that interference, perhaps, his disposition was not the worst, most vicious, this country has witnessed. He declared that seven half-penny loaves should be sold in London for a penny; and this would not have been a worse law than others, which enact that only six halfpenny loaves shall be sold for fourpence. (Hear, hear.) Cade was met by an embassy, in which the Duke of Buckingham of the day was the ambassador. That nobleman said he found him in his answers a very discreet person; but, notwithstanding this recommendation, the duke abandoned him to treachery, which resulted in his execution; and thus ended the first alliance between Dukes of Buckingham and those who attempt to disturb the country and excite riot and confusion. (Loud cheers.) Cade is said to have built a chimney; but we are not told that it was a tall one. He was evidently no factory man. (Laughter.) He came from that county which, in our own day, has been rendered famous by the eloquence of a Bradshaw; adorned by the divinity of a Molesworth, the divine mission of a Thom; blessed with the refined gentleness of a Winchilsea, and honoured with the legislative impartiality and frankness of a Knatchbull. (Renewed laughter.) There are many historical doubts about this same Cade. Upon the authority of contemporary chroniclers, it has been said that this was only an assumed name; that he was, in reality, a doctor, and that, like some other state empirics, he would not prescribe until he was “called in.” By such tricks he got himself prematurely called in, and then found himself in such an awkward scrape by the dissatisfaction of the different parties with whom he was in collision, that he would have been very glad indeed to get out of it with a whole skin if he could have done so. (Laughter.) But no wonder that matters even of this incidental kind can attract attention and excite interest in the House of Commons, when, as we were informed by what is professed to be a report of a speech of Lord Stanley last night, the great question of all—the Corn Laws—is deemed by him one of “infinite importance and infinite delicacy,” so much so that it is scarcely safe to whisper about it, lest the great agricultural interest should become alarmed, and betake itself to the extravagancy of a panic! It seems there are two reasons against legislating upon the importation of foreign corn, both of them alike conclusive. It is not to be legislated for in some countries, because they can send corn, and not to be legislated for in others because they have none whatever to send. (Laughter.) These are held to be sufficient reasons for maintaining the law in its present state, and for saving the landlords from a panic. But are they really so tender upon the point as all this? May it not be that there is yet a further reason for this sensitiveness than any mere apprehension that an influx of Indian corn (for there are no Tamboffs in India,) could possibly create in their minds? (Hear, hear, hear.) Is it not rather from the circumstance that the power which made the Government will not allow them to tamper with even the show of alteration in these laws? (Hear, hear, hear.) Is it not more likely that the Ministers are held strictly to their allegiance,—that it is not a panic of the landowners, but of the Cabinet,—a fear on the part of the Government lest those who brought it into being, and who boast that they could, with equal ease, destroy it, should take offence at any relaxation of their policy. If this be so, the Ministry are in a state of most unhappy subjugation and degrading dependency for an administration in a country like this, where so much sympathy has been shown for slavery of all kinds,—for the negroes under the lash, and even for those who work by their free consent in factories,—where there is so much sympathy with all kinds of subjugation. Why, surely it would be desirable, looking at this state of things, to make some exertions, and to have voluntary associations for the emancipation of her Majesty's Ministers. (Loud cheers and laughter.) In these various indications, an attentive looker-on would see the different forms and phases of the obstinate resistance to our principles which we have still to encounter. He might ask, how is this opposition to truth and justice to be maintained? Where are its powers, and what its strength? One house would meet his eye, composed of landowners,—not with all their estates free, and their receipts in full (hear),—but still, the class to which they belong being hereditary legislators, some of whom have won battles; others, of whose grandfathers, by worse tricks even than by winning battles, gained their places there, and formed a legislative body whose capacity for lawmaking is presumed to descend from generation to generation. Then he would look at the other assembly, over which he would find the former exercising considerable influence. We look with full earnestness of purpose, to the constituencies of the country in reference to this elective body. But there have been some recent returns as to what those constituencies are, illustrative of the relation they bear to the possessors of landed property. We find that in England four-sevenths of the entire constituency are county voters; of this number one-fourth of the whole vote as £50 tenants-at-will. In Wales the county voters are differently divided, and the tenants-at-will form an actual majority. Of the 320,000—to speak in round numbers—borough voters in England, upwards of 130,000 belong to the classes of freemen, livermen, scot and lot voters, and potwallopers. (Laughter.) There is throughout the whole electoral body a large mass of individuals capable of being acted upon by the most corrupt influences, and of the exercise of which there is so frequently positive proof. (Hear, hear, hear.) Then the direct power of command is enforced by the indirect. It spreads through the whole of society: the screw is turned upon one man, who is obliged to pursue the same process with his neighbour. Men in the loftiest station are not ashamed of being parties to proceedings of this kind. Only a few days ago a fact was reported in the *Morning Chronicle*, which is only one of a thousand of an analogous description which are continually occurring, but which, to an observant foreigner, would throw some light upon the strength of monopoly and the landed aristocracy in this country. The circumstance to which I allude is thus stated—it relates to a Cabinet Minister:—“In a county which has acquired much reputation for the agricultural skill of its farmers, there was lately advertised one of the Minister's farms to be let by proposal. There

were various officers; but one higher than the others was admitted to a special interview with the landlord's agent, who, being satisfied with the means of the offerer, and the respectability of character, seemed upon the point of deciding in his favour, until the following and concluding conversation occurred:—

"Agent. Of what politics are you?"

"Offerer. A Liberal."

"Agent. Of what religious persuasion?"

"Offerer. A Dissenter."

"Agent. But the tenant of this farm must both go to church and poll with his landlord." (Hisses, and cries of "Shame, shame.")

"Offerer. Then, Sir, I am not prepared to bid a higher rent than any one else, and have to sacrifice my religious and political principles, merely to gratify your master's lust for power. Good morning, Sir."

It is more than probable that such occurrences as the above are not uncommon, and if the persons to whom they happen would only publish them through the medium of the press, Englishmen would be made to blush for suffering this great country to be ruled by such tyrants as these." (Loud cheers.) But so it is: the parties with whom we have to deal appear to think that a species of omniscience is communicated by the possession of landed property: that the landowners have a right to determine how a man shall act, politically and religiously. They are continually exercising this interference over those who have the misfortune to be their dependents. They say to all other parties, in the words of Campbell:—

"We know all about God Almighty,
A thousand times better than you."

They even lay down the law as to the course which is to be taken by their tenants in sending children to school. A few days before this paragraph appeared, the same paper had a report of a Dissenting school being entirely put down, after it had been carried on in a most meritorious manner by a man in humble circumstances for many years. (Hear, hear.) In fact, they seem disposed to realize the dictum of one of the Scotch judges who presided at the trial of Muir and Palmer, who declared from the bench that "no man had a right even to speak of the constitution unless he possessed landed property." (Hisses and laughter.) Here, then, is a power which may long resist the force of public opinion. But what will be the consequence of that obstinacy? Is it possible for such a feeling to exist as has been evinced in the many meetings held here, and which prevails to so large an extent throughout the country—which is seen in the strong conviction and determination which millions and millions of our countrymen entertain on this subject—and that no effects should result from such a collision? Is it at all likely that the consequence—the unhappy influence of the Corn Laws on the condition of multitudes—should not produce its results also in the limitation of manufacturing industry, in the failure of one market after another—in the alternation, as the seasons vary, of commercial and agricultural distress? We see suffering more deep than charitable societies or mitigated poor laws will ever be able to reach; we behold a gigantic, and yet growing, evil, which sooner or later must be grappled with, and that, too, by a statesmanship which is equal to the achievement of the largest commercial reform that any country perhaps has ever yet experienced. (Loud cheers.) For what else can or is to be done? There is a talk of emigration—of exporting a portion of the people of this country to other lands. We do not send our horses away; or, if we do it, it is at a high price, showing the esteem which is set upon their worth. That useful animal does not go about neighing by way of petition for work to any human being who will oblige him in that way; he is too valuable for that. But let the animal only walk on two legs instead of four,—let him but have what has been called the "human face divine," and be capable of looking up with high aspirations,—let him have a brain where thought works with its mighty energies, and possess a heart beating with affections,—let him be the possessor of a strong arm, and still all those may not avail him;—he must go about seeking for work, and perhaps after all be told, that though the horse is valuable man is worthless, and the best thing to be done with him is to send him out of the country. (Vehement cheering.) There was a time when human beings were told by the Highest Authority, that they were "of more value than many sparrows." But even this can scarcely be said now. Sparrows are worth something in country parts—they put them into puddings; but we have not yet got to pauper pies (laughter); and those of our population who are neither wanted for their work, nor are good for eating, why, it seems to be thought but one thing is to be done with them, and that is, to cast them overboard out of the vessel of the community. (Cheers.) Were this hopeful idea capable of being carried out—to do which there has been a disposition evinced—those who might enrich our land by their toil—who might, in earning their own means of subsistence, provide for the support and the gratification of others, even though those others should dwell in distant regions—they would, if such a policy were wrought out, be driven, as it were, in shoals to our coasts, there to be shipped off, bound—some for the Cape, not of "Good Hope," but of hope most forlorn—some for Canada, others Australia; and some—looking at the manner in which emigration and transport ships are too frequently sent forth—some, perhaps, for eternity, starting the depths of the ocean by the unexpected invasion of a colony of emaciated corpses. (Loud cheers.) It is said that the country is making strides in demoralization. What hold can spiritual teachers have of a people who are obliged to battle earnestly for the right of being allowed to earn the means of subsistence? (Hear, hear.) What favourable hearing can they expect, against whom the laws preach another gospel—the gospel of starvation—as opposed to theirs of freedom and plenty, denying them the daily bread which it is inculcated in their Bible that they should ask of Heaven? Less and less must be the influence of Christian teachers as this erroneous and degrading policy manifests its full depravity; and smaller and smaller the power of instructors of every kind. (Hear.) Eating is the condition of learning; under all circumstances it must precede that work. The people must be fed and clothed before you can expect the mind will be exercised, the taste cultivated, and the character formed. One of the worst features of this worn-out feudal policy—and it is even a compliment to call them feudal, for they are much more sordid than anything in ancient feudalism—is, that they not only war against man's physical support and comfort, but also against the *morale* of

the country, exercising a deadly influence against education and the enlightenment of civilization itself. If their whole results be accomplished, it will tend to turn back the future ages into periods of barbarism; to overspread the land with an untutored banditti, repaying the vindictive and selfish lessons which they have learned from example. They will open before us, as the result of oppression continued and reform denied—as through a long vista perhaps, but yet distinct in its remoteness, at the end of that perspective—the blazing and roaring volcano of revolution. (Loud cheers.) Foolish people are the aristocracy of this country to abuse and sneer at the Anti-Corn-Law League! Why, that body stands between them and ruin. (Cheers.) The League interposes and shields them from such hatred and execration as no class of men, one would think, would willingly abide the pelting of. It excites hope in minds that would otherwise be driven to desperation. There is a prospect in its peaceful, firm, and decided advance—there is a means provided for the re-adjustment of society, the restoration of harmony between class and class, the healing of wounds that have festered into bitterness, and the reconciliation of interests that for the present are put into the utmost extremes of animosity and incongruity. (Cheers.) For all this they should thank the League, rely upon it, and make speedy terms with it—the only terms which are to be made being, that the aristocracy would serve us and in the end serve themselves by the total abolition of their infamous monopoly. (Enthusiastic cheers.) I say the Corn-Law is a warfare against civilization, a wanton abuse by the landowners of their legislative power; for when and where in the world's history has civilization ever advanced but in connexion with the humanizing and harmonizing influences of commercial intercourse. To whom do we, to whom does the world owe its first alphabet, but to those adventurous merchants, the Phœnicians. There is a sort of cant about the instability of commerce; why, Tyre lasted in its glory 700 years. It was their free intercourse that gave the polished Athenians all their superiority over the rough and rude Spartans. In the middle ages, the republics of Italy, while they kept alive some notion of political freedom, did it in connexion with the extensiveness of their commercial intercourse. Their princely merchants founded at once civilization and the wealth of succeeding periods. In the great start which Europe took at the time of the Reformation, we behold the same alliance. Everywhere the merchant, the burgess, or the tradesman is seen making good his position in society, raising the whole community, and, as he did so, elevating those very feudal lords themselves. For what were they then, or what would they have been now, but for the benignant influence of commerce. (Hear, hear.) But for that, these very persons who deny the labourer the food he has earned of the foreigner, whilst they surround themselves with all the luxuries which they can accumulate from the most distant regions, instead of being seated in their richly-carpeted rooms, they would have been walking upon their rush-strewn floors, immured in their cold, stony residences, more like dungeons than anything else, with their unglazed windows letting in the rain and sleet as well as the breath and air of heaven. They would have been to this day still sanctioning the charters of some mercantile guild, by affixing their marks to the documents instead of writing their names; and have been about as well informed of the distant countries over whose destinies they now exercise so large an influence, as those same feudal barons were when they set out upon their Christian expedition to Palestine, expecting to find in that country that they should have to encounter giants riding on unicorns, black magicians who breakfasted by sucking phoenix eggs; and griffins and dragons as plentiful as barn-door fowls. (Cheers, and laughter.) Why, it is commerce which has made men of the aristocracy. (Hear, hear.) Poor and beggarly is the boon which is asked of them in return—to allow even the humblest of those who labour in what is really the work that Providence has given to men to do for each other—to allow them the free interchange of the results of their toil, from whatever region the payment may come by which that toil is to be recompensed. And if laws for the restriction of commerce are absurdity under any circumstances, and a wickedness as well as an absurdity, much more are they both in such a country as this. Why, this island was made for commerce: it is marked out for it by the hand of Heaven itself! Creative power has stamped that destiny for it by our long lines of coast, our beautiful rivers, safe harbours, and all those circumstances which indicate Britain as the central point from which every wind that blows should waft some freight of wealth, knowledge, or charity to the remotest regions of the globe. (Loud cheers.) It has been marked out for commerce by its coal beds and mineral treasures—by the materials which nature puts into the hands of man, which seem of themselves to invite the application of his power, and say, "Come and use us! elicit the virtue that we possess, and our gigantic power to minister to the luxuries of millions, and to feed and clothe millions and millions more." (Cheers.) The industry and unwearying toil, the accumulated capital, the surpassing skill and science of this land, the eminence it has already attained,—all show that these are the conquests which we have to make. This is our mission from Heaven for the universal benefit of mankind upon God's earth; and who or what are the landed class that they should stand up and interpose, saying,—"This shall not be done; for it will deteriorate our property, and lower our rents." Why, suppose it should; is there anything in a class which has had for ages immense advantages over all the rest of society, suffering a little inconvenience? Is there anything in the result of a rightful change subjecting them (were it so) to temporary privation that should in honesty allow them to stand in the way of the accomplishment of that which humanity has a right to claim, to which charity and justice alike award their sacred sanction? Could they permanently divert this land from its proper work, and succeed in upholding for ever laws which would cripple the manufactures and commerce by which we have been enriched, which have made the strength and greatness of the nation,—could they go on successfully repressing these, keeping down the ebullition of misery, and suppressing all indications of discontent,—could they, through coming years, uphold their present policy to its full extent, and realize (which they are far from being able to do,) the purposes for which their monopoly laws are enacted, what disastrous results would take place from end to end of this country! With a growing population and a declining trade—the

ports barred against the foreigner by duties—disease and famine would stalk abroad; frightful demoralization would ensue; the iron arm of power must then be put forth to keep down the millions; they must make a solitude and call it peace—such peace as there would be thus obtained would be the peace of the churchyard, where every arm is nerveless, every heart cold, and all are mouldering fast into one mass of corruption. (Cheers.) The land would be partitioned into *squirearchies*, and each rural tyrant would stalk in the solitary majesty of self-assumption over his petty domain; the peasant would think it a great prize when he got a sound potato; and intellect and the arts, and everything which refines and softens life, would leave a country thus degraded and abandoned; it would become so fearful a spectacle that we should cry, "O, God of Heaven! sooner than this, let Britain be whelmed again in the ocean from which it first arose—let it find a worthier grave there than that the long annals of its glories should end in a state of things so infamous and disgusting!" (Enthusiastic cheers.) We are not, then, fighting a manufacturers' question, or pleading only for charity to the poor: we are asserting the common, the great right of humanity, and advocating an interest which is not merely a pecuniary question of a passing day, but the interest of human nature in all countries and ages. Our cause is the advance of civilization itself: it is for that we strive. We are struggling that the world's progress may not be turned back through our indifference under the infliction of these mischievous wrongs. It is a sacred cause, and one which will call forth the most enthusiastic feelings of our hearts, and the intensest devotion of our souls. It is a matter which ought to be before us day and night—from month to month and year to year—until the result which we contemplate is obtained. Oh, that it were regarded in all its importance by those whose station gives them ampler means of leading on that result; for should the Sovereign of these realms have moments of perplexity and anxiousness, and be distracted by conflicting councils—looking wistfully on the battles of warring statesmen—should she at such moments desire to know what it is that would make her reign blessed, as wiping away the tears of the distressed, clothing the naked, feeding the hungry, and raising those that are trampled down—should she desire to know what it is that would render her reign illustrious, not only by averting misery and rectifying wrong; but which would give it a yet higher splendour, before which the glories of conquest, legislative institutions, and reformations in former times would all wax pale in comparison—should she desire to know what the magic is that would render her reign an era in the world's history, and the best and brightest in the annals of Great Britain,—Oh that some good angel would whisper in her ear that the talismanic words to do all this are—*Commercial Freedom!* (The honourable gentleman concluded his eloquent address amidst vehement and prolonged cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said:—Before we separate, I am requested to announce to you that these meetings will be continued after Easter, and that due notice will be given of their recommencement.

LEEDS.

On Wednesday evening, the 20th instant, a very influential and spirited demonstration in favour of Free Trade took place in the Music Hall, Leeds. The spacious hall was filled in every part on the occasion; J. G. Marshall, Esq., occupied the chair.

During the proceedings, a number of Chartists, who had purchased for themselves, or had had purchased for them, about two hundred tickets, created considerable disturbance, with the obvious intention of frustrating the object of the meeting; but in this attempt their efforts were unsuccessful. The whole number of persons present at the meeting could not be less than 1300 or 1400, so that the Chartists were but a small, though, as usual, a very noisy and turbulent minority.

The proceedings commenced about half-past six o'clock in the evening; when Mr. Marshall, according to previous announcement, took the chair.

On the platform we observed W. J. Fox, Esq. (of London), Hutton Stansfeld, Esq., John Wilkinson, Esq., E. Baines, jun., Esq., Wm. Brown, Esq., George Wise, Esq., Alderman Maclean, Alderman Lupton, Alderman Luccock, E. Birchall, Esq., S. J. Birchall, Esq., Arthur Lupton, Esq., Dr. Smiles, W. S. Fennell, Esq., John Sykes, Esq., Thomas Nunneley, Esq., Peter Fairbairn, Esq., John Jackson, Esq., Rev. Mr. Wicksteed, Rev. Josh. Fox (of Leeds), W. B. Holdsworth, Esq., Joshua Bower, Esq., Samuel Hammond, Esq., H. J. Marcus, Esq., Emil Liebreich, Esq., Thomas Pint, Esq., William Beverley, Esq., E. Birchall, jun., Esq., Councillor Barrett, Councillor J. W. Smith, Councillor Heaps, Councillor Carbutt, Councillor Broadhead, Councillor Yewdall, Councillor Sellers, Councillor Dickinson, and several delegates from Halifax, Huddersfield, Bradford, Sheffield, and Wakefield. On the platform were also a number of ladies.

The CHAIRMAN rose amidst cheers to open the proceedings. He said he would commence the business of the meeting by reading the advertisement by which it had been convened. Having read the placard, he said he would shortly commence the proceedings by a few remarks on the object of the meeting, and on their mode of proceeding. They would have heard from the advertisement that this was a meeting of the friends of Free Trade, and of a total and immediate abolition of the Corn Laws, and their object was to help forward, as far as they could, that great movement which was carried on in such an admirable manner in the House of Commons, and in Covent Garden Theatre, and, by means of the press, throughout the country. (Hear, hear.) He was sure, to the men of Leeds and of Yorkshire,—now present, and who so lately, either in this room or at the great gathering at Wakefield, had listened to the admirable and home-thrust arguments of Cobden and Bright, and been electrified by their enthusiasm and their energy,—he need say little to show that it was necessary for those present, and everywhere throughout the country, to beatir themselves and take their share of the heat and burden of the day. (Hear, hear.) He was rejoiced to see that the great meeting at Wakefield had had its good effects amongst them. They had had this morning a very numerous meeting of delegates from most of the large towns in the West Riding, in order to concert together the means of carrying on the agitation in favour of the great cause which they were commencing here that night; he trusted they would set a good example, as they ought to do, of that temperate, and reasonable, and orderly advocacy of this great question,

which it so well deserved. (Hear, hear.) They would, he was sure, have every inducement given them to carry out their meeting in that manner, from the high treat they had every right to expect from the eloquent gentleman who would address them this evening. (Applause.) After some further observations, explanatory of the object of the meeting, the Chairman called on

Mr. THOMAS PLINT, who was received with some disapprobation by the Chartists, but with loud applause from the great body of the meeting. Seeing Mr. Plint's determination to address the meeting, the Chartists, after some uproar, relinquished their opposition for a time. He proceeded at some length to show the progress which the cause of Free Trade had made since he last addressed an audience of his townsmen on the subject two years ago. He also remarked upon the progress of the cause generally throughout the country, as completely proved by the growing public confidence in the wisdom, energy, and judgment of the League, and by the still increasing and more splendid contributions to that great fund which it had so well used, and would use, as a means of enlightening and instructing the people of this country in the doctrines of Free Trade, and awakening them to a due sense of the evils and mischiefs which result to them from restrictions upon commerce. Alluding to the formation of the Pro-Corn-Law societies, he denied to them the right to be called "Protective," inasmuch as the agriculturists were more injured by the Corn-Law monopoly than any other class in the community. After touching upon various other branches of the subject, Mr. Plint concluded amidst much applause.

W. J. Fox, Esq., came forward amidst loud and prolonged cheering, and delivered, to use the language of the *Leeds Mercury*, "a glowing oration," to which no mere abstract or summary could render justice. Mr. Fox resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic and often-repeated cheering and waving of hats, having occupied the meeting for about an hour in the delivery of his address.

At the delivery of Mr. Fox's speech a scene of extraordinary confusion arose, in which the Chartists uttered vociferous cries for Leach to address the meeting; Mr. Leach not presenting himself, a cry was got up for Kydd, a Chartist, from Bradford. The confusion after some time partly subsided.

The CHAIRMAN called upon Mr. Smith, of Sheffield, to address the meeting.

Mr. SMITH, on presenting himself in front of the platform, was unable to proceed for some time, being alternately met by the groans and hisses of the small party of Chartists, and deafening bursts of applause from the Corn-Law repealers. During this period Kydd mounted a form in the midst of the Chartist party, and for a short time harangued them in an inaudible voice; after which

The CHAIRMAN remonstrated with the Chartists, and pointed out the results to which their conduct would lead: he admonished Mr. Kydd that, if he persisted in disturbing the meeting, he must request his removal from the hall.

Mr. KYDD still persisting (notwithstanding the Chairman's admonition) in having what he denominated a free discussion, he was politely patted on the back by a policeman, and removed from the meeting amidst the most hideous yells that the Chartists could raise.

Mr. SMITH, during all this time, had retained his post, and was still in possession of the chair. Before he was enabled to proceed with any prospect of being audible, several other of the more disorderly Chartists had been also ejected, and the Chairman had several times unsuccessfully interposed to obtain order. The Chartists at length being nearly exhausted in lungs, number, and courage, Mr. Smith was enabled to proceed. He said that it was not by such a course of conduct the popular cause (to which his previous life proved him to be attached) was to be advanced. To talk of the franchise for men pursuing such conduct as had been manifested this night was perfectly ridiculous, for they would not, as they had shown by their hostility to their friends, even hear their own side of the question. ("Hear, hear," and slight hisses.) Men pursuing the course of the Chartists this night were those who might have liberty upon their lips, but at heart they were the veriest tyrants upon earth. (Loud applause and confusion.) Now, he held that there was no class of the community that was interested in this question more than working men. The working men could not live from day to day without wages; indeed, they were more interested in Free Trade than any other class of the community; and they and the middle classes especially ought to be bound together in one common tie of interest. (Hear, hear.) He believed that those who took these steps to set classes at variance with each other were not the friends of any class. (Applause.) He admitted that the other classes depended upon the working classes, but the dependence was equal in the opposite direction. (Hear.) What could the working men do without capital? Capital set their labour to work, and those who possessed that capital held the produce of the labour of the working men until they could dispose of it; they were, in fact, the parties who went between the working men and the buyer. With the Anti-Corn-Law movement all classes should be united. The philanthropist could find sufficient reason why he should unite with this movement. Those who desired to see the productive classes of the community better educated, fed and clothed, and enjoying better houses, were all aiding the movement. (Hear.) Then, why should those who were seeking a particular species of privilege, or political right, say,—"Until we can get our political rights as well as a sufficient supply of food, we will continue only to receive a restricted supply of food?" Now, he said, if they could not get two things, let them take one. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) Let them have a supply of food, and let the extension of their political rights, in so far as it would prove beneficial, be the subject of separate effort and separate labour. (Hear, hear.) Was it not a good thing to have cheap food and plenty of employment? The supply of the comforts of life to the working man depended upon the sale of his labour. The ability to buy depended upon the ability to sell; and what working men had to sell was their skill and their labour. Now, that skill and labour were to be employed chiefly on something that was to pass into foreign countries; and how could they suppose that there could be a market for their skill and labour, if they did not join their efforts with those who would get rid of all restrictions. The Lyonsese weavers, in their address to the French Legislature, said, "We are poor and ignorant men, but we are acquainted with this truth,—that those who want to sell must be content to buy." (Applause.) Commerce depended upon barter, which would create a demand for the

labour of those who are not now employed, and by which they could succeed in establishing markets abroad. Markets abroad depended upon our taking what foreigners had to give us in exchange, from which we were excluded by what we called protective duties (hear, hear, hear), and if we were prohibited from the importation of the only material which the foreigner could give us for our labour, as surely as could be, the evil would fall on the poorer classes of the community; and never let it be forgotten that if there were a scarcity of food grown in this country, it was not the rich that suffered. There were very few men above the middle ranks of life who would suffer a great deal from hunger. (Hear, hear.) If there were a short supply of food, it was upon the working classes that the burden must fall. (Applause.) Why, then, did they not join with them in carrying out the repeal of the Corn Laws? ("Hear, hear," and groans.) Having said thus much, he should now propose, in conclusion, under a very lively sense of the excellent address they had heard, "That the best thanks of this meeting be given to W. J. Fox, Esq., for his admirable address this evening." (Applause.)

Mr. Councillor CARBUTT having seconded the motion, it was put from the chair, and responded to with three most hearty cheers, intermingled with a few faint groans from the remaining small section of Chartists.

The meeting then separated, with three cheers for the Chairman, and three cheers for the League.—*Leeds Mercury*.

MEETING OF ANTI-CORN-LAW DEPUTIES.—A large and influential meeting of deputies from the several parliamentary boroughs of the West Riding was held at the Commercial Buildings, Leeds, on Wednesday, the 20th instant. About 40 gentlemen were present. J. G. Marshall, Esq., presided. A long discussion took place as to the best means of promoting the agitation of the question of Free Trade. A slight difference of opinion existed as to the propriety of memorializing those members who had already voted for Mr. Villiers's motion; but the prevailing feeling was in favour of the plan being carried out in all the parliamentary boroughs of the kingdom, with the view of ascertaining the entire strength of the Free-Trade party throughout the whole constituencies of the country. At the close of the discussion on this subject, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved—"That this meeting highly approves of the important recommendation made by the Council of the Anti-Corn-Law League, to present memorials from the electors of all parliamentary boroughs to their members, requesting them to vote for the motion intended to be made by the Hon. C. P. Villiers, in favour of the entire abolition of the Corn Laws; and it strongly and earnestly urges all the boroughs of the West Riding to undertake immediately a complete canvass of their respective constituencies for this purpose, with a view, by the memorials, to produce the greatest influence on the representatives, and also to ascertain and record the full strength of the Free-Trade party in the boroughs of the kingdom."

Several other topics engaged the attention of the deputies, who were occupied in the consideration of them for three or four hours.—*Leeds Times*.

The following is the Memorial which has been prepared in Leeds, addressed (with a change of the name) to the two borough members, and which will, we hope, receive the signature of every friend of Free Trade in this important constituency:—

"To William Beckett, Esq., one of the Representatives in Parliament of the Borough of Leeds, in the County of York:—

"Sir,—We, the undersigned, registered electors of the Borough of Leeds, beg to express to you our decided opinion, that all restrictions on the supply of human food are injurious to the community at large, and ought to be totally and immediately repealed."

"We, therefore, most respectfully, but earnestly, request that you will support, by your vote, the motion to be brought forward by the Hon. C. P. Villiers, during the present session, for the abolition of the Corn Laws."

GREAT YARMOUTH, March 26.—(From a Correspondent.)—The memorial to the members for this borough, requesting them to vote for the total repeal of the Corn Laws, decides the question in Yarmouth. We know not what effect it will have on our members, but we do know that it is a triumphant demonstration of the electors in favour of Free Trade. Last year a memorial to the like effect was signed by 534 electors; the one this year is signed by 808. In addition to that number 98 electors, who have declined signing the memorial in consequence of that last year having had no effect, have expressed their determination not to vote for any future candidate unless he be favourable to the total repeal of the Corn Laws. The strength of the Free-Trade voters, therefore, may be very safely taken as upwards of 900, our constituency being 1929; and, as more than 150 who have not signed the memorial could not vote (in consequence of removals, deaths, duplicates, &c.), were an election to take place on the present register, 900 constitute a majority. Since the passing of the Reform Bill we have never at any election polled 1500 voters; 800 always carrying the election. We have not made the question of Free Trade here certain without difficulty; but, seeing what we have done, we cannot too strongly impress on the minds of the Free-Traders in every borough, however small their number may be, that by system, perseverance, and energy—and, above all, by the formation of an Anti-Corn-Law League—they must, and will in the end, succeed in rousing the electors to a sense of the justice of this holy cause.

Mr. Daniel Liddell delivered a lecture on the Corn Laws, in Morpeth Townhall, on Thursday evening; Mr. Ephraim Nicholson in the chair. On the motion of the Rev. Mr. Froggatt, seconded by Mr. Robert Burn, a Free-Trade resolution was adopted by the crowded meeting, only five hands being held up for monopoly. The Chairman put down his name as a subscriber of £5 to the League Fund; and the meeting concluded with three cheers for Corn-Law repeal. We have received two or three notices of the proceedings, all of which speak highly of the lecture. The lecturer has published a well-timed address to farmers.—*Newcastle Courant*.

PRICES OF FARM PRODUCE UNDER "PROTECTION."—A farmer in Low Furness, who bred, fed, and sold a large quantity of cattle last year, obtained this year, for similar quantity and quality, also bred, fed, and sold by him, no less than four hundred guineas less. Another farmer, son to the other, sold stock of the same quality this year for two hundred guineas less than the quantity realized last year.—*Kendal Mercury*.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, March 27, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | |
|---|---------|
| J. Henderson, Gutter-lane | £1 1 0 |
| Graham, Coombes, and Murray, 11, Goldsmith-street, Wood-street | 5 5 0 |
| Mr. Porter, 124, Wood-street | 10 0 0 |
| Richard Burridge, Newgate-street | 10 10 0 |
| Ward, Start, Sharp, and Ward, 89, Wood-street | 100 0 0 |
| Thomas Ridgway, Highgate | 100 0 0 |
| Courtald, Taylors, 42, Courtald, 42 & 43, Gutter-lane | 100 0 0 |
| Leaf, Coles, and Co., 39, Old Change | 100 0 0 |
| William Leaf, Park-hill, Streatham | 100 0 0 |
| Roger Cunliffe, 24, Bucklersbury | 50 0 0 |
| George Gillett, 94, Watling-street | 50 0 0 |
| Stone and Kemp, 85, Spital-square, £200; Edinburgh £150, London | 50 0 0 |
| Joseph Procter, Cheapside | 20 0 0 |
| Fisher, Son, and Co., 38, Newgate-street | 20 0 0 |
| William Thomas, Cheapside | 20 0 0 |
| George Graham and Co., do. | 10 10 0 |
| Lycette and Davies, 39, Gutter-lane | 10 10 0 |
| J. and W. Rutter, 122, Cheapside | 10 0 0 |
| Slater and Coates, 5, Wood-street | 10 0 0 |
| Wild and Margeson, Cheapside | 5 0 0 |
| Carr and Robertson, 130, Wood-street | 1 1 0 |
| Henderson and Co., Cheapside | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Thompson, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Paul, 15, do. | 1 0 0 |
| C. J. Fox, Paternoster-row | 1 1 0 |
| Hoyle and Hanson, 88, Wood-street | 5 0 0 |
| G. Perks, Addle-street | 25 0 0 |
| W. Alfrey, 31, Aldermanbury | 1 0 0 |
| B. E. Brown, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Wm. Davies, 15, Fell-street, Wood-street | 1 0 0 |
| John Morley and Son, 18, do. | 50 0 0 |
| Edward Brettle, 119, do. | 100 0 0 |
| Brettle and Co., do. | 100 0 0 |
| Wm. Newton, King's Arms-buildings, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Dewar and Son, do. | 10 0 0 |
| John Frost, 11, do. | 10 0 0 |
| John Bassett, 34, do. | 5 0 0 |
| Henry Hewatson, 55, do. | 5 0 0 |
| Saddington and Co., 63, do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. W. Liggins, 68, do. | 20 0 0 |
| Bennoch and Co., 78, do. | 3 3 0 |
| Thos. Horwill, Silver-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| W. C. Johnson, 110, do. | 0 10 0 |
| T. Millgate, Lad-lane | 1 0 0 |
| W. Alnger, Mumford-court, Milk-street | 1 0 0 |
| W. H. and A. Scott, 37, Old Broad-street | 10 0 0 |
| Henry James Prescott, 55, do. | 10 0 0 |
| Henry Walthman and Co., 52, do. | 2 2 0 |
| Stiebel, Brothers, 51, do. | 2 2 0 |
| Balfour, Brothers, 74, Great Winchester-street | 10 10 0 |
| Henry Read, 27, Austin-friars | 1 0 0 |
| Z. Z. | 1 0 0 |
| William Cox, 16, Pinners' Hall | 1 1 0 |
| H. Marley, 34, Great Winchester-street | 1 1 0 |
| R. B. | 0 10 0 |
| J. B. Phelps, Paternoster-row | 1 1 0 |
| Charles Vyse, Ludgate-street | 1 1 0 |
| Peter Golding, do. | 2 0 0 |
| W. H. Lewis, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Joseph Coulburn, 37, do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. and A. Macfarlane, Old Bailey | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Smith, 3, Ludgate-street | 1 1 0 |
| Joseph Clow, 7, do. | 1 1 0 |
| John Hassall, 64, St. Paul's Churchyard | 1 0 0 |
| William Bullock, Paternoster-row | 1 0 0 |
| G. R. and J. Hilditch, Ludgate-hill | 3 0 0 |
| Mr. Ives | 0 2 6 |
| B. Steel | 0 5 0 |
| L. Smith | 0 2 6 |
| J. Pedler, 38, Ludgate-street | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Palmer, 61, St. Paul's Churchyard | 0 5 0 |
| J. H. Jones, 61, St. Paul's Churchyard | 0 10 0 |
| F. H. Ridley, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Mr. Piper | 0 10 0 |
| William King, 3, Fore-street-terrace, Edmonton | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Groombridge, Panyer-alley | 0 10 0 |
| George Virtue, Ivy-lane | 10 0 0 |
| Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, G.C.B., 92, Eaton-square | 1 1 0 |
| John White, grocer, Hounslow | 1 0 0 |
| I. O. U. | 0 6 0 |
| Robt. J. Bagshaw, Sunny-bank, Abergavenny | 2 0 0 |
| Mr. Bridgland, 7, Cheapside | 0 2 6 |
| Master T. Passfield, 18, Cloudeley-street, Islington | 0 2 6 |
| C. J. Hubbard, brewer, Stockwell | 1 1 0 |
| John Pollitt, 11, Penlington-place, Lambeth | 1 0 0 |
| W. C. Fish, 76, St. John-street-road, per J. P. Bur-nard | 1 1 0 |
| G. Sutton, 1, Broad-court, Long-acre | 1 0 0 |
| John Allen, 3, North-crescent, Alfred-place | 1 0 0 |
| P. T. | 0 10 0 |
| Mr. Munro, 25, Little Queen-street | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Taylor Kilway, 24, Barnsbury-row, Islington | 1 0 0 |
| C. C. Black, Marlborough-road, St. John's-wood | 1 0 0 |
| "No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God" | 1 0 0 |
| A. B., Brighton | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Georgiana Poole, 124, Wardour-street | 0 2 6 |
| Pence collected at the Coach and Horses, Water-lane, Fleet-street, per K. Seaman | 0 2 6 |
| R. A. Mould, 9, Lambeth-road | 0 2 6 |
| A. Bauer and Co., Cophall-court | 10 0 0 |
| S. H. Goldsmith, do. | 2 0 0 |
| James Ball, King Edward-street | 5 0 0 |
| A. Friend, not a Leaguer | 5 0 0 |
| Henry Pritchard, 15, Newgate-street | 1 1 0 |
| James Jennings, 25, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Henry Pybus, 23, do. | 0 10 0 |
| George Penson, 43, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Robert Wood, 78, do. | 2 0 0 |
| Miss Sarah Jones, 78, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Edward Hind, 78, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Carter, 3, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Hook, 7, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Charles Grier, 7, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Samuel Cobham, 95, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Chapman, 121, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Francis Edwards, 122, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Stephen Jessup, 23, Bull-and-Mouth-lane | 0 2 6 |
| Small sum | 0 1 0 |
| William Bailey, Abwell, near Berkeley, Gloucestersh. | 1 0 0 |
| John Magrath, 5, Ebenezer-place, Wyndham-road, Camberwell | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. John Magrath, do. | 0 2 6 |
| H. Jerard, 46, Eastcheap | 0 2 6 |
| T. Smith, jun., 49, do. | 0 2 6 |
| R. Smith, do. | 0 2 6 |
| F. Fisher, 8, Talbot-court, Gracechurch-street | 0 2 6 |
| W. Wesson, sen., 85, Upper Thames-street | 0 2 6 |
| W. Wesson, jun., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Ellery, Kewick, per Mr. Banks | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Day, Hirst, Batley, near Dewsbury, per C. R. Greenwood | 1 0 0 |

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|--|--------|---|---------|--|---------|
| Robert Wilson, jun., do., do. by, do. | 10 0 0 | Salis Schwabe, 25, Maseley-street, Manchester | 250 0 0 | Chas. and Amos Swaisland, London-road | 100 0 0 |
| J. Pamphilon, 37, Brydgos-street, Covent-garden | 10 0 0 | Thompson and Brothers, do. | 250 0 0 | Jas. Saxton | 2 0 0 |
| Matthew Willis, 14, Royal-street, Lambeth | 0 2 6 | Robert Glass, Beeston-street, Kilmarnock | 0 5 0 | Wm. Clapham | 1 1 0 |
| Oliver Freeman, Stowmarket | 1 0 0 | Thomas Mack, Titchfield-street, do. | 1 1 0 | Thos. Middleton | 0 10 0 |
| R. Pocock, Northcurrie, Edinburgh | 0 5 0 | H. Stevenson, do. | 0 10 0 | John Wood, London-road | 0 10 0 |
| "Therefore to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin" | 0 2 6 | Baile Geo. Young, East Shaw-street, do. | 2 2 0 | Henry Gould, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Barnard { Samuel Brooks, Thorngate | 1 0 0 | Provoost J. Brown, Bellebrae Cottage, do. | 1 1 0 | Wm. Newnam, sen., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Castle { John Gascoyne, do. | 1 0 0 | Baile Hugh Wilson, Nelson-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Newnam, jun., Grove-place | 0 5 0 |
| { John Clark, Bank | 1 0 0 | Baile Jas. Blackwood, Brougham-place, do. | 1 1 0 | Thos. Phillips, sen. | 0 10 0 |
| { Robert Walker, Bridgegate | 1 0 0 | Robt. Blackwood, Wellington-street, do. | 1 1 0 | Thos. Phillips, jun. | 0 10 0 |
| Henry Hunt, York | 0 3 6 | D. R. Andrews, Portland-street, do. | 1 1 0 | Wm. Aldridge | 0 5 0 |
| Cheshire-street { George Murray, chemist | 1 1 0 | Henry Brown, linen draper, High-street, Lawes | 1 0 0 | Mark Clement, sen. | 0 5 0 |
| { Thomas Murray, ironfounder | 1 1 0 | A Friend, do. | 0 5 0 | Mark Clement, jun. | 0 5 0 |
| { John Cawthorne, builder, Lumley, near | 1 1 0 | Do., do. | 0 2 6 | Robt. Shindler | 0 5 0 |
| { Wm. Morrison, surgeon, Pelaw House, near | 1 1 0 | Do., do. | 0 2 6 | Wm. Hubbard | 0 5 0 |
| { R. H. Yea, Whitehall, near | 1 1 0 | Do., do. | 0 2 6 | H. C. Harris | 0 5 0 |
| { James Rutherford, Lambton, near | 2 2 0 | Do., do. | 0 2 6 | John Nash | 0 5 0 |
| Alloa { John Dixon, Foundry | 1 0 0 | Arthur Morris, High-street, Cliffe, do. | 0 5 0 | J. R. Carter | 0 5 0 |
| { D. F. Lambert, Gauberton Mill | 1 10 0 | A. W. Lower, do. | 0 5 0 | Wm. Hato, sen. | 0 5 0 |
| { Gauberton Mill Workmen | 1 1 0 | J. Smith, do. | 0 5 0 | Henry Stevens | 0 5 0 |
| { Kellersbrae Mechanics | 1 0 0 | A Friend, do. | 0 5 0 | Chas. Benton | 0 5 0 |
| { A Farmer's Son | 1 0 0 | J. Evershed, do. | 0 5 0 | John Wasley | 0 5 0 |
| { A Friend | 0 0 6 | Anonymous, do. | 0 2 6 | Matthew Audsley | 0 5 0 |
| Kilmarnock { John Brown, clerk, Young, Glassford, | 1 0 0 | Rev. E. Davies, High-street, do. | 0 5 0 | Thomas Audsley, Grove-place | 0 5 0 |
| { Archibald Bain, cutter, do. | 1 4 0 | A Friend, do. | 0 5 0 | George Woodmansee | 0 5 0 |
| { John Rankin, printer, do. | 1 5 0 | Thomas Davy, 180, High-street, do. | 0 2 6 | James Aldridge, London-road | 0 5 0 |
| { John M'Millan, printer, do. | 2 6 0 | A Friend, do. | 0 2 6 | James Trowbridge | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Graham and Son, High street | 1 1 0 | Wm. Bridger, Brewers' Arms, High-st., do. | 1 0 0 | J. A. Wykes | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, per H. Macfarlane, jun. | 1 1 0 | Small sums | 0 18 6 | Francis Rolfe | 0 2 6 |
| Dani. Richmond, surgeon, High-street | 1 1 0 | Jas. Wrigley, Bury, Lancashire | 50 0 0 | Wm. Higgs | 0 2 6 |
| William Gibson, of Gibson and Craig | 1 1 0 | Fredk. Curwen, Oxford Cottage, Chippenham | 0 10 0 | Wm. Hill, Bell Inn | 0 2 6 |
| Per George Mitchel, dyer | 1 0 0 | A. Tidman, do. | 0 5 0 | James Robinson | 0 2 6 |
| Thos. Harvey, at Brown & Sharp's, George-st. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Wallis, Bagatelle Cottage, do. | 0 2 6 | Henry Yexley | 0 5 0 |
| John Muir, yarn merchant, Causeyside-street | 1 0 0 | Workpeople, Waterford Factory, do. | 0 13 4 | Charles Clement | 0 5 0 |
| Peter Hay, dyer | 1 0 0 | James Beard, West Mead-lane, do. | 0 2 6 | William Willott | 0 5 0 |
| William Masson, 61, High-street | 1 0 0 | Samuel Robinson, 38, Ancoats-street, Manchester | 1 0 0 | Samuel Willott | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend, per H. Macfarlane, jun. | 1 1 0 | J. Greaves, Ludlow, Shropshire | 1 0 0 | William A. Middleton | 0 5 0 |
| W. A. | 1 0 0 | Abel T. Tillet, King-street, Great Yarmouth | 1 0 0 | Alexander Rattray | 0 5 0 |
| David Hutchison, dyer | 1 0 0 | Walter Reid, Denes, do. | 1 0 0 | William Gould | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Urie, confectioner, High-street | 1 0 0 | J. W. Shelly, Quay, do. | 1 0 0 | William Skinner | 0 5 0 |
| Robert Langmuir, fisher, Causeyside-street | 1 0 0 | Henry Boulter, North-end, do. | 1 0 0 | James Rattray | 0 5 0 |
| James Vallance, cabinetmaker, Wellmeadow | 0 10 6 | Joseph Bayly, King-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Miss Sarah Buck | 0 5 0 |
| John Spence, Storie-street | 0 10 6 | Jas. Douglas, Market-place, do. | 1 0 0 | Abraham Watson | 0 2 6 |
| Rev. James Banks | 0 10 6 | John Fish, Denes, do. | 1 0 0 | William Sedgwick | 0 5 0 |
| Campbell and Gilmour, plumbers, High-street | 0 10 6 | Wm. Barnes, King-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Robert Thompson | 0 5 0 |
| Cochran and Cross, gliders, do. | 0 10 6 | Wm. N. Burroughs, Market-place, do. | 1 0 0 | Robert Monk | 0 5 0 |
| James Cochran, 69, do. | 0 5 0 | Peter White, North Entrance, do. | 0 10 0 | Thomas Marshall | 0 5 0 |
| M'Farlane and Young, George's-place | 0 5 0 | John Wragg, Row, 128, do. | 0 2 6 | J. J. Bartlett, New Town, Bexley | 0 5 0 |
| Alexander Paterson, grocer, Causeyside-street | 0 5 0 | Dav. Abm. Gourlay, Market-row, do. | 1 0 0 | Alexander Rollings, Bexley-heath | 0 2 6 |
| David Dunbar, shoemaker, High-street | 0 5 0 | Nevill F. Woodrow, do. | 0 1 0 | John Buck | 0 2 6 |
| "A crown to knock them down" | 0 5 0 | Charles May, North Quay, do. | 1 0 0 | William Francis, New Town, Bexley | 0 5 0 |
| Andrew Cross, High-street | 0 5 0 | Francis Robertson, Dundee, per E. Baxter | 1 0 0 | Phillip Purcell, do. | 0 5 0 |
| H. Forrester, shoemaker, High-street | 0 5 0 | "The Labourer is worthy of his Hire," C.-on-M., Manchester | 1 0 0 | Jonathan Carter, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Jas. Reid, at R. M'Arthur and Co.'s | 0 5 0 | Thos. Thomasson, Bolton, 2nd subscription | 107 0 0 | William Clark, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Daniel Mitchell, pawnbroker, High-street | 0 5 0 | Peter Molr, Glendronach, by Huntley, N. B. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Wooldridge, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Adam, fletcher, do. | 0 5 0 | An Enemy to Monopoly | 0 2 0 | Jonathan Monk, Erith | 0 2 6 |
| R. Alexander, Maitland and Alexander's, Wellmeadow | 0 5 0 | J. Rhodes, Tintwistle-in-Mottram, Cheshire | 1 1 0 | Thomas Shearley, Bexley | 0 2 6 |
| John Brown, hosier, High-street | 0 3 6 | Sir Thomas Potter, George-street, Manchester | 200 0 0 | Charles Crockford, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Blair, grocer, Wellmeadow | 0 2 6 | S. T. Harding, Tellow-fold, near Manchester | 1 1 0 | James White, jun., Bexley-lane, Crayford | 0 2 6 |
| John Krakine, grocer, George-street | 0 2 6 | Thos. Barker, Hudson Mill, near Hebdon Bridge | 2 0 0 | W. F. Ellis, Orange-grove, Dartford | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend, per A. Gordon | 0 2 6 | T. Bury, 6, Melbourn-terrace, Salford, Manchester | 1 0 0 | Thos. Newnam, sen., do. | 0 5 0 |
| Archibald M'Fadgen, grocer, George-street | 0 2 6 | J. Barnes and Sons, 60, Cannon-street, do. | 100 0 0 | Henry Powell, do. | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend, per George Mitchell | 0 2 6 | Workmen of Messrs. Manor and Son's, Spink-street Mill, Arbroath | 1 1 6 | Joseph Fitchett, do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Muir, grocer, Charleston | 0 2 6 | John Harrison, Ship-lane, Sadding, Lancashire | 1 0 0 | Alfred Dunkin, High-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| William Pollock, Water Company's office | 0 2 6 | Thomas N. Foster, High-street, Evesham | 1 0 0 | Wm. Aldridge, jun., White-hill, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Alexander Marshall, Gilmour-street | 0 2 6 | George May, Bridge-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Mark Ashdown, White-hill, Dartford | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Douglas, ironmonger, Johnstone, near | 1 0 0 | J. M. Check, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Hall, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Cuthbert Nairn, grocer, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas White, Milk-street, do. | 0 10 0 | J. Huntingdon, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Jas. Sloan, Buck's Head Inn, do. | 1 1 0 | A. New, Vine-street, do. | 1 0 0 | John Audsley, Gartley-place, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Robert Hendrie, 20, Collier's-street, do. | 1 1 0 | A. P. Wright, do. | 0 10 0 | W. J. Audsley, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Robert Lang, do. | 0 2 6 | Working Men and Women, Ebley Mills, Stroud, Gloucestershire | 10 0 0 | S. Giles, sen., Hampden-place, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Archd. Crawford, merchant, Kilbarchan, near | 1 0 0 | John Platt, 98, Great Ancoats-street, Manchester | 0 10 0 | Caleb Hall, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John M'Gregor, agent, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Needham, 46, do. | 0 2 6 | Wm. Barton, Malden-lane, do. | 0 5 0 |
| William Love, agent, do. | 1 0 0 | John Boden, Hilton-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Charles Giles, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Peter Barr, merchant, do. | 1 0 0 | David Curtis, Port-street, do. | 1 0 0 | C. Hudson, near the Rising Sun, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Campbell, surgeon, do. | 1 0 0 | Thomas Read, Down-street, Epworth, Lincolnshire | 1 0 0 | Thomas Phillips, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Kirkland, Townfoot, do. | 1 0 0 | Small subscriptions, Manchester | 0 4 0 | Edward Hancock, the Terrace, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums | 6 10 0 | Saml. Fletcher, 160, Great Ancoats-street, Manchester | 0 2 6 | Charles Merritt, Bexley Heath, Crayford | 0 2 6 |
| Major-General Briggs | 10 0 0 | Wm. Cook, 10, do. | 0 2 6 | Alfred Boulden, Marl-place, Dartford | 0 2 6 |
| Jane Wheatley, One Ash, Rochdale | 0 2 0 | G. W. Kesselmeier, 113, Cannon-street, do. | 1 0 0 | W. C. Pope, No. 9, Bells-row, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Hugh Scott, agent, Larkhall, N.B. | 1 0 0 | Dani. McIntyre, 24, Minshull-street, do. | 1 0 0 | David Dekins, Zinc-mills, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Robt. Boyd, weaver, do. | 1 0 0 | J. Raiton, 57, Piccadilly, do. | 1 0 0 | Leonard Eastland, Wilmington | 0 2 6 |
| Robt. Paterson, do. | 1 0 0 | J. and P. Thornton, Poland-st., Oldham-rd., do. | 1 0 0 | James Eastland, do. | 0 2 6 |
| R. J. Shearer, do. | 1 0 0 | Miles Craston, 105, Market-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Edward Peatley, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 1 0 0 | John Evans, 99, do. | 0 5 0 | Thos. Clark, St. Mary Cray | 2 0 0 |
| Gideon Buck, Grape-lane, Whitby | 1 0 0 | Wm. Campin, 224, Great Ancoats-street, do. | 0 5 0 | Rev. P. Broad, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Anderson, Haggergate, do. | 0 10 0 | Henry Ward, 90, Rutland-street, Hulme, do. | 0 2 6 | John Lovelace, New Town, Bexley | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, per Joseph Anderson, do. | 0 10 0 | Workpeople at T. Barton's Mill, Ardwick, do. | 1 7 1 | Small sums | 2 17 6 |
| Do., per do. | 0 10 0 | Thos. Barton, jun., Ardwick, do. | 0 10 0 | A Friend, by J. Park, 18, Cross-street | 5 10 0 |
| Thomas Turnbull, Church-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Hugh Jones, Bank, Meadow-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Henry Cotton, 133, Church-street | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Hilton, Baxtergate, do. | 0 2 6 | A. Edmeston, 18, Arlington-st., Salford, do. | 1 11 6 | J. Armstead, Old Shambles | 0 5 0 |
| H. Kirke, do. | 0 2 6 | Moses Price, 2, Great George-street, do. | 1 1 6 | John Wilson, Market-place | 0 2 6 |
| W. Weatherall, Church-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Peter Grant, Devise-street, do. | 1 1 6 | Isaac Fearon, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Younghusband, do. | 1 0 0 | Workpeople at Mr. Dovestone's, Tara-st., do. | 1 0 0 | J. Thornley, Cheapside | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Brown, do. | 0 2 6 | James Duck, Olland-street, Bungay | 0 5 0 | W. Whittam, Legs-of-Man Inn | 1 0 0 |
| Francis Banks, do. | 0 2 6 | Wm. Cuddon, do. | 1 0 0 | H. Booth, Sythes Works | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Wright, Skinner-street, do. | 0 10 0 | C. J. Thomas, do. | 0 2 6 | Martha Harrison, Cross-street | 1 0 0 |
| Jas. Mitter, Haggergate, do. | 0 2 6 | Small sums | 0 8 0 | Mr. Cowell, Old Shambles | 0 10 0 |
| Alex. Robinson, Mount, do. | 0 2 6 | Thos. S. Foxwell, ironmonger, Shepton Mallet | 1 1 0 | Thomas Naylor, Fishergate-hill | 5 0 0 |
| John Rickinson, Bridge-end, do. | 0 5 0 | Copley and Reid, Guildford-street, Leeds | 1 0 0 | Mr. Makin, pawnbroker, Edward-street | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Kinnerley, Bridge-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Thomas Pullen, Bolton, Lancashire | 10 0 0 | J. Thornton, 11, Fryergate | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. D. Morley, Church-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Thomas Hutton | 0 10 0 | Mrs. Haworth, pawnbroker, do. | 0 10 0 |
| A Free-Trader, do. | 0 5 0 | James Wilson | 0 2 6 | Thomas Braver, Market-place | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 19 0 | A Friend | 0 2 6 | W. Boys, Golden-square | 1 0 0 |
| From a few Lace Makers at Broadland's lace factory, | 1 1 0 | John Rawson | 1 0 0 | John Noble, at Mrs. Grimmeson's, Snow-hill | 1 0 0 |
| Newport, Isle of Wight | 1 1 0 | Benjamin Yeadon | 0 2 6 | R. A. Hogg, Cannon-street | 2 0 0 |
| A. Reid, manufacturer, Langholm, N.B. | 1 0 0 | Mrs. Benjamin Yeadon | 0 2 6 | Richard Dixon, Church-street | 10 0 0 |
| Thos. Grieve and others, do. | 1 0 6 | W. Lee | 0 2 6 | William Sutton | 1 0 0 |
| John Collin and others, do. | 1 0 6 | Isaac Bland | 0 2 6 | W. Threlfall | 1 1 0 |
| John Hope and others, do. | 1 0 0 | George Stansfield, sen. | 0 5 0 | A Friend | 2 0 0 |
| Richard Lattimer and others, do. | 1 0 0 | John Briggs | 0 2 6 | R. and J. Bryning, Fryergate | 5 0 0 |
| Mr. Renwick, manufacturer, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Ackroyd | 0 2 6 | James Lawson | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Little, draper, do. | 1 0 0 | James Padgett | 0 2 6 | A Leyland Farmer | 2 0 0 |
| D. Hope and Co., do. | 1 0 0 | John Vint | 0 2 6 | A Friend | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, do. | 1 0 0 | George Law | 0 2 6 | Robert Arrowsmith, Market-place | 5 0 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 2 6 | Samuel Hardaker, Wrose | 0 5 0 | George Stones, Fryergate | 1 0 0 |
| Miss Hilditch, King-street, Wrexham | 1 0 0 | Joseph White, Esboit, (2nd subscription of) | 1 0 0 | T. Haslam | 1 0 0 |
| T. C. Jones, Church-street, do. | 1 0 0 | Small subscriptions | 2 2 6 | A Friend, by J. Linsey | 0 5 0 |
| Mr. Rawson, do. | 1 0 0 | Edward Davy | 1 1 0 | G. T. Almond | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend, do. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Maccall | 1 0 0 | A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. Rudlow, Hope-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Wm. Burdge | 0 5 0 | Small sum | 0 1 0 |
| Miss Jobbins, do. | 0 2 6 | John Coudridge | 0 5 0 | Wm. Douglas, 80, Fryergate | 0 5 0 |
| Miss M. A. Jobbins, do. | 0 2 6 | A. Edwards | 0 2 6 | John Walker, 18, Fryergate | 0 5 0 |
| J. Griffiths, Wynnastay-place, do. | 0 2 6 | Giles Edwards | 0 5 0 | Wm. Turner, Shambles | 0 5 0 |
| Robert Ankers, High-street, do. | 0 2 6 | A Friend | 0 10 0 | W. Nelson, 16, Spring-gardens | 0 5 0 |
| M. Jones, Queen-street, do. | 0 2 6 | Small sums | 0 19 10 | Mr. Makin, 40, Oxford-street | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. T. Davies, Swanwick-street, do. | 0 2 6 | George Croeland and Sons, Crosland-moor | 100 0 0 | John Bright, 80, Church-street | 1 0 0 |
| Arthur Jones, Holt-street, do. | 0 2 6 | J. Hawksworth, Hoyland-swaine, nr. | 1 0 0 | Wm. Dobson, Market-place | 0 5 0 |
| Jas. Lindop, do. | 0 2 6 | Joseph Turner and Co. | 20 0 0 | Richard Hearden, 106, Barton-terrace | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 8 0 | Aquila Houghton | 20 0 0 | A Friend, Church-street | 0 5 0 |
| Miss M'Farlane, Castle-park, Lanark, N.B., per J. | 1 0 0 | Hallifax, 11th Remit. { Messrs. Stott, Nichol, and Porter | 10 0 0 | A Friend, do. | 0 10 0 |
| W. Borland | 1 0 0 | { J. Ratcliffe, Sowerby-bridge, near | 5 0 0 | A Friend, Taylor's-court | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Brierley, Crompton-court, Manchester | 1 0 0 | { J. Womersley, Halifax | 2 2 0 | John Blackburn, 4, Fryergate | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Riley, High-street, Oldham | 1 0 0 | Liverpool, 10th Remit. { Augustus Mongredien, 15, Water-street | 100 0 0 | Wm. Haworth, Temperance Hotel | 2 0 0 |
| R. P. Livingston, Islington-square, Salford, Man- | 5 0 0 | { Thomas Barrow, Barrow-street, St. Helen's, Lancashire | 1 0 0 | Monopoly's Epitaph | 1 1 0 |
| Cheshire { J. Fielding, Derby Arms, Derby-street, Cheetham, do. | 1 0 0 | { J. Nicholson, Mersey Chambers, Old Church-yard | 5 0 0 | A Friend, Cross-street | 0 5 0 |
| { Samuel Bennett, Travis-street, Manchester | 1 0 0 | { Joseph Fletcher, 5, Sir Thomas's-buildings | 10 0 0 | Several small sums | 0 2 6 |
| { Mr. Fisk, St. Alban's, per Charles Gutteridge | 1 0 0 | { John Sutton, 109, Hill-street, Toxteth Park | 0 5 0 | Daniel Atley | 1 0 0 |
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|---------------------------------|---|---------|
| Tewkesbury, Wiltshire. | George Foster, worsted and woollen manu- facturer | 5 0 0 |
| | Foster and Burrows, manufacturers | 5 0 0 |
| | Thomas Haines | 1 0 0 |
| | Thomas Haigh, solicitor, Morbury-bridge | 1 0 0 |
| | Charles Robinson, surgeon | 1 0 0 |
| | Dews and Philipson, at George Foster's ma- nufactory | 5 0 0 |
| | James Killa, manufacturer | 1 0 0 |
| | J. B. Rayner, solicitor | 1 0 0 |
| | John Kere | 1 0 0 |
| | Joshua Williamson, cloth manufacturer | 1 0 0 |
| | William Holt, solicitor | 1 0 0 |
| | John Scholefield, solicitor | 1 0 0 |
| | Edward Craven | 0 10 0 |
| | Wm. Rhodes, of the Fleece Inn | 0 10 0 |
| | John Foster | 0 10 0 |
| | Amicus | 0 10 0 |
| | Joseph Haines, manufacturer | 0 5 0 |
| | James Rayner, do. | 0 5 0 |
| | Bundries | 0 4 6 |
| | A. M'Whannell and Co., 8, North Allion-st. | 1 0 0 |
| Oxford, Fifth Remittance. | Anonymous | 0 2 6 |
| | D. M'Phail and Co., Greenhead | 50 0 0 |
| | Donald M'Phail, do. | 10 0 0 |
| | Wm. Smith, 120, Brunswick-street | 1 0 0 |
| | John M'Cubbin, Cannon-street | 0 5 0 |
| | Workers of W. and A. Taylor, Mile-end | 1 4 6 |
| | Patrick Dawson, Bishop-street | 1 1 0 |
| | James Kay, Greenhill-street | 0 5 0 |
| | Workers of J. W. M'Gregor, Jamaica street | 1 0 0 |
| | Ditto W. Craig and Co., Govan-street, Hutche- son-town | 1 0 0 |
| | J. Campbell, M'Kwan's Sugar-house, Oswald-st. | 0 10 0 |
| | Bundries, per ditto | 0 2 2 |
| | Dickson, Russell, and Co., 21, Wellington-street | 1 1 0 |
| | George Park, 14, Govan-street, Hutchesontown | 1 0 0 |
| | J. B. Finlay, 8, Stevenson-street, Calton | 0 10 0 |
| | Workers of Hill-street Factory, Gallowgate | 0 10 0 |
| | V. H. | 1 0 0 |
| | Harvie and M'Gavin, Washington-street | 1 1 0 |
| | Workers of ditto | 1 8 6 |
| Tunbridge. | Ditto, Bishop Garden Factory, Bishop-street | 2 15 0 |
| | John M'Naughton, Milltown of Campsie, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
| | John Baird, 359 Argyle-street | 1 1 0 |
| | Thomas H. Hunter, 33, St. Andrew-street | 1 1 0 |
| | A Friend to Free Trade | 1 1 0 |
| | Forty Workmen at Milton Foundry | 1 7 0 |
| | Workers of John Smith and Co., Burnbank Factory | 0 12 3 |
| | "Aran Shaw" | 10 10 0 |
| | Wm. Hogle, 62, Hutcheson-street | 1 0 0 |
| | John Geddes, jun., Little Govan | 1 0 0 |
| | Workers of John Geddes and Son, do. | 0 7 3 |
| | Workers of A. Harvey, Govanhaugh | 1 0 0 |
| | Ditto J. and H. M'Adam, Muirhead-street | 1 0 0 |
| | Ditto Henry Knox and Co., Mile-end, per Wm. Kyle | 1 2 6 |
| | Charles D. Stewart, Cross, Renfrew (col. by) | 1 0 0 |
| | Thos. Stewart, Black-row, do. | 1 0 0 |
| | Thos. Buchanan, Main-st., do. | 1 0 0 |
| | J. McIntyre, High-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| | Small sums | 0 1 0 |
| Saddleworth, near Huddersfield. | H. Baker | 0 2 6 |
| | A. B. | 0 2 6 |
| | Rev. J. V. Mummery | 0 5 0 |
| | John Schofield, Shaws, near Up- permill | 1 0 0 |
| | W. S. Broadbent, Uppermill | 1 0 0 |
| | J. Clifton, Carrgate, nr. Delph | 1 0 0 |
| | James Broadbent, Upper Carr, near Dolersoss | 1 0 0 |
| | John Gouldthorpe and Co., Wellington-road | 5 5 0 |
| | William Nixon, Market-place | 1 1 0 |
| | David Howlas, Bankfield Mill | 2 2 0 |
| | James Rawstron, New Zealand-road | 2 2 0 |
| | Thomas Smith, Heston-lane | 0 3 0 |
| | Joseph Rayner, Underbank | 1 1 0 |
| | John Moorcroft, Brinkmay | 0 10 0 |
| | William Moorcroft, do. | 0 10 0 |
| | Three Friends, Chestergate | 1 1 0 |
| | J. D. Fernley, Gaskell-street | 10 0 0 |
| | Wm. Carrington and Friends, Adawood-lane | 1 0 0 |
| | Moorhouse and Pollitt | 1 1 0 |
| Rochdale, 9th Remittance. | Charles Haigh, Broadley, near | 50 0 0 |
| | Robert Tweedale, do. | 20 0 0 |
| | James Dyson, tea dealer | 10 0 0 |
| | John Mason, machine maker | 10 0 0 |
| | John Whitworth, manufacturer, Facit | 10 0 0 |
| | Richard Simpson, roper | 1 0 0 |
| | Edward Tweedale, Broadley | 1 0 0 |

ERRATA.

In LEAGUE, No. 26, for "Carlisle, second remittance," read "Carlisle, third remittance;" and for "John Lonsdale, Jour-
nal office, Carlisle," read "Henry Lonsdale, Eterby-street,
Stanwix."

WARRINGTON. — FREE-TRADE ASSOCIATION. — A meeting of the general committee of this association was held at the Nag's Head Hotel, on Tuesday evening last: John Rylands, Esq., president, in the chair. It was stated at the meeting that the amount of subscriptions already promised in Warrington to the League Fund was about £160, which it was expected would be made up to £500. Of this sum, £390 had been collected, and paid over to the League. — *Manchester Guardian*.

KENDAL SUBSCRIPTION TO THE LEAGUE FUND. — The *Westmoreland Gazette*, with its customary accuracy whenever figures are concerned, has been putting forth some strong statements as to the Kendal subscription to the Anti-Corn-Law League Fund. It denies our assertion, made some time since, that the amount forwarded from Kendal, added to Mr. Warburton's subscription, was upwards of £100, and the evidence it adduces to bear out its own statement is a single copy of the *League* newspaper. The Kendal subscriptions have been noticed in the *League* from time to time, as they were transmitted; and not limited to a single publication. The *Gazette*, consequently, has discovered, as usual, a mare's nest, and nothing more. For the satisfaction of the public, we give below the several amounts forwarded to the League, upon which our statement of the aggregate sum was founded:—

| | |
|--------------------------|----------|
| First subscription | £284 0 6 |
| Second | 20 0 0 |
| Third | 19 1 0 |
| H. Warburton, Esq., M.P. | 100 0 0 |

£423 1 6

And these items are wholly independent of several sums transmitted by the Rev. Edward Hawkes, subscribed by gentlemen in the neighbourhood, amounting, in the whole, to £21, whose last year's contributions were included in the Kendal list. The subscription for this district, consequently, is more than four times greater than it was for the year 1875. These signs of the progress of Free-Trade principles may be very unpalatable to the patrons of the *Gazette*; but they cannot, nevertheless, be mistaken or gainsaid. — *Kendal Mercury*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE OVERWROUGHT NEEDLEWOMEN.

To the Editor of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—In the sad catalogue of diseases to which these poor creatures are liable from sedentary habits, unremitting application, close and crowded apartments, with the want of sufficient and nutritious food, failure or loss of vision is the one most to be apprehended, for with that is lost all prospect even of the scanty subsistence which they are able to procure. It is a terrible calamity even to those who, enjoying home, love to look upon troops of friends, to have "wisdom at one entrance quite shut out." How, then, must they feel to whom the first intimation of decaying vision is the announcement of dark beggary! It is true that nature has furnished the organ of sight with numerous and fine defences. It is the one in which, perhaps, above all others, we most clearly trace the presence of a supreme Artificer; but what defences could provide against the excessive demands which a struggle for mere existence makes upon the sight of a five-farthling shirt sewer? What eyes can stand eighteen hours of continual stitching through the deep gloom of winter, in an apartment where, even in the brightest day, the faint and struggling sunbeam finds nothing to irradiate, and where at night a rushlight, purchased by some pinching privation, only serves to make darkness visible. The consequence is that the failure, and in too many instances the total loss, of vision has sadly increased amongst this unhappy class. In the report of the committee of the North London Ophthalmic Institution for the past year it is stated that the total number of patients in that institution alone during the twelve months was 669, of whom 524 were cured and 38 relieved; 18 were incurable, and 89 remain in attendance. "A large majority of the sufferers," says the report, "were poor women who earn a meagre subsistence by making shirts and clothes for the cheap warehouses; and in these last cases, if timely relief had not been afforded by this institution, blindness would have been added to the miseries of pinching poverty." There is an additional cause for the increase of impaired vision amongst the poorer class of needlewomen which has not been noticed in the report, viz., that in the competition which they are compelled to enter into with the journeymen tailors they sew up coarser and darker fabrics than women were wont to work on. Mantua-makers and milliners, though they suffer much from the exactions of fashion and the cupidity of their employers, generally work on bright-coloured materials, in large, airy, and well-lighted apartments, and, therefore, can form no notion of the greater sufferings endured by her who, for from 4d. to 6d. a day, works up the cheap and dingy dresses of the poor by a light which scarcely enables her to distinguish the thread from the needle, whilst her eyes are blinded with tears, thinking how her five children (fatherless, perhaps,) are to get their morning meal. How much the colour of the work affects the organ of vision will be seen from the following interesting passage taken from "Tyrrill's Treatise on the Eye," vol. 2, page 85:—"My opinions respecting the affections of the choroid tunic have not been formed hastily, but have resulted from careful and close observation of a very large number of cases. They were first established just subsequent to the universally-lamented death of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales, when I had ample opportunity of witnessing and tracing the effects of congestion and inflammation in the choroid. At the period above alluded to, all persons were anxious to evince their sorrow and respect by assuming as early as possible the conventional garb of grief, and, consequently, an unusual quantity of work devolved upon those engaged in dressmaking. It would answer no good purpose to detail here the excessive cruelty which mercenary considerations induced many of the dressmakers to exercise upon their dependents and apprentices, and which led to disturbance, diminution, or destruction of vision in many of these poor and delicate beings. Of the great number of such patients who came under my observation at the London Ophthalmic Hospital and elsewhere, in consequence of disturbance or loss of sight from the cause above mentioned, the majority were affected with musca in various degrees, or impaired vision; in others symptoms of incipient organic change were manifested. Some had inflammation of the choroid and iris, with much obscurity of vision; and in a few the eyes were destroyed as visual organs by the disorganization of the more delicate tunics and humours." Such being the result of a merely occasional excess of labour in extending one of the most fearful of the ills which flesh is heir to, what must be the consequence of the present terrible competition for food, which renders that state permanent. An eminent surgeon, writing on the subject to a humane magistrate, who takes a deep interest in all that relates to the poor, says:—"It appears to me both interesting and important, and has not had sufficient notice bestowed upon it. I am in hopes that something may be done for the poor creatures, for I am keenly alive to their miserable situation; and I shall be truly happy if I can be of any service in attracting public attention to such an important point as the preservation of their eyesight." Now, there is but one way of permanently serving not only this unhappy class, but several others which come within the same category. Open the markets—allow a free interchange of labour and food—let the professional classes throw their important weight into the scale now, whilst the balance vibrates between Free Trade and Monopoly, and the working classes would be able to procure a comfortable subsistence, without that terrible strain upon their physical powers which nature never fitted them to endure.

J. O'LEARY.

SHAP PRO-CORN-LAW PETITION.—The signatures to this petition are but slowly affixed, we understand; and some of those which are procured are got under pretexts not exactly conformable with fact. At Kirkby Lonsdale it has been represented as a petition to Parliament to prevent the farmers and labourers from being ruined; and where any curiosity has been expressed to hear the contents of the document, the answer has been that it was too long to read, but that it would be for the benefit of the party applied to, to sign it. We have the name of one party who signed, on the requisition of Mr. Gregg, that did not even know the nature of the paper handed to him; and who says he would have done anything rather than sign a petition for "dear bread." — *Kendal Mercury*.

A WEEK IN WINDSOR FOREST.

BY ADAM BROWN.

No. III.—Prince Albert's Farm continued.—Causes of Poor Agriculture; Suggestions for its Reformation.

No complaint is more frequently uttered amid the many complainings of the farmers than that of the soil being capricious and unmanageable. It is either too dry or too wet; too light or too heavy; composed of too much sand or too much clay. Nor is this complaint unfounded. It is hardly possible for farmers to exaggerate their troubles arising from the intractability of the soil. What can be more perplexing to a farmer than the result of that seeming freak in which Nature has indulged in Windsor Forest? There is Flemish Farm, of 350 acres, whose soil is a tenacious, wet, ill-tempered clay, so unmanageable as to be a complete heart-break to the man who is answerable for its cultivation. And there is Norfolk Farm, two miles distant, consisting of 400 acres or upwards, whose soil is a dry sand, which in every season but a wet one is not less a heart-break to its cultivator.

Neither of these two men, the Prince's bailiffs, have rents to pay; but the absence of rent does not make the load which lies upon a bailiff's shoulders the lighter. The bailiff of any gentleman will aspire at doing something more than another farmer, not only for his own professional credit, but because it is expected of him; at all events he will not be content with doing less. But we must not look at the personal troubles of the bailiffs of Flemish and Norfolk Farms only. The cheery clay of the one and the arid sand of the other are vexatious enough; but they are only typical of the whole of England. The farmers of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, are, as a body, troubled with the same troubles. Look at Cheshire, its banks of sand, its valleys of clay. Look at Staffordshire; rushy, wet, unmanageable Staffordshire. And look at Lincolnshire. Arthur Young says in his account of it, "In attempting to give a general idea of the soil of this very extensive county, I must premise that no one can be named that contains a greater variety; for it may truly be said to include all the sorts of land that are to be found in the whole kingdom."

And go to which counties we may, we shall see the same varieties of soil vexing the farmers of every parish with contrarieties, until they have no relief but to fill their glasses and light their pipes, and forget their troubles if they can. Are we to be surprised, then, that the farmers, hearing Lord Stanley pleading for protection to them from competition by urging that they are not on a level with the manufacturer, because he can make his workshop and the commodity in which he works suitable to each other, while the farmer has no control over soils and seasons (Speech at Liverpool July, 1841)—are we to be surprised at farmers believing Lord Stanley? Lord Worsley too, in Lincolnshire, that county of many soils, takes up the echo of Lord Stanley's voice and repeats it in Parliament, that the English farmer cannot compete with the foreigner, because he cannot overcome the difficulties of soils and seasons in this variable climate which sits upon so variable a soil.

And those sentiments are again and again repeated by men of every capacity of mind and amount of influence, until the tenant-farmers are filled and covered with fear and trembling. The cry is, day after day, year after year, *Protection*. That unmanly and unnatural word, which is a satire upon the boasted and justly boasted success of Englishmen when left to the freedom of their own energies, is repeated until the poor farmers, like children in the dark, are afraid to move a foot, or whisper, or breathe. If left to themselves, they might dare to venture beyond the door-step, and see that there is no ghost; round the corner, and see that there is no robber with a bludgeon and a dark lantern; into the road, and see that there are no resurrection-men to put plasters on their mouths, to carry and sell them to the doctors; but not only are they frightened by the everlasting cry of ghosts, fairies, witches, robbers, resurrectionists, burkers, and "boomen behind the bed that carry away little children that won't be good and hold their tongue and lie still and sleep;" they are held in strings by the foolish nurse that frightens them, and not permitted the use of their own faculties. For political purposes their dependence on landlords and agents is so complete by the uncertainty of tenures, that they cannot help themselves if they knew how.

It is not surprising that they do not move in the field of science and general improvement; it would be a wonder that the world has never seen if they did. If they followed their professional avocations otherwise than with the feebleness of the *protected* step, the feebleness of infancy and decrepitude, they would belie the laws of nature. They do not. As a limb bandaged compared with a limb that is free is feeble and imperfect in its service to the body, so are they. The agriculture of England is a Chinese foot compared with every other branch of industry. Those men who make its bandages—whose petted playing thing it is—who would alter its natural form at the expense of the general health—those men who, if they treated a forest oak physically as they treat agriculture morally, would put it in a glasshouse to give it health and hardness; those men who would foster their own trade of corn-growing, cattle-feeding, and butter and cheese-making, by a tax on the trade of iron and coal-mining, spinning and weaving, shipping, and every other element of commerce, are themselves in respect of enterprise, professional knowledge, and personal industry, like the hopeful son who has pocketfuls of money from his mother, which he goes forth to spend instead of earning an income for himself. Those men are like this hopeful son, not overburdened with money even though it is got easily. It comes easily and it goes the same. If all the youths of the country who have been accustomed to have their pockets filled by indulgent mothers and fathers and uncles, instead of being taught the value of preparing to depend on their own resources—had the legislative power been in their hands, they would doubtless pass a law for their own protection against the virtuous and economical scruples of those relatives who saw they neglected their own interests by depending on the aid of others.

The Flemish and Norfolk Farms in Windsor Forest exemplify the general character of agriculture. It would be unjust to reflect on any individuals connected with those farms, because those with power have not been long enough connected with them to make much alterations, supposing them to have the requisite knowledge and inclination; and those who have been long enough connected with them, as respects time, have not had the power to do more than they have done. Still we must

make those two farms the subject of particular as well as general remark.

In the one, clay predominates; in the other, sand: the clay is wet; the sand is dry. The season that would be sufficiently dry for the clay would scorch the crops of the sand; the season that would be wet enough for the sand would make a puddle of the clay: the consequence is, that a season of medium weather suits *both* of them best, though it is hurtful to both. An extreme season, whether wet or dry, would answer one of them best. But we have no power over seasons; Lord Stanley proclaims that, and he speaks truth. We cannot bid rain come nor wind blow—clouds disperse nor sun shine. We cannot command the dry weather that would make Flemish Farm fruitful and Norfolk Farm a desert; nor can we command the moisture that would make the latter a garden and the former a bog. Is it not a blessing that we cannot? What strife, and war, and desolation there would be if the dispensation of showers and sunshine were in mortal hands instead of the hands of the All-wise and All-mighty!

But, if we have not the power of adapting the seasons to ourselves, have we not the power of adapting ourselves to the seasons? Have we no help but to stand on the clayey soil and lament the wet summer which our fellow-creature on the sandy soil rejoices in? Shall we stand on Flemish Farm and say, "Last year, 1843, the turnips could not be sown because the months of May and June were so wet; that, consequently, this winter there have been no turnips for the sheep and cattle, which there would have been had May and June been dry?" Shall we say this, and, pointing to Norfolk Farm, say, "How favoured that was, at less than two miles distance! How uncertain is the weather!—how capricious the soil! Even that hill rising on the very border of clayey Flemish Farm—that hill crowned with the tower and keeper's house, distant less than half a mile from the farm homestead—that hill is dry sand! See how that tells against the farmer! Clay here and sand there, while the weather comes he never knows how—never suitable to both soils!" Shall we say this of the soils of Windsor Forest, or of any other, like them, so different? Shall we say so and be sinless?

Should we not rather exclaim, "How bountiful and full of goodness and wisdom is God! There, at our very hand, is the sandy hill piled aloft, offering itself to us to mingle with our clay to form a new soil, of a quality suited to any season?" Should we not say, "The wisdom of God kept from us the power of administering the weather, because no particular kind of weather would answer our neighbour's different soil and different interest, though it might answer our own. But the goodness of God gave us a variety of soils, that we might each adapt them to his own local interest, receiving the weather from the Ruler of all as best suited to all?"

If soils can be amalgamated, so as to make the seasons neither hurtful to the clay nor the sand, we gain the same end that we would gain by a command over the weather, without the danger that would attend our human administration of it. If soils can be amalgamated and modified, seasons will be no longer adverse, and Lord Stanley's plea for a monopoly to the British cultivator will be groundless, supposing it to have been well grounded, which it was not. But if soils can be so amalgamated and adapted to seasons, that will not be the least of the evils of exclusive legislation in favour of the land monopoly, which has rendered the farmers incapable of using the elements of nature as placed within their reach.

We have complained of crippled commerce, because we cannot exchange those commodities which we have to dispose of for those which we want, and which they have to give who would take ours. We have complained that millions of our population are compelled to endure dearth and scarcity, whereby they are not only unable to buy those clothes and furniture, their not buying which makes bad trade, little employment, and low wages; and that by this dearth and scarcity, bad trade and low wages, they have been unable to purchase more than one-fourth, probably less, of the bread, butter, and cheese, and meat and vegetables, which they would purchase if they were in full employment, with provisions at a moderate price and regularly supplied. And, further, we have complained that when an abundant English harvest has supplied our markets, after several years of dearth and poverty, the population has been too poor to buy and supply their wants, and thus farmers have been obliged to sell at lower prices than they would have done, even with far greater abundance, had the people been in a condition to buy.

But while enduring those evils, and complaining of them, we have endured another not so much complained of, because not so well understood. By the operation of the Corn Law, together with the political influence which obtained its enactment, all agricultural energy has been prostrated. Those who do not know what undeveloped wealth lies in the soil of which they are owners, have been by that protection made content never to know. Those who know, as occupiers, have been prevented from trying by the want of capital and security of tenure. And such uncertainty of tenure prevails, because, to maintain sufficient parliamentary power, the farming tenants have been placed in a position where they cannot disobey the landlord's will, or that of his agent and political connexions. Thus it has been that moneyed capital, inventions, science, enterprise, and perseverance, have allied themselves with manufactures and commerce, and left agriculture standing where it was in the days of our great grandfathers. Though the rent of land and the prices of its products have greatly increased, the increase has been entirely owing to the greater number of people who now exist and derive their ability to buy food from manufacturing and commercial employment, over those who lived in the days of our great-grandfathers. Though more corn grows now than grew then, it is because more acres are ploughed and sown, not that more corn is produced upon an acre.

To this there may be some few exceptions, both as respects the production of corn and cattle; but those exceptions prove the case. The fact that some few cultivators can produce larger quantities of corn and cattle than have ever before been produced on the same space of ground, while the great body of agriculturists cannot, because they never try; never trying, because they have not the knowledge; not having the knowledge, because they have not the means of obtaining it, nor the power of putting it to exercise, proves that agriculture stands still, and is without an impulse and a power to advance.

It is not so with manufactures and commerce. Any discovery for spinning finer yarn, weaving more cloth, dying faster colours, extracting more iron from the ore,

pumping more water from the mine, moving ships against wind and tide, or reducing the time of travelling 100 miles to the time of travelling 20: any discovery of such power is at once sought for and eagerly adopted by all who spin, weave, dye, melt iron-stone, sink mines, send ships to sea, or deal in inland traffic. To produce a piece of the cotton print which the wife of a farm-labourer buys at 6d. a yard from a shopkeeper who bought it at 4d. from a merchant who had it from the printworks at 4d., not only has the most complicated and expensive machinery been in action, the making and keeping in repair of which, and the getting of the materials to make it and keep it going, employs more human labour than was employed at the loom when such machinery was unknown, and the labourer's wife could not wear cotton print because she could not buy it; but there are not less than a hundred pair of human hands through which that piece of print and the materials of which it is made have come before it goes out of the printworks at 4d. a yard! But more: to obtain the materials of which it is made the four quarters of the globe have been ransacked. Going and returning, forty thousand miles of ocean have been traversed, and all the storms and contrarities of seasons and weather encountered and overcome, besides inland transit on rivers, roads, canals, and railways. America supplies the cotton, India the indigo, Africa the gum, and France the madder. Incessant perseverance in commercial enterprise, and deep study in chemistry and mechanics, have led to those great results—those moral invasions and conquests of time, space, prejudice, ignorance, national poverty, and individual nakedness.

And all this has been done because there was no "protection" to commercial enterprise, nothing on which the adventurer could rely but his own success. Had the merchant been promised his price and his profit by some act of Parliament, in return for some vote by some agent of a superior who had the power of compelling him to vote or relinquish his ship and warehouse; had he been compelled to believe that the act of Parliament could give him a price and find him customers on penalty of losing his ship and warehouse, while in reality the act of Parliament, could do no such thing; had he been compelled to surrender the largest share of his profits to the owner of the ship or warehouse before he was repaid the expenses of his voyage; had he been compelled to surrender the cargo, for which he had paid to the shipowner, because he could not pay the exorbitant freightage of one-third or one-half of the whole value of the cargo, he would never have gone nor sent a ship to sea at all. He would have sat down and smoked his pipe of home-grown tobacco; and cotton, and madder, and gum, and indigo would, like the product of which they are the raw materials, have been unknown.

The manufacturer, under the same circumstances, would have been equally enfeebled and reduced to nothing. Had he been prevented from expending capital by the uncertainty of whether he or another would reap the profit, at the same time that he was taught not to depend on his own exertions but on some illusory act of Parliament which year after year cheated him, and never fulfilled the promise of those who bade him depend on it, he would have been in the same predicament as the farmer is, and would have been equally unable to help himself out of poverty and dependence.

It is objected by those who would *befriend* the farmer by keeping him as poor and dependent as he now is; who would make farming a profession requiring the very lowest amount of capital and intellectual ability; who would, in short, *protect* the farmer, that to go and hurl sand and hills down upon the clayey valleys, or to raise clay from below the sand to put on the light soil, or to make any other mixture in any other way, might do great mischief, as the sand, or gravel, or clay of one district might be different in quality from the same earths in another district. Now, this objection is most fully granted. A farmer might ruin a soil by trying to change its nature without fully ascertaining the component parts of the earths he was transposing. But he would, at the worst, be on a footing with the manufacturer, who must study practical chemistry and use his knowledge every day, and seek to obtain more knowledge for to-morrow.

There are, however, other objections which the farmer cannot overcome of himself, neither by moneyed capital, talent, practice of chemistry, nor any amount of personal enterprise and perseverance. He must first be emancipated from the feudalism of tenancy-at-will. He must know that he has a lease long enough to be repaid the profit of his expended capital; and he must have security to that effect as clear and undoubted as is the merchant's freightage of a ship.

For this end, it is necessary to address the landowners, and not the occupiers at present. The owners can emancipate the occupiers if they will, and put them on a tenure sufficiently secure and comprehensive to enable them to do what the land requires. They must not be prevented by a bond and penalties, as now, from digging sand and gravel and clay; they must be directed to do so. They must not be prevented from breaking up old grass meadows, from lopping hedgerow trees, stubbing up old hedges, and clearing away the one half of all hedges where the enclosures are so small as a very few acres; they must be taught to do so.

It is with great satisfaction that I see his Royal Highness Prince Albert occupying land as a farmer; and particularly so, that he occupies that which is so well suited for a great demonstration of what can be done by the formation of new soils. Anything that may be executed under the sanction of the Prince will be sure to attract attention. It is often said, but I hope from thoughtlessness only, that gentlemen holding eminent positions in society might be better employed than in dabbling in farming matters. In this spirit of thoughtlessness in some, perhaps from an unhappy party spirit in others, we have seen the Prime Minister ridiculed and caricatured for his speech at Tamworth in his tenantry, which, in my opinion, was one of the most valuable addresses, the importance of the subject and the position of the speaker considered, which was ever delivered on the subject of agriculture. There is so much to be done, so little has been done, and we are a people so ready to follow leaders of eminence, and to pay respect to rank and power and wealth, that any disposition on the part of the exalted and wealthy to lead us in a right direction should be hailed with satisfaction rather than ridiculed and deprecated.

The Prince gives proof of his desire to be distinguished in farming through the feeding of cattle to compete for a public prize; but I take leave to say that there is little room for distinction in this line; it is already overdone. Excessive feeding can do nothing more than show what

amount of beef certain breeds of cattle and certain kinds of food are capable of producing. This is so far good, because it shows farmers what kinds of cattle are the most profitable; but it is not a profitable speculation for tenant-farmers generally. Therefore distinguished leaders in agriculture should aim at doing something which combines public usefulness with private and personal profit.

I do not think, if all England had been examined and selected from, a better locality for a great trial of a transposition of soils could have been found than that of Flemish Farm. It is a cold, wet, obstinate clay, and earth of the opposite quality is in great abundance on its very border. Success on such a soil will prove much more than it would prove on a richer soil. It was remarked to me that the Prince had made a mistake in choosing those two farms—the one extreme in sand, the other extreme in clay—instead of another which he might have had in the neighbourhood, the soil of which is a rich medium loam.

This last would have doubtless made the high feeding of cattle more easy—the attainment of prizes more frequent; but the very utmost that the Prince could do in those respects would be nothing more than to rival Lords Spencer, Hatherton, and other eminent feeders. To do this would be no small success; but, in my humble opinion, to do what an agriculturist has yet done—to make a poor soil rich—an obstinate clayey soil an easy friable loam; and to do this on a scale large enough to be a public example, and at an expense moderate enough to be within the compass of a tenant-farmer's means, would be a great triumph—a high personal honour—a vast, an unspeakable public benefit.

In the first place there must be a chemical analysis of the soils to ascertain if they would be friendly and fruitful, if united. This ascertained,—and there are ninety-nine chances to a hundred that the chemical inquiry would be answered in the affirmative,—there must be people employed to survey, plan, and execute the work, *not as jobbers upon royal property*, running up a coat which no other farmer would dare to encounter, as has before now been the case on this very farm. The expense must be the current wages of the neighbourhood; and every penny paid, every load of earth carried, and every yard of space travelled over with the load, must be carefully noted, together with the fruits and profits of the farm in succeeding years; else it will be no example for the imitation of other farmers. If it cannot be executed at an expense within the certainty of profit, it should not be tried; at least not with the view of being held up to public imitation. Hitherto, most landowners and experimental agriculturists who have bred and fed cattle for shows have done so at an expense that deterred tenant-farmers from following them; but most of those projects have been unsuited to tenant-farmers under any circumstances, and particularly so under an insecure tenure—the common tenure of England. It may therefore be at once stated that such a reformation and enrichment of the soil—such a revolution in agriculture as that suggested for Flemish Farm—can never be effected on the property of any landowner who prefers parliamentary influence through the Chandon clause of the Reform Act—through the enthrallment and subjugation of his tenants—to good cultivation, well-paid rents, and an enterprising, independent tenantry.

It may be urged that the success of this scheme on Flemish Farm would not prove its practicability elsewhere, because the adverse substances to be united are nearer to each other there than in most other parts of England. This is true. But on Flemish Farm there are no roads; neither are there stones or gravel to make them. There are also declivities to be overcome. And without roads the work cannot be executed.

I inquired about the roads, and was told that an estimate of the expense of making good roads to and through the farm had been drawn up and laid before the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, who, frightened at its amount, declined to undertake the task. The sum was £1600. Now, the truth is, that if this sum, or a sum double or treble the amount were expended on roads on that farm, no lines of communication could be made at all suitable to the project of amalgamating the old soils and forming a new one. Common roads will not do; the labour of horses would be too expensive. But there is a great abundance of timber on and around the farm; there is too much of it in some parts, and it would be a benefit to cut it up even to burn it. But, supposing it to be valuable, it belongs to the commissioners, who stand in the position of landlord to the royal occupier of the farm; and it is for the landlord's benefit that the farm is improved in value. This timber may be got on easy terms. It may be sawn into planks and blocks, and wooden railways formed of it. The trunk lines permanent; the branch lines moveable; so that the great expense of horse labour, and much of the mischief done to the wet soil by loaded wagons, would be saved. One horse would draw as much on those tramways as six horses on common farm roads; especially roads made of the loose gravel, which is alone obtainable in that part of the country. Moreover, the moveable branches would carry the wagons into the fields over the soft soil. And when the work was completed they would be preserved for the conveyance of manure at a future time, which would cause a permanent saving of horses.

The full benefit of increased employment to agricultural labourers; the full benefit of new soils and great crops to the country; the full benefit of revised and reformed tenures, which would be rendered imperative on the part of the landlords to the tenantry,—none of these can be told at the present time. But that the benefit will be great; that the profit to the owners and occupiers of land will be great; that such a change in agriculture will be undertaken and accomplished, I am as sure of as of my existence. Everything is tending to it. The introduction of new capital into the cultivation of the soil; the arousing of dormant energies; the independency of tenure; and the infusement of that enterprise into agriculture which has distinguished commerce and manufactures, are all in rapid preparation. If his Royal Highness takes a lead in showing what can be done for agriculture in this respect, he will command esteem and gratitude for his enterprise, in addition to the respect which he already enjoys for his amiable and virtuous character.

P.S.—I, as a mere agricultural man, owe some apology to the usual readers of this paper for going into the arguments for Free Trade, which I have gone into in this letter, as those have been so frequently and so much more ably stated by others. But in introducing my statement of those means of improvement which I consider indis-

possible to the future welfare and greatness and glory of agriculture, I could not refrain from putting forth the opinions which I have here done somewhat diffusely. Those opinions in brief are, that agriculture has lingered in poverty and feebleness behind all other English enterprises, because of the insecurity and enthrallment of the tenantry; that this has enabled the landowners to enact the Corn Law, thereby deluding themselves and the farmers with the promise of high prices that cannot be kept up; depending on other resources for profit than on their own capital, skill, and energy. And lastly, that the general reformation of agriculture must and will be dated from the time of its being emancipated from "protection." At which time, and not sooner, the great body of the people will be enabled to buy and consume a sufficient quantity of agricultural produce; thus creating a steady market for our farmers, which they have never had, and cannot have under the fluctuating Corn Law, which is the parent of poverty and all the evils that attend poverty in a commercial country.

AGRICULTURE.

THE QUESTION OF RENT.

At a meeting of monopolists held in the Town-hall of Dunmow, in Essex, at which "300 persons, principally farmers," are said to have been present—though by what process of compression it was contrived to pack 300 living persons into the Town-hall of Dunmow we leave to those who have seen that modest structure to imagine—a Rev. Mr. Shepherd is reported to have "expressed his warm approbation of the course pursued by the Central [Anti-League] Society, which was calculated to counteract the arts of the League." Now, Mr. Shepherd, good easy man, may be satisfied; but he must be a simple person, and he must have relied with no small confidence on the simplicity of his audience, to have asserted that the "course pursued by the Central Society" in any degree counteracted the efforts of the Free-Traders. That the Central Society is actually yet in being, a curt report which appeared one day last week in the *Morning Post* furnishes the only evidence. From that report alone the public learned that "the general committee of the 'Agricultural Protection Society' was held at the Duke of Richmond's house in Portland-place," which was attended by certain lords, gentlemen, and farmers as per list. That list was a curiously-tessellated collection of landlords and land-agents, members of Parliament, and half-bred farmers, who arranged to take rooms in Bond-street; appointed a secretary, and fixed his office hours at the genteel limit of "from ten to four daily;" reports were received; letters from the country read, and so forth. But the most remarkable circumstance communicated to the committee was, "that in addition to the favourable opinion already given by Mr. Platt, a case had been submitted to Mr. F. Kelly and Mr. Talbot, and their joint opinion has been given *decidedly* that the society is perfectly legal in itself, and its rules in conformity with the act of Parliament." So that it seems the monopolists have not yet recovered from their fright at the desperate energy of their own resolves, and therefore fortify their courage with two more lawyers' opinions. This is literally childish. But did not the learned gentlemen who have given these opinions somewhat mistake the wishes of their sensitive clients? Did not the leaders rather wish for an unfavourable opinion, to escape from their present ludicrous position? This, however, we learn, that the Central Society of Monopolists is still in being, and that it is doing all it can to stem the current in favour of Free-Trade opinions, which is—nothing. And if the Central Society is doing nothing, its progenitor in Essex seems to be helping it most vigorously.

Will it be believed, that at the meeting at Dunmow, on Tuesday last, all the stale silliness about it being the object of the League, in advocating free trade in corn, to lower wages and ruin the agriculturists, was gravely reiterated; while not a syllable was uttered upon the subject of Lord Radnor's speech at the Covent-garden League meeting on the previous Wednesday? Here was a landlord, ay, and a good landlord, presiding over a Free-Trade meeting; delivering one of the most clear and convincing speeches of the day in refutation of monopolist fallacies; maintaining, by the most conclusive reasoning, that free trade in corn is indispensable to the prosperity of agriculture and the safety of landed property; and yet these fire-eating monopolists of Essex have nothing to say in reply! Then, at the same meeting, Mr. Lattimore's and Mr. Hunt's speeches, in which the tenant-farmers' case against the Corn Laws were so ably stated, are passed over as if such things had not been. Mr. Lattimore is an occupier in an adjoining county, is probably known, by repute at all events, to most of those present, certainly to the chairman, Mr. Baker, yet no attempt was made to refute his arguments. It was not by evading all argument that the League succeeded in spreading Free-Trade opinions. But the Monopolists dare not really enter the arena of public discussion in defence of artificial scarcity, bad farming, low wages, and high rents—all which evils are implied in the Corn Laws. Their counter-agitation, so far as it affects to act upon

opinion, is all a sham. As a screw upon the tenants it is more real and effectual.

But there was one most characteristic trait elicited at the Dunmow Monopolist meeting. Mr. Baker, stung by the inquiry and discussion just commenced on the Rent question, threw off the mask he has affected to wear, and came out in his true character of land-agent,—the ardent, if not very discreet, defender of monopoly rents, that is, high rents from low produce. After alluding to Mr. Cobden's statement of the proportion of the saleable produce of a farm which goes to the landlord as rent,—though, forgetting to mention Messrs. Paget's reassertion of the facts,—and after criticising Lord Worsley's calculation as little less objectionable to Monopolists than Mr. Cobden's, Mr. Baker made the following statement of the incomes and outgoings of an Essex farm. He said:—

"He had taken some pains and trouble to dissect these accounts, and to produce one strictly founded on the truth, which he was sure was better than any exaggeration. His calculation was made upon a farm of 100 acres held upon the tenure and conditions usual in that county. There would then be 25 acres in wheat, 25 in barley and oats, 25 beans, peas, &c., and 25 fallow. He would estimate the 25 acres under wheat would produce three and a half quarters per acre, which would amount to 87 quarters and a half at 52s. per quarter, which would give £227 10s.; 25 acres under oats and barley, he would estimate the barley at four quarters to the acre, and the oats at five, he would average them at 4½, which, at 32s. and 22s. respectively, would produce £151 17s. 6d.; 12½ acres with peas and beans would produce 50 quarters at 28s., amounting to £70.; 12½ acres in clover, at £2 10s. per acre, would amount to £31 5s., and the remaining 25 in fallow, half of which might be in turnips at £2 10s. per acre, would yield £31 5s., making a total of receipts from one hundred acres of arable land of £511 17s. 6d.

Let us remark, that, if such be the only produce of one hundred acres of arable land in Essex—and we believe it not far from the truth—it bespeaks a very low state of husbandry. But, passing that, let us see at what he estimates the expenditure. He said:—

"They all knew, for he was addressing practical men, that one hundred acres of land required *four men and a boy*, besides the farmer's own labour. A farm of that extent also would require *four horses*. The account would stand thus:—

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Labour | £120 |
| Keep of four horses | 80 |
| Seed | 50 |
| Tithes, 6s. per acre, poor-rates, 5s. ditto, taxes, &c. | 55 |
| Mechanics and incidentals | 20 |
| Tenant's profit and interest of capital | 100 |
| Rent | 100 |
| Total | £525 |

Now, taking this estimate, the oats, the beans, the peas, the turnips, and the clover must be necessarily consumed on the farm to keep up even that degree of fertility on which the above estimate is framed, and therefore cannot properly form any portion of the saleable produce of the farm. So, also, must seed corn be deducted from that produce, which would be, according to the Essex system, at least three bushels of wheat, and three and a half bushels of barley and oats per acre. The tithe, on the other hand, must be added to the rent. According to this corrected statement of Mr. Baker's own figures, the result will stand thus:—

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Wheat, 25 acres, 28 bushels per acre, at 52s. | £227 10 0 |
| Deduct 3 bushels seed per acre | 24 4 0 |
| Barley | 75 13 4 |
| Deduct seed, 3½ bushels per acre, at 32s. | 17 0 0 |
| Total, saleable produce | £261 19 4 |

Rent, according to Mr. Baker's estimate, is 20s. per acre, or, for one hundred acres, £100, to which add the tithe, at 6s. per acre, £30, will make the total of the landlord's and parson's rent just £130, or, as nearly as possible, one half the saleable produce of the farm. But we know that in Essex, land, on which 28 bushels of wheat per acre are grown under such a rotation of crops as that assumed in Mr. Baker's calculation is commonly let at full 25s. per acre, so that the rent and tithe-rent would really be £25 more than his estimate. Thus—

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Saleable produce | £261 19 4 |
| Rent at 25s. per acre, tithe 6s. per acre | 155 0 0 |
| Balance | £106 19 4 |

or something less than the sum said to be required in payments for labour. But suppose the farmer, instead of consuming all his oats, beans, peas, and clover, should sell so much of those articles as would give him, say, £60 more of saleable produce; and that will only bring him up to the point of having a sum for all other purposes than rent, equal to that paid as rent. This is the way in which Mr. Baker, in his zeal for his employers the landlords, shows that:

"The rent [in Mr. Cobden's estimate] was put at that large sum in the endeavour to prove that the landlord was a cormorant, who devoured all. It was done with a view of separating the tenants and labourers from the landowner, that they might fall an easier prey to the selfish

designs of that grasping and selfish body the Anti-Corn Law League."

Said we not well, that the ached-monopolists had in Mr. Baker a defender more zealous than discreet?

MR. COBDEN AND THE RENT QUESTION.

We have observed in the speech of Mr. Fullerton, at the late Rotherham Protection meeting, the following clumsy attempt to mystify Mr. Cobden's very plain statement respecting the quantity of produce which is sold off a farm:—

"The third and last event to which he should allude was the speech of Mr. Cobden in the House of Commons, on Monday night last, in which he stated that the man who reaped 400 acres of land at 40s. per acre would only have 10 bushels per acre to sell. ('Absurd.') He (Mr. Fullerton) was addressing farmers, and the way in which they would express it would be three loads and a half per acre; but he wished to ask them, would it be credited that any man who professed to know anything of farming, should have the folly to declare that the man who paid 40s. an acre could grow no more than 10 bushels per acre?" (Cries of "Absurd.")

The shortest way of proving how completely the speaker perverted Mr. Cobden's language and meaning is to give the words from his speech as published by Ridgway:—

"I calculate that an arable farm, on an average, does not yield *for sale, of every kind of produce*, more than equivalent to 10 bushels of wheat per acre; so that a farm of 500 acres would not dispose of more than what is equivalent to 5000 bushels." It requires a great stretch of charity to believe that Mr. Fullerton did not intentionally misrepresent Mr. Cobden when he declared him to have said that, "a man paying 40s. an acre could grow no more than 10 bushels per acre," for the latter gentleman, in the very same breath, explains his mode of calculation in the following words:—

"It must be borne in mind that every acre of a farm pays rent, although, probably, not more than one acre in three, and in the best farming not more than one in four, is in the same year devoted to the growth of wheat; whilst a part of the farm is generally in permanent pasture. My mode of calculation, then, is this: ascertain the money value of the whole produce of every kind sold in a year; find how many quarters of wheat it is equal to at the price of the year; and next divide the total number of quarters by the number of acres in the farm, and the result will give you the quantity of wheat sold off each acre in the year."

Whilst upon this subject we may notice an objection raised by a correspondent, who draws our attention to the fact that Mr. Paget's farm of 400 acres (the case quoted by Mr. Cobden in his speech) is stated to yield a disposable produce to the amount of £1590, "which is more than ten bushels to the acre at the present price of wheat." True; but Mr. Paget's farm pays 40s. an acre rent, and sends produce to market equal to 12½ bushels of wheat per acre at 52s. per quarter: it is above the average quality, and raises corresponding crops. What will be the disposable yield off farms paying 12s., 15s., or 20s. an acre? Mr. Cobden spoke of the *average of farms*; and in saying that they send to market produce equal to ten bushels of wheat for every acre, we think he exceeded the amount. *Let the tenant-farmers reckon for themselves, and beware of land-valuers and protection-preaching landlords.*

"A STRONG PARTY MAN."

We all remember the indignant denial of the low state of the Dorsetshire peasantry which Mr. George Banks, one of the members for that county, made when Mr. Cobden, now more than a year ago, first alluded to that subject in the House of Commons; and the reader will not have forgotten the unblushing effrontery with which Mr. Banks, so lately as the debate on Mr. Cobden's last motion to inquire into the condition of tenant-farmers and farm-labourers, affirmed that the average wages of Dorsetshire farming men were 11s. a week, with other advantages!! The sharp rebuke and prompt contradiction which that false statement called forth from the Rev. Mr. Osborne, and which we gave last week, has been followed up by a letter from "A DORSETSHIRE LANDLORD," which appeared during the current week in the *Times* newspaper. The writer, who seems to be friendly to the present Ministry, says:—

"I have seen with considerable regret that in the face of the communications forwarded to you by myself and others, representing the sad state of the Dorsetshire agricultural population, declaring that, after an earnest inquiry in the neighbourhood of our residences as to the receipts of the labourers, *we do not find the average rate of wages received during the year by them amounts to 7s. a week*, Mr. Banks, the member for the county, sets forth a statement representing there are numerous instances of men having 11s. a week, with cottages, fuel, and other advantages."

Such is the general result of an inquiry by the landlords into the rate of payment to the Dorsetshire labourer; but he does not leave the *honourable* member the shelter of saying that his own inquiries have been in this or that particular place only, for the "Dorsetshire Landlord" follows him upon his own selected ground, when he says:—

"Last year Mr. Banks alluded to the village of Holt. I instantly sent word to that spot that I wanted a labourer. One came from there and told me he would be most thankful for constant work at 7s. a week; that this was the average price of wages there, and not constant work either. In the autumn I tested another village, and had numerous solicitations for a cottage residence and 7s. a week. To another labourer I gave a cottage, with garden ground, and 8s. a week. This is, however, much above the average price of labourers' wages. A person holding a large farm at Longham told me she believed that she was the only one who gave 8s. a week to the labourers. In West Purley the wages are 8s. a week, without a cottage, and without the security of constant employment."

So much for Mr. Banks's veracity. Do the farmers believe that he, and such as he, will stick at a trifle in their statements with reference to the foreign corn trade, while speaking amongst farmers, on a question comparatively unknown, when they thus dare to lie upon a subject though contradiction exists at their own doors? The writer says:—

"Let the House of Commons inquire to what extent the

Poor-law guardians of Wimbome have reduced the labourers' wages. I wish not to mention names, but I ask Mr. Banks whether he is ignorant that the magistrates and clergy who attend that board are out-voted by the tenant-farmers in most questions for extending a more liberal consideration of the poor man's sufferings. I ask Mr. Banks whether he does not allow more than 2s. 6d. a week for the keeping of his dogs; and whether, in a Christian land, it is possible that an allowance for the keep of a pauper being less than that of a beast shall be tolerated?"

Nor are these things hidden in a corner. They cannot escape the attention of a landlord and a magistrate of the county, let him be ever so careless of the welfare of his neighbours, or ever so indifferent to the sufferings of the poor; for poverty, such unmerited poverty, produces its usual consequences—violence and crime. This is shown by the landlord writer, who says:—

"Frightful are the consequences—petty thefts are being committed by organized gangs. The honest labourer is obliged to join them for the protection of his own little grounds. Last week one of my cottagers was attacked by a party of four men. Firearms were used, and it was only by accident something fatal did not occur."

Here we see the demoralization spreading through the class of labourers, until sober-minded men of Mr. Banks's own party are induced thus to speak of the possible end of this state of things:—

"Entertaining as I do a profound respect for Sir James Graham and Sir Robert Peel, I regret that they are exposed to channels of information which, if relied upon, must endanger the safety of the country, and produce a revolution not less frightful than that which France has been subjected to."

And why, let us ask, is Mr. Banks, a gentleman probably not below the average of his class in credibility, thus subjected week after week to the humiliation of having his deliberate statements as to the condition of the labouring population of his own county demonstrated to be false? It is only to be accounted for by the facts that he is anxious to preserve a monopoly intended to protect the rents of the landlords, even if it be at the expense of the profits of the farmer and the subsistence of the poor; and that he is, as Mr. Osborne so justly said, "A STRONG PARTY MAN."

THE PAST AND THE FUTURE.

Nothing is more remarkable than the different way in which the Free Traders and the Monopolists argue the question of the Corn Laws. The advocates of freedom proceed in a business-like way to show what have been the consequences of the restrictions on the corn trade for nearly thirty years past, and they point to the experience of that period as conclusive evidence against the Corn Laws. On the other hand the Monopolists, disdaining anything so prosaic and commonplace as a reference to facts and experience in support of their theories, boldly plunge into prophecies and predictions of what will happen when the Corn Laws shall be abolished, and having got on such safe ground, they challenge refutation. Thus, in the last number of the *Mark-lane Express*, a correspondent, whose back-handed blows at his brother Monopolists we have occasionally quoted, "solemnly and openly challenges" us to meet him on two issues:—

"First—What would be the effect of unconditional and immediate Free Trade upon the farmers?"

"Secondly—What would be the effect of unconditional and immediate Free Trade upon the farm-labourers?"

Now, we have, and the leading speakers of the League have, on divers occasions, shown what, having reference to the past effects of Monopoly, will probably be the future effects of Free Trade, viz., improved cultivation of the soil and increased employment to the agricultural labourer; and we apprehend the Free-Trade arguments have proved tolerably conclusive, for there has been no attempt to reply to them, unless the cuckoo cry, "that it is sowing dissension between the landlords and the farmers and farm-labourers," be intended as a reply. But the monopolist, feeling that his castle in the air is impregnable, breaks forth into the following mock-heroic strain:—

"We have stated our two points—we are ready for the battle on the behalf of the farmer and the labourer. We have no object but one—the greatest happiness of all. Our glove is in the arena, take it up who dare!"

This is rich. Can any farmer read this without thinking of his little bantam cock, whose boasting is in an inverse proportion to his power? We must, however, extract an admission which this writer makes in order to arrive at what he calls his "two issues." He says:—

"We cheerfully concede the clap-net point, that the Corn Laws have been made a groundwork and pretence for raising rents. The real cause, however, of raising rents, is the competition for the farms, without which no pretext or pretence would have been successful for a series of years; but we admit that many landlords have disingenuously and unfairly deluded their tenants (until they believed it themselves) with the notion that the Corn Laws would command prices which no laws could either command, create, or control; we grant this—we grant still more—that the tendency of an act of Parliament operating upon supply, when demand is most likely to increase and supply to decrease, would be to give the lion's share of the benefit to those who had foreign corn ready to be poured in just at the time when domestic corn became scarce—these things we grant."

Here the writer draws upon his knowledge, not upon his imagination; and the result is that he becomes a decisive witness against the Corn Laws. We really hope this writer is an amateur, and that he is not one of those by whose aid the Anti-Leaguers intend to expose the "fallacies" of the Free-Traders; for really if he is a paid advocate of the Corn Laws he is morally guilty of receiving money under false pretences.

GAME AND CRIME.

At the petty sessions recently held at Devizes, in Wiltshire, where the extraordinary effects of monopolist dealings with the labourers, which we last week recorded, were exhibited, we find the following cases, which illustrate the more everyday operation of monopolist influence. After two other game cases had been heard, in one of which the accused had been sent to prison for 21 days,

"Matthew Munday, of Urchfont, was also summoned for setting a wire to catch hares."

"The witness who appeared against Alexander was the evidence in this case; he swore he saw Munday set the wire, and that, having taken it up, he showed it to him and charged him with the offence."

"In his defence, Munday said it was impossible for the witness to see any one set a wire at the place where it was found from the spot where he lay concealed—there were two rough hedges and a wide lane between them. Convicted, and fined 5s. (double the fine indicated on Alexander, because it was not his first offence, costs 9s. 6d. Not being able to pay, and

being about to be sent to prison, he pleaded in bar of being sent there having a sickly wife and a family."

"Mr. Rogers: That being the case, what a cruel thing it was of you to bring yourself into this situation."

"Munday: I did not do it from mischief, but to get a loaf of bread. We have only 7s. a week to live on, and how can it be expected that we are to do else in such distress? I do it for a loaf of bread, and to keep us from starving. Having raised 5s. towards the amount, a fellow-labourer, named John Smith, offered to be security for the remainder, and was interrogated by Mr. Rogers as to his means of seeing it paid; he said his wages were 7s. a week when he could get anything to do; but that he had only earned 16s. since Christmas! The 5s. having been paid down, poor Munday and his friend Smith were allowed six weeks to pay the remainder."

We know this parish of Urchfont well, and a worse cultivated tract of land naturally good we do not know. There might be enough draining done, with great profit to landlords and occupiers, to give every spare labourer in the parish full employment for ten years; yet half the labourers are unemployed, and the parish is over-burdened with pauperism. Nothing flourishes but game and gamekeepers, and the above case is one of the ordinary consequences. In the same paper from which we have taken the above we find three prosecutions at the Wilts assizes for serious offences arising out of game-preserving. The one was William Watts, indicted "for drawing the trigger of a gun and attempting to discharge it at Ambrose Ashcombe," and the following extract from the evidence will prove the ferocity which is fostered by the game laws:—

"Ambrose Ashcombe deposed: At six o'clock on the evening of the 11th of December I was at the Masons' Arms. Saw Watts there. I asked him how he did. He said very well. He then said I was one of Mr. Calley's look-out men (Mr. Calley preserves game). I said I was not, but had been a regular gamekeeper. He said I was a d—d liar, and I was one of the keeper's cads. Further conversation ensued, and he said they had had some of the birds the week before, and would have every one in the wood by Friday night. I left the Arms about half-past seven. Between nine and ten on that night I was going up Swindon-street with James and John Kimber. When at the top of the street, near 'Shortedge,' I saw Watts. Another man was with him. They were standing still, and when they saw us, one of them said, 'Here's the ——— coming.' Both carried guns. When I came close, Watts said, 'This is the son of a ———,' and immediately levelled the gun, pointing it directly at my breast, and pulled the trigger. I was about three or four yards off. I heard the hammer fall on the nipple, but I saw no flash."

The second case was that of

"James Alexander, indicted for having, in company with one Robert Talmage (who has not been apprehended) and another person, armed with a gun, entered certain woods in the parishes of Little Bedwyn and Ramsbury, for the purpose of destroying game."

"Arthur Watts, gamekeeper to Mr. Smith, of Ramsbury, deposed that he was watching the covers at Henwood with John Maizen on the night in question. Heard the report of a gun in an adjoining wood, but could find no one there. Hearing another report in the direction of 'Little Frith,' they went there and saw three men in a field near. On coming near witness was struck with a stick. Some scuffle ensued, in which witness's head was broken, but ultimately prisoner was given into custody of a policeman. The others escaped. Talmage had a gun in his pocket which appeared to have been recently discharged."

And in the third case:—

"Rdgar Walker and John Vizard were charged with being by night in a plantation belonging to the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, for the purpose of taking and destroying game, being armed with guns; and also with threatening to shoot Richard Clark and Abraham Hughes."

Let it never be forgotten that it is to keep up this horrible system of game-preserving that landlords are, amongst other motives, so anxious to preserve the Corn Laws, for if the business of farming were in its natural state, landlords must choose whether they would have rent or game. By means of high prices, they contrive at present, at all events, occasionally to have both.

JEDBURGH ANTI-LEAGUE MEETING.—On Tuesday, the 19th inst., a meeting was held here for the purpose of taking steps to withstand the efforts of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Sir John Pringle, Bart., and vice-lieutenant of the county, occupied the chair. There was a considerable attendance of squires and farmers, but not a fourth part of the names that had been appended to the requisition calling the meeting; thus showing that many tenant-farmers, with the obsequiousness of the class, will sign their names when they will not trouble themselves with going to a meeting. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Dudgeon, of Spylaw, a farmer, who asserted the total inability of the home-grower to compete with the cheap foreign produce. Lord Polwarth descended on the fortunes and dangerous wealth of the manufacturing classes. He made an effort to apply a series of statistics in proof of his statements, but the confusion and incoherency of his language rendered it a difficult process to gain anything like a comprehension of his reasoning. He was followed by Lord John Scott, who rapped away briskly on the old string. A few fragmentary expressions will convey the nature of his speech:—Enormous burdens of land; Dorsetshire labourers not so bad as said by Cobden to be; machinery; immorality of manufacturing towns; happy condition of Scottish labourer; all ruined if protection taken off; cruel taskmasters the manufacturers, &c. He made an attempt to rebut the reply of the *Economist* to his former speech. There might be about one hundred farmers present, and these gathered from the four corners of the county. The Free-Traders of the town forbore to meddle with them, thinking that it was a pity but to encourage the holding of county meetings, such meetings being open to reporters.—A Correspondent.

The Anti-Leaguers held a meeting at Tarporley, Cheshire, on the 14th inst. It was convened by circular. Sir Philip Egerton, M.P., presided, and deprecated "agitation" on every trifling occasion, lest it should embarrass the Government. The principal speaker was Mr. Brindley, the anti-socialist! At the close of the proceedings the Anti-Leaguers exhibited an effigy from the inn window, stuffed with Anti-Corn-Law tracts, and made a bonfire of the figure!

France is augmenting her import duties on linen yarns. The *New Farmers' Journal* adds the great agricultural county of Northumberland to the list of those which have spoken out upon the Corn Laws. Our contemporary doubles the number of persons present, and conceals the important fact that the meeting was confined by the requisition to protectionists.

Lord Chancellor Eldon, in 1804, took part in a Corn-Law debate, and affirmed, "that whatever taxes were taken off the farmer, would be imposed by the landlord on rent."

CHRISTCHURCH ELECTION.

THURSDAY.—The polling commenced this day at eight o'clock. The friends of Captain Harris have been employing every means during the night to bring up as many electors as possible early this morning. We regret that Mr. Tice, of Sopley, came so late into the field; he has declared himself to be a Free-Trader in the abstract, therefore Mr. Harvey, of Lancashire, retired from the contest previously to the nomination yesterday. The following is the state of the poll:—

TEN O'CLOCK.

Harris 105
Tice 34

ELEVEN O'CLOCK.

Harris 136
Tice 51

TWELVE O'CLOCK.

Harris 155
Tice 59

ONE O'CLOCK.

Harris 170
Tice 69

TWO O'CLOCK.

Harris 175
Tice 80

In the whole there are but 333 votes; hence Captain Harris was safe at one o'clock, but Mr. Tice's friends were determined to keep open the poll. The official declaration will be made at five, p.m.—*Morning Chronicle*.

HASTINGS ELECTION.

The nomination took place on Thursday. Mr. Moore, the Free-Trade candidate, was attended to the hustings in the Priory Courts, by B. Smith, Esq., M.P., H. Elphinstone, Esq., M.P., and a large number of friends. After the usual preliminaries, Major Jeffries proposed Mr. Briscoe; Mr. F. Smith seconded the nomination. Benjamin Smith, Esq., M.P. for Norwich, proposed Mr. Moore, whose nomination was seconded by Mr. J. Thwaites. The respective candidates addressed the electors.

On the show of hands being taken, the Mayor, to the surprise of all, as we believe, declared it to be in favour of Mr. Briscoe; but our honest conviction is, and in that we are supported by every representative of the press present, that Mr. Moore had it three to one.

A poll was then demanded on the part of Mr. Moore.

Dr. Sleigh, who had been proposed as a candidate for the sake of doing what we suppose Mr. Briscoe could not do—make a speech on the hustings—declined going to the poll, and the proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Mayor, at a quarter past four o'clock.

The polling commenced at eight o'clock yesterday, but from the early hour at which we are obliged to go to press, we cannot give the result.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"A Constant Reader" will excuse us for not meddling with a nest of hornets.

"J. D. D.," the communication shall meet attention.

"A Subscriber" inquires about the rent of the premises occupied by the League, and the nature of the dinners provided for the officers of the establishment; by enlarging his subscription to £50 he can become a member of the Council, and examine all the details of expenditure for himself.

"G. H. L.," the verses are very spirited in parts, but the metres and rhymes are too often deficient.

We gladly comply with "X. Y. Z.'s" request in inserting the following verses, written by Mr. W. Thom of Inverary:—

Stanzas suggested by reading the account of a woman found dead in a garret in the Overgate of Dundee, with her child, a boy of seven years of age, sleeping beside her.

"Tis the lone wall of woman, a mother's last wo,
And tearless the eye when the soul weeps so;
Nor fuel nor food in yon windowless lair,
The sleeping is watch'd by the dying one there."

"O wauken na, wauken na, my dowie dear,
My dead look would wither your wee heart wi' fear;
Sleep on till yon could moon is set in the sea,
Gin mornin' hoo could will your waukenin' be."

"Ye creep to a breast, Jamie, could as the snaw,
Ye hing roun' a heart, Jamie, sinking awa;
I'm laith, laith to leave ye, tho' faul would I dee,
Gin Heaven would let my lost laddie with me."

"Awaken, lone trembler, the moon has no light,
And the gray glint of morning drives back the foll night;
The last look is fixing in yon frozen tear,
Awaken, lone trembler, thy home is not here."

"The death-cling awoke him, the struggle is o'er,
He moans to the ear that will listen no more;
Ye'r cauldier than me, mither, could tho' I be,
And that look is nae like y'er ain look to me."

"I dreamt hoo my father came back frae the deid,
A' weasome and eerie the looks that he gied;
He wyled ye awa till ye sindered frae me;
O hap me, my mither, I'm cauld like to dee."

"A Leaguer" has sent us some extracts from a paper called the *Cornwall Gazette* as specimens of the falsehoods of the Monopolist press; if our correspondent were acquainted with the history of newspapers, he would have known that falsehood is the usual means adopted by a sinking journal to puff itself into notoriety; and that, as in the case of the *Herald*, the *John Bull*, and the *Age*, mendacity is the last desperate resource of mendacity.

"J. F." sends the following as a *bond fide* extract of a letter received from a friend in Ross-shire, a farmer's son: "I am glad to say that, in this landlord-ridden county, the people are thinking for themselves. Sir C. McKenzie, of Kilcoy, had the impudence to call a meeting of the tenantry last week, for the purpose of signing an Anti-League petition, and subscribing money to help him and his brother heritors to pay the paupers. The meeting was held in his own parlour, and only two out of fifty would do either the one or the other. This is wonderful independence for the poor tenants of the Viscount of Ross-shire, and is a strong sign of the progress of the question."

"C. A. R."—The reduction of masters and labourers' wages by the Duke of Northumberland, and his strict attention to the preservation of his game, are proofs that he values his pheasantry rather than his peasantry.

"A. H."—The verses are not quite up to the mark.

"Non-Resistor's" irregular ballad has too much merit to be omitted, though it has many imperfections which will rather tax the indulgence of our readers:—

"FAMINE AND MONOPOLY, A CORN-LAW RHYME.

"By a Non-Resistor.

"Said Famine to Monopoly,
'Since wedded we have been,
We ne'er, as in this dreadful year,
Such perils dire have seen.'

"Her eyes were sunk, her lank jaws grinn'd;
She stood on the churchyard stones;
And her voice was like the shrill east wind
When it shrieks through a dead man's bones.

"Said her spouse, 'My dear, you've nothing to fear,
However you be shorr'd,
For I have friends, both far and near,
And am a wealthy lord.'

"'Protect me!' cries the trembling poor,
You are strong enough for that.
And why? For while you starve the poor,
I feed the rich man fat.'

"'A leader we hail, who will never quail,
But be true as Death to Sin;
With his sliding scale, or a tub to the whale,
We are sure to keep him in.

"'His income-tax he will ne'er relax,
His words 'twere a sin to doubt;
Let assets be free to cross the sea;
But corn!—oh keep it out!

"'As the waters blue which the pig* swims through
Are radden'd with his gore,
So O'Connor can Jew the fools anew
That O'Connor has Jew'd before;

"'For well he knows from the poor man's woes
He can fill his cup to the brim;
But whoever may thrive, should trade revive,
Cheap bread would poison him.

"'And the Corn-Law League will soon fatigue
The League that has toiled so sore.
Oh we'll work quite keen—we'll make you Queen!
And trade shall rejoice no more.

"'Plain truths we teach,' says the Corn-Law nob;
'Don't you see, you senseless block!
That, if each man could rob his neighbour's fob,
We should double the common stock?

"'So, if Cobden's trade in the dust were laid
(From Liebig's book we learn),
The people would eat more cabbage and wheat,
And meat on the table discern.

"'When corn is low, then wages go
Down, down; and 'tis all the same,
Though workmen be few, and much to do,
They never get up again.'

"'The Free-Trade League's a conspiracy,'
Say the lawyers, one and all;
'But ye that unite for the landlord's right,
You don't conspire at all.

"'That hotheaded school in which Cobden bears rule
Would bring produce to every man's hand;
But Gladstone,† more cool, thinks mere man is a fool,
Abstracted from fortune and land.'

The Moral

"'So, if all be intent to keep up rent,
And feed the landlord's game,
You've nothing to fear; for we'll wisely steer,
And protect great England's fame.

[Responsive chorus of bread-lavers accompanied the
tunings of Knatchbull and the Tamworth Bull.]

"'We'll willingly pay our money away,
For famine, fire, and slaughter,
'Till our breath be spent. Hurrah for rent!
And hurrah for the landlord's daughter!'

"Hull, March 19, 1844."

"J. L."—His lines are all but up to the mark.

"R. V. H." will see that his hints have not been thrown away.
"Veritas" must have intended his communication for the
Northern Star; his passion has sadly interfered with his
orthography; we can only pray Heaven to send him more
sense and fewer consonants.

"J. H."—The hypocrisy of those who advocate a discriminating
duty on slave-grown sugar is sufficiently proved by their
allowing that sugar to be imported and refined in this country,
and then to be exported for consumption, not only to the
European continent, but to the very negroes in the West
Indies whom they affect to protect.

"A Leaguer of Warrington."—We doubt the justice and more than
doubt the prudence of his communication.

"W. H." has sent the following remarks on some statements
attributed to the member for Roxburghshire, in his speech
on Mr. Cobden's motion last Tuesday week. We have every
reason to believe that our correspondent's statements are
perfectly correct:—"Mr. Scott says that labourers' wages in
the two counties with which he is connected are 12s. and 13s.
a week, and never less than 9s. In the district of Liddesdale,
where Mr. Scott's kinman, the Duke of Buccleuch,
owns above 90 per cent. of its acres, the maximum price paid
to the duke's own labourers (who, wonderful to relate, are
four in number, and engaged in the extensive plantations of
the district where he draws above £10,000 annually) is 10s. a
week in summer, and 9s. in winter. I understand if they
work a quarter of a day, and the weather prove so boisterous
as to prevent them from continuing, they receive no pay;
should they continue for half a day they receive half a day's
wages, whilst, from always having employment, they are con-
sidered as much the best paid labourers of any in the parish.
The district of Liddesdale is so exclusively pastoral in its
character that it could not easily be more destitute of manu-
factures if the whole fraternity were interdicted from its soil.
What is the result? Why, Sir, if houses which offer little or
no impediment to either rain or wind are improper habita-
tions for human beings to dwell in, I venture to affirm that
one-half of the houses in the village of Castleton are wholly
unfit for human abode. The roofs of several have fallen in,
and, owing to the inability of the labourers to pay their
rents, the owners allow them to remain so. During the
winter months there is so little employment of any descrip-
tion that the poor creatures cannot be said to live, but literally
starve through the winter. If a farmer has a 20s. or
30s. job to let, such is the race in competition for employ-
ment, that the work is generally done for what will scarcely
keep body and soul together. In last January, a job to build
a dyke round a hill or common was to be let by contract.
Such was the desire for employment, and with each striving
to be the lowest, that the duke's agents were understood to
have expressed their surprise at men so anxious for work at
such starvation wages. The deterioration of the value of
houses is also so great that what was worth £20 four or five
years ago, is not now worth more than £3; indeed, no one

"And he mark'd how the while
It cut its own throat;
'There,' said he with a smile,
'Goes England's commercial prosperity.'"
Caledonia.

† See Gladstone's speech in reply to R. Cobden in the House
of Commons, March 13.

who knows anything of the locality would buy a house at any
price. Twenty miles further north is the flourishing manu-
facturing town of Hawick. Wages are there more than dou-
ble its neighbouring parish of Castleton. I believe, Sir, the
two parishes of Hawick and Castleton are the most striking
instances of the comparative affluence of a manufacturing
and agricultural population to be met with in Scotland, and
well worthy the attention of the League. I may also state
that the electors of this favoured district of protection are in
such a state of political bondage, that they form the greater
portion of the body whom Mr. Scott alluded to as having
lately swelled the ranks of monopoly in the county which he
represents."

"Oromo" sends us the following parody;—we insert it though
it contains some weak lines which detract from its general
merits:—

"'Hear this, ye senators, hear this truth sublime,
He who allows oppression shares the crime.'"

"I am no orator, as Whiteside is,

But, as you may perceive, a plain blunt man
Who loves his countrymen; therefore I am
Thus bold and daring in my speech to you.
I cannot boast of wit, or words, or worth,
Action, or utterance; nor any power of mine
To move your hearts. I only speak right on,
Telling you that which ye yourselves do know.
Ye mighty men, ye do oppress the poor!
Your study is to aggrandize yourselves.
You crush the helpless to the very grave.
Your charity is—what?—The workhouse test—
The gaol—the gallows—or Van Dieman's Land?
Your cruel laws drive men to poverty,
To destitution desperate; and then
To misery, and crime, and shameful death.

"And what of that?" say you, "We landlords must
Ensure our rents, although our tenants starve.
But stay, we'll pass protection laws for them,
In order to secure both rent and tithes.
'We will have our bond—the law allows it,
And the Court awards it.' Our mortgages
And daughters' settlements demand it too!
We must also provide for younger sons.
Up, up, then, noble lords, and stop Free Trade;
Put down the clamour of this noisy League.
The clergy of our church are on our side,
With few exceptions, and let these beware.
What would the people have? They want not food—
(So spake the Duke of W——, at least);
They want not bread, exclaims a Dr. M——;
Meal and potatoes satisfy their wants;
Billions rejoice thereon, and so they ought.
Bravo, Duke and Doctor. Yet hear me now;
I will say nought but truth, plain simple truth:
You may as well attempt to stop the tide,
Or catch, and keep the wind in your preserves,
As try to stop the onward march of mind.
I know your power is great;—but here it fails;
And fail it must. The Anti-Corn-Law League
Is but the mouth-piece of the multitude
Whom ye oppress with taxes on their food.
Ye (imitators of the Norman kings).
Whose game-preserved proclaim your tyranny—
Ye do oppress the poor. Protection laws!
What are they, but illegal robbery
Made legal by and for your own dear selves?
O Legislation! What! Art thou become
A pauper to Monopoly?—Shame! shame!
Remove such infamy—Let Free Trade reign.

"March, 1844." "OROMO."

A correspondent who writes from Stepney-green, states, in
proof of the evil effects of monopoly on the shipping interest,
that "the *Thetis*, late of Dundalk, a vessel of 250 tons, and
provided with an entirely new set of sails, worth at least
£100, was a few weeks since sold, or rather given away, in the
port of London, to a London owner, who now employs her in
the coal-trade, for the amazingly low sum of £260, although
about eight years since, when trade, in consequence of food
being cheap, was better, she would have been worth about
£1200."

"C. S. C."—The lines are beautiful, but not appropriate.
There are several correspondents to whose letters we deem it
unnecessary to give a specific answer, as the hints which they
contain have either been anticipated, or are in the course of
being realized. Among these are fourteen letters from various
parts of the country, each bearing the signature "Tenant-
farmer." We trust that the writers will be satisfied with this
general acknowledgment, for separate replies to all the letters
we receive would now be scarcely possible.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order,
to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have
one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post
on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper
may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings,
Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of
any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who
receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear
in mind that their subscriptions are due.

The Publisher of THE LEAGUE begs to inform
Advertisers that, in future no advertisements will be
inserted in that paper, as the space is required for more
general purposes.

THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-
CORN-LAW LEAGUE beg to announce that their
Weekly Meetings in the Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden, will
be suspended during the Easter recess; after which, due notice
will be given by advertisement of their recommencement.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, March 30, 1844.

The League has redeemed its pledge to the pub-
lic, by contesting the elections at Christchurch and
Hastings; and although the result, in each case, was
foreseen as inevitable, there have been abun-
dant indications of the judicious character and
useful tendency of the proceeding. To win
such elections, where the subject of Free Trade
was comparatively new, and where a struggle
had to be made with local property and in-
fluence, was out of the question. It was never ex-
pected that the brother of Lord Malmesbury at
Christchurch, or the head of a family inhabiting so
many "mansions, on the other side of the hill and
in Wellington-square" at Hastings, were to give
way and be defeated at the first onslaught. But in
both instances the poll has become an electoral
Free-Trade registry of the most decisive descrip-
tion. The minorities have recorded themselves as

upholders of a principle in defiance of all opposing
influences. They are booked for the boat which is
sure, in due time, triumphantly to reach its haven.
We thank them heartily as voluntary co-operators,
at the first call upon them, in our good cause. The
question which has been set afloat in their localities
will never sink into oblivion. The truths they have
heard will be as seed sown, from which a future
harvest will be reaped. They cannot unknow what
they have learned on these occasions. For our
being beaten now, we can well afford that, in the
working out a great national question; and, as the
old Scotch song says,

"If it be na weel bobbet, we'll bobbet again;"

and we care not how soon. When once they have
taken root, and they have done that both at Christ-
church and Hastings,—Free-Trade principles are
of rapid growth.

We again exhort our friends to proceed vigorously
everywhere with the memorials to their members to
support Mr. Villiers's motion, and with the regis-
tration canvass to which those memorials are sub-
servient. The strange collisions on the Factory
Bill show on what unexpected points great parlia-
mentary changes may turn. A general election
may come when least of all expected. Let us stand
to our arms and be ready. The Free-Trade portion
of every constituency in the kingdom should be in
fighting trim, and its utmost strength available on
any emergency. It is only for the fool to say, "Who
could have thought it?" Be ready, ready every-
where.

REVIEW.

*Facts and Observations relative to the Influence of
Manufactures upon Health and Life.* By Daniel
Noble, Esq. London: Churchill.

Factories and the Factory System. By W. Cooke
Taylor, LL.D. London: How.

It is not our purpose in examining these pam-
phlets to enter into any discussion of the question
at issue between Sir James Graham and Lord
Ashley respecting the limitation of factory labour
to twelve or to ten hours, for we hold both to be
wrong in principle. We hold all legislative inter-
ference with the labour market,—all attempts of a
government to fix the wages of industry,—all inter-
vention of a third party between employers and em-
ployed, to be unjustifiable in principle and mis-
chievous in their results. We oppose all protection-
duties on the plain and obvious grounds that they
prevent buyers and sellers from meeting on fair
terms in an open market, and we will not recognise
any exception to this great truth, either on the
ground of expediency or pretended humanity. But
while a question affecting manufactures which sup-
ply thirty-five out of forty-four millions of our
exports is under discussion, and while the debates
on the subject, and the leading articles in many
journals, display a lamentable ignorance of the
nature of factories and of the practical working of
the factory system, we deem it right to take advan-
tage of the pamphlets before us to correct prevail-
ing errors, and to set the public right on the bearing
of the main questions that have been placed in issue.

Most of those who have undertaken the discussion
of this question have spoken as if factories were
modern creations; but in truth they are as old as
civilization itself, and owe nothing to modern times
but a great extension and development. Dr. Taylor
says:—

"A factory, properly speaking, is an establishment where
several workmen are collected together for the purpose of
obtaining greater and cheaper conveniences for labour
than they could procure individually at their homes; for
producing results, by their combined efforts, which they
could not accomplish separately; and for saving the loss
of time which the carrying of an article from place to
place during the several processes necessary to complete
its manufacture would occasion. The principle of a fac-
tory is, that each labourer, working separately, is con-
trolled by some associating principle, which directs his
producing powers to effecting a common result, which it
is the object of all collectively to attain. Factories are,
therefore, a result of the universal tendency to association
which is inherent in our nature, and by the development
of which every advance in human improvement and
human happiness has been gained. They began when the
first step was made in civilization, and they must continue
until society itself is dissolved in barbarism."

The central power which unites and pervades such
an association, and by which all its parts are held
together, is "capital," or, in other words, an "aggre-
gate of the results of past industry," held as a fund
for procuring such a collection of means and imple-
ments as the operatives could not purchase singly,
and thus obtain the greatest amount of productive
means with the greatest economy of expenditure.

"In principle there is no difference between the invest-
ment of capital in printing implements by the master
printer, or in the apparatus of ship-carpentry by the ship-
builder, and the investment of capital in machinery by
the spinner of wool, flax, or cotton. All the cases are
examples of mechanical aid given to the workman, that
he might execute certain processes which he could
not accomplish without such assistance. But steam ma-
chinery gives the greater development to the principle of
the factory system; for while on the one hand it
facilitates the division of labour, on the other it

more direct agency for uniting the separate processes in a common result. Mills, as spinning establishments are rather absurdly designated, exhibit the factory system in the greatest state of development to which it has yet attained."

Now, it is perfectly clear that in "mills" where the factory system is carried to the highest perfection, the central power, or "invested capital," must possess great strength, or else it would not hold so large an association together; and we have then to inquire whether this gives such a preponderance to capital as to produce unfair conditions of industry. We know, indeed, that many have contended that a preponderating power of capital renders the operative the serf and thrall of the capitalist.

"A very little consideration might have shown them that the capitalist becomes equally dependent on the operative, and that active industry is as necessary to give a profit to accumulated industry as accumulated industry is to set active industry in motion. Capital ceases to be profitable when it is not worked, just as an operative ceases to get wages when he is out of employment. Furthermore, the loss on invested capital when not worked is not merely the rate of interest which it has ceased to produce: a large addition must be made for the waste and deterioration of stock, and for the countless disadvantages which even the temporary suspension of business involves.

"Now, it is perfectly true that an operative, coming into the market, comes to sell an article which is destroyed every moment that it is unused; the day or hour of idleness once gone from him is gone for ever; he cannot earn yesterday's wages to-morrow in addition to the wages of that morning. To the operative without capital, employment is life itself; he must exchange his labour for aliment, or he must perish of inanition. He is bound to sell under the penalty of starvation. This would be a very unequal condition of things if the capitalist were not driven by a necessity scarcely less stringent to buy the article which is sold under such apparent disadvantages, for the destruction of unworked capital is not less certain than that of the unworking operative.

"Let us suppose that a capital of £36,000 has been invested in some active business, where the operatives are employed 300 days in the year at an average of twelve hours per day. Now, allowing 10 per cent. for the wear and tear of machinery, the interest of invested capital, the risk on stock, &c., it is evident that the capitalist is a loser unless he has a return of one pound every working hour. In other words, the suspension of his business for one hour inflicts on him a greater pecuniary loss than an entire week without employment would cause to the operative. This circumstance equalizes the conditions under which the bargain is made between the capitalist and the operative; for the one is as much under the necessity of being obliged to buy as the other is under the necessity of being compelled to sell."

Machinery is one of the most important forms under which capital is offered to the aid of the operative, and the steam-engine exhibits machinery in its most powerful and complete form. Now, some very strange mistakes are made respecting the nature and influence of steam-machinery.

"No popular error is more common than the belief that the operatives in a factory, which has its machinery set in motion by a water-wheel or a steam-engine, have no more repose than the wheels and shafts of the mill in which they are employed, and that they must, consequently, be worn down by incessant fatigue, unrelieved by a moment's relaxation. It is necessary only to go through a factory, and pay ordinary attention to its operations, in order to discover that this is an error. In the first place, the machines themselves are not in constant operation, to say nothing of the whole being suspended at meal times; the different parts of the machinery are not of necessity in motion together. Motion is communicated to the several frames of machinery by a driving-strap, which passes over a principal wheel attached to each frame, and connects it with a turning-shaft, set in motion by the water-wheel or the steam-engine. To stop the motion of any separate frame it is only necessary to take off the driving-strap; and this has to be done very frequently by the tenter, or operative, who superintends the frame in which the particular process for which it was constructed is carried on. In most of the processes employed in spinning wool, flax, or cotton, or in throwing silk, the chief occupations of the operatives are to feed the machine with a proper supply of material, to remove what has received so much finish as the process of manufacture under their charge confers, and to watch the machine so as to be sure that it performs its work aright. So long as the machine works on without error, its tenter, or the operative, who is its fellow-labourer, has absolutely nothing to do; it is only when the machine goes wrong that the operative compels his drudge to stop, by removing the driving-strap, corrects the error, and then sets his unwearied assistant to work again. Thus the motion of machinery is the rest of the operative, and what the ignorant spectator sets down as the source of endless fatigue is, in fact, the great source of his relaxation. Even the spinners and piecers, whose labours are the most incessant, have frequently-recurring intervals of relaxation: the latter, indeed, whose duty it is to piece or mend any yarns that may be broken while in the process of being elongated or twisted by the mule frame, effect this object at the moment that the mule carriage begins to be drawn out, and have a respite from labour during the remaining time of the carriage being drawn out and the whole period of its return."

It has been recently stated, on the authority of "an eminent mathematician," that some of these piecers travel backwards and forwards an aggregate of spaces amounting, as a maximum, to thirty-seven miles per day. Eminence in mathematics has nothing whatever to say to a subject which requires nothing more than a knowledge of the first rules of arithmetic. We have never heard of a mule which could make so many as 4000 stretches in a day; each stretch requires the spinner to traverse a space of ten feet six inches, and each piecer, when a thread

breaks, an average of about fifteen feet. Now, taking the extreme case, that a thread is broken at every stretch, this will give a space of eight miles to be traversed by the spinner, and less than twelve by the piecer. We know not what were the data on which Lord Ashley's eminent mathematician based his calculations. We have derived our data from actual measurement and observation, and have had them verified by practical operatives and the proprietors of the largest mills in the country. But we wonder that it has never entered into Lord Ashley's head to inquire what would be the severity of this labour if it had not been aided by machinery. On this point Doctor Taylor quotes Mr. de Villermé's Report on the Condition of the Working Classes in France.

"I could never have formed an idea of the humane influence of machinery had I not seen, in Nov., 1835, at the central prison of Loos, near Lille, unfortunate men compelled to exert almost incredible efforts for the purpose of giving motion to the machinery used in the spinning of cotton. These wretched beings, absolutely naked from the waist upwards, panting, exhausted, and covered with sweat, had all the muscles of their body in a state of constant agitation; they were degraded to the level of beasts of burthen; the very sight of them was revolting. Luckily the introduction of the steam-engine has put an end to this barbarity, worthy only of the ages when the lords of the soil harnessed their peasants like beasts to the drags with which it was the custom to separate the grain from the ear before threshing-machines were invented."

It is the most common objection in the present discussion to state that machinery displaces adult labour, and supersedes it by the employment of women and children. Were this the case, the wages of adult labour would necessarily have fallen in the manufacturing districts; but so far is this from actual fact, that we find the wages of unskilled labour, as that of carters, porters, &c., much higher in the manufacturing than in the agricultural districts. Furthermore, it is a clear advantage to the operatives that men are not employed to execute tasks which can be performed by women or children. As this is a doctrine not generally received, we shall quote at length Dr. Taylor's reasoning on the subject:—

"Some of the operatives, and many people of higher pretensions, object to juvenile labour, because they believe that it diminishes the demand for the labour of full-grown people. They imagine, that if the boys and girls were withdrawn from the mills, there would necessarily be an increased demand for men and women, that employment would be more abundant, and that wages would consequently rise.

"It is no difficult matter to expose the fallacy of this expectation in the remarks already made on the condition of the hand-loom weavers,—the system of juvenile labour is actually beneficial to the operatives, taken as a class. The three elements for which an employer pays are time, skill, and strength; the labourer who exerts only the skill and the strength of a child will, in the long run, even leaving out of view the competition of foreign nations, obtain only the wages of a child, because he has nothing on which to rely for obtaining his value in the market. Were the manufacturers compelled to dismiss the children, they would not supply their places with trained and skilled workmen, because the training and skill would be worthless; but they would import an abundant supply of untrained labourers from Wales, from Scotland, and from Ireland, to whom the wages of the children, small as they are, would be a desirable object. Many of these would in time begin to compete with the superior operatives; they would draw them down faster than they would raise themselves up, and the rate of wages would sink rapidly below its present level. The example of the hand-loom weavers should teach the spinners the danger of a trade being inundated by operatives who require little or no preparatory training to make a commencement. It is their good fortune that the employments in the mill, which require but little skill, also demand but little strength, for it has saved them from being reduced to the level of agricultural labourers by the appearance of untrained hordes mingling in their ranks.

"In truth the Factory Act has, in this respect, injured the operatives, and they know it. When children under thirteen years of age were dismissed from the mills, young persons above that age came readily to supply their places from Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the agricultural counties, because the wages of factory labour are far above those of farm labour. We have conversed with many of these persons, and we never found one of them that regretted abandoning agricultural labour, or had the slightest intention of returning to farming pursuits. The operatives who had been deluded into raising a clamour for the Factory Bill found, to their great mortification, that they had deprived their own children of employment to give it to strangers, and that they had besides brought in a new generation of operatives, who would soon compete with themselves in the labour-market.

"Juvenile labour, then, is demonstrably beneficial to the parents of the children by contributing to their support, and by placing them in a position where they are safer from the allurements of vice; it is advantageous to the children, by training them to those habits of industry by which they are to gain support in future life; and it is beneficial to the class of operatives, by preventing the influx of imperfect adult labour, which would be the inevitable result of throwing the children out of employment. We have, as far as possible, confined ourselves to generalities, and viewed the question of the employment of children without any special reference to factories. Before, however, we enter upon the special conditions of factory labour, it is proper to mention a fact which is generally neglected in all the discussions on the subject, and that is, that the children of the poor in every part of England are compelled to work, if they can get employment, so soon as they are able to turn their hands to anything. It seems, for a time, to have been assumed that children worked no where but in factories; a very little inquiry would have shown that there is no place where they work less, and that the tolls of a cotton-mill are nothing when

compared to the extremes in which gripping poverty in most instances, and grasping avarice in some, may drive their parents."

Mr. Noble's pamphlet is far the best and most careful publication on the sanitary condition of the factory population. Dr. Taylor has made large use of it in his pamphlet, and has sent us a note expressing his regret for having inadvertently omitted an acknowledgment of his obligations. Mr. Noble has very ably shown the great imperfection of the medical statistics which have been hitherto brought forward in the discussion of this question, and we particularly request attention to his remarks on the alleged prevalence of consumption and scrofula in the manufacturing districts.

"In reflecting upon the precise value to be attached to the records of consumption obtained by our national system of registration, it occurred to me that probably they might furnish some clue to the relative prevalence of scrofula in various localities, seeing that consumption is not only a scrofulous disease (according to preponderance of authority) in itself, but the mode in which other scrofulous affections often terminate fatally; thus, scrofula, affecting the spinal column or any of the joints, generally ends in pulmonary consumption in the event of a fatal issue. Moreover, some little acquaintance with popular modes of dealing with these matters satisfies myself that the cases of death, in many instances, reported to the registrar as *decline* or *consumption*, are representative of general scrofulous disease rather than of phthisis exclusively. A consumption or decline, with the mass of the lower orders, is expressive of most diseases unaccompanied by acute symptoms, and marked by progressive emaciation; and I very much think that, where the scrofulous taint prevails extensively, the cases of death registered as decline and consumption will on this account be in excess. Hence, I apprehend it to be somewhat presumable that in those places where, of the whole number of deaths registered, the proportion of consumption cases is great, the existence of much scrofula may be inferred. Of course, I only propose this scheme as one furnishing, probably, an approximation to the actual fact.

"To apply this scheme, I will take the several towns, analysed with respect to these matters, as they occur in the report of the Registrar-general, of which I have made such ample use in the foregoing pages. Thus, in the exceedingly mixed population of the metropolis, out of 45,441 deaths, 7104 were registered as from consumption, being in the proportion of 1 in 6½; in the cotton districts of Manchester and Salford, 9223 deaths furnished 1454 cases of consumption, being in the same proportion as in the metropolis; in commercial Liverpool, all but exempt from manufactures of any kind, 9181 deaths gave 1762 instances of consumption, or 1 in 5.15th; in the case of Leeds, the seat of the woollen manufacture, a total of 4388 yielded 804 of consumption, or 1 in 5½; and in Birmingham, where there are no cotton-mills, 3639 deaths included 668 cases of consumption, or 1 in every 5½. So it would appear that Manchester, with its factories, exhibits in its fatal cases of disease a somewhat moderate proportion of those here presumed to be of a scrofulous character. Just then to the extent that the text here applied may be considered to possess any value, it tends to disprove the notion regarding the extraordinary prevalence of scrofula in the districts of the cotton manufacture."

Under present circumstances we do not think it necessary to pursue this subject further. We have sufficiently shown that no special case has been made out for exceptional interference with factory labour, and we have now to repeat our strong protest against any interference whatever with the market of British industry. Every such interference hitherto has been either directly intended to lower the rate of wages, or has produced such a result in its immediate consequences. The several "Statutes of Labourers" were open and avowed enactments to lower wages; the Spitalfields Acts destroyed the trade of the entire district. We have had some reason to suspect that the supporters of Lord Ashley's motion were well disposed to diminish the disproportion between the wages of labour in the agricultural and manufacturing districts; but, whether this be the case or not, we are fully persuaded that the true way of serving industry is to open for its products the demand of the world's markets; and under these circumstances we shall not discuss the greater or less amount of restriction, seeing that we are at war with restriction altogether.

Free Trade is the only sure means of obtaining "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work;" it will alone supply means for safely shortening the hours of labour without diminishing the wages of the operative, which we should be very sorry to reduce below their present amount. Enlarge trade; increase the demand for labour; interfere not with the markets which are anxious to receive our manufactures, by preventing us from receiving the only payment which our manufacturers have to offer; and then the increased comforts and emoluments of the operatives will enable them to settle for themselves that duration of labour which will best suit the circumstances of their situation. When masters and men are fairly placed in circumstances of perfect freedom, without being subject to any extrinsic restrictions which may fetter their operations, then these parties will be able to come to an equitable adjustment, based on mutual advantage. Parliamentary interference we always have deprecated; all experience shows that it never has been exercised without producing mischief; and the Corn Laws are themselves a sufficient example of a government having injured those whom it pretended to serve by interfering under the pretence of protection.

THE LEAGUE.

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[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM ON THE FACTORY BILL.

In one of the debates on the Factory Bill, Sir James Graham emphatically declared, "I cannot conceive that it can be conducive to human happiness to impose limits upon human industry;" and in the other debate he expressed his earnest desire, "above all, to impress upon the minds of the committee that, if they increased the stringency of certain restrictions, they must infallibly relax others of a countervailing nature." In the first of these dicta we have the broad principle of Free Trade; and in the second, by a very intelligible innuendo, the application of that principle to the specific case of the Corn Laws. If a ten hours' bill be carried, we shall endeavour to hold Sir James Graham to the one; and should it not be carried, we shall yet take the liberty of not allowing him to forget the other.

It is a principle with the League, hitherto kept sacred, to interfere with no political questions, unless when they come into immediate relation with the one great question for the settlement of which the League was instituted. We meddle not with the embryo Ten Hours' Bill, any more than with the Suffrage Question, or with Irish Policy. Like them, it is out of our sphere, save in so far as it bears upon the Corn Laws. As Leaguers, we are neither the guardians of factory children, nor the advocates of millowners. Not that we affect any degree of indifference to the rights and interests of any class, or should regard such indifference as other than very discreditable to whomsoever may affect it; but our confederation is specific and exclusive; and in that consists no small portion of the confidence we possess, and the strength we exercise.

But Sir James Graham on one side, and Lord John Russell on the other, have intimated a connexion between the proposed limitation of labour and an alteration of the Corn Laws. On this point we feel at full liberty to comment.

The adoption by Parliament of a Ten Hours' Bill would undoubtedly furnish a fresh and cogent argument against the Corn Laws. It would be an act to deprive the manufacturers, by law, of the use of the machinery which they have erected, and of the labour for which they are willing to pay. They would be mulcted of one-sixth of the productive power which they have fairly purchased. It would be like a law providing that one-sixth of every farm should be uncultivated. The relative position of the agricultural and the manufacturing interest would be immediately changed. To inflict this injury, and yet retain the law-created price of the produce of the land, would be perfectly monstrous. There must be compensation; and what compensation so easy and obvious as that which a repeal of the Corn Laws would afford?

Such is the train of thought which Sir James Graham's hint seems intended to excite in the minds of Parliamentary landlords. It may be a clinching argument; but what of that? Who is green enough to imagine that a new argument would forthwith render our cause triumphant? Could it have prevailed simply by argument, we should not now have been in the sixth year of continuous agitation. Those who were not ashamed to lay the bread-tax on, will never be shamed into taking it off. Lord Ashley himself, the very pink and pattern of landlord humanity, upholds the Corn Laws by his votes. Besides, we question the wisdom of indulging landlord legislators with the regulation of factory labour, in the hope of their seeing the propriety of making atonement for the wrong they perpetrate.

It is easy to foresee that the consequences of a Ten Hours' Bill would be very fearful. Not an operative clamours for it but under the delusion, gross as it is, that for his ten hours' work he shall retain his twelve hours' wages. Such a law would, in fact, be a bill for the reduction of factory wages. Its supporters contemplate a considerable reduction. What says the landlords' newspaper, the *Morning Herald*, in its advocacy of Lord Ashley?—"To prove that the factory people are not ill used, Mr. Bright produces a table of the wages paid by his firm, and declares that the average weekly earnings of certain families employed by him are £1 15s. 9d. Let us accept this statement then, and let us suppose that the reduction of the hours from twelve to ten will reduce wages one-sixth. Will not Mr. Bright's workmen be able to live upon £1 9s. 9d. per week?" Let the operatives note that question, and see the sort of friends into whose hands some of them have committed their interests. Cannot they live upon something less than they have, for the glory of humanity and Lord Ashley? This lickspittle of landlords takes a reduction of 6s. a week from the workman's wages very coolly; it may abate an offensive contrast between the earnings of factory people and farm people; but we doubt whether that be exactly what is meant by the ten-hour folks out of doors. It is, however, what their bill would bring them to, and much worse than that, or we are greatly mistaken. Sir James Graham is probably not far from the truth when he calculates the inevitable reduction of wages at from 20 to 25 per cent. Now, let any sober-minded man realize in his imagination the effect of such a change upon deluded men, flushed with their victory, and believing that Lord Ashley had led them to the verge of the millennium. They would be perfectly infuriate. Strikes—bankruptcies—confusion—who can see the end of it? As to the Corn Laws going, that would be a trifle to what would go in the disorganization of society that would follow. This will not happen, because *no Ten Hours' Bill will be carried*. Those who are courting popularity by prating about it do not mean to carry it. Even Lord Ashley began to talk of eleven hours the moment he found himself in a majority for ten hours. Those who are most disposed recklessly to annoy, or vindictively to injure, the manufacturers of the country, dare not carry it. They will not stop short of that. We have not Jack Cade to deal with; only Pecksniff.

We cannot, therefore, sympathize with those who have seemed to contemplate a Ten Hours' Bill as a step towards Corn-Law repeal. If it be so at all, it is by a crooked and most perilous path. The League seeks a beneficent object, by honourable means. We tamper not with evil for the sake of good. Our way is straight on. We will neither cant with the hypocrites, nor strive to entangle the mischief-makers by co-operation. The League has attracted support by the purity of its means, as well as by the wisdom of its aim, and such be its character to the end.

Let no one pervert what we have said into hostility towards anything which is really humane and just in the professions of Lord Ashley and his supporters. We are not opposed to the guardianship of the helpless by the Legislature. If poor parents have really been so demoralized and denaturalized by the hard pressure, for which landlord legislation is mainly responsible, that it is necessary to protect their offspring, by all means let such protection be afforded. Give it at once; and do not, at the same time, refuse all inquiry into the system by which it has been rendered necessary. On your own showing of the consequences, there is something diabolical in its nature. But why offer this protection in a mode which invades at once the rights of capital and of labour? Of all people in the world, what business have the bread-taxers to say to the poor man that he shall not take more than ten hours' toil into the labour market? If he be willing to offer more, and others

be willing to purchase more, with what face can they interpose, even were they to forego their tax upon his food? It is enough that they have limited the foreign market for the produce of his toil; why go further, and limit the home market for the toil itself? Their humanity must be desperate indeed, when it can find no other way to vent itself save in the violation of justice. Most untrue should we be to the Free-Trade principle did we not claim for every working man the right of selling as much of his time and toil as he is able and willing to exchange for the money of his employers.

Ten hours a day is quite enough work in our opinion. But for class legislation we question whether any man need work more than that to provide the necessaries of life and a moderate share of its comforts. If the humanity-mongers would all help us heartily to put down legalized monopoly, they would take the nearest way to the accomplishment of their professed object. Direct enactment will never do it. They will only aggravate distress. Nor would their clamorous clients be satisfied were a Ten Hours' Bill carried. The symptoms of an eight hours' agitation are already apparent. The *Morning Herald* of Wednesday last inserts an address from "the workers of Messrs. Macleary, Hamilton, and Co., Blackfauld's Mill, Calton, Glasgow," in which it is declared to be proved that "the manual labour necessary to keep up the whole community do (does) not need eight hours' labour daily; consequently, every hour that a human being labours beyond this, especially in this country, he usurps exactly as much of the time of some other person, and consequently must injure, by the laws of nature, that man whom he keeps idle to that extent." The concocters of the farrago of Chartism and Socialism combined in this address seem more tender of the labour-rights of the idle than their patrons would find quite pleasant in practice. But Chartism or Socialism, or anything else, there are those who would countenance it all, rather than render justice to an industrious people whom they have despoiled of their due, and in whom they will foster any delusion which may postpone the day of account and prolong their iniquitous advantage. Let them untax our food, and we shall then see how much toil is needful. If it be but six hours, all the better. But till then,—till labour has fair play, and till there is danger of people's overworking themselves from sheer wantonness,—we cannot (to revert to Sir James Graham's words) "conceive that it can be conducive to human happiness to impose limits upon human industry."

OUR ELECTORAL AGITATION.

If we could boast of no other electioneering triumph than that which is described in the following extract from the *Brighton Herald*, in reference to the late contest for Hastings, it would be alone sufficient to entitle the League to the support of every patriotic and honest man in the country:—

"Hastings, Wednesday Evening.

"There is much mental excitement here in consequence of the election (the nomination day being to-morrow), but no kind of mobbish excitement whatever. It is at once the most interesting and the most quiet election that was ever known in the borough. In fact, a complete revolution has been effected. Instead of drunken riotous mobs, open houses, scenes of revelry and low debauchery, violent wranglings, fights and execrable noises, all is peace. But the electors and others meet, notwithstanding, and far more numerously than ever before known; but, instead of listening to belching orators, with blood-inflamed eyes and maniacal gestures, they are addressed by sensible men, in an earnest, sober, business-like manner, and taught to think—not on mere party squabbles—not on mere local interests—not on mean, petty, and unworthy topics, but on the great principles of government, which not only affect the men of the day, but of all posterity.

"Elections generally heretofore resembled bacchanalian orgies rather than a plain and simple discharge of public business, in which, like a juryman, each elector has a sacred duty to perform. John Barleycorn, on such occasions, was a very busy and important personage. In this election he is of no consequence whatever; and many of his most ardent worshippers, who are famous for shouting, bawling, and fighting, find themselves completely at fault. They can hold no drunken assemblies; and where the electors do meet—under the arcade—no refreshments of any kind are allowed, no more than at any other public meetings. This is a great and most desirable reform."

The League is at once the teacher, purifier, and emancipator of the constituencies. Wherever it goes to take part in an election, it raises the people up from the ignorance and prejudice in which they have grovelled; it terrifies the corrupt by threats of exposure and punishment; and it encourages the Free Traders (always the majority, if not the wealthiest, of the population) to unite in defence of a just and popular principle.

to resist those rich monopolists who would deprive them, by intimidation, of the free exercise of their elective franchise. These are the objects which the League had in view in entering upon the contests at Hastings, Christchurch, and Devizes, where it was well known the monopolists were certain of a victory at the poll. Indeed the seats would not have been vacated if the majority had been doubtful; for Mr. Planta, Sir George Rose, and Mr. Sotherton, all voluntarily accepted the Chiltern Hundreds. In those three purely rural boroughs a determined band of Free Traders was found ready to rally round the banner of repeal, and they form the nucleus of a party which, sooner or later, will vanquish monopoly even in those its strongholds.

Our enemies have affected to exult over our defeat in these battle-fields of their own choosing, forgetting, that in contests where the chances were more equal, arising, as they did, out of vacancies caused, not by voluntary resignation, but by deaths, —as in the case of London, Kendal, and Salisbury,—the League was victorious in two of the three struggles. They forget, too, that the Free-Traders have a knack of winning at return matches. The three most important battles which the Leaguers fought were in Stockport, Durham, and Walsall; they were all lost in the first contest to be all won at the next opportunity. Our victorious opponents will be allowed to repose under their laurels only until such time as we shall have the chance of meeting them again at the polling-booth.

To our friends who may feel for a moment discouraged by these defeats, we would merely add that in no other way could agitation be so effectually carried into a borough as by a contested election. The greatest difficulty in the way of those who wish to instruct and rouse the public mind is the apathy of the people, and especially the electoral body. But during a contest all men give themselves up, more or less, to politics; they attend meetings, read squibs, placards, and pamphlets, and take a part in the discussions of the club or the committee-room. It is of course at such a time, whilst the metal is hot, that the readiest and most lasting impression may be made upon the opinions of a constituency; and not merely the borough, but a wide district, sometimes an entire county, will be operated upon at the same time through the newspaper reports of the speeches made during the canvass.

Again, if you would secure for ever a Free-Trade party in a borough, let them undergo, for once, a defeat for the cause at the hustings. It is as true in politics as in love, that we are never thoroughly devoted to an object until we have suffered for its sake. The 170 men who polled for Mr. Moore at Hastings, and the 270 Free-Traders of Salisbury, will never rest from their labours in the good cause till they place the League in a majority. And a spirit has been kindled at Christchurch which will make it a rather hot borough for the pocket of Lord Malmesbury in future.

Let not our friends be misled by the outcries of cliques and clubs (whose craft is in danger from our purifying besom,) against our electoral movement. There is no mode of educating a constituency like that of contesting it in favour of the principle you wish to teach; contesting it not by the expenditure of thousands, in bribery, treating, or corruption; not by appealing to vulgar prejudice or brutal passions, but by our strictly moral and inexpensive plan of addressing the judgments of the electors, and invoking their sympathies as reasonable and Christian men. By such a course we may not, perhaps, carry conviction to the minds of a majority during the first contest (and certainly not if it be a borough voluntarily vacated by a Monopolist), but we shall prepare the way for eventual and certain victory.

THE CHURCH MILITANT.

We have heard of three instances in which the following argument in support of the Corn Law has been used by clergymen of the establishment in different parts of the kingdom:—

"This reminded him forcibly of a passage in Scripture where it was stated that King Herod was very much displeased with the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon, who made Blautus, the King's chamberlain, their friend, and induced him to intercede with the King on their behalf for a supply of corn: 'They desired peace because their country was nourished by the King's country.' Now, suppose Sir Robert Peel going to the Emperor of Russia to ask for corn through his chamberlain—a pretty figure we should cut. ('Hear, hear, hear,' and laughter.) Instead of 'Britannia rules the waves,' it would be 'Britons' sons are slaves.'" (Hear, hear, hear.)—*Speech of the Rev. Richard Paver, vicar of Brayton, at the Selby protection meeting.*

We could have scarcely hoped to find a stronger argument in favour of a dependence upon foreigners for food than is contained in this scriptural incident (Acts xii. 20), where the Tyrians, being threatened by Herod, "came with one accord to him, and, having made Blautus, the King's chamberlain, their friend, desired peace; because their country was nourished by the King's country." It is scarcely credible that any Christian minister could have drawn an argument in favour of commercial restrictions from one of the happiest illustrations of the peaceful tendencies of Free Trade. There happened to be no Corn

Law in Tyre, and the Tyrians were therefore importers of grain from Judea; this state of things led to the preservation of peace at a critical moment, and a minister of the gospel of peace urges this historical fact as a reason why Christian nations should not be dependent on each other for food! If this be orthodoxy, it is not Christianity.

THE SHIPPING INTEREST.

An esteemed correspondent has forwarded us the following remarks on "The Shipping Interest," as opposed to monopoly:—

"And this may help to thicken other proofs That do demonstrate thinly."

"The shipowner has much need in his business of block-makers; and these appear to fit him with wooden heads instead of the handiwork nature intended to set upon him. The shipping interest furnishes a splendid illustration of the beauties of protection. Enormous duties were laid on foreign timber; of course, timber of English growth advanced in price to the full extent of the impost, and the difference was so much profit to our Jack Grasp-all—the landowner. As in the case of the Corn Law, so here the cry was Protection and Revenue. Protection—that is, protection to the landowner—we admit it was. Concerning revenue we say, however, that, if one-fourth of the duties charged on foreign timber had been put on all, British as well as foreign, a much larger revenue would have been raised, the cost of our shipping would not have been artificially enhanced, and our shipping interest would not have been in its present deplorable condition. In due time the force of circumstances, steam, iron, and the unavoidable competition of foreigners, have uplifted the veil of protection, and the money value of British shipping is now only one-third of its former amount. A ship of the same quality and dimensions is equally useful, whether it sells in money for £6000 or only for £2000. The people of England are none the worse for the deterioration; there is as much ship room to be had as they want, and on lower terms than ever before. It is the shipowners who are damaged,—enormously damaged,—deprived of two-thirds of their possessions, if estimated in cash. Now, what has become of this two-thirds? It has not been actually destroyed. Where is it gone? We ask, where is it? Who has got it? Why, it was long since paid over to the growers of English timber. It was conjured by the *hocus pocus* of protection, under the plea of revenue, into the landowner's pocket. The Government did not get it; they did not receive the extra price caused by the duty; the landowners sacked it,—they plundered the shipowners as they plunder the farmer. Had the entire duty, not only one-fourth as above mentioned, been taken on all timber, British and foreign, then the State—not the landlords—would have got the shipowners' money; the revenue would have had the difference, not the growers of oak, though the shipowners would have been in the same disastrous predicament, and from which nothing could have saved them. Acts of Parliament cannot keep up money prices of either ships or commodities. What Sir Robert Peel said, in a fit of honesty, of the Corn Law, "that the Legislature could not secure any price for wheat," is equally applicable to ships. Protection may make the cost of building ships as dear as you like, but it cannot secure the money laid out; it cannot keep up the price of shipping. Protection caused bad building, wretched outfitting, and slovenly navigation. To this pass it has wellnigh come, that no one will take a British vessel if he can get another; no one will intrust his property to an English captain if he can get a foreigner. There are, of course, exceptions, but the general rule is as we say. We have lost the carrying trade, the corn trade, and the fisheries; and all this because of our accursed protections.

The shipowners, as we said, are on an average not worth more than one-third, as far as the money value of their ships is concerned, of what they were estimated twenty years ago; the landowners in the meantime have doubled their wealth, to which the shipowners' losses have largely contributed. If the landowners are satisfied in having plundered the shipowners, as no doubt they are; and if the shipowners are satisfied to have been, and to be, plundered, we need not concern ourselves about the matter. We have little to thank the latter gentry for; and for their losses they have only to thank themselves. Offers were made to them by Mr. Huskisson to reduce the duty on foreign timber, and to allow the building in bond, free of duty, for sale or foreign traffic; but they turned a deaf ear to all reasonable proposals, and would adhere, with suicidal infatuation, to the old system, lest by taking one rotten timber out of the crazy vessel of protection—lest by yielding in this case to common sense and sound principles—they should endanger the entire edifice, turn the tide of reform from forests to fields, from oaks to wheat, from shipbuilders to landowners, and perhaps, we may add, from captains to the Trinity-house.

We know that we write for blind eyes, and preach to deaf ears. Monopoly haunts the aristocracy of Wapping as much as that of Belgrave-square, and dwells no less in South Shields than in Alnwick Castle. Had the shipowners one grain of common sense, they would call for an immediate and total repeal of all protection, and grant for revenue's sake a small *ad valorem* duty on all timber, British and foreign, to be taken at the time of using it at the building,—if we may express ourselves figuratively, at the mill,—the only place where, according to Sir Robert Peel's authority, a duty on corn for revenue, and on all corn, British and foreign, ought to be taken. A very

small duty, so taken, would yield a large income. And as the first step towards their salvation, the stepping-stone to such a duty on all timber, our timber-headed ship-owners ought lustily to shout for Free Trade, and, above all, for free trade in corn and sugar, the rest then being sure to follow. But they drop the substance for the shadow—sit contented under the loss of two-thirds of their property—and, in the faint hope of restoring the good olden times of protection (for ever fled from them), they stand aloof from the great movement, and support the men who have already conjured so large a part of their money out of their own into the landlords' pockets! D.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Ninth Week, ending Saturday, April 6.

Ah, I am glad to see you. Has the fine weather induced you to visit town?

Yes, partly that, and business. But I am anxious, on this occasion, to see both Houses of Parliament, for on all my previous visits I have either missed, or could not get an opportunity to do so.

Well, you had better come with me at once. This is Tuesday; both Houses adjourn this afternoon for the Easter recess, and it is not supposed that either will sit late.

Is there no business in the House of Commons?

Plenty; there are two motions on the notice paper, either of which would afford ample materials for an interesting evening's discussion. But I understand that they will both be postponed, as there is a general wish, on both sides, that members should be allowed to get away into the country, to enjoy their holidays.

How provoking! This being my first visit, I should have liked the chance of a debate. On what subject were these motions which you say are postponed?

Oh, they are not yet postponed, but they probably will be, as we shall hear when we get down to the House. Here is the notice paper; you observe the first one:—

"Mr. Elphinstone.—That it is just and expedient, with the view of distributing the burthen of taxation more equally and fairly among all classes of her Majesty's subjects than it now is, to alter and amend the laws relating to Probate Duties, and to make real estate (whether such real estate be in trust or not) liable to the same duties as personal property."

That is a singular motion, but I dare say would raise a very important discussion.

It would, for it is one of the manifold forms of the great controversy which has raged in this country during these eight or nine years, and which can never cease until Monopoly lies prostrate, and Free Trade is triumphant. Here is the other motion:—

"Mr. Milner Gibson.—That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, representing, that, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable to obtain authentic information upon all matters connected with the agriculture of the United Kingdom; that this information is altogether deficient, so that, at this time, even the extent of land under cultivation, and the amount of its produce, are subjects only of vague conjecture; that the total absence of all accurate statistical knowledge in reference to this important subject, has at various times proved detrimental to the public interests; and praying her Majesty to devise measures for supplying to Parliament, from time to time, accurate statements of the breadth of land under cultivation for each species of produce respectively, and the amount of produce derived from the same; together with such other information as will exhibit, as far as practicable, a perfect view of the agricultural capability and production of the United Kingdom."

Another singular motion! Really, you Free-Trade people are most ingenious, after all, in your inventions for keeping up the controversy.

It is truly an important subject, and I have no doubt that Milner Gibson will do it justice. In this country we are profoundly ignorant of matters which affect every banker, every merchant, every tradesman, every labourer in the community. In a *restricted* field, the influence of even a small deficiency in the produce of a harvest is very great on price, and, consequently, on all commercial operations. Suppose we consume annually 20,000,000 quarters of wheat, look at the enormous difference between getting it, one year, at an average of 40s. or 45s., and another year being compelled to pay 60s. or 70s.

I see it now; and certainly, if a small unexpected deficiency has so great an influence on price, we are all, for the time being, very much at the mercy of millers, factors, and others, whose interest in a rising market is, of course, to exaggerate the deficiency, and thus force up prices as high as they will go.

Ay, very true; but it is not individuals who are to be blamed; it is the system. Now, they manage these things better in Japan. In these snug islands—the very model of "independence of foreigners"—the Government causes the approaching harvest to be watched with the greatest care; people are employed regularly to go through the country, and make as accurate approximations as can be obtained of the probable yield; while the breadth of land under cultivation and other matters are registered with scrupulous exactness.

Indeed! I did not think that the Japanese were so much in advance of us. But, tell me, was Mr. Cobden's speech on the effects of protective duties on the interests of tenant-farmers and labourers as remarkable as it was said to be?

Did you read it?

Indeed I did, very carefully, and was exceedingly struck with it. The perusal of it seemed to have the effect of advancing my mind on the subject.

Precisely; and, in your own case, you have exhibited what is the state of the public mind on the question of the Corn Laws.

But do you really think that the public mind is advanced on the question?

Think! Why, look back but a few years. Had Demosthenes, as Mr. Cobden once happily said in the House of Commons, got up to enlighten JOHN BULL in 1835, on the subject of the Corn Laws, he would have got nothing but a vacant stare, or a look of bewilderment. Adam Smith had written—Lord Horner had spoken—Lord Grenville had protested—Cardo and Mill had promulgated—and even the

of 1815 understood the question, and with insane fury vented their rage against Monopoly, by sacking the houses of some members of the Administration of the day. Yet onwards we went—commercial panics—insurrections of the working classes—Huskisson trying to introduce Free Trade, bit by bit—the Legislature patching, tinkering, tampering, on and with Corn Laws—and yet the good seasons of 1832-1836 had so clouded the intelligence of John Bull, that he looked upon "Corn and Currency" as being as abstruse as "The Differential Calculus." Now, there is not an intelligent schoolboy that cannot demonstrate to you that the principles of Free Trade are the principles of common sense.

True, I remember when I used to be puzzled about the sliding scale, averages, and so on; and was long trying to comprehend how it was that a sudden importation of corn crippled our commerce. Now I see it all very clearly.

Yes; and thank the ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE therefore.

But won't John Bull forget all the instruction he has received, if we should have two or three good harvests?

Never! This is the great good which the League has done, that it has brought up the whole NATIONAL MIND to a given point, from which there can be now no recession. Why, the very landholders themselves are beginning to get rid of the wild hobgoblin fears which used to haunt them whenever the repeal of the Corn Laws was mentioned.

But do you think that no injury would arise to the agricultural interest from the repeal of the Corn Laws?

Why, if nobody is really benefited by artificial prices but the landlords, then a fall in RENT must be a consequence of the repeal. But I firmly believe that any fall would be like the apparent retirement of the incoming tide, every wave retreating, to rush up higher than before. Under a natural and healthy state of things, with a prosperous commerce and an industrious community, there is not an inch of land in the country which would not increase in value.

Well, if this be the result of Free Trade, the landlords—after Free Trade has been won—will be constrained to acknowledge their obligations to the manufacturers.

They are already under great obligations to them. Who taught tile-draining? The manager of a cotton-mill, Mr. Smith, formerly of Deanston. Who has been foremost in enlightened practical illustrations of agricultural improvement? Mr. Greg, of Manchester. Who have roused the agricultural mind from its torpor of centuries, whispered THOUGHT into the ear of the clodhopper, and taught the farmer and the farm-labourer to feel that there is a life and a world beyond their own immediate fields? Messrs. Cobden and Bright. Nor will it be the least of the obligations which the Anti-Corn-Law League shall have conferred on the country, not merely that it has educated the nation, and lifted up the NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE to a higher and a surer platform, but that it shall have saved this great country from bankruptcy—say from suicide—and enabled it once more to start on a career of commercial prosperity, by which, for centuries to come, it may keep its place at the head of the commerce, and in the front of the civilization, of the world.

Yes, that is all very fine, no doubt, and, I am disposed to admit, very true; but you have made no progress this session.

No progress! Why, our whole career has been one continued triumph! Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone never open their mouths in reply to Free-Trade arguments without irretrievably damaging the Corn Laws, and the whole system of monopoly; and look at the manner in which the Ministry have advanced the question, by staking their existence against Lord Ashley's proposition, because the Corn Laws preclude all attempts to restrict the toil of the labourer to less than twelve hours. If that is not progress, the earth is standing still. Oh, here we are at the House; I'll take you into the "Speaker's gallery." There, you can see Sir Robert Peel in his accustomed place; depend upon it the time is not remote when either he or some other Minister of the Crown will stand up at that table, and formally propose that the Corn Laws shall be utterly and for ever abolished.

Then why does he not do it now? The "why" and "because" he best can explain. Yet he rarely misses an opportunity of hinting, in no very obscure terms, that he has the "will" if he had but the "power" to repeal the Corn Laws. And some credit is due to him for advancing the question. He has reduced the whole defence of the Corn Laws to a simple NEGATION—a mere "No." Justice, reason, truth, decency, are all discarded; the only argument used is the one by which a procrastinating debtor meets his creditor—"Not quite convenient to-day; if you will call to-morrow I'll see what can be done." Mr. Gladstone's "revolution of ages and circumstances" constitute "To-morrow;" and it is nearer at hand than the Duke of Richmond imagines.

How soon after Easter will Mr. Villiers bring on his motion for the total repeal of the Corn Laws?

I believe no day is yet definitely fixed; but when it comes on, the numbers on the division will mark a material advance, even *within* this House.

Does Mr. Cobden bring on any other discussion soon? Oh, yes; last night he gave notice of a most important motion, a counterpart to the one on which he made his great speech the other week. It is that, after the Easter recess, he will move for a Select Committee to inquire into the effect of Protective Duties on the National Revenue.

What will the Chancellor of the Exchequer say to that?

What ought he to say? Why, to confess that the whole system of taxation in this country is based either on blind and blundering principles, or on no principles at all; that of the money extracted by indirect taxation from the pockets of the people, an enormous amount is lost on its way to the Exchequer, being either abstracted by monopolists, or squandered in the very act of gathering it; and that the time is now come when, like beings possessed of ordinary common sense, we should commence to act on the principle enunciated by Adam Smith, that it is the business of a wise government to ascertain the best modes of raising the largest amount of revenue with the least cost to the community. But Mr. Cobden will do the subject justice.

The House is getting very thin. Yes; while we have been talking, most of the motions that stood for discussion have been postponed; the business will soon be over; and in a few minutes you will hear the SPEAKER, in a cheery tone (looking forward to his Easter holidays), putting the question, "That this House do now adjourn."

MEETINGS.

HALIFAX ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.—The annual meeting of the Halifax Anti-Corn-Law Association was held on Friday, the 22nd ult., in the Trustees' office, Cheapside. In the absence of the president, John Akroyd, Esq., the chair was taken by Mr. Joseph Thorpe, vice-president, who commenced the business of the meeting with some excellent remarks on the progress which the good cause had made since they last met in that room, not only in the manufacturing, but also in the agricultural districts. He was glad to see that a spirit of inquiry had arisen both amongst the farmers and farm-labourers into this question, which involved the mutual interests of both and all classes of the community; and he felt confident the day was not far distant when this monster monopoly would be swept away.—Mr. Morris, honorary secretary, read the report of the association's transactions during the past year, in which some well-merited compliments were passed on the LEAGUE paper.—Mr. John Baldwin next read the treasurer's report, from which it appeared the total amount subscribed in the town and neighbourhood to the League Fund was £1863 3s. 7d., leaving a balance of £12 13s. 5d. in the hands of the treasurer.—On the motion of Mr. Bates, seconded by Mr. Dennison, the report was adopted, and ordered to be printed for circulation.—Mr. John Crossley moved, and Mr. Dunbar seconded, that the cordial thanks of the meeting be given to the officers for their services during the past year; and the same gentlemen were unanimously re-elected, with some additions to the committee.—A motion was submitted by Mr. Moorhouse, and seconded by Mr. W. Denton, that the committee would pay particular attention to the registration, as that would be found the most powerful engine against monopoly.—The chairman next called on Mr. Plint, of Leeds, the powerful advocate of Free-Trade principles, who had just entered the room.—Mr. Plint delivered a long and most admirable address, in which he took a general and comprehensive view of the subject, and completely exposed the fallacy of these anti-commercial laws. In the course of his address, he recommended that the electors of Halifax be canvassed, and that a memorial, signed by them, be presented to Charles Wood, Esq., M.P., and Edward Protheroe, Esq., M.P., members for the borough, requesting them to vote for Mr. Villiers's motion for a complete abolition of the Corn Laws.—A vote of thanks was, on the motion of Mr. Morris, passed to Mr. Plint for his attendance, and the services he had rendered to the cause; and the meeting separated.—*Leeds Mercury.*

SUNDERLAND ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.—A meeting of this association was held on Wednesday evening, the 27th ult., when it was considered that, as the electors of this borough had so fully expressed to their representatives last year their opinions on the subject of the Corn Laws, it was needless to memorialize the hon. members again; the memorial of last year having been signed by 877 out of 1681 registered electors, while only 219 refused to sign it. Great satisfaction was expressed by several speakers at the continued progress of the principles of Free Trade in this borough.—*Sunderland Herald.*

PROPOSED COUNTY MEETING.—In order to give the people of Roxburghshire a fair opportunity of declaring their sentiments on the Corn Laws, it is intended, we are informed, to hold a county meeting at Jedburgh on an early day, which shall not be confined to persons holding particular views, thereby making public meetings a mere farce, but shall be open to all without restriction. Will any of the labourers' friends, who took a prominent part at the meeting at Jedburgh on the 19th March, embrace, by being present, the favourable opportunity about to be offered, of taking the free opinion of the county on the important question of Free Trade? In the meantime, would it not be honest in them to erase the word county from the petition adopted at that meeting, until the county really and truly declares in favour of protective duties? The following is a copy of a document in course of signature:—"To his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, lord-lieutenant of Roxburghshire.—We, the undersigned, most respectfully request that your grace will be pleased to call a meeting of the justices of the peace, commissioners of supply, landowners, heritors, farmers, farm-labourers, and others, in the upper district of the county, comprising the parishes of Ashkirk, Minto, Castleton, Hobkirk, Hawick, Kirkton, Cavers, and Lilliesleaf, to be held at Hawick on an early market-day, to consider the effects of the protective duties on corn and other provisions, upon the interests of tenant-farmers and farm-labourers of this district of the county."—*Kelso Chronicle.*

WOLVERHAMPTON.—FREE-TRADE MEETING.—On Monday next a large Free-Trade meeting will be held at Wolverhampton, for the purpose of receiving a deputation from the National Anti-Corn-Law League, consisting of R. Cobden, M.P., J. Bright, M.P., R. R. R. Moore, Esq.; and the meeting will be attended by the borough members, the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P., and Thomas Thorndy, M.P. As there is no building capable of holding one-half of the people that will attend the meeting, an immense pavilion is now being erected on purpose for the occasion.

LECTURES UPON FREE TRADE.—On Monday and Wednesday se'night, Mr. Falvey, of the Anti-Corn-Law League, delivered two lectures upon the subject of Free Trade, at the Lion-walk Room, Colchester.

FREE TRADE IN CORN.—Letters from Naples announce that, on the 11th of March, a decree was given out, permitting the introduction of foreign corn into that kingdom, without exacting the duty of importation, which amounted almost to a prohibition. This measure has been adopted by the Government in consequence of the urgent wants of the people, the last crop having proved very deficient both there and in Sicily.

The Council of the Hull Free-Trade Association has at length made up its mind to do something. Its first public meeting is announced for Tuesday evening; and we understand that, if it receive that generous encouragement which it has a right to expect from all who desire the success of Free-Trade principles in this borough, a grand movement will shortly be made by the Council to carry out the most important of the great objects of the League. We do not know enough of the political spirit of Hull to be able to tell how public meetings could be rendered most agreeable and advantageous to those attending them, but, from all that we have seen elsewhere, we should strongly advise a preparatory selection of speakers to address such meetings; and the avoidance as much as possible of discussions which tend only to rattle

the temper and provoke disunion. Let those who intend to speak come prepared to speak; and let those who have not speeches to make, listen, compare, and arrive at conclusions. We would further recommend, that only a certain number of speakers should be introduced at each meeting, in order to create variety; and that some pains should be taken to induce as many practical ship-owners and merchants as possible to take an active and prominent part in all the proceedings. We have not the least doubt that there is an abundance of undeveloped talent in the town, which only requires to be known and appreciated to reflect great credit upon the East Riding of Yorkshire. An opportunity is now offered for calling forth the exercise of the highest mental talent which can be made available in public life; and we sincerely trust that it will not be thrown away. Why should not Hull produce as distinguished members of the League as Leeds, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, or even as Manchester itself? Our local Parliament, our Chamber of Commerce, and our Faculties of Divinity, Law, and Medicine teem with clever and able men, who require only to be sufficiently stimulated to achieve eminence in the good work of breaking the shackles of England's monopoly.—*Hull Advertiser.*

GREENLAW AND MORPETH "PROTECTION" MEETINGS.

To the Editor of the Berwick Advertiser.

SIR,—On reading the speeches and resolutions passed at the meeting of the agriculturists at Greenlaw and Morpeth, I was not a little amused to find some of the speakers asserting that "Agriculture is the main and leading interest of the country." Now, sir, I, a humble farmer, hold quite a different opinion; in support of which I remark that we are indebted to the manufacturing and commercial communities for nearly all the great improvements that have taken place in our country for nearly the last fifty years. Who is it that advances the money to make railroads, to form steam navigation companies, to light our towns with gas, and effect every other great improvement? Certainly not the landed interest. No! Everything, from a spade to a plough, is brought to the highest perfection to cultivate the land, but the great bulk of landlords allow it to remain the same as it was a hundred years ago, and had there not been an interest in the country equal if not superior to the agricultural, we might have been walking the streets of our towns in darkness. Did the farmers look fairly at both sides of the question, they would find that the trading portion of this country are their best customers. Who eat the fine bullocks that are reared in our own neighbourhood? Not the hard-working ploughman that prepares the land for growing the food to feed them. So far from it, I may state, without fear of contradiction, that from one year to another the husbandman rarely partakes of that which he is the principal cause of producing. The same reasoning applies to the consumption of our wheat. Is it the husbandman that consumes it? No! Take the whole rural population and you will find they partake of it seldom, being a luxury beyond their reach. This is no varnished picture of the mode of living followed by those cultivating our soil. I appeal to all candid farmers for its truth. And who, I would ask, consume our wool? I think every honest inquirer must answer, "our mechanics!" One of the speakers alluded to our increasing population, the wants of which, he states, can be supplied by the recent improvements introduced into agriculture. Any person taking the trouble to refer to M'Culloch, or any other writer on the corn question, will find that we cannot supply the wants of this great nation without two millions of quarters of wheat annually, which clearly proves that we cannot do without foreign grain. Assuming, then, that the commercial and manufacturing interests are equal, if not superior, in importance to that of agriculture in upholding this mighty empire, it is certainly right that they should be encouraged, and the only way to encourage them is, by leaving trade free and unfettered. It is folly to speak of the commercial prosperity of this country for hundreds of years. Our Arkwrights and our Peels lived in a country blessed with domestic peace, and were allowed to follow up their inventions with safety and success, while other civilized countries were deluged with war. But, now that peace prevails over Europe, are the nations of it to stand still and look tamely on at Britain supplying the whole world with goods? No! After nearly thirty years of peace, our continental neighbours will turn their attention to manufactures, because they have security to their persons and property, which they had not when these countries were the scene of war. By giving these remarks a place in your paper you will oblige

Tweedmouth, March 21, 1844.

A FARMER.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN A GENTLEMAN AND A SCOTCH FARMER.

Gentleman.—Are you going to sow any oats soon?
Farmer.—I'm na going to feed the crows this spring as I did last by sowing before my neighbours; but we've waur enemies than the crows, and that's the game! Of some Swedish turnips I sowed there is not one left that is not eaten hollow by the hares and pheasants.

Gentleman.—But you claim a deduction for this at rent time?

Farmer.—That wud na' do for us; it's as weel if we can get on without other complaints, let alone grumbling about the game; it does na' do to say anything about them.

Gentleman.—But the gamekeepers kill some of them from time to time?

Farmer.—Not a head—binna when there's gentlemen staying at the castle at the back-end (i. e., late in autumn).

Gentleman.—Well, they send you some game then?

Farmer.—Oh yes! they send us the half the game killed on our farm; but what's a few hares, when £10 will not pay the damage done, and I'm na' so much hurt as the lave; but it'll no do to be saying anything!

Gentleman.—Were they round to you with a petition lately?

Farmer.—Oh ay! Ane o' his lordship's men was round with aye, and I just signed it. I kent weel enough, that if we did na' do what we were asked, we need na' be stopping there, and it wud be waur for us if I did na', to be just pit my name till't.

Gentleman.—But you are not wishing for the protest Corn Laws being continued?

Farmer.—Deed, I believe we'd be better wanting the

As far as I can see, a fixed duty would be better than the way they are; but may be we'd be a' the better without these laws at all; but then it would na' do for me to be refusing to do what I was bidden, so I just pit my name down, and asked no questions.

DUTIES ON RAW MATERIALS.

An import duty on raw materials, as far as regards our export trade with foreign countries (inasmuch as it tends to raise the price of our goods), acts as an impediment to such trade as much as if such foreign countries were to impose a hostile import duty against us to that extent. For example, we charge an import duty on wool of 1d. per lb., or 9s. 4d. per cwt.; while the German Customs League charges only an import duty of 1s. 6d. per cwt. on our woollen yarn. Our import duty, therefore, on the raw material is a much greater impediment to our trade with Germany than their import duty on our yarn. Again, we impose a duty of 2s. 11d. per cwt. on cotton wool, equal to 50 per cent. of the duty which the Germans charge on the import of our cotton twist. Then, again, in some kinds of heavy cotton goods the Americans compete successfully with us in neutral markets. In this they must be assisted first by the additional freight of the cotton which we pay, and next by an import duty of about 1d. per lb., or nearly 10 per cent. on the present price.

It appears a great absurdity that we should complain of the hostile tariffs of other countries which we cannot control, while we impose duties on our raw materials which we can control. To the manufacturer of this country these duties act in a most prejudicial way in many respects: first, they not only increase the price of foreign wool from five to ten per cent., but practically they operate in raising the price, not only of colonial wool, but also of all home-grown wools, to the same extent. The charge to the woollen trade may be thus stated:—In 1841 we imported,—

| | |
|--|----------|
| 41,753,325 lbs. foreign wool, which was charged with duty | £129,852 |
| 15,417,649 lbs. colonial, which, though yielding no revenue, was equally raised in price to the manufacturer | 64,240 |
| 334,593 packs, or 92,302,080 lbs., the amount of home-grown wool, by evidence before the House of Lords, which, though yielding no revenue, is raised in price, in consequence of the duty on foreign wool, to the amount of | 384,592 |
| | £578,684 |

Thus showing a charge of £578,684 on the woollen manufactures of this country to obtain the trifling revenue of £129,852. Our exports of woollen goods amounted last year to £5,772,764; so that the import duty on wool is practically equal to an export duty of at least ten per cent. on the amount of our exports: and in the face of this fact we complain of foreign competition in the foreign markets. We have much of the cure in our own hands.

In Germany, though their home production of wool is greater than that of any other country, the import of foreign wool is free. In Belgium it is free; in Holland it is free; in France it is subject to a duty, but there is a drawback or bounty on the export of goods to counter-balance the duty. How, then, can England hope to maintain a successful rivalry with these countries? The woollen manufacturers on the Rhine, in Aix-la-Chapelle, and Verviers, not only receive their raw material at a trifling cost of carriage, but free of all duty; while we pay a heavy carriage and freight, besides a large import duty on arrival. We can speak from personal knowledge and observation, that the manufacturers in those localities have of late ceased to consider that they have any competition to fear from this country. Every vessel from Antwerp to the United States, for a long time past, has carried out large and increasing quantities of their goods; they have the command of the markets of Turkey, the Levant, and the Italian States; and while we have heard constant complaints of late of the decline of the woollen trade in Leeds, we have heard and observed equally of the increase of the trade of the Boleys and Simmonses, and others of Verviers and Aix-la-Chapelle, &c. The large trade which of late years has sprung up in working very low foreign wools, Zegai, Smyrna, Barbary, Buenos Ayres, &c., is much impeded by the import duty. These wools are now going in large quantities, duty free, to Antwerp, for the greatly increasing carpet manufactures of Tournay, Ghent, Courtray, &c., which are in consequence obtaining great advantage over this country. Our woollen trade is in the greatest danger from this suicidal policy, and no exertion should be spared to rescue it from its perilous position.—*Economist*.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE LEEDS MERCURY.

EARL FITZWILLIAM AND THE CORN LAWS.—Extract from a letter from Earl Fitzwilliam to one of his tenants:—"I understand that a meeting of farmers is to be held next Monday at Rotherham, for the purpose of helping to put down the Anti-Corn-Law League. I very much lament the existence of the League, but I have long foreseen that the character of our modern Corn Laws must produce something of the kind; though I do not pretend to have had so much foresight as to have foreseen the precise form which the discontent which they were sure to occasion would assume. The only way to put down the League is to do away with the cause of it. The League is only the counterpart of many similar combinations. Twenty years ago you had the Roman Catholic Association in Ireland; a shorter time ago you had the Political Unions in England. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill put an end to the former; Parliamentary reform put an end to the latter. Repeal of the Corn Laws would put down the Anti-Corn-Law League; but if you think you can accomplish this by subscribing, some £5, some £1, some £10, some £100, you will only spend your money very foolishly, and fail in your object. Laws which are felt to be a grievance cannot endure long, and the sooner they are done away with the better. The struggle which may be carried on by persons who fancy they profit by them is mischievous to all parties, but most so to the class for whose benefit they are intended. The struggle which the landowners and others, who assembled at York on the 22nd of February, are encouraging, can only end like similar contests for unjustifiable objects. Defeat must be the result, and such a defeat is a triumph over the landed interest. I deprecate such a triumph, because I wish the landed interest to be powerful; but to be powerful it must be just; it cannot be (because it ought not to be)

powerful and unjust at the same time. The only true protection to the farmer and the landlord is to be found in the prosperity of the consumers, in the activity of trade, and the demands of the manufacturing customers; and if my tenants are not aware of this, they have not availed themselves of the very peculiar opportunities of observing it which they enjoy.—Milton, March 9, 1844."

GENTLEMEN.—I take the liberty of communicating, through the medium of your paper, the above "Extract from a letter from Earl Fitzwilliam to one of his tenants," and of expressing the cordial concurrence of myself and many others of his lordship's tenantry with the statements and opinions which that letter contains.

Much has been said from time to time on the prosperity which has attended agriculture under the so-called protection of the existing Corn Laws; and how steady and equable the yearly average prices of corn has been for the last twenty years, with the exception, perhaps, of the years 1834, 1835, and 1839; but I will venture to affirm that, although there may have been, during the existence of the present Corn Laws, periods of agricultural prosperity, yet there have been much more frequent and more lengthened periods of deep depression.

I will also venture to affirm, that while the yearly average prices of corn may (with the exceptions before adverted to) have been in some degree steady and equable, yet that in the different months in the same year, and frequently in the different weeks in the same month, the prices have been most unsteady and most unequal.

That when, in the same year, the price of corn has been the lowest, the exigencies of the great mass of tenant-farmers have compelled them to take their corn to the market; and when the price has been the highest, they have had none to sell.

That the fluctuations in prices, at different periods in the same year, produce and encourage the worst of all speculations—speculations in corn, in which the rise and fall in the price of the "staff of life" is brought about by every unfair artifice which the cupidity of the speculators can suggest.

That the existing Corn Laws, while they materially cramp the commercial, give no impulse to the agricultural interests of the country; that for the above, amongst many other strong reasons, they are bad in themselves; that in their operation they are daily becoming more injurious, and, consequently, that they ought to be repealed.

I beg to subjoin the following table, showing the fluctuations in the price of wheat in each year from 1815 to 1844:—

| Years. | Highest. | Lowest. | Variation per Cent. |
|--------|----------|---------|---------------------|
| 1815 | 70 3 | 54 8 | 28½ |
| 1816 | 103 11 | 53 1 | 95½ |
| 1817 | 112 7 | 74 0 | 52 |
| 1818 | 91 3 | 78 1 | 16½ |
| 1819 | 78 11 | 64 2 | 23 |
| 1820 | 37 9 | 53 11 | 30½ |
| 1821 | 70 7 | 46 2 | 53 |
| 1822 | 50 7 | 38 1 | 32½ |
| 1823 | 62 5 | 39 11 | 56½ |
| 1824 | 67 7 | 53 11 | 25½ |
| 1825 | 69 8 | 61 5 | 13½ |
| 1826 | 61 4 | 54 1 | 13½ |
| 1827 | | | |
| 1828 | 75 3 | 51 6 | 46 |
| 1829 | 75 3 | 56 3 | 33½ |
| 1830 | 72 11 | 56 1 | 30 |
| 1831 | 73 5 | 60 5 | 21½ |
| 1832 | 63 5 | 52 5 | 11½ |
| 1833 | 55 5 | 49 10 | 19½ |
| 1834 | 49 6 | 41 5 | 17 |
| 1835 | 42 10 | 36 8 | 16½ |
| 1836 | 61 2 | 36 0 | 71½ |
| 1837 | 60 1 | 52 6 | 14½ |
| 1838 | 77 0 | 52 5 | 47½ |
| 1839 | 81 6 | 63 6 | 24 |
| 1840 | 72 10 | 58 10 | 23½ |
| 1841 | 76 1 | 60 7 | 25½ |
| 1842 | 65 8 | 46 10 | 40 |
| 1843 | 58 4 | 46 3 | 26 |

I am, gentlemen,

Your very obedient servant,
JAMES RUSSELL.

High Royd-hill, near Barnsley, March 20, 1844.

WEEKLY COST OF PROTECTION TO SUGAR AND WHEAT.

(From the *Economist* of the 30th ult.)

SUGAR.—Since last week the relative prices of Porto Rico and Jamaica Muscovado sugars have continued exactly the same; and therefore the difference of the cost of our weekly consumption of 77,792 cwt., above what the same would be on the Continent, and paying the same amount of duty to the State that our colonial sugar does, amounts to £70,003 for the whole country, and to £5833 for the Metropolis alone, to be added to the respective balances of last week.

WHEAT.—The price of English wheat is a shade lower this week; but that of foreign wheat is also somewhat cheaper, and the difference is not changed.

It follows, therefore, that the difference of the cost of bread consumed during the last week, compared with what the same would cost on the Continent, has been £288,460 more for the whole country, and £24,038 for the Metropolis, to be added to the respective balances of last week. The account will now stand thus:—

| FOR THE WHOLE KINGDOM. | | |
|---|------------|--|
| Balance from last week | £4,301,537 | |
| Extra cost of sugar this week | 70,003 | |
| Ditto of bread | 288,460 | |
| Total extra cost from January 1st to this day | £4,660,030 | |
| FOR THE METROPOLIS ALONE. | | |
| Balance from last week | £858,461 | |
| Extra cost of sugar this week | 5,833 | |
| Ditto of bread | 24,038 | |
| Total extra cost from January 1st to this day | £888,332 | |

PROVINCIAL PRESS.

THE SECURITY OF THE SLIDING SCALE.—We have received through our London correspondent an early copy of the "private and confidential Report of the Publication Committee of the Agricultural Protection Society." The report, for a private and confidential document is rather a dull one. It has been printed in great numbers, to be circulated among all the private and confidential committees of all the local societies, and out of the very abundance of the supply of these private documents we have been supplied, unasked, with a copy. The com-

mittee seem to have come to the conclusion that there is no chance of keeping up the Corn Laws without bribing the press. They set forth certain schemes which they have for the publication and dissemination of tracts, and then proceed to make the following announcement of their views with respect to the newspaper press, the bribing of which, they say with much innocence, is a subject obviously of a confidential nature. They do not think it very desirable that they should start a newspaper of their own, but more desirable to start the older ones out of the path of indifference or hostility into the Pro-Corn-Law track. They seem to have assured themselves of the *Morning Post* and *Morning Herald*, and hope by strong and active measures to overcome the fastidiousness of a large portion of the country press. They are not nice as to politics, provided the papers support the sliding scale. We give the subjoined extract from this private and confidential circular, and beg to assure our friends that, though considerably fascinated by the glittering bait which dances before our eyes, we have not yet received that consideration from the committee which we desire to receive, even though we may be unable properly to earn it:—"They do not think it desirable that a newspaper of our own should be established, being deterred as well by the known difficulty of obtaining circulation for a new journal as by the ruinous losses incurred by many who have made the attempt. They propose, therefore, that the efforts of the society should be confined to London and country newspapers already established. With regard to the country newspapers, no one can doubt that these should be a chief means of diffusing the views of the society, but the selection of them the sub-committee are of opinion should, for many reasons, be left to the country societies. They wish at the same time to throw out some suggestions as to the mode in which, as it appears to them, this matter should be conducted. It appears clear, in the first place, that the editors of those country papers which (whatever their general politics may be,) support the agricultural interest are entitled, being men often of considerable talent, yet of limited incomes, to call upon the farmers for support; and it is plainly in the power of country societies—both as societies and individuals—to encourage friendly newspapers rather than those which assist our opponents either openly in leading articles, or covertly in letters from correspondents, or reports of adverse meetings. It appears further desirable that such statements as are likely to be useful should be communicated from time to time to friendly newspapers, as the most easy and certain mode of bringing them before the public, and that copies of those papers should be purchased by the country societies for local circulation. It would be the business of this sub-committee to furnish such information when occasion arises, with a view to its diffusion in this advantageous manner. With regard to the London newspaper press, the sub-committee have not as yet decided upon the arrangements to be made, but they ought to mention the readiness of the *Morning Herald* and *Morning Post*, as well as of the agricultural papers, to support the efforts of the society."—*Western Times*.

WHAT HAVE THE CORN LAWS DONE FOR TENANT-FARMERS?—Whatever advantage the landlords may derive from the Corn Laws, it may be truly said that the tenantry have got no benefit from them, as I shall proceed to show from an examination of the result of farming on the estates of two large landowners in this county, the rental of which may be from £8000 to £10,000 per annum. The first estate to which I shall allude is Gilmerton, belonging to Sir David Kinloch, and consisting of six farms, besides home farm, with grass parks, &c. Within the last 30 or 35 years, three tenants have left this property without being ruined, viz., Mr. Brown, Markle; Mr. Broke, Crauchie; and Mr. A. Somerville, Athelstanford; the last-named gentleman being the only person who had a lease renewed during this period on the estate. Ruined and left their farms—one tenant of the farm of Athelstanford, a second tenant of Athelstanford, a third tenant of the same farm, a tenant of the joint farms of Markle, Markle Mains, and Crauchie; a tenant of the farm of Kilduff; a second tenant of Markle Mains, and a second tenant of Crauchie; making in all seven tenants ruined within 35 years. The other estate belongs to Mr. Hope, of Luffness, now Under Secretary for the Colonies, and consists of five farms, with grass parks, &c. There have left this property during the same time, without being ruined, two tenants, viz., Mr. Yule, Aberlady Mains; and Mr. Reid, Brownrigg. Leases were renewed to three old tenants—Mr. Reid, Mr. B. Rennie, and Mr. Darling. Ruined and left their farms during the same period—a tenant of Luffness Muir, a second tenant of Luffness Muir, a tenant of Westfortune, a tenant of Aberlady Mains, and a tenant of Waughton. Now, of the five tenants on both estates who have left their farms without being ruined, it is well known that four of them succeeded to large sums of money by the death of relations, which rendered them quite independent of their farms—Mr. Brown, Mr. Yule, Mr. Reid, and Mr. Somerville; and hence, only one tenant of those depending entirely on farming has left these estates for upwards of thirty years without being ruined! Such, then, has been the working of the Corn Laws—such the effects of the boasted protection to the tenantry! Had a foreign enemy ravaged the country, the consequences could not have been more disastrous to the tenantry, nor could they have suffered more than they have done by the Corn Laws; for trusting to parliamentary prices, which never have been realized, they have been induced to enter into large engagements, and to sink their capital in improving their farms; and when rent day came, being unable to satisfy the factors, their stock and all their means were sequestered, and they were thus turned adrift penniless upon the world. The entire rental drawn from these estates during the period stated may probably amount to £300,000. The tenants should have received as their fair share of this, according to landlord logic, £100,000; but, instead of this, I believe the capital lost by them during the same time is equal to the whole amount at present invested in the cultivation of these lands; for on the twelve farms which constitute these estates, the capital of thirteen tenants has totally disappeared, having been seized on by the landlords! Such, then, has been the result of farming extensively, under the present protective system, in a county situated in the best climate of Scotland, and where agriculture has been brought to the greatest perfection by the enterprise of farmers of intelligence, education, and large capital, by whose exertions and industry their landlords have been enriched and enabled to live in a state of luxury

and splendour which their ancestors could never anticipate, while their tenants have at the same time been reduced to poverty and want.—*Correspondent of the Scotsman.*

THE ANTI-LEAGUERS AT LANARK.—As will be seen from our report of the proceedings of the Anti-Leaguers at Lanark, their stultification was complete. They first issued a requisition determinedly opposed to any alteration in the present system, and after procuring signatures, they altered the terms of the requisition so as to admit any species of protection; and in their desperation they had the affrontery to publish the vitiated document as a *bond fide* requisition. Sir Wyndham Carmichael, with the true spirit of a gentleman, denounced this base proceeding, and on an attempt to propitiate his favour by alteration, after the resolutions were passed, declared that approving at one moment what they altered the next would plainly show to the world that this meeting of noblemen and gentlemen were *non compos mentis*. Notwithstanding this honest and most sensible declaration, what did this meeting in support of their desperate cause do? Why, they changed the whole tenor of their proceedings by rejecting the terms—general protection—and pledging themselves to the support of the present sliding scale! Was ever aught like this? Why, the Miners' Association, at the present moment in Glasgow, would blush to stultify themselves in such a manner. But we hail the abject weakness of the procedure, as we view the entire arguments of the day, as a decided symptom of weakness which will speedily end in the total overthrow and confusion of the monopolists. This is a triumph which even a declared victory in more popular districts could not have achieved.—*Scotch Reformers' Gazette.*

THE ANTI-LEAGUE.—The Anti-League makes but little noise at present. The origination of such a League was quite a work of supererogation; for a more powerful and compact League "for the Protection of British Agriculture" than the two Houses of Parliament, including the bishops, can scarcely be imagined. And then, to think of the farce of a monopolist landlord going down to his tenants and commanding them to petition him as a "born legislator" to support a law which is his own legislative child, and which he cherishes with as much care and affection as he does his foxhounds and hunters! But the secret lies in this—the monopolists have at last comprehended the great fact, that public opinion is a power in our modern society, and that the *fiat* of even a born legislator is a thing to be laughed at when unsupported by this power. Accordingly, as the Corn Law is maintained ostensibly for the good of the working agriculturists, it is meet that these agriculturists should petition against the repeal of a law which ensures their comfort and happiness. But murder will out. In looking over our English news our readers will find that Lord Abinger has sentenced a young man to imprisonment for life for having written an incendiary letter to a farmer. The young man was willing to work, but could not find employment. He was haunted by the twin furies, hunger and despair, and goaded by them he wrote the letter for which he has been doomed, justly or unjustly, to spend his life in the company of hopeless felons. This young man is a type of thousands in the Corn-Law blessed or cursed agricultural districts. That he is so is established upon the authority of Sir Augustus Henniker, chairman of the Suffolk quarter sessions, who told his brother magistrates on the 19th inst. that it was vain for them to hope to extinguish the torch of the incendiary so long as the agricultural labourers were in receipt of their present miserable wages. This is strong language; but it is supported by facts; for within the last ten days seven other incendiary fires have blazed in the counties of Essex and Suffolk! The Anti-Leaguers should endeavour to crush "Swing" before they attempt the Quixotic task of annihilating the National Anti-Corn-Law League.—*Bradford Observer.*

FRAUDULENT MANNER OF GETTING UP CORN-LAW PETITIONS NEAR BRADFORD.—We observe that it is attempted, in the last week's *Intelligencer*, to deny the statement made in this journal a fortnight ago, with respect to the fraudulent means employed to get up petitions in favour of the Corn Laws in the village of Holme-lane, near Bradford. We stated that one James Carter, who resides near Tong-lane bar, a shopkeeper and farmer, under Colonel Tempest, had been going about with two petitions,—one for the Leeds and Bradford Railway by the valley line, and the other in support of the present Corn Laws; and that, after having obtained the signature of one James Simpson to the former petition, he also obtained it to the latter, assuring him that it was *against* the Corn Laws instead of in favour of them; he next proceeded to a person named Joseph Day, whose name he also obtained to both petitions, assuring him that they were both for the same object. This statement is flatly contradicted in the *Intelligencer*, which it is, no doubt, exceedingly easy to do. But this much we shall only say in justification of our original statement, that the following persons are ready to come forward—together with many more who might be named—and prove that they were imposed upon by not having the real nature of the petition divulged to them; and that Mr. Carter did not present a preamble or any form of petition, except that in reference to the railway:—James Simpson, Joseph Day, William Hopkinson, Jonathan Edmondson, Richard Stead, Matthew Stead, J. Wray, John Newby, &c. &c. These persons, we have been assured, are all ready to come forward and testify, on oath if required, to the truth of our statement. We believe the fact of the matter to be, that the committee of the Tong Conservative Association offered the person who went round with the petitions a certain sum of money, to gain a sufficient number of signatures to their petition in favour of the Bread-tax, and, to save time and trouble, the petition was hawked about under false colours, and names were obtained to it by the fraudulent means we have above described.—*Leeds Times.*

HULL AND FREE TRADE.—Our readers will probably recollect that our paper of last week contained the following paragraph:—"HULL IN FUTURUM.—The declared intention of the Dock Company to purchase Mr. Broadley's ground, and to construct a canal or accommodation dock thereon for the use of the railway, has given a great impetus to the value of ground in that neighbourhood. That which a short time ago might have been had at 8s. per square yard, cannot now be bought under 12s.; and we are informed that all the land east of Great Thornton-street has been eagerly purchased by speculators." And upon this we remarked—"Decidedly the prospects of the operatives of Hull are good, provided the existing division of opinion and party interests on the Dock Bill be

brought to an end, by the passing thereof through the House of Commons, to the satisfaction of all." Now, if so much good, present and prospective, is to spring from this comparatively slight impetus given to the value of property in one particular locality of our town, how great would be the benefits and advantages generally conferred upon all property in this neighbourhood, and all classes of the community, by the abolition of the Corn Laws! Such a boon to the trade and commerce of the country would give an impulse to every interest connected with the port of Hull, which it is impossible to estimate too highly. Our merchants would become the great carriers between this country and the continent of Europe. The shipping interest would be greatly benefited, and, of course, every branch of trade connected with and dependent upon shipping would share in the advantage—carpenters, sailmakers, riggers, painters, lodging-house keepers, and all the humble classes of operatives, who must come in for the harvest gained by an increased demand for work and labour. Property also in the town would be greatly improved in value, while land adjoining it, being required for building ground, would be raised immensely in price. We just mention these items in order to show our readers how much more, in all likelihood, than they have even thought of, is involved in the struggle for Free Trade. It is not, to use the fancy word of the President of the Board of Trade, a mere struggle for advantages "in the abstract," but for real *bond fide* benefits, of which all classes are robbed as long as they are victimised upon the shrine of monopoly; and we recast these things, we return to them so frequently, we dwell upon them so seriously, in order, if possible, to rouse the people of Hull from the almost miraculous apathy into which they have been plunged on the subject of Free Trade. It is true that something has been done; we may say much, for the first step has been taken, and that is *much* in every matter; but still Hull has not yet advanced to that position which she ought to occupy in the great struggle which is going on.—*Hull Advertiser.*

THE SOUTH DURHAM ANTI-LEAGUERS.—We understand that sub-agents of some of the monopolists are employed in certain parts of South Durham, to obtain the names of "tenant-farmers" to the Anti-League subscription list, with a promise that those who sign shall not be called upon for the money put down on the paper. This is, certainly, a very "ingenious device;" and so perhaps the "tenant-farmers" may find to their cost some fine morning when they least expect it. Let them beware lest the "subscription" is deducted from the next "generous return of rent" by those over-kind protectors, their landlords.—*Durham Chronicle.*

AWKWARD "FACTS" FOR A GREAT DUKE.—Mr. Thomas Fox, solicitor, Beaminstor, Dorset, in his evidence to Mr. Austin, says:—"I regret that I cannot take you to the parish of Hook (near here)—the whole parish belonging to the Duke of Cleveland, occupied by a tenant of the name of Rawlings—where the residences of the labourers are as bad as it is possible you can conceive, many of them without chambers, earth floors, not ceiled or plastered; and the consequence is, that the inhabitants are the poorest—the worst off in the country." He is asked—"Are you of opinion that such a want of proper accommodation for sleeping must tend very much to demoralize the families of the labouring population?"—"There can be no doubt of it; and the worst consequences have arisen from it, even between brothers and sisters." [The Duke of Cleveland, at the late farmers' meeting in Durham, told the persons present that he wished the labourer to have 12s. per week. Are the labourers on the Raby estate paid at that rate? Or is the labourage on the duke's property there let by contract, at prices so screwed down that, let the labourers work their blood and bones out, they cannot make more than 9s. per week? We shall wait to see what answer can be made to these inquiries before we notice the subject further.—*Ed. Ibid.*]

BLOWING HOT AND COLD ON THE CORN LAWS.—The Monopolist newspapers have lately been in exceeding glee at a letter written in favour of the Corn Laws, by a Mr. Joseph Sanders, a corn dealer, or ex-corn dealer, of Liverpool, and addressed to Earl Talbot, the President of the Staffordshire Agricultural Association, in which letter Mr. Sanders vainly strives to prop the monster grievance by every kind of fallacy and sophistry. But what will his new friends say of this gentleman, when we tell them that in 1833, he gave the following evidence on the same subject before the Commons' Agricultural Committee?—"I consider a fixed duty," he said, "wholly impracticable. While the manufacturing and commercial interests think they have not justice done to them, the question cannot rest. I confess that, from the present disposition that exists throughout the country, and seeing that the whole course of legislation now is to take away from the few to give to the many, I should think it a matter of extreme doubt whether any Corn Law can be preserved at all. No measure or course of conduct on the part of the Government, except that of repealing the Corn Laws altogether, can put a stop to the agitation. I consider the presence of a protecting duty on corn as inconsistent with the general principles of our commercial legislation as adopted of late years. I think that protection to corn is now carried to a greater length than protection to anything else; that the whole course of legislation is to destroy monopoly of every kind; and I do not see what is to resist it." And why this altered tone? It is, we believe, capable of explanation. In 1833 Mr. Sanders was a plodding man of business in Liverpool; but, in 1844 we find him master of a competent fortune, residing in Staffordshire, and anxious to sink the citizen in the country gentleman. We know, then, which of his opinions to look upon as his real and sincere one. We take the first to spring from his genuine conviction, and the last to be a mere bid for country society, and a stretching of his legs under Earl Talbot's mahogany.—*Hull Rockingham.*

PROTECTION WARFARE.—As part of the warfare now going on betwixt the Leaguers and Anti-Leaguers, in Lancaster, we have been favoured with the sight of a pamphlet, with the signature, "Old England," abusing the League in first-rate style, a copy of which has been addressed and forwarded to every elector in the borough. The League, alive to all their movements, has brought out a clever reply, which is to be delivered equally extensively.—*Preston Guardian.*

The "farmers' friends," with rarest Knatchbull tact And truth unconscious, own the "monstrous fact," Then is revenge (the only way to treat it) Got up a still more "monstrous lie" to meet it.

A FEW DAYS IN ESSEX.

BY ADAM BROWN.

Colchester, and round about it—now and five hundred years ago.

I went from London to Colchester on the 11th of March, by the eight o'clock morning train on the Eastern Counties Railway. It was Sunday. It was wet—drowning wet. The streets of London, which, at other times stream with business and busy people, ran now like mill-dams, or stood under water like a thousand narrow lakes, and I, and the cabman who drove me, and the horse that dragged us both, and the amphibious wheels of the cab which now paddled in the water, now rattled on the stones, now sank in the mud and got out again, to rattle, were the only discernible things, save the streams of rain, that moved and made a noise. All things else which should have been moving and making a noise were out of sight and out of hearing. It would have required no great effort of a gloomy imagination to have seen in that dark smothering cloud which had come down and settled upon the roofs of London in blackness, coldness, and wetness, while the great city lay asleep, an angel of doom with death in his hand, spreading himself out like a vast monster to drown or burk everybody in their sins before they could repent.

But such was not the thought that took possession of my mind at that time. I thought not of a city sleeping in its sins. I thought of a multitude of human beings, a vast family, each member of which had toiled during the week, and now reposed and rested, while Betty the housemaid, taking advantage of their being in bed, had got up with her mop and pail and scrubbing-brush—had ordered all the cabmen to get inside their cabs to be out of the way—all the policemen to retreat into archways and entrances—all the street coffee-makers to put out their fires and move home—all the venders of "spring water-cresses" not to come out—all the dogs and the cats which come out of houses to ramble on the streets, and the poor, who, worse than dogs and cats, have no house to come out of—that she had ordered all these to stand out of the way while she gave everything a thorough good cleaning, to make tidy for the ensuing week.

At the station the passengers were few—very few. We went away with as many as would pay for coals to the engine, but not more. This was not entirely the result of the wet morning, nor of the early hour, nor of the day being Sunday; it was owing to the same cause which makes this a railway with little income at all times—the fact of its having only a commercial community at one end, and of its running through a purely agricultural country its whole length of fifty miles.

Essex, I may remark for the information of those not acquainted with it, is a large agricultural county, with a fine soil, in most parts better than the soil of the best of the Lothians in Scotland, and in all parts good. It enjoys the advantage of the best of markets, having London at its western extremity. It has the noblest river of England—the greatest commercial conduit of the world, together with the German Ocean elbowing it for a space of one hundred miles, nudging it on the side, telling it, beseeching it, to give up its produce,—to make haste, and rear more; to send up to London, down to Hull, and from Hull on to Wakefield, and the great manufacturing marts of Yorkshire, and bestir itself, and make haste. The Yorkshiremen come for Essex corn, and Essex gives what she has to give; but that is not much for a county having 979,000 acres, most of it rich land.

Nothing struck me so forcibly as the lowness of rent in Essex. Such soils as pay £3 and £4 an acre in East Lothian, without the advantage of the Essex markets, pay here 16s., 20s., and rarely as much as 25s. an acre. If the special burdens be added which are not known in Scotland, the whole rent will be 20s., 25s., and 30s. an acre. Some of the marshes are rented higher; and some ground, let to seed-growers and market-gardeners, is let at £3 and £4 an acre. I heard of some at £5; but none of the regular farmers pay such rents.

Another thing which excited my curiosity, indeed I may say filled me with a pleasing hope of gratification, was the expectation of seeing all the labouring population well employed, well paid, and well fed. I had read and listened to reports which proclaimed to the world that everybody was well fed in Essex, and I did not doubt it for a moment. I could not believe that the gentleman, Mr. Baker, of Writtle, who spoke so positively upon that point, was correct as regarded other parts of England, and of Scotland, for personal observation had convinced me to the contrary; but not being acquainted with Essex, and believing it very likely that so good a soil, so well situated as I knew it to be from report, enabled its working population to live well, I believed Mr. Baker's statement. I found, however, that even in Essex there were many exceptions to this statement, and no where more distinctly than in Mr. Baker's own parish. But I am raising this subject prematurely.

There are several towns in Essex of considerable size, and many villages. The towns have some local manufactures, but not of much extent. There are soap and silk factories at Colchester; and between Colchester and the sea, fifteen miles, there is a trade carried on in feeding and improving the breed of oysters. The fishermen go to the Channel Islands and elsewhere, and, after fishing, bring home cargoes of lean oysters, which they empty into the Colne river, as also into other rivers and inlets of the Thames in Essex and Kent; and after some months they again fish for these oysters, and find them fat and ready for the London market.

Essex is not so level as one, sailing along its shores, would suppose. Travelling by railway we see none of those deep cuttings, tunnels, and embankments which we see on other lines. Yet, there is a succession of eminences and declivities seen on each side; and, save in the marshes near the Thames, there is no difficulty in draining the land where draining is requisite. The soils are of that variety—clay uppermost here, and uppermost there, sand and clay mixed at another place; and all of the soils most useful to agriculture—to be found by digging—that variety which bountiful Providence has brought within our reach, but which the farmers cannot take advantage of; which they must grieve over, and lament and complain of as obstinate contrarieties over which they have no power!

And they have no power over the soils. I have seen no county in Scotland where the farmers are more powerless than in Essex. Their farms are held at the caprice of the landlord and his agents. They have no capital as a class, and if they had they could not safely use it. There are

three-fourths of them (I say this upon good authority) who, if pressed to pay their debts, must be distrained upon; and this notwithstanding their low rents, rich soil, and markets unequalled for ready demand and ready money! What, then, is the cause? The feebleness of agricultural knowledge and energy, and their inability to acquire and apply either.

I did not see much of Chelmsford going down, nor, indeed, in returning; but as the train halted there, I pulled down the window, put out my head, and saw that the nearest house of a row which stretches by the side of the railway was,—so the large letters on the end of it indicated,—the office of the Essex Society for Protection to Agriculture. Chelmsford is somewhere about half way between London and Colchester. It is a genteel place, with whole streets of new houses in process of erection. Writtle, where Mr. Baker lives, is about three miles distant, north-west. One of the builders of new houses in the suburbs of Chelmsford is John Thorogood, a shoemaker, who was imprisoned at the suit of the Ecclesiastical Court for the non-payment of church-rates two or three years ago, and who was put in possession of a considerable sum of money by the subscriptions of those who sympathized with him. There are either five or six goodly brick cottages in his lot. He has named them after the churchwarden who prosecuted him, whose name I did not take a note of, but the name is in large letters on the houses in the possessive case, with the word *folly* added.

I arrived at the present end of the railway (for it is not completed), half a mile from Colchester, fifty miles from London, and found the rain pouring down as before. In some places it seemed to have melted the railway. The earth was washed away, and the bare rails left standing like a skeleton. We went along safely enough; and if we had not—if the whole train had gone over into the mud which had once been the embankment, and we had been all suffocated—there would have been no "awful sacrifice of life" for the newspapers. So far as I could see, when we got out, there were only three passengers in the whole train besides myself.

I got into an omnibus, and was taken to a very comfortable inn, where I found a good breakfast and a history of Colchester. What could be more appropriate to a wet day? I learned from the history that Colchester is a very ancient place; that it was a Roman town, and ever since a place of considerable wealth; with many privileges conferred on it by the sovereigns of England when they were in prosperity; with many taxes imposed on it when they were in adversity, or when they were poor enough to need extra taxes, and powerful enough to enforce their payment. Its situation is good, whether for war in warlike times—it stands on an eminence surrounded by flat meadows; whether for the peaceful pursuits of trade—it has a river-outlet to the sea, and stands surrounded by a country highly fruitful; whether as respects a mere residence for pleasure—it stands in a beautiful country, where health is as little disturbed by local causes as in any part of healthful, beautiful England.

What its trade might have been at this day, had it not been so peculiarly protected by its corporation, cannot be easily determined. Its present shipping port is at Hythe, three miles down the Colne, and twelve miles from the sea. It was once at Colchester itself; but the very extensive powers conferred on the corporation for the protection of its trade have had the natural and invariable result of all such protection; the corporation has neglected the navigation of the Colne, and as nobody could meddle with it, it has decayed, and the tide, finding nothing to do when it comes to Colchester, has left off coming at all.

I found from the history that in the reign of Edward I. there was a property-tax of one-fifteenth, imposed on Colchester, as on other towns, to raise money for that king's aggressive wars. The record of the articles taxed does not throw much light on the condition of the Essex working population of that day; still it is interesting and suggestive of useful reflections. The following inventory refers to three classes of persons—the Abbot of St. John's, a landowner; Roger the dyer, and William the miller, master tradesmen; and John Fitzelis, the weaver, a journeyman operative:—

"The Abbot of St. John's had, on Michaelmas-day last, at Greenstead, eight quarters of rye, price 24s., at 3s. a quarter. Item, four stallions, at 24s., each 6s.; four oxen, price 40s., each 10s.; twenty four sheep, 24s., each 12d., &c." (This list is not completed, but these prices are worth notice to be compared with the prices of clothes which follow:—)

"Roger the dyer had on Michaelmas-day last in his treasury or cupboard, one silver buckle, price 18d.; one cup of mazer (maple), price 18d. In his chamber, two gowns, price 20s.; two beds, price half a mark; one napkin and one towel, price 2s. In his house, one ewer with a basin, price 14d.; one hand iron, price 8d. In his kitchen, one brass pot, price 20d.; one brass skillet, price 6d.; one brass pipkin, price 8d.; one trivet, price 4d. In his brewhouse, one quarter of oats, price 2s.; wood ashes, price half a mark; one great vat for dying, price 2s. 6d. Item, one cow, price 5s.; one calf, price 2s.; two pigs, price 2s., 12d. each; one sow, price 15d.; billet wood and fagots for firing, price half a mark. Sum 71s. 5d.: fifteenth of which, 4s. 9d."

"William the miller had the day aforesaid, in ready money, one mark of silver. In his cupboard, a silver buckle, price 9d.; one ring, price 12d. In his granary, one quarter of wheat, price 4s.; one quarter of barley, price 3s.; two quarters of oats, malted, price 4s., each quarter 2s.; two pigs, price 3s., each 18d.; one pound of wool, price 3s."

"John Fitzelis the weaver had the day aforesaid, one old coat, price 2s.; one lamb, price 6d. Sum, 2s. 6d.: fifteenth of which, 2d."

Thus, it seems in those "good old days," before machinery and tall chimneys reared their heads to put humanity out of joint and blast the nation with cheap clothing, cheap iron, and cheap everything save cheap provisions; in those days, when the soil of Essex was what it is now, and the climate the same, one quarter of wheat was valued at the price of two napkins and two towels. It appears that all clothing not actually worn when the inventory was taken was taxed; that all clothing so worn was not taxed. It is, therefore, possible that all the spare clothing does not appear in this inventory; more of it may have been worn than usual to cheat the surveyors. But, whether so or not, the household wardrobes and furniture of those "good old days," when the country was purely agricultural, was mean enough. In fact, no working people whatever, and no master tradesman save the very highest class—of which

Roger the dyer is one—had any bed or bedding save dried rushes or hay or straw spread on the floor; and no clothing whatever except what they wore, and that was mean enough.

How could it be otherwise? Mrs. Roger, the dyer's wife, had two spare gowns, value 20s., being 10s. each. Thus two gowns were valued at the price of five quarters of wheat! which is now equal to twenty delaine dresses, making included; or sixty common cotton-print dresses, making included. The two gowns were also of the value of twenty sheep! equal at the present day to seventy delaine dresses, or two hundred dresses of cotton print. The two gowns were also of the value of three stallions and two pigs, equal at the present day to at least one hundred and seventy delaine dresses, or five hundred dresses of cotton print!

There were also in the dyer's chamber one napkin and one towel, value two shillings. Thus, the towel at one shilling, was of the value of two bushels of wheat, which would now procure from twenty to thirty towels; or of four bushels of oats, which would nearly purchase the same; or of one sheep, which would now procure sixty, seventy, or eighty towels; or of one pig, which would now procure as many; or of the fifth part of a cow, which would do the same; or the tenth part of an ox, which also would do the same, nearly if not quite; or, lastly, of one-sixth of the value of a stallion, which would now purchase two hundred towels, without rating horse-flesh at more than the price of good working horses. No one need question whether the towels of our day are equal in quality to that of Roger the dyer; the intrinsic value is to be judged of by the use to which they are put. I speak of the article which would be found in a tradesman's bed-chamber now, as the towel belonged to the bed-chamber of a tradesman then.

It is certainly worthy of notice that, by the manufacturing and commercial industry of England, such a greater number of people, who must eat and pay for what they eat, are employed now over what were employed in those days, that a cultivator of the soil who owns what he occupies, not only gets fourteen times more for his wheat, forty times more for his sheep and pigs, thirty times more for his cows and oxen, and one hundred times more for his horses; but when he goes with the money received for these to a clothier's or mercer's shop, he gets, and his family and servants get, through the agency of those factories which, in some people's eyes, are such a curse to England, a vast variety of articles, all necessary to human comfort now, but which did not exist in the days of Edward I. and of Roger the dyer; and he pays for them, and for articles similar to those which did exist then, sometimes only one-half, and sometimes only one-hundredth part of what was paid then, even in money.

By little and little at first, and by great strides subsequently, manufacturing and commercial enterprise have brought the products of other lands to this, in exchange for those products to which we have added value by the work of our hands; and thus national wealth has accumulated.

I heard a curious story at Colchester about Sir John Tyrrel having bought a piece of gingerbread in a confectioner's shop on the day of a public meeting held last summer to discuss the Corn Law. Sir John held the gingerbread up to the people, and asked if they would like to be reduced to the level of labourers on the Continent, who were fed on black rye bread like that!

This reminds me that the Abbot of St. John's had at Greenstead, on which he paid tax, eight quarters of rye, and no wheat at all. And it is certainly curious that, in those days, when the soil was as rich as it is now, but when manufactures and commerce had not enriched the nation, the people of Colchester did eat black rye bread,—not gingerbread from a confectioner's shop, but actual rye bread. And in those countries where rye bread is now used, it is not less curious that there are neither manufactures nor commerce; in short, there are no markets for the produce of the soil. Clothing, furniture, food, every thing is of the meanest kind, just as it was in Essex when a woman's gown cost 10s. and a sheep 12d.

The land which belonged to the Abbot of St. John's is now part of the estate of Earl de Grey, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He has much land in this neighbourhood let to tenants-at-will at about 20s. an acre. Farther down, Lord Ashburton has an estate let to tenants on lease at 16s. an acre. If, however, the account of the leases which was given to me be correct, I should not like to farm under such a tenure. The covenants are impracticable.

At a place called Parson's Heath, two miles or so from Colchester, there are over a space of half-a-mile a considerable number of houses, probably fifty, which are inhabited by labourers. I visited some of them, and found that everybody was employed, at least all the men. On Lord de Grey's estate there is a great deal of woodland being broken up and turned into farm fields; and this is at present absorbing all the surplus labour of the neighbourhood. There is also a number of men more than usual employed close by on the farm of Mr. Biggs, a man of remarkable enterprise. I had not an opportunity of seeing him, which I much regret; but from what I saw of his farm, and I saw it before I heard a word spoken of him, I said, "That man is a national benefactor, whoever he is." This sentiment was prompted from seeing a crop of turnips in one part, and preparations for turnips in another part, so entirely different from anything I had seen in the neighbourhood—where, indeed, the common style of farming is much the same as when the Abbot of St. John's had his rye on Greenstead farm—so entirely different from what is usually to be met with in England.

About an hour after seeing this farm, I met some labourers who were usually employed stubbing up the roots in the woodland reclamation. I put some questions to them about Mr. Biggs, to which one of them replied, "Ah, Sir, if every farmer employed as many men on the same acres of land as Mr. Biggs do, there wouldn't be third part enough of men in the country. He has five-and-twenty to my knowledge, and some say as how he has thirty one place and t'other; and he has not two hundred acres altogether. Mr. G—, who has five hundred acres, have not half so many men at work."

"He seems to make composts with earth and gas tar and chalk, and all that sort of thing; do you know if his profit has been sufficient to justify his expense for all this extra labour?"

"Why," replied the man, "I cannot tell that; but if he did not think it would pay, he would not do it, you may depend. I only know this, that when a man needs a job, and goes to him, he sets him on to something;

something as nobody but himself would ever think of having done. You look at his farm and his men, and you say to yourself he have enough of hands, I need not go there; but you try for all that, and, though every place be full, he finds something. There are men on tramp coming out of Suffolk all up here and to London—they are bad off in Suffolk. Some of them go to him as they come to beg a bit of bread or a sixpence to help them on their way, and he at once sets them to work. He pays them, if they be men as will work; if they aint, why they are of no use. Ah! Mr. Biggs make a stir in a place, he do!"

Mr. Biggs, I believe, is only a tenant-at-will, and his enterprise in the practical reformation of agriculture may enable some people to say that the tenant-at-will is no barrier to good cultivation and an expenditure of capital. But Mr. Biggs is not an ordinary tenant-at-will. A good many years ago he was but a common working man. He performed an act of service in behalf of Lord de Grey, or rather his agent, which marked him as a man of superior energy and address. He was appointed to the situation of gamekeeper. He fulfilled the duties of that office in a satisfactory manner, and has now been succeeded by his son; he himself choosing to become a farmer. Such a man is altogether different, especially with such a landlord, from an ordinary tenant-at-will.

Earl de Grey has never been known by the common people to visit his estate at Colchester, consequently, if he has been there, he cannot have made many visits. He is well spoken of as an easy, kind-hearted man in respect of his tenantry; so much so that he will hardly let them be disturbed, no matter how imperfectly they may perform their duty as tenants and cultivators of the soil. One of them who held a fine farm, just out of Colchester, at a low rent, and who could not pay his way for a number of years, got notice to quit, but had also an annuity of £50 a year conferred on him at the same time by his lordship. The farm is now let to a tenant who seems likely to make it answer. It is finely situated. The railway from London, when extended to Harwich and Ipswich, will pass through it.

If Lord de Grey were to let his land in such quantities as would suit the seed-growers and market-gardeners, all this farm would be readily taken by such people, so I was told at £4 an acre. The rent and tithe are now about £1 10s. an acre. Such land, in such a situation, would let readily at £4 an acre in Scotland for common farm purposes. What the objection to letting the land in small quantities to seed-growers and gardeners may be I am not able to say. His lordship is not under any necessity of pushing for money. He has very extensive estates in different parts of the kingdom; is rich; and, being a kindly-disposed man, likes to take things easy. Perhaps there are also political considerations. All those small holders would become borough voters for Colchester; and to make their holdings pay so high a rent they must of necessity be leaseholders. In that case they might also be of different politics from his lordship and the member who so snugly enjoy the borough and support his lordship's party.

I shall make a pause here, for I am now about to change the topic, and the new one is both important and lengthy.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE LEAGUE AGITATION.—What a fact it is! How it grows—bigger and bigger every week—under all sorts of circumstances. High prices and low prices, bad harvests and good harvests, manufacturing distress and revival of manufacturing prosperity, the inertness of opponents and their virulent antagonism—all help; nothing comes amiss to the League; it can digest and assimilate anything, lives and thrives on anything, and keeps working away with a force, a continuity, a steam-engine precision and regularity, and a progressive expansion of effort, which bring everything within its sweep, and make its eventual and not remote success as sure as though the act for total and immediate repeal were already in the hands of the Queen's printer. This League is doing a great work with a strong heart. It produces the doctrines of Adam Smith on the stage of the patent theatres, preaches them in the market-places of country towns, heads the poll with them at city of London elections, and gets votes of thanks for them from county meetings. It drags the aristocracy of Great Britain down from the seventh heaven of the Upper House, where they sat like Epicurus' gods, to the bar of public opinion, where they are but as men; and makes the proud and lazy culprits acknowledge the jurisdiction, and plead to the indictment like any other criminals. These lords and gentlemen are certainly playing high for their chance of two or three years more of Corn Law. Their Anti-League agitation is not a wise proceeding. It evokes a power that will soon break loose from any control or guidance of theirs; already has the People's Charter more than once divided votes and speeches with "protection to native industry." It shows the world, too, in the most edifying way possible, what manner of men they are, in intellect and temper, who dare to chain down the industry and limit the franchises of this mighty British people. Perhaps the most noticeable result as yet of the Anti-League movement is, that it supplies the heavily-taxed inventive powers of League orators with a perpetual variety of stimulating texts and topics, and saves Covent-garden meetings from all possibility of growing dull. They had better have stuck to their majorities, and let well alone.—*Tail's Magazine*.

THE FREE-TRADE QUESTION IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND AMERICA.—It is curious to observe how the agitation of a particular question in one country raises similar agitation on the like subject in other and remote quarters of the world. A striking instance of the truth of the remark is presented at this time in the fact, that the question of Free Trade is causing great and constant controversy and commotion in England, France, and the United States. To use an American phrase, the wordy controversy, set on foot by speculators and politicians principally, appears to be "in full blast" in these three countries. To speak of the proceedings here, *pro and con*, in favour of the Free-Traders, or Anti-Corn-Law party (for the agitation is, in England, chiefly confined to the price of bread and to a tariff on foreign corn, provisions, and "bread stuffs"), and, on the other hand, in support of agricultural protection, to speak of these would be perfectly useless. Each day exhibits such proceedings, and the papers of the kingdom are teeming with reports of them. Then, with respect to France, the same subject is discussed, though, by no means to the like extent. The

politicians in that country seem to be equally in favour of what is termed protection to native industry, or a protective tariff, as here. The commercial and manufacturing interests (which, since the revolution of 1792, have possessed a monopoly of government and its influence, to the exclusion of the small landed proprietors, who took the place of the more powerful representatives of the old landed aristocracy, under the then existing feudal system)—these commercial and manufacturing interests are in favour of protecting French industry to a certain extent, though not to the same degree as is contended for in America as well as in this country. Lastly, in the United States, this question is also in an extremely interesting position. It is stated in the late-received American papers, that the approaching Presidential election will be determined in a great measure on this point; indeed, the recent election in Maryland, in which the Free-Trade party abandoned the field, and gave the victory to the "Whig and high-tariff party," seems to be a very powerful and significant symptom of what is to be expected during the coming year, and so it is generally regarded among our trans-Atlantic brethren. In America, however, as it is truly remarked, the contest is waged by different parties from those engaged in it here, and resembles more the state of affairs in France. The high-tariff men in the United States are led chiefly by the manufacturers, the northern merchants, and southern landowners, the latter, from the nature of their staple productions, being opposed to contrary principles. But there the materials on which the law operates are altogether different from those in France or in this country, and that difference gives a peculiar character to the contest. "The subject must excite," says an American paper, "a great deal of agitation in America 'up to November next,' while in England, as well as in France, it is likely to do likewise long after that period has elapsed."—*Economist*.

INCREASE IN THE VALUE OF LAND.—Some idea may be formed of the very great advantage which the landowners of England derive from the aggregation of our population in commercial and manufacturing towns from the fact that, at a recent visit made by the tithe commissioners to a village about five miles west of London, to which an omnibus runs hourly, the tithes were commuted for a yearly payment of 14s. per acre! The parish is a small one, containing only 2260 acres, and it was made to appear that the present incumbent, a venerable gentleman, whose care for his own temporal interest has made him well acquainted with the course of trade at Covent-garden Market, has drawn from it nearer £2000 than £1500 per annum. Let us consider for a moment what must have been the condition of this parish, with its population (in 1841, 2665 souls), and its venerable rector, if, instead of the present condition of England as respects its commerce and manufactures, our forefathers had been foolish enough, and selfish enough, and powerful enough, to repress the industry of the country, and to confine it, as the measures of the present race of monopolists inevitably would, to pursuits of agriculture. Would its 2260 acres support 2665 inhabitants? Would it afford its rector a commuted income of £1582 per annum, in addition to fees and offerings? Would the profits attending upon its cultivation—not the tithe, but the whole produce—reach to 14s. per acre? We think not. What egregious stupidity is it, then, on the part of those who have got possession of the land, to place restrictions upon that industry through which alone they prosper, and by means of which alone they can hope to hold their station in the community. Let the advocates of protection have their will, and what must become of the national increase of the 2665 men and women now inhabiting this prosperous parish? Must they not become a burden upon the owners of its 2260 acres, until these will have, not 14s. per acre wherewith to fatten a rector, but scarcely a cabbage or a potato to satisfy the cravings of their own hunger?—*Ibid.*

A FREE-TRADE PARADISE.—Jersey, with a population of about 47,000, and enjoying all the advantages of British protection, is entirely exempted from taxes, and has only some trifling rates. No assessed taxes, no income or property tax, no house or window tax, no stamps, no customs, no excise, no toll-bars—horses, dogs, servants, carriages, all free. What a blessed country! says the well-taxed Englishman. But Jersey owns other blessings. Upon neither the importation nor the exportation of articles of any description is there any restriction. Trade is free. It is very pleasant to know that there is at least one spot on God's earth not blighted with the curse which commercial restrictions have everywhere else imposed. Ships from all countries sail into St. Heliers, and pour forth their stores unchallenged, subject to no other charge than that for harbourage. The corn, wines, and liquors of continental Europe, the sugars of the West Indies, the tobacco and cotton of Virginia, the timber and drugs of South America, the tea of China, the spices of Java, and the silk of Hindostan—all enter this happy little port free of any kind of duty. Besides the advantages derivable from the freedom of import trade, the inhabitants enjoy the privilege of exporting their produce unrestrictedly to England—a boon of incalculable value. The chief exports are cows, potatoes, butter, cider, and apples. It is stated that 8000 tons of potatoes, 15,000 gallons of cider, and 20,000 pounds of butter are exported annually. A considerable trade is carried on in the Newfoundland fisheries. Vessels engaged in these fisheries take with them from Jersey woollen manufactures, cordage, nets, and some other articles of island manufacture; and having obtained a cargo either by fishing or purchase, they proceed with it to various ports in Spain, the Mediterranean, or North and South America. Sales being there effected, the vessels return with the produce of these markets either to England or Jersey; if to the former, they make a fresh exchange, and bring to the island the articles required by the inhabitants. In this way the trade of Jersey, export and import, affords a miniature example of what would arise in any other country—could such a happy country exist below—where neither were prohibitory duties exacted nor duties for revenue required. As might be expected, all articles of foreign growth are disposed of in Jersey at but a small and reasonable advance on their first cost. An English housewife gets quite beside herself on entering a grocer's shop in St. Heliers. All her previous knowledge of marketing is upset. What visions of bargains rise in her imagination! We entered one of the largest in the town, and first addressed ourselves to the article sugar, of which the capacious window boasted numerous specimens. "What is the price of that very fine-looking loaf sugar?" "5d. a pound, but here is sugar nearly as good for 4d." "Show us some brown sugar—say, that light-looking kind,

what is it per pound?"—8d.; but here is some at 2½d. "Just so; now tell us the price of tea." Here is some good black tea at 2s. 6d. a pound, and green tea from 3s. to 5s. "Now for coffee." We can supply the best India coffee at from 8d. to 11d. per pound, and Mocha for about 1s. 6d.—These prices we learned were Jersey money, by which is meant that 1s. English will be taken for thirteen pence; and the weight of the pound being an ounce and a half heavier than it is in England, the purchaser has two important deductions in his transactions. In the same shop we learned that the price of Cognac brandy is 6s.; old Jamaica rum, 7s. 6d.; Hollands, 3s. 6d.; and whiskey 8s. per gallon. Port and sherry wines were from 20s. to 25s. per dozen; and clarets from 12s. upwards. In the butcher market we found the price of meat of various kinds much the same as it is in England and Scotland, and so likewise was the bread; but this was not reckoning the advantages from over-weight and over-value of money. House rent, we learned, is nearly the same as in the outskirts of London. Newcastle coal is considerably cheaper than in London. Fish is not supplied regularly, being caught chiefly by fits and starts by the peasantry. Notwithstanding the general lowness of the price of the articles of consumption, the wages of labour are about the same as with us. In all our perambulations we never saw either a rag or a beggar. Left to take their fair course, population and the means of subsistence have evidently adjusted themselves; and the consequence is, we see a spectacle of peace and plenty, which I am well assured could not be discovered in any other part of Europe, or perhaps in the world.—*From an article in Chambers's Journal, entitled "Summer Loiterings in France."*

DISTRIBUTION OF CAPITAL.—Capitalists do not easily enter a trade or withdraw from it. In a country so exquisitely organized as England, it is true that capital moves with velocity, where the capitalist cannot move; and of this we have a luminous explanation in Ricardo. Ricardo, who, as a stockbroker, stood in the very centre of the vast money-machinery accumulated in London, had peculiar advantages for observing and investigating the play of this machinery. If our human vision were fitted for detecting agencies so impalpable, and if a station of view could be had, we might sometimes behold vast arches of electric matter continually passing and repassing between either pole and the equatorial regions. Accordingly, as the equilibrium were disturbed suddenly or redressed, would be the phenomena of tropical hurricanes or of auroral lights. Somewhat in the same silent arches of continual transition, ebbing and flowing like tides, do the re-agencies of the capital accumulated in London modify, without sound or echo, much commerce in all parts of the kingdom. Faithful to the monetary symptoms, and the fluctuations, this way or that, eternally perceptible in the condition of every trade, the great moneyed capitalist, standing at the centre of this enormous web, throws over his arch of capital, or withdraws it with the precision of a fireman directing columns of water from an engine upon the remotest quarter of a conflagration. It is not, as Ricardo almost professionally explains to us, by looking out for new men qualified to enter an aspiring trade, or by withdrawing some of the old men from a decaying trade, that the equilibrium is recovered. Such operations are difficult, dilatory, often personally ruinous, and disproportionately noisy to the public ear in the process of execution. But the true operation goes on as silently as the growth of light. The moneyed man stands equidistantly related to many different staple interests—the silk trade, the cotton trade, iron trade, the timber and grain trade. Rarely does he act upon any one of them by direct interpolation of new firms, or direct withdrawals of old ones. An effect of this kind is generally as much beyond his power as beyond his interest. Not a man has been shifted from his station; possibly not a man has been intruded; yet power and virtue have been thrown into vast laboratories of trade like shells into a city. But all has been accomplished in one night by the inaudible agency of the Post-office, co-operating with the equally inaudible agencies of capital, moving through banks and through national debts, funded or unfunded. Such is the perfection of our civilization. By the simple pressure of a finger upon the centre of so vast an organization, a breath of life is hurried along the tubes—a pulse is enlivened or depressed—a circulation is precipitated or checked, without those ponderous processes of change indispensable on the Continent, and which so injuriously disturb the smooth working of general business.—*De Quincy's Political Economy.*

INDUSTRY AND SKILL IN PROTECTION.—Lord Ducie's experiment on his farm at Whitfield, in Gloucestershire, is an apt illustration of the principle for which we contend. Before Lord Ducie took it into his own care, it yielded a rent of £200, gave labour to two men, one boy, two women, and four persons additional at harvest time, and yielded for profit and interest of capital the sum of £28 per annum. By a judicious outlay of capital, and by general improvements, the same farm employs constantly eleven men, four boys, and five women; and the net profit, in addition to a charge of 10 per cent. for the capital invested on the improvements, is £161 16s. per annum, or, including the interest, £368 5s. This farm is now valued for the poor-rate at £584, formerly it was valued at £200. Herein lies the true source of increased employment and wages to the labourer; of good, permanent, and steady profit to the farmer; of the highest rents that can safely be relied on by the landlord, and all consistent with the true interests of the consumer; but these improvements and advances in agriculture will never be general so long as we teach men to rely on the false and delusive protection of acts of Parliament, instead of skill, industry, and ingenuity.—*Economist.*

GRAIN AND FLOUR.—Mr. Hawes, M.P., has obtained a return of an account, showing the total quantities of foreign and colonial grain and flour entered for home consumption, at each rate of duty, from the 5th of January, 1843, to the 5th of January, 1844, &c. We find, from this paper, that the total quantity of foreign wheat entered for home consumption in the United Kingdom, during the past year, under the act of the 5th Victoria, sess. 2, cap. 14, was 814,319 qrs., at rates of duty extending from 14s. to 20s. per qr.; 731,298 qrs. were entered at the lower duty (14s.), and 17,824 qrs. at the highest of all (20s.). The quantity of wheat flour entered during the same period was 30,393 cwt. 12,407 of British colonial wheat (and 176,367 cwt. of British colonial flour) were entered at duties ranging from 1s. to 5s. per qr. The quantity of foreign barley imported, amounted to 222,745 qrs. at duties ranging from 6s. to 10s. per qr. The total quantity of foreign oats, to 41,479 qrs. at duties of 6s., 7s., and 8s. per quarter. The quantity of rye imported was

2,724 qrs.; that of peas, 36,184 qrs.; and that of beans, 45,702 qrs. The quantity of wheat imported from Canada under the new act, 6 and 7 Victoria, c. 29 (which came into operation last October), amounts to 12,412 qrs., at a duty of 1s. a quarter; and the quantity of wheat flour to 220,117 cwt.

SIR EDWARD COKE ON FREEDOM OF TRADE.—In the third Parliament of James I., which assembled in 1620, Sir Edward Coke appeared as one of the representatives of Liskeard, in Cornwall. His character, age, and experience, added to the ability and zeal with which he devoted himself to the service of the country, gave great weight to all the measures which he supported. He exerted himself particularly to procure the abolition of the many injurious monopolies which had been lately granted, and to bring to punishment the persons who, under colour of them, had oppressed the country. In almost every debate of importance the name of Sir Edward Coke appears as a speaker, supporting, on all occasions, the cause of freedom and liberality. He was one of the very few persons of that age who had the capacity to perceive the injurious nature of those restrictions with which, at that period, almost every branch of trade was fettered. On a bill being brought in "for the Free Trade and traffic of Welsh cloths, cottons, plains, &c., in and through the kingdom of England and principality of Wales," Sir Edward Coke said, "Whereas it is alleged that, for a reason of state, there was a restriction on the buying of those Welsh cloths, &c., a reason of state is often used as a trick to put a man out of the right way; for when a man can give no reason for a thing, then he flings to a higher strain, and saith it is a reason of state. Freedom of trade is the life of trade, and all monopolies and restrictions of trade do overthrow trade."—(*Proceedings and Debates*, &c., vol. i., p. 308; and see vol. ii., p. 155.) On another occasion we find him opposing the first project of a Corn Law which was ever proposed in Parliament. A bill having been brought in under the title of "A Bill against the Importation of Corn," was opposed by Mr. Towerson, Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir Edward Coke. Sir Dudley Digges said that if we bar the importation of corn when we have no need of it, we shall not have it imported when we want it. Sir Edward Coke said that he never heard of any bill that was ever preferred in Parliament against the importation of corn; that he loved to follow ancient precedent; that he thought the bill spoke Dutch, but that it was certainly for the benefit of the Low Countrymen.—(*Proceedings and Debates*, vol. ii., p. 87).—*Roscoe's Life of Coke: Cabinet Cyclopaedia.*

EFFECTS OF DRAINAGE ON HUMAN LIFE.—The Rev. Professor Buckland, at a public meeting held in Oxford last week, said that in the parish of St. Margaret, Leicester, containing 22,000 inhabitants, it appeared that one portion of it was effectually drained, some parts but partially so, and others not at all. In the latter the average duration of life is 13 years and a half, while in the same parish, where the drainage is only partial, the average is 22 years and a half, thereby showing the frightful effects of a bad atmosphere.

MACHINERY AND THE FACTORY SYSTEM.—In modern times, a means has been discovered of producing power which can be applied to various processes of manufacture, so as greatly to facilitate manual labour. Steam has become man's fellow-workman, taking from him the more fatiguing portions of his toil, and leaving him only such parts of the process as require the exertion of skill and ingenuity. There has been thus a further division of labour introduced; not only are the several processes assigned out to separate workmen, but the execution of each process is further subdivided between man and machinery. We have said that the effect of the introduction of mechanical power is to facilitate, not to supersede, labour; and this obviously follows from the principle already established, that in proportion as labour is subdivided among separate operatives, in the same proportion must a power of combination be established to make all these several processes concur in producing the same result. Such combination requires no small exercise of mind, and no conceivable adaptation of wood and iron will produce a machine that can think. Never was there a more monstrous delusion than that machinery displaces or supersedes human labour; every fact with which we are acquainted proves the very contrary. The influence of machinery has been no where more extensively felt than in the cotton-trade, which directly and indirectly gives employment to about two millions of our countrymen: before mechanical invention was applied to spinning, it is questionable if the cotton-trade employed one-fourth of the number. The production of books employs a hundredfold more printers than would have been engaged as scribes or copyists had the art of printing not been invented. The number of persons engaged as pressmen in London at this hour is greater than it was before the steam-press was invented; and the number of calico-printers has been increased greatly since the introduction of printing by cylinders. No branch of trade can be pointed out in which the number of operatives engaged in that trade, taken as a whole, has been diminished by the introduction of machinery; and there are countless branches of trade in which the number has been undeniably and very greatly increased. A very little consideration, indeed, would show that the introduction of machinery has necessarily and largely increased the demand for labour. Every hundred pounds' worth of human labour employed in the production of that machinery; labour for which there would have been no demand if such machinery had not been invented. If, on the other hand, the steam-press throws off three times as many sheets, with the same amount of manual labour as the hand-press, it necessarily provides three times as much employment for folders, stitchers, bookbinders, and bookellers. If the power-loom produces four times as much sheeting, or the cylinders print four times as much calico as the block printer, they create in the same proportion employment for the warehouseman, the sempstress, and the milliner. If experience did not prove to us that the perversity of men in their senses often exceeds the wildest extravagance of insanity, we should be justified in stigmatizing the clamour against machinery as the very consummation of human absurdity.—*Dr. W. Cooke Taylor.*

Have the low wages of the Irish, Poles, and Hindoos made them industrious? or the high wages of the Americans, English, and Hollanders made them lazy, riotous, and profligate? Just the contrary. The former are as notoriously and proverbially indolent as the latter are laborious, active, and enterprising.—*M'ulloch.*

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, April 3, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

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| Edwin Withers, 59, do. | 0 2 0 |
| Michael Sullivan, 59, do. | 0 2 0 |
| Henry Wilkinson, 70, do. | 1 0 0 |
| N. H. | 1 0 0 |
| Berkley Wilson, 11, do. | 1 1 0 |
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| Friend, by Robert Stott, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Friend, by do. | 0 10 0 |
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| ard Castle, Durham | 1 0 0 |
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| C. Rey, do. | 0 2 6 |
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| W. Askey, Leopold Inn, Bromley-st. | 0 10 0 |
| Workmen of T. Perkins, brush manfac. | 1 14 0 |
| Mr. Turley's manufactory | 0 11 4 |
| Workmen of T. F. Jones | 1 1 0 |
| W. Twilton, Aston Villa | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Lander, Steelhouse-lane | 0 10 0 |
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| P. Romy, Park-terrace | 1 0 0 |
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| W. Clephan | 0 5 0 |
| Andrew Brown | 0 5 0 |
| Anonymous | 0 5 0 |
| H. Fawcus, Park-terrace | 0 10 0 |
| C. H. Robinson, shoemaker | 0 5 0 |
| Anonymous | 0 7 6 |
| W. Ling | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Roger | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Stokell | 0 2 6 |
| J. and A. Nees, manufacturers, Pathhead | 1 1 0 |
| James Bogie, of Balbie | 1 0 0 |
| Andrew Lorne, for self and Workmen at Mr. Malcolm's Mill | 1 0 0 |
| George Smart, Dysart | 0 3 6 |
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| H. L. Medder, 19, Oldhall-street | 1 0 0 |
| J. W. Buckley, Newport, Shropshire | 1 0 0 |
| Edmondson Cooban, 113, Richmond-row | 2 0 0 |
| James Stevenson, 4, Limekiln-lane | 0 1 6 |
| H. W. Darby, 4, Sweeting-street | 23 0 0 |
| John Sampson, 103, Byrom street | 1 1 0 |
| Charles Gillham, 101, Lord-street | 5 0 0 |

ERRATUM.

In LEAGUE, No. 27, for "The Labourer is worthy of his hire, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester, £1," read 2s. 6d.

SPINNERS AND MANUFACTURERS' SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE LEAGUE FUND.—Some friend of monopoly has inserted a letter in the *Morning Post*, in which he professes to contrast the number of spinners and manufacturers in Preston who have contributed to the League Fund with those who have not given anything. Upon this letter we beg simply to spend two remarks. The monopolists have hitherto taken every occasion to assert that the repeal of the Corn Laws is a *manufacturers'* movement, to enrich themselves at the expense of the landlords. Now, here they cut their own throats, by attempting to show how *very few* of this class are supporters of the League. Again, the writer divides the firms in Preston into "Leaguers" and "Anti-Leaguers." Now, when we see his favourite firms subscribing more than £530 to the Anti-League, then we will allow him the triumphs of his comparison. No doubt many of the twenty-two "Anti-League" firms will subscribe more than £200 each, and few will come as low as £20! And, as closely connected with the subject, he will, perhaps, inform us how many of the firms he names are *not* Free-Traders; and also write another letter to the *Morning Post* with a return of those firms in Preston who have subscribed to the *Anti-League*, and those who have not. If "A. B." declines this task, we will undertake it for him.—*Preston Guardian*.

MANUFACTURERS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEAGUE.

—We referred in our last to the great mistake made by Colonel Fullerton, in his speech at Rotherham, in advising the magistrates to go out of their way in disputes between masters and men, to inquire what deductions the masters made from wages, to pay their contributions to the League. We have received a communication to the effect that Colonel Fullerton is supposed to have alluded to the firm of Messrs. Joseph Twigg and Brothers, earthenware manufacturers, of Newhill and Kilmhurst, their premises at the latter place adjoining the property of Colonel Fullerton. It is only at the Newhill pottery that the men have subscribed to the League, those at Kilmhurst not choosing to do so. This fact is of itself sufficient to show that the subscriptions are not exacted by the masters, but are the voluntary offerings of the men. The Messrs. Twigg have subscribed to the League themselves. The men, too, have subscribed in their own name, and we find one of their remittances thus acknowledged in the last number of the LEAGUE:—"The work-people of Joseph Twigg and Brothers, Newhill pottery, near Rotherham, from John Twigg, 6th subscription since July, £1 10s." The mode in which these subscriptions are raised may serve as a hint to the masters and work-people of other manufactories. The Newhill potters have a club, to which each man earning less than 10s. pays 1d. weekly, and each earning more than 10s. pays 2d. a week. By this means a fund is maintained that enables them to allow to any sick workman, for six weeks, 3s., if he have paid the penny, and 6s. if he have paid the twopenny contribution. It is found, however, that the contributions are more than adequate to this rate of allowance, there having been very little sickness among the men; and they have, therefore, remitted, from time to time, portions of the accumulated fund to the League, their employers contributing ten per cent. on all such remittances. Such, we are informed, is the system pursued at the Newhill pottery, and we have no doubt our readers will deem it honourable alike to the masters and the men.—*Sheffield Mercury*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SUGAR MONOPOLY.

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—In my first letter on the Sugar Monopoly, I stated, on data that I believe to be incontrovertible, that by reducing the duties to one-half of that now imposed on British plantation, and allowing free importation, the cost to the consumer would be reduced one-half, or that double quantity could be purchased for the same money, and that the increase in the consumption would more than make up the present amount of revenue.

The consumers of Great Britain are now paying three times the price for their sugar of its value in the market of the world, in consequence of monopoly and high taxation. Good sugar can be purchased at 2d. to 2½d. per lb., without duty, equal to what is now selling at 7d. to 7½d. per lb., duty paid, and when the amount of this is put down, it really appears perfectly enormous.

Amount paid to East and West India proprietors annually, for 200,000 tons of sugar, about .. £28,000,000
Amount of duty on same .. 5,000,000

Value of 200,000 tons in the market of the world .. 13,000,000
4,000,000

Extra cost to the consumer .. £9,000,000

I am quite aware that I will be met in the above statement by the answer, that we must be taxed, and that it is quite as just to tax sugar as anything else. This I readily admit. What I contend for is, that, in consequence of the monopoly, which limits the supply and restrains the consumption, this tax is unnecessarily and exorbitantly high, and presses with undue severity on all classes.

I have stated that the duty might be brought down from 25s. 3d. to 12s. 7½d. without risk to the revenue; nay, more, if the trade were open, I have little doubt the duty might be only 8s. per cwt., and in two or three years hence, the present amount of revenue would be made good; and how would the price then stand to the consumer?

Price of 1 cwt. good Havannah sugar, 18s. £0 18 0
Duty on do, 8s. .. 0 8 0

£1 6 0 or 2½d. per lb.

I have shown that we pay four millions too much for our sugar to the colonists, and if we add to this the double tax we are forced to pay in consequence of their monopoly, it will then appear that the sugar monopoly costs the country no less a sum than 6½ millions annually, independent of paying a duty of 12s. 7½d. per cwt.

Now, if they are perfectly sincere in their anxiety to put down slavery, the straightforward course would be to take this 6½ millions, the greater proportion of which they now get, and I have little doubt it would purchase freedom to the whole of the slaves in the Brazil; and thus, by one year's sacrifice, we would get quit of the evil for all time coming. This proposal, although quite reasonable, will be very unpopular. In truth, they have no anxiety about either slaves or slavery, unless when they interfere with their own interest; and if they can only get their monopoly continued, slavery may go on interminably, so far as they are concerned.

I may also state that, as we cannot prevent our Continental neighbours from consuming slave sugar, the only effect of our present system is to withhold our competition for that article, which enables them to consume it at a cheaper rate than they would otherwise do; and it certainly is a most astounding fact, in illustration of what I have now stated, that, in the years 1840 and 1841, the operative in this country was paying the same price per lb. for the lowest description of treacle or molasses as the labouring man on the Continent paid for the pound of the finest description of double-refined sugar. I ask, will such a system be any longer tolerated?

I have not yet done with the evils of this monopoly: there is yet another branch of our national industry that has been fettered, cramped, and borne down by its influence, viz., sugar refining. I demand to know what would have been the state of our cotton manufacture if it had been limited in its supply of the raw material to the East or West Indies? Where would have been those gigantic undertakings in which such splendid fortunes have been so honourably acquired, and by which our rapidly-increasing population have found constant and profitable employment, if the colonists had enjoyed a monopoly in

cotton? and, I may ask, what might have been the situation and fortune of the Premier himself if his father had only had such a limited sphere to operate within? Sugar refining, in this country, ought to be second only in importance to cotton spinning; but has it increased in anything like the same ratio as the cotton trade? No. If the statistics of this trade were taken, and compared with those of forty or fifty years ago, I believe there would be found no increase; on the contrary, from the number of sugar-works in London and elsewhere, on which large amounts of capital have been expended, standing idle, I have little doubt they have rather decreased; and how can it be otherwise? The supply of raw sugar is less than it was forty years ago. The effect of the high duty and protective system on sugar refining is to limit its field of operation, to lower or keep down the taste for the finer qualities of its produce, and greatly to increase the cost of manufacture.

Were the trade in sugar free, Great Britain would become the emporium of the world for that article. Exporting her manufactures direct to every sugar-growing country, she would necessarily import that commodity as a return cargo, if the home market were open for its consumption; and, having a profit both on the export and import, she would thus be enabled to sell cheaper than any other country; and, as few of the continental states trade with the tropics, they would find it more convenient and profitable to draw their supplies from this country. Great Britain would thus have the whole carrying trade; and is it too much to suppose that, this being the great market of the world for raw sugar, the refiners here, with the most approved machinery and modes of working, would not be enabled greatly to extend their trade, and to supply advantageously many of the markets of Europe.

To show the increased expense to the refiner in consequence of the high prices as compared to low, I have given a statement from an authentic source, based on the present prices, say 63s. per cwt., and also at 31s. 6d., the latter being rather above what sugar would now cost at a reduced duty of 12s. 7½d., as stated in my first letter. The quantity of waste on a sugar-house of ordinary size may be about 2 tons weekly, or 104 per annum:—

| | | |
|---|-------|---|
| Say 104 tons waste, lost in manufacture, at 63s. £6532 | 0 | 0 |
| 300 tons in stock, at 63s., £18,900; interest on this capital, at 4 per cent. | 756 | 0 |
| For insurance on stock | 200 | 0 |
| Say 2 per cent. commission and guarantee on purchase and sale of £100,000 | 2000 | 0 |
| | £9508 | 0 |

| | | |
|---|-------|---|
| Say 104 tons waste, as above, at 31s. 6d., £3276 | 0 | 0 |
| 300 tons in stock, at 31s. 6d., £9150; interest on capital, 4 per cent. | 378 | 0 |
| For insurance on stock | 100 | 0 |
| 2 per cent. commission and guarantee on £50,000 | 1000 | 0 |
| | 4754 | 0 |
| | £4754 | 0 |

or nearly £5000 per annum; and if we suppose 50 sugar-houses to be in full work, the above shows a loss to the refiners and to the country of no less than £250,000 per annum, without a single countervailing advantage either to the revenue or to the consumer. I believe it would be a great improvement if the refiners were allowed to work under bond, and the duty paid on all goods when brought to market. By such a plan a great proportion of the above loss would be saved, while they would be enabled to sell cheaper, without any disadvantage to the revenue.

Were the sugar question one of revenue only, I think I have completely demonstrated, that by Free Trade and low duties the present amount would be paid into the Exchequer, with immense advantage to trade and to the consumer; then who are the parties who stand in the way of a change so beneficial? If it were put to the voice of the 26,000,000 or 27,000,000 of this country's inhabitants, how many would vote against it? I believe not more than 2000 or 3000 East and West Indian proprietors; and what are they, and what are their interests against so many? The East Indian has no right to object; he has labour cheaper, and more plentiful than the cheapest slave labour—land almost without limit—soil of the very richest kind, and climate exceedingly favourable to the production of sugar; and if he does not avail himself of these great advantages, by the application of British capital and science, he has no right to ask his fellow-countrymen to submit to additional taxation for his benefit. Has the West Indian any claim—has the exclusive monopoly of the home market for half a century not contented him; or has he forgotten the recent splendid gift of £28,000,000; and for very shame can he hold up his face and ask his fellow-citizens not only to be taxed, but submit to loss of trade for his especial behoof?

Tea does not come within the category of "protected articles;" and, therefore, if I have succeeded in my letter on "tea duties," in showing that that article is capable of such vast extension, that even at a duty of 1s. per lb. the revenue would very soon be equal to what it now is, I do not think that such a measure would possibly meet with any opposition; on the contrary, I am quite satisfied it would be hailed as a great boon by every individual in the United Kingdom.

A reduction in the duties on tea must be accompanied by a corresponding reduction on sugar, otherwise it will fail in producing the desired effect. I anticipate these reductions would produce greatly extended consumption, but this will be brought about only by a sweeping change, something that will be quite obvious to the consumer, and materially alter the retail prices.

By a singular concatenation of events the present Ministry have a golden opportunity vouchsafed to them of immortalizing their names, by making the trade of the country at once prosperous—extended—permanent. I cannot think they will allow the opportunity to slip: the opening to the hundreds of millions in China,—the termination of the Brazilian treaty,—the overflowing of the Exchequer, and the state of the public mind on the absolute necessity of greatly enlarged commerce, all point out the present moment as the time when the trade in the two great staples of tea and sugar ought to be opened up; not by an alteration this year to be better done next, but by one master-stroke of policy: by a great reduction of duties, which will then be so moderate that they will never again require to be unsettled.

The combined operation of the opening of the markets of the world, and a large reduction in the duties on tea and sugar, would do more to ameliorate the condition of all classes than any measure that has been carried during the present century. I cannot think that any Ministry

will shut their eyes to its importance. To be the means of giving an additional export to our manufactures of probably seven millions sterling, and of stimulating our home trade to an almost equal amount—to add from three to five hundred ships to our mercantile navy—to give a healthy and constant demand to all descriptions of agricultural produce—to spread happiness and plenty over the land—and to receive the blessings of every family as it daily sits down to its cheap beverage of tea and sugar, is worthy the ambition of the greatest statesman that ever held the reins of the government of this great country.

March 22, 1844.

A FREE-TRADER.

The following pithy reply was sent by the writer, a tenant-farmer, in answer to a circular issued by the Ely Protection Society, soliciting subscriptions:—

Upwell, March 31.

"DEAR SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th, respecting 'Agricultural Protection.' Having maturely considered the subject, I am quite convinced that the only 'protection' we want as 'tenant-farmers' is,—1st. Long leases, with liberal covenants, which would create a great demand for labourers and very much improve their general and, at present, wretched condition. 2ndly. A removal of all restrictions, thereby enlarging the field of commerce, and making all classes consumers of our increased agricultural produce, which is of far more benefit to 'tenant-farmers' than any 'Corn Law' that can be made, particularly the 'sliding-scale.'

"I am, my dear Sir, yours respectfully,

"G. WOOLFE.

"Thos. Archer, Esq., Solicitor, Ely."

EFFECTS OF THE PRICES OF FOOD ON SHOPKEEPERS.

To the Editor of the Bolton Free Press.

SIR,—A linendraper was complaining to me the other day that he was doing less business now than during the two or three months previous to last Christmas, and that his neighbours were in the same position. This led to inquiry into the cause. We both agreed that the working classes were as fully employed now, and at as good wages, as at the latter end of last year, and that they ought now to be better able to purchase clothing than at that time, inasmuch as they might be supposed to be more recovered from the debts and difficulties of the last few years. After failing to discover any sufficient cause, we at last thought there might be something in the prices of food at the two periods which might explain it. We set to work to calculate, and on inquiry found that flour is now *fourpence a dozen*, and oatmeal about *two-pence a dozen*, higher than in November and December: still this seemed a little matter at first, but when we recollected that at least a hundred thousand were fed out of the Bolton market, we thought it might be worth while to see how much the difference would amount to. Reckoning five to a family, there would be twenty thousand families; and supposing each to require flour or oatmeal equal to two dozen of flour a week, this would make eightpence a week for each family. Now twenty thousand eightpences amount to *six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence*, probably about as large a sum as a concern of the magnitude of Messrs. Bollings pay in a week. The effect upon the shopkeeper, therefore, by this small advance in the price of food, we concluded was quite sufficient to account for the complaints we heard on all sides, particularly amongst the drapers and shoemakers, and the sellers of clothing generally. We thought it worth while to send you the calculation, by way of showing you how intimately the prosperity of the shopkeeper is connected with a low price of food.

Your finding room for this in your next paper will oblige,

Yours respectfully,

A CORN-LAW REPEALER.

THE HARD CASE OF THE TENANT FARMER.

To the Editor of the Hull Advertiser.

SIR,—As a plain free-speaking farmer, and not a man of the world, I was last week requested to attend before a party of gentlemen belonging to the Anti-Corn-Law League to expose the gullibility of the English tenant-farmer, which I had done previously in a letter to Mr. Cobden, M.P. I then stated to them as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—Although proving, in a letter to Mr. Cobden in September last, the delusion practised upon the farmer under the mask of Corn-Law protection, I will now before you, gentlemen, prove that the farmers are not only ridiculously but conspicuously bamboozled by hirelings in the garb of gentlemen's stewards. As a proof look at the covenants and restrictions which have been everywhere inserted in leases and in yearly agreements. They are so absurd and so contrary to common sense and reason, at the same time of no good to the landlord, and a very great injury to the tenant by cramping him, as to be utter bars to good husbandry; and, gentlemen, the fact is not contradicted, though it has been brought so clearly before the public. The Anti-Corn-Law League, by their speeches and writings to tenant-farmers, say, and so do I, that when the Corn Laws are repealed, and landlords cannot get high rents out of their tenants' capital through the agency of the Corn Laws, these agricultural absurdities, these traps and snares to cajole us tenant-farmers—these farming monstrosities will speedily be abandoned. At present any land-surveying *dipod* is made a land-steward, to frame leases for practical farmers, I compare such Jack-a-Dandy lease-framers to schoolmaster lawyers, who make work for wiser men; let such counterfeits get themselves well informed in the cultivation of the soil, before they attempt to make leases for farmers. They may, perhaps, when they begin their stewardships, know an acre of turnips from an acre of wheat, or an acre of beans from an acre of cabbages. Then follows the overreaching, plundering Game Laws, by which the right of the game is reserved to the owner of the farm, unless expressly granted to the tenant, and the game forms a great obnoxious burden to nineteen tenants out of every twenty throughout the country. In some instances the game is farmed by Messrs. Steward, Gamekeeper, and Co. Not 200 miles from Benefield and Rookingham Forest, an upstart steward and puppy-looking gamekeeper have enriched themselves at the expense of the tenants by keeping the two bugbears, game and rabbits, until the gamekeeper has become a great grazer, and the best and oldest tenant turned out of his farm to put the man-eating gamekeeper in; the said farm has been in the turned-

out farmer's family for near 300 years. So much for stewardism, keeperism, and peacockism. It is admitted by all men who know the cultivation of the soil, that good farming cannot coexist with a maintenance of a large stock of game; and the same rational view which the tenant-farmer everywhere takes of the game nuisance is that urged by the League. They say, and I agree with them, when the farming business is in a natural state—when the delusion of the Corn-Laws has ceased—the landlords will find that they cannot have both rent and game. Farmers may well say, as a friend of mine did to a noble lord, a game-preserver, who wanted to let a farm overrun with game: 'My lord,' said the bold, non-heated farmer, 'it appears to me that your lordship stocks the farm I came to look at, and I will decline to embark my capital unless I can obtain complete possession of the farm, for no man can be said to be in possession of a farm whose landlord retains a right to keep game upon it, or to give that power to your steward, who was a few years back your lordship's woodman,—then, my lord, in his proper station,—with his bill and mittens hanging by his side, and a short pipe stuck in his mouth. Pardon me, my lord, when I say that I understand that your lordship's father had a steward who had for many years been his woodman. After enjoying his stewardship a few years, and wearing ten times the hats out that he would have done had he continued woodman,—for every one when they met him in the great market-town, near the hall, touched their hats at him and to him; of course, my lord, as a well-bred man, he touched his in return, and so much touching and taking off of his hats wore an excessive quantity out,—he died worth £30,000. Who does your lordship think was entitled to the old woodman and steward's heap of pelf, obtained the Lord above knows how? I suppose, my lord, that he did not only gauge game and rabbits kept by the tenants, but occasionally an oak tree, or any thing else that was not too heavy and big. The old adage is, my lord, that no stock thrive upon the land like gentlemen's stewards.'

"I need not add that his lordship was struck with admiration and amazement to hear such bold information from a brave, straightforward, old English farmer. His lordship now examines the steward's accounts regularly himself, like a certain marquis, of not the highest birth, who has been plundered by several stewards, one a relation. I told the League, after I stated my friend the strong-nerved farmer's case, that it was neither just nor fair that the landlord should grow for his own benefit, enormous quantities of hedgerow timber, to the detriment of the tenants' crops, and on land for every foot of which the tenant pays rent. I will finish to-day, gentlemen, by begging of you to excuse my straightforward, free speaking, as facts are stubborn things to get over. At the same time, gentlemen, I say that I can give you fifty times more information on the mischiefs practised upon the cultivators of the soil. I am to be found, in person or by letter, at Mr. Ward's, Royal Oak Inn, Tooley-street, Borough, or at Ringwood, New Forest, Hampshire.

"I beg to remain, Mr. Editor, a friend to my country at large, and at the same time,

"Your humble servant,

"S. A. FORESTER."

AGRICULTURE.

FOREIGN COMPETITION FALLACY.

If anything was required to prove the dishonesty of the arguments used in support of the Corn Laws, it would be found first in the exaggerated statements made respecting foreign competition, and next in the perverted ingenuity by which the more blatant agents of the landlords seek to show that some leading Free-Trade speaker has, at one time or one place, said something which is inconsistent with what he may have said, on some other occasion, at some other place. This is generally sought to be effected by dovetailing together scraps of speeches and bits of sentences, and by so doing to give, apart from the original context, an appearance of inconsistency. Now, if this apparent inconsistency were as real as it is illusory, what would it prove? It might show that some Free Trader had mistaken a fact, or over-estimated or under-estimated the effect of Free Trade on the price of grain. It might prove that the community has been robbed for the purpose of keeping up rents to a greater extent than the most sober-minded advocates of Free Trade have believed. But would the utmost success in such personal argument advance the Monopolist a step in his attempt to prove monopoly a good, and artificial scarcity a national benefit? The very fact that the most acute of the Monopolist speakers and writers are compelled to resort to such a mode of defence, is decisive as to the weakness of their case. The ingenuity which may recommend a sharp lawyer or talkative land-agent to the mortgaged and aced classes who employ them, only requires to be observed to be treated with the contempt it deserves when applied to the discussion of a great public question. Amongst the most notable dealers in such small wares is a Mr. George Game Day, an attorney of Huntingdonshire, who has published in the *Morning Post* a letter addressed to Mr. Cobden, for the purpose of showing that the statements of the great Free-Trade leader as to the prices of foreign corn have not been consistent with each other. Our readers will recollect the hearty shake this Monopolist lawyer received from Mr. Cobden in his speech at Covent-garden, wherein he showed that Mr. Day's mare's nest was made to bear the semblance of a discovery, and to serve for even a Monopolist claptrap, simply by the reputable device of confounding dates and prices; by representing a statement made when wheat was 70s. a quarter as having been applied to a time when it had fallen to 47s. a quarter, and *vice versa*.

The miserable special pleading by which this man now tries to show that on a given day Mr. Cobden overstated or understated the price of wheat by some one or two shillings a quarter, proves the severe effect of the castigation administered to the Monopolists' creature. We have from high authority the injunction not to put trust in princes; but we believe experience has led farmers to put very little trust in lawyers. So much for Mr. George Game Day. Nevertheless, it may be useful to improve the idea which his letter suggests, by placing before the public a brief summary of the stages by which the argument against the Corn Laws has arrived at its present favourable position, and to show to the farmers why such extraordinary pains are taken by their landlords to frighten them with threats of cheap foreign corn.

The Corn Laws originated in the desire of the owners of land to keep up rents during peace by means of an artificial scarcity, created by prohibiting the importation of foreign corn, which peculiar and political causes had unnaturally advanced during the French war. For it was only the unnatural and accidental additions to rent, caused by bad seasons and difficulties in the way of importation, which the Corn Laws sought to perpetuate; the natural increase which had arisen from the increase of national wealth having never been in the slightest danger from foreign imports. About the objects of the Corn Law and its supporters there was not, originally, the slightest disguise: high rents, higher rents than natural rents, were the avowed motives for the law of 1815. The farmers were only induced to come into the scheme from being under engagement to pay war rents. Against the iniquity of such a law public indignation was naturally directed, and whenever the prices of food rose above the natural price,—that is, whenever wheat tended to advance beyond 50s. a quarter,—an Anti-Corn-Law sentiment and complaints of the artificial-scarcity law immediately prevailed. Though men of reflection, at all times and under all circumstances, condemned the Corn Laws and the restrictive system of which they are the keystone, the mass of the people and mere commonplace politicians thought but little of the Corn Laws whenever corn, from domestic competition or abundant seasons, had become cheap. Thus, from 1825 to 1831, a very decisive Anti-Corn-Law agitation existed, though complaints against the monopoly were unheard during the cheap years 1821, 1822, and 1823. So again from 1833 to 1836, a period of the greatest abundance ever known in this country, when wheat was at one time as low as 36s. a quarter and was extensively used in feeding cattle, when the Corn Law was, in fact, totally inoperative, there were no general complaints heard against that law. Nature had, for the moment, entirely suspended the law, and landlords began to look to other means than monopoly for keeping up rents; while farmers became convinced that improvements in husbandry and a nation of prosperous consumers would prove a firmer basis for profit than small crops and high prices. Next followed the scarcities of 1838, 1839, 1840, and 1841, and the most fearful commercial depression which had ever visited this nation, and then commenced that organized opposition to the Corn Laws and the whole restrictive system, of which the League is the organ and the type.

The leaders of the movement were men deeply impressed with the necessity of Free Trade to the very existence of the nation, and most of them had obtained their experience in the busy lives of manufacturing and commercial industry. They viewed the subject in a large and comprehensive way, and therefore they commenced an agitation, which superficial thinkers and men having less reliance on the force of right principle then thought almost chimerical, in favour of a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. The result, however, has proved the accuracy of their judgment. When the Free-Trade movement commenced, the community was groaning under an artificial famine—a landlord-created scarcity. Wheat was, for three or four years, from one-fourth to one-third above the natural price at which it would have been had the trade in corn been free. An act of Parliament, passed to keep up rents, alone stood between the industrious people of Britain and a supply of bread. The necessary direction which the Free-Trade movement first took was against the Corn Laws, as being restrictive of the supply of food. But the experience of the previous ten years had created a new class of Free Traders—men born in the agricultural districts, mixing with landowners and farmers—whose interests were identified with the prosperity of agriculture and the rural classes, had become convinced that the "protection" promised by the Corn Laws as a benefit to the agricultural interest had in reality proved its bane. The evidence given before the agricultural committee of 1836 had placed this fact beyond question, and all those landowners and farmers who regarded the Corn-Law question in its economical bearings began silently to prepare themselves for Free Trade by improving their property and their husbandry. Of this the establishment of the English Royal Agri-

cultural Society may be taken as conclusive evidence. The more energetic and independent agricultural Free-Traders soon joined or co-operated with the commercial Free-Traders of the League, and the movement became, in the strictest and best sense, a national one. Mr. Cobden, perhaps from early associations, at once apprehended the full force of the arguments for Free Trade derived from the condition of agriculturists and the experiences of agriculture, and became the unanswerable expounder of Free-Trade doctrines to agricultural audiences. This was the last stronghold of Monopoly. Every fallacy by which the question of Free Trade as regards trade and manufactures had been completely refuted and exposed; but the landlords believed they had an impregnable fortress in their political power, and an unassailable army of monopolists in their tenants-at-will. In insolent reliance on their own power, they were half indifferent to, half amused by, the occurrence of Free-Trade speeches to farmers. But to their dismay they soon found that farmers were rapidly becoming Free Traders, and "something more;" for they began to discover that many burdens and oppressions which they endured at the hands of their landlords were not very remotely connected with these very Corn Laws. In every county a minority of the farmers—invariably the most intelligent men and most successful cultivators—became active Free Traders; a larger number began to doubt the soundness of the policy of "protection," and all began to think and discuss and read about a question, upon which they had previously believed that, amongst farmers at all events, there could not be two opinions. The result of this has been the formation of "protection" societies, under the temporary ascendancy of the political landlords, the men of mortgaged estates, the shadows of men of property, the *alieni appetens sui profusus* class, for the purpose of upholding a monopoly which Queen, Lords, and Commons, in their collective character of a Legislature, feel cannot be much longer upheld.

The one sole topic of these societies is to exaggerate the cheapness of corn abroad, and to alarm the more ignorant farmer with the most nonsensical statements as to foreign competition. There is one short and simple process by which the farmer, who desires to ascertain the truth in this matter, may disperse all such illusions—that is by a reference to the reports—the true reports—of foreign and English grain markets. Thus, if he will look at the Review of the Foreign Corn Trade in the last *Mark-lane Express*, he will find the best qualities of wheat at Dantzic quoted at 40s. and 41s. a quarter, and the inferior kinds at 38s. and 39s. a quarter, and that at a time when, according to the appearance of our crops, the prospect of admission of foreign grain to our market is very remote. Let him add 10s. a quarter as the expense of transport and incidental expenses, with a very slight rise in the foreign market as the consequence of our demand there, and he will have a close approximation to English prices. Such a business-like examination and comparison of the foreign competition fallacy would at any moment show that fallacy to be a complete bugbear. Indeed, it is only created by such ingenious transpositions of dates and prices as those by which Mr. George Game Day attempted to prove Mr. Cobden's inconsistency.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS.

The following letter, detailing a course of agricultural improvement which has been adopted by Mr. Meehi, in Essex, is just a specimen of the way in which landowners of sense and capital will deal with their possessions as soon as the incubus of the Corn Law has been removed:—

"SIR,—As agricultural improvement is the order of the day, allow me to mention an extreme case—the expenditure of £5200 on a farm of mine, 130 acres (Tiptree Hall, near Kelvedon, Essex), that only cost £3250. In due course, when the results are accurately ascertained, I shall deem it my duty to submit statistical details and drawings of the buildings to every agricultural society in the kingdom, in the hope it may give confidence to those who, having the means to improve their property, are doubtful as to such improvements paying a remunerating profit to both landlord and tenant. The expenditure above mentioned has been appropriated to—1st. The perfect and permanent drainage of the land with stones and pipes, 4 yards apart, and 32 inches deep; between 80 and 90 miles of drains.—2nd. To the entire removal of all timber trees, which cannot be profitably grown in cornfields.—3rd. To the removing of all old, crooked, and unnecessary banks, fences, and ditches.—4th. The cutting new parallel ditches and fences, so as to avoid short lands.—5th. The enclosure of waste, and conversion of useless bog into good soil.—6th. The economising time and distance by new roads, arches, and more direct communications with the extremities of the farm.—7th. The erection of well-arranged farm-buildings built of brick, iron, and slate, in a continuous range, excluding all cold winds and currents of air, but open to sunny warmth.—8th. The building a substantial and genteel residence, with all due requisites for domestic comfort and economy.—9th. The erection of an efficient thrashing-machine, and needful apparatus for shaking the straw, dressing the corn, cutting chaff, bruising oats, &c., so constructed as not to injure the straw; avoiding, by its perfect action, that immense waste of grain visible in almost every truss of straw we examine.—10th. The avoidance of thatching and risk of weather, by ample barn room, with convenience for its-door horse

labour at thrashing, &c., when not employable without, so as to have no idle days for man or beast.—11th. The saving of every pound or pint of manure by a tank (90 feet long, 6 feet deep, and 8 feet wide, with slated roof facing the north, and with well and pump), into which is received the whole drainage from the farm-yard and stables.—12th. The conveyance by iron gutters and pipes of every drop of water from the roofs of each building, so as in no manner to dilute the manure in yards.—13th. The perfect drainage of the foundations of the barn, and every building on the farm.—14th. A steam-house to prepare food for cattle.—I am thus particular in detail, because it is from each of the above branches of expenditure that some portion of remuneration is expected. But, during the progress of my undertaking I have been warned, entreated, and dissuaded by my farming friends, who protested that a profitable return for such an enormous expenditure was impossible; my calculations, however, were made, and mere assertions without facts and figures weighed nothing with me. Although the operations were only commenced early in 1843, the results, so far as they go, are gratifying and convincing. As one instance of success, a field of oats, sown on the 16th of May, after drainage, was harvested and stacked, before another (sown two months earlier on better but undrained land) was ready to cut. Hereafter you shall have detailed statistics of every department in which saving is effected and increase produced. In a moral and social point of view, these improvements have acted beneficially. They have excited the energies of the tenant and his labourers, stimulating them to think, compare, and improve. They have awakened the attention and curiosity of the neighbouring farmers, who are watching the result, and already have they caused many undertakings in drainage, which otherwise would not have been thought of. Had I invested my money in the funds, there would have been an end of the matter; but now I have the satisfaction of having fulfilled a public duty (without injury to myself) by calling into action, temporarily and permanently, a considerable amount of labour. I conceive that the highest order of charity, which, by providing employment to the willing labourer, confers a favour unseen, and leaves uncompromised (his most valuable privilege) his self-dependence.

"If every one who has the means follows my example, where requisite, there will be little need to complain of the want of employment for our peasantry or our capital. Whilst everything has been done for the farmer's profit and comfort, the cottagers have not been forgotten. A few gutters and pipes to their residences, and some drains in their gardens, have rendered the former *dry* and *healthy*, and the latter *productive*; and this at the trifling cost of a few pounds. I may be asked, 'What can you, as a Londoner, know about farming?' I will answer, 'I always loved the beauties of nature, the pure air of heaven, the sports of the field, and the hospitality of our honest yeomen. I have seen one farmer making a fortune, and his next neighbour losing one. I have seen one field all corn, and another nearly all weeds.'

"I asked, 'How is this?' I inquired into the causes: I noted the results. I obtained from all the best farmers, and all the best agricultural books within my reach, every information bearing on agricultural pursuits. I practised on my own little garden, on a small scale, a variety of experiments; and, after carefully weighing the evidence, I come to the conclusion, that want of drainage both in land and buildings, waste of manure, shallow ploughing, and short leases, are amongst the greatest curses to this country; and I, as far as my individual means will permit, am resolved on remedying them.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"I. J. MECCHI.

"4, Leadenhall-street, London, March 15, 1844.

"P.S. As Tiptree Heath is notorious for poor land, and as the Essex farmers, generally, are extremely sceptical as to these improvements answering, I would recommend their inspecting the crops (there will be no long fallow) about July next; and then, having the facts before them, they will be enabled to draw correct conclusions. I may as well add, it is intended to trench, plough, and disturb the soil to the depth of fourteen or sixteen inches. The implements used on this farm are Crosskill's clod-crusher, roller, and liquid-manure cart; Lord Ducie's drag; and Barrett, Exall, and Co.'s sub-soil plough. The thrashing-machine is constructed under my own direction, by Mr. Bewley, of Chelmsford, on the Scotch principle.

Now, if Free Trade should compel the mortgaged landowners to sell off a large portion of their present nominal estates, do farmers think they would suffer much in exchanging serfdom under a Duke of Buckingham or a Marquis of Salisbury for a beneficial business-like engagement with such a man as Mr. Meehi, to occupy his farm?

PEARLS OF GREAT PRICE.

BEING LANDLORD PLEAS FOR HIGH PRICES.

We think it a pity that the lights of the monopolists should be hidden under a bushel, and therefore have we rescued the following most modern instances of landlord rhetoric from the obscure and class circulation of the *Morning Post*. At Brecon, Mr. Joseph Bailey, M.P., having been eloquent on the exclusion of "pig iron," of which he is or was a considerable maker, from America, and, after referring to the tariffs of Germany and France said:—

"That those countries, since the permission given to export machinery from England, had become nearly as competent to manufacture as ourselves: was it then right or reasonable to throw out of employment a large population under such a prospect? It was, he said, more a labourer's question than a farmer's, and more a farmer's than a landlord's, and he would explain this. If rents were reduced to such an extent as to enable a landlord from living as he did at present, he would be compelled to farm his own land, to kill his own meat, and grow his own corn; what, then, would become of the tenants?"

It is clear this M.P. has not studied logic to much purpose, for it is not very intelligible how persisting in the policy which produced those foreign tariffs is to prevent their operation. How are labourers to be thrown out of employment they have been prevented from enjoying by the Corn Laws? The landlords are to become, what some fashionable novelist designates, "kill-your-own-mutton kind of men;" and take their farms into their own hands, leaving all their tenants to go landlordless and farmless upon the mercy of the cruel world. This is the way the Corn-Law question is attempted to be shown to be more a tenant and a labourer's question than a land-

lord's! Can anything be more ridiculous? Why, Mr. Joseph Bailey's cook-weench, if he has an English meal in his kitchen, would laugh to hear such an argument seriously propounded. Then Mr. Stretton, a landowner, said:—

"There was nothing in the resolution about landlords; their enemies might say, 'away with the plough,' but on the plough depended all the work which they called upon the labourers of this county to do (hear, hear, hear); without the plough the blacksmith, the wheelwright, the carpenter, and mason, and all who formed the machinery of the country would get no employment."

"It is a pity to spoil such a nicely-turned sentence, but, unhappily for this squire's argument, the Free-Traders don't say, 'away with the plough,' but they say, 'use it more and use it better.' Falling the basis, the incumbent assertion about blacksmiths, carpenters, &c., falls also. Then Mr. Stretton's simplicity in saying there is nothing in the resolution about the landlords. Of course there is not; there lies the fraud. But in the next sentence Mr. Stretton shows that he does not himself believe anything of the kind; for he says:—

"If wheat could be grown on our lands to compete with foreigners, what class would be benefited? The small tenant-farmers would be first ruined, because it would be absurd to suppose that a landowner would let small farms of £30 or £40 per annum if obliged to reduce the rents 50 per cent., or that he would keep up a hundred barns without use for them. No; they would cut down their buildings, and would be compelled to throw their lands open into wide tracts of pasture; who, then, would give them work?"

Here we have a distinct assertion that domestic improvement in agriculture is as little desired by the monopolist landowners as foreign importation; their beau ideal of rural prosperity is *low produce with high prices*. The above is an appeal to the lowest prejudices of the most ignorant class of farmers; but recent events in Wales show that the Welshmen know something of the landlord fallacies. Then he seeks to frighten them with this buggaboo:—

"Were they prepared to spin cotton for sixteen hours a day? and, if they were, their hands were hardly fine enough for the loom, coming from the culture of the fields. But he trusted he should never see the old farmers of Breconshire begging their bread in the streets of Manchester. If manufacturers did support one-half the unemployed, Mr. Cobden would soon discharge those men working for 4s. per day, to get others at 1s. 6d."

Oh! why is this nation to be ruled by its blockheads?

Next we have Viscount Hereford saying:—

"The attempts of the League to carry out its ends are here most justly termed mischievous, for, in my opinion, its chief aim appears to be to set the farmers against the landlords, and the labourer against both landlord and tenant, for the purpose of arriving at some unjustifiable conclusion."

The conclusion at which the League aims to arrive is obvious enough, and is admitted by all men to be "in the abstract" desirable. Again his lordship utters the following unadulterated silliness:—

"First and foremost, I entreat you to use your best exertions in favour of the labouring man, as most deserving of your protection, because Providence has placed him in a lower walk of life, and he is less able to protect himself—(loud cheers)—next in favour of the tenant-farmer; and, lastly, in favour of the landlords of the country. I call upon you to maintain inviolate the relations which exist between us all; and as you value the domestic and local happiness of your own families and friends, so likewise regard the happiness and comforts of others, and more especially of those fellow-creatures who are your inferiors through circumstances."

Ask the west of England labourers, ask the half-employed peasantry of all agricultural England, how the landlords have hitherto protected them?

Then Mr. Ansdell tried to look practical and business-like when he said:—

"The League boasted of having raised a large sum of money, and no doubt they had done so. It was for the present meeting to take a note from their book, and as money was the sine qua non of war it might be well for them to arm in like manner."

It has been said to require some talent to spend a large income with credit, and so far as we have observed the monopolists have not made much use of the large sums of money which the landowners have subscribed—upon paper. As far as we know, or the rest of the public know, all the great men of "Central Protection Society" have yet done, has been to take two rooms in Bond-street, and three lawyers' opinions to prove they really are very harmless creatures.

Then we have Col. Pearse's peninsular experiences. He said:—

"On the Continent, wheaten bread is seldom used in the rural districts, and never eaten by the labourer. (Hear.) During the peninsular war it had often been his lot to see a family sit down round a brown panella of roasted chestnuts and boiled olives, and when they did add to that the luxury of bread, it was that of Indian corn with the bran in it, which would choke an Englishman. In extensive rural districts of France, peas, beans, and similar pulse are mixed with the bread of the peasant; and if we look further north, and to those wheat-growing countries which are to save England the trouble and expense of furnishing her own supplies, is the labourer's bread better there? It is an incoherent fact that wheaten bread forms not only the fare of the labourer, but of the upper classes of society; and as an Englishman, when travelling in those countries, he had often been favoured with a small plate of very thin slices of wheaten bread from our well-known natural prejudice in its favour. Why, your very paupers in the union would rebel if such a fare was offered to them as is supplied to the labourer of the Continent."

To be sure they would; but has Col. Pearse's thoughts during travel never led him to ask why? Is it not because the standard of living is, or rather was, higher in England than on the Continent? And does not that arise from our superior wealth, the direct products of commercial and manufacturing industry? Col. Pearse's description very accurately shows the state of a peasantry in a purely agricultural community. Such arguments, if at all applicable, prove too much. Then, he pretended to believe the Free-Traders don't wish for Free Trade in anything but corn. Now, every speaker and writer on the side of Free Trade has advocated free trade in corn as a good in itself, but most especially as leading to a free trade in everything else. These monopolists have a habit of raising up giants for the purpose of slaying them.

Next, Dr. Bower said:—

"Depend upon it, my friends, all their chattering is intended for one object only, and that is to obtain cheap labour by means of cheap bread, unmindful of the ruin in which millions of their fellow-countrymen would be involved."

If Dr. Bower does not know more of the science of medicine than he does of political economy, we caution the Welshmen against throwing away a fee upon him. Wages are regulated by the demand for the products of labour, not by the cost of food; and our charge against the Corn Laws is, that they lessen in every direction the demand for the products of labour. If the monopolists

have any answer to that charge, let us hear it. Hitherto they have been remarkably abstemious in argument upon the point.

CULTURE OF FLAX.—A LANDLORD'S FACT.

At a recent meeting of monopolists at Selby in Yorkshire, one Squire Burton made the following startling statement as an illustration of what would be the effect of free trade in corn:—

"There were particular descriptions of produce which might be pointed out as illustrating the effects of a repeal of the Corn Laws, as they were virtually in the situation which corn would be with Free Trade. He would appeal to every farmer present, and he saw many in the meeting, whether the cultivation of flax in this country was not, in consequence of the duty being repealed, a dead letter? Where was the man in this kingdom who could grow it with advantage? No one could, because it was known perfectly well that the price of the labour requisite in the dressing of flax was equal to one-half its value, and the reason that they could grow it abroad was because the price of labour there is so much below what it is in this country. This was one instance of 'Free-Trade' benefits; and if there were to be a repeal of the Corn Laws, depend upon it corn would be in the same condition as flax is now."

Now, the cultivation of flax was not discontinued by reason of any fiscal changes, but it being supposed to be a very exhausting crop, landlords have almost universally interdicted its culture. The fact of the prohibition to grow flax which is contained in most English leases goes far to show that it really might be grown with advantage to the farmers. And if that is so, its introduction into English agriculture would be a very desirable measure.

Mr. Warnes, jun., of Norfolk, who has exerted himself with great energy to promote the culture of flax, says that flax will flourish upon soils where beans, peas, and potatoes cannot be advantageously cultivated; and he adds:—

"That flax impoverishes the soil is a mere vulgar notion, devoid of all truth. The best historical relations, and the verbal accounts of honest, ingenious planters, concur in declaring it to be a vain prejudice, unsupported by any authority; and that these crops really meliorate and improve the soil."

And he further says:—

"I have grown flax for three years in various fields without perceiving any deterioration of soil or exhausting effect. On the contrary, I considered the land improved by the change of rotation, and by the effect of the crop on after tillage. Nor has a complaint of this kind been made by any one who grew flax for the sake of the seed in 1842. Fifty-six acres were, that year, grown in different parts of Norfolk; and nearly all who then tried the experiment upon a small scale increased it last year, when about 400 acres were grown."

We know that several first-rate farmers in other counties are directing their attention to the growth of flax, both for the sake of its seed and its fibre; and the truth is, that an article open to the fullest competition, and to the culture of which there are various obstacles from prejudice, or the want of convenience, experience, or capital, is likely in a few years to supersede to some extent the growth of wheat, of which the growers have as strict a monopoly as acts of Parliament can give them.

Such is a specimen of the instructive facts which monopolist landowners think fit to bring under public notice as arguments against free trade in corn.

WHAT IS PROTECTION?

If there was at one time any question that "protection" meant living at other people's expense, all doubt has been removed by the arguments the protectionists have thought fit to use in support of their plea for a monopoly of the supply of corn. At the St. Alban's Pro-Corn-Law meeting, one speaker was particularly pathetic over the hard case of those landlords "who are mortgaged to two-thirds of the value of their estates," should free trade in corn produce, as was assumed, a fall in rents. But one of the most striking examples of the disregard of common honesty which a desire for "protection" begets, we have met with, in a letter by a Mr. Thomas Bates, of Kirkclevington, who has "compressed his thoughts" into four long columns of a newspaper; from that repository we shall cull a few specimens of landlord reasons and reasoning. This gentleman starts with the assertion of the existence of a vastly depreciated currency previously to 1819—always a favourite notion with most deeply-indebted landlords—and having gone through a column of what we suppose is intended for calculations to work out that theory, he says:—

"I have hitherto considered the landed proprietor as free from all other demands than that arising from his altered situation since 1815; but where an heir to landed property came into possession with jointures and annuities settled on the property previous to 1815, to half the amount of the then rental, he has long since ceased to have any interest left in the property, and the same may be said of all others, whose estates were, previous to 1815, mortgaged to half their value, and so distress has been increased in proportion to the payments that have been to make out of landed property. These facts are evident to every one, but have never yet been prominently brought before the public; the sufferers have hitherto borne their distress patiently."

Landowners are notoriously improvident; living as they do upon the industry of other people, and being elevated without any exertions of their own, as the community of which they form part increases in wealth and population, they seem to imagine that everything is to be made to subservient to their aggrandizement. In the foregoing extract those "patient sufferers," the landlords, whose estates were burdened with charges to the extent of half their value calculated on the prices previous to 1815, are said to have been greatly distressed; but Mr. Bates has forgotten to state that, in the twenty years preceding 1815, rents had increased three, four, and five fold, or even more in many cases! And now, though prices of produce are but not much higher than they were in 1792, rents are little, if at all, reduced below the standard of 1815. This has been effected in part by improvements in husbandry made by farmers under the pressure of necessity, and in part out of the capitals of tenant-farmers. Yet, notwithstanding such advantages, what is the present condition of the landlord interests? According to Mr. Bates:—

"The change of proprietors has been great within the last twenty-five years; but were all estates to be wound up, with their present burdens upon them, far more than half the landed property of the kingdom would inevitably change hands."

After all, it seems "protection" has not done much for the landlords themselves. Then we have the remedy, which shows the confusion of *meum* and *tuum* we have alluded to, and which a hankering after special advantages is sure to create:—

"It is surely, then, time that the landowner should be relieved, and the fundholder made to bear some portion of the burden, after having been so great a gainer for above twenty-five years, and even having profited by the distress brought on the landowners, by purchasing agricultural produce at such greatly reduced prices."

This claim to perpetuate against the public the high prices of the war, which resulted from a combination of peculiar causes, is as reasonable as if the owners of land who had once got a high price for their produce during a famine, should claim a vested right to famine prices ever afterwards. That is indeed the principle on which our Corn Law is founded.

The same writer asserts, that if the trade in corn were free, "30s. to 32s. a quarter for wheat might be looked to as average prices," and this is the way he sets about proving it:—

"Who would believe, when they were warned of the consequences of the bill of 1828 (as proposed by the late Mr. Canning, till altered by the Duke of Wellington) till the year 1835 proved it, that the average price of wheat for the whole year would be only 39s. 4d. per quarter? The duty on importation at that price was, by the bill of 1828, 4s. 8d. per quarter."

What absolute trash. The low price of 1835 was caused by the very abundant production of wheat in that and the two preceding years; this was admitted by every witness examined by the Agricultural Committee of 1836, and is an established historical fact. Yet this is the stuff with which a furious monopolist London paper fills its columns, and to which it points in a leading article as specially deserving attention.

INCENDIARISM AND THE CORN LAWS.

There is no more fearful symptom of the extent to which the system created by the Corn Laws has demoralized the rural population than the prevalence of incendiarianism in the eastern counties. The subject was referred to by the chairman of quarter sessions in Suffolk; and the judge of assize, Lord Abinger, in his charge to the grand jury of the same county, says:—

"He was sorry to hear the complaints which had been made, and to see the great loss that had been sustained throughout the county by the burning of agricultural property. It was extremely difficult to suggest a cause for this, and more difficult to find a remedy. He had bestowed some attention to the subject, and he owned he did not see any particular difference in this county compared with others where there had been less fires, to cause the commission of this crime. He could not conceive how the agricultural labourers could be so blind to their own interests as to suppose they would in any way benefit themselves by committing crimes of this nature; they might ruin the farmers and starve the populace, but he was unable to understand how they could benefit themselves; some fatal delusion on the subject prevailed, which he hoped the laws, in time, would have power to check."

Now, though Lord Abinger could find no cause and suggest no remedy for the crime, the chairman of the quarter sessions did not hesitate to ascribe it to the low wages and irregular employment of the agricultural population, and to suggest more employment at better wages. In the parish of Hitcham, Suffolk, where more than one dreadful incendiary fire has recently occurred, there are more than forty labourers unemployed! Here, then, we have the cause of these fires; and the reckless indifference with which the peasantry have talked of such deeds amongst each other is one of the worst signs of demoralization.

And this shocking state of things is directly traceable to the Corn Laws. The counties in which these fires prevail are chiefly cultivated for the growth of wheat and barley. Now, the direct tendency of the Corn Laws is to offer a premium on grain-growing, and, by artificially raising prices of corn in some years, to induce farmers to repeat a corn crop too often, and with too little preparation. This is a permanent cause for the employment of a comparatively small number of labourers. A certain amount of corn, say from 16 to 21 bushels of wheat per acre, according to the natural quality of the soil, may be grown by a low system of husbandry, requiring little labour, but unless the prices of grain be very high, the farmer cannot with such crops pay his way. For instance, when his rent is calculated according to a price of about 60s. a quarter for wheat—as is the case with most of the land in the eastern counties—should the price fall, as it has lately done, to 50s. or less, one of two things must happen: either the landlord must go without his rent, or some of the labourers must be discharged or underpaid. Now, the landlord never does go without his rent, for the power of distress which he possesses secures him; consequently the loss falls on the labourer. The fall is looked upon by both landlord and tenant as only temporary, and consequently the one makes no final adjustment of rent, though he may "throw back" some 10 per cent., and the other makes no permanent change in his system of cultivation. Indeed, in many cases, the farmer actually endeavours to make up for the low price of corn by increasing his yearly breadth of it, and thus increases the evil. The tenant is misled by his landlord to attribute the fall in price to any rather than the right cause, usually either an abundant season, or diminished consumption in the manufacturing districts; and is urged to blame the tariff, or the new Corn Law, or Sir Robert Peel's plans, or the Anti-Corn-League, or any other of the symptoms, not the causes, of a state of distress and fluctuation. And it must be remembered that nothing but the belief on the part of the farmers that the low prices would only be temporary, could throw this loss off the landlords, who ought to bear it, upon the labourers who ought not; for if farmers did not expect prices to rise again to the extent of Parliament limit, they would either adopt an improved course of husbandry, and employ many labourers, or they would require their rents to be adjusted to actual prices, and would demand a further reduction equivalent to the increase of poor-rates. To enable the former alternative to take place landlords must grant leases of considerable duration, and upon terms adapted to the best systems of modern husbandry; and the consequences to themselves of the second alternative would be so serious that, except while following the will-o'-the-wisp of protection, the withholding leases would never occur. Total and immediate and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws would at once place the tenant and the landlord upon a safe footing; agriculture would become a business in which skill, industry, and capital might be employed with the certainty of reward, instead of being, as at present, a hazardous speculation; labourers would be regularly employed, and, as the object of every farmer would be to increase production, more labourers in husbandry would be constantly wanted; then no more incendiary fires would take place, and the remedy which judges and magistrates now profess to seek for in vain would be found in a FREE TRADE IN CORN.

GROWING OPINION AMONGST TENANT-FARMERS.

Landlords will soon find that the power over their tenants, which it is one of the great objects of the Corn Laws to perpetuate, will slip from their hands in the very struggle

now making to support their monopoly. As evidence of the extent to which the expression of their sense of the wrongs under which tenant-farmers labour, even the blindest monopolist journals which have any dependence upon the tenantry of England are compelled to admit such correspondence as the following:—

"HINTS TO LANDLORDS."

"To the Editor of the Farmers' Journal."

"Sir,—It cannot have escaped you (though it may less observant persons), that a gradual and scarcely perceptible, though no less important, change has taken place in the social condition of this country. Population presses now as close on the heels of subsistence, that it is no longer prudent (if it were desirable) to withhold from cultivation any portion of the soil, either for the maintenance of covers for game, or ornament. The consuming classes have a right to insist, that the owners of the soil should no longer alienate it from its natural and legitimate channel, viz.—the production of food;—and the 'masses' begin to feel that the time has now arrived that field sports (when carried to excess) and the enjoyments of the few must yield to the exigencies of the many. A late duke kept several hundred acres of 'wood' solely for the preservation of foxes; but the tide has now turned, and we see a good example in the Prime Minister, who recommends the destruction of hares and rabbits, as detrimental to agriculture."

So Mr. West, a land-agent, writes in the *Mark-lane Express*:—

"I consider the subject of leases to be one of peculiar importance at the present time. Much has been written in your valuable journal both for and against leases. It has always been a subject of great practical concern to all the different classes who are interested in the due cultivation of the soil, but never was it, in my opinion, in any degree so important as it is at this time. Still, Mr. Editor, even practical men are, as you are well aware, ranging themselves on opposite sides as to the argument. This is, however, to me no matter of surprise. It arises from the peculiar circumstances in which such persons are or have been placed. Either the bad working of an ill-constructed lease, some political difference, an extraordinary change in the value of money, or the fact of the existence of what I call hereditary occupation, or all these causes together, operating upon their minds, have caused those gentlemen who are adverse to long leases to come forward with an expression of their opinions; but, with all due deference to them, I hesitate not to assert that, however difficult it may be to some to draw up the necessary clauses of a nineteen years' lease, so as to recognise the interests of both the contracting parties, a faithful history of all the leases that have ever been taken or given upon the principle of 'live and let live' would most decisively settle the point in their favour. Such a report would abundantly prove that immense advantage had resulted both to landlord and tenant."

And perhaps still more decisive proof of the necessity the more far-seeing landlords feel themselves under of endeavouring to conciliate their tenants, and induce them to expend their capital in good husbandry, is to be found in the bill which has been brought into Parliament by Lord Portman, whereby it is proposed to enact—

"It shall be lawful for any tenant of any farm or lands, holding the same from his landlord with or without any lease or agreement in writing respecting the same, who shall intend to make any permanent improvements thereon, to give notice in writing to his landlord, or to the agent of such landlord, of his intention, with a specification in detail of the nature of such intended improvements."

"And that in case such landlord, or his agent, shall not, within the space of three months then next following, signify in writing, to be given to the said tenant or left for him on the premises occupied by him as aforesaid, his dissent thereto, it shall, for the purposes herein mentioned, be considered that the landlord assents to such proposed improvement."

"And that in case such improvement shall have been made, and such tenant shall be compelled, by notice from his landlord, to quit the said premises, or at the expiration of the term of his lease shall cease to occupy the said premises, before he shall have been remunerated for the expenses of such improvement, the said tenant, or his executor or administrators, shall be entitled to claim compensation of his landlord for the amount of loss incurred by quitting the said premises so improved."

The amount of compensation to be settled by arbitration in the mode pointed out by the bill. This measure has, probably, no chance of becoming law, and if it did it would be utterly nugatory; for wherever the tenant is sufficiently independent to give a notice of improvement under the bill, he would be in a position to demand a lease, and in the majority of cases the landlord would dissent from the improvement.

The law "relating to landlord and tenant" unquestionably requires alteration, but such a scheme as that embodied in Lord Portman's bill, as applied to the agricultural body politic, is like washing a deep-seated ulcer with a wet sponge, when, to effect a cure, it requires probing to the bottom, combined with a decisive action upon the whole system of the patient. The time is coming when it will be obvious to all that rents can only be maintained by inducing farmers to apply their skill and capital to land in a way quite inconsistent with yearly tenancies. For this, however, the Corn Laws must be first repealed, and then all parties will have a firm basis for their calculations.

"HINTS TO LANDLORDS."

SELF-REFUTATION.—It was said of that now eminent monopolist Lord Ashburton, when, as Alexander Baring, he spoke in the House of Commons, that he usually contrived to answer himself; but in that intellectual exercise the editor of the *Mark-lane Express* beats his lordship hollow. In a recent leading article of his, which was upon Mr. Cobden's motion, that writer says:

"We must confess we do feel a considerable degree of regret that an inquiry, which we are persuaded would result in favour of a certain amount of protection to the British farmer, could not have been gone into; still, seeing the baneful effects of suspense and uncertainty arising from the unsettled state of our agricultural and commercial relations, we are well pleased that the motion was refused."

The beautifully-balanced see-saw of the above passage must be a wonderful help to the bewildered farmer who tries to puzzle out the truth amidst the assertions and predictions and oburgations of his monopolist instructors. May not this apparent inconsistency on the part of the writer—who has usually more acuteness than all the rest of the pack of monopolist writers—be explained by the supposition that the first branch of the sentence is dictated by his own sense, which involuntarily desires a full and fair examination of the operation of the Corn Laws on the interests of tenant-farmers and farm-labourers; while the latter branch indicates the measure of monopolist nonsense down to which he feels bound to write?

THEIR IS JEST.—It was said the other day by a shrewd observer of passing events, "That to advise the use of gunno, or to recommend draining, was *prima facie* evidence of being a Leaguer, and worthy of all condemnation in protectionist society." And it is certain that the out-and-out Monopolists contend—as in consistency they must—that improvements in agriculture which would reduce prices are as much to be deprecated as foreign im-

portation. But the truth of the above biting jest is rather laughably shown by the following passage from a letter of Mr. J. West—who seems to be a land-agent—in the *Mark-lane Express*. After asking that the advocates of Free Trade "will weigh dispassionately and refute, if they can, by fair argument," certain puerilities such as are put forth by accredited Monopolists in remote districts, intended to prove that the landlord's interest in maintaining the Corn Laws was secondary to that of the tenant and labourer, Mr. West says:—

"I am quite ready to admit, that, as far as it is a question between landlord and tenant, there is a strong necessity for reduction in some cases within my own knowledge; but, to whatever obloquy I may expose myself, I hesitate not to avow, that it is my firm conviction, founded on an experience of many years in the management of property, that in a large majority of instances the proprietors of estates would do much more good to their tenants, to the labouring poor, and to the community at large, if they would, as quickly as possible, carry out to the greatest practicable extent the improvement of the land, than they would do by the reduction of any amount of rent whatever. Such a course as this would infuse life and activity through all the ramifications of society, and would so much increase production as to cheapen the price of bread far below what it can ever reach by any other means whatever."

Here we have the clear admission of a monopolist land-agent, who, of course, is anxious to curry favour with monopolist landowners, that to "avow" what every good farmer and every honest land-agent has long since stated, that liberty to improve, not charitable abatements of rent, is required by farmers, subjects the avowant to "obloquy" in monopolist circles! Have we not again and again said just what this monopolist valuer is compelled to reiterate, with the addition that the total abolition of all restrictions on the trade in corn is an indispensable preliminary to the general adoption of such improvements?

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We insert "Sledgehammer's" Letter to Lord Steeplechase on **REPUDIATION**; it was accidentally omitted in our last number:—

"MY LORD,

Your lordship, I notice, is fond Of reviling the Nabobs of Lash, Your cousin, who cut such a dash On the opposite side of the pond,— Who, when we presented their bond, Presented no signs of the cash. Excuse me for being so rash,— But, as to the debt of our nation, A trick have the men of your station Worth two of a 'repudiation.' Instead of just paying your share, Like gentlemen, honest and fair, Of the debt of which you were the makers, By the gauge of your purses or acres, You only come in as part-takers In the bills of your grocers and bakers! And while you are chasing your foxes, You stand—by your mercenary proxies— By a million of tables, or more, On the pleasureless hard-working poor; And ere they can draw up a seat, Both out of the solids they eat, And out of the liquids they quaff, You take by your taxes ONE-HALF! And this is the way that you get The 'pewter' to honour the debt! I'm ashamed of your honour, my lord; Your lordship could better afford To pay on the nation's demand One-half of your money and land, Than can a poor worky like me One-half of his sugar and tea— One-half of the blessed brown bread On which his poor children are fed! Don't speak of the thousands you pour Through the Downing-street Treasury door: I see, by your name on the docket, They more than flow back to your pockets. Your cousin we just spoke about Are the sneakingest rascals, no doubt; But, excuse me, I cannot make out Your right to the honour which decks The name of our honest John Bull, While you slip out your delicate necks From the terrible load he must pull; While, first having stolen our votes, You cancel your national notes By cheating our famishing throats!

My lord, I am,—and I am not a *sham-er*,

Your lordship's best friend,

"March 26, 1844." "A SLEDGEHAMMER."

"A Subscriber in Lambeth."—The laws preventing the acquisition of land in small quantities take away from the industrious one of the great incentives to the accumulation of small capitals. Small landed proprietors are the most truly Conservative portion of a nation; they stand between the "Have-nots" and the "Haves"; their sympathies with both enable them to mediate and prevent the collision menaced by a *Jaquerie* on one side, and an oligarchy on the other.

"J. H."—We cannot at this moment lay our hands upon the letter. Mr. Cathoun's advocacy of slavery would not justify a repudiation of his support of Free Trade; it is unfortunate that he should not perceive the value of free labour, but his having sound economic views on one subject affords reasonable hope that he will discover his error on another.

"F. A. P." has sent us an example of the tender mercies of Monopolists to the pretended objects of their care—the farm-labourers. It is the case of a poor man at Leek, in Staffordshire, who was mulcted in a fine of £5, and £7 18s. costs, on a mere suspicion of having been in pursuit of game. This is one of the many exemplifications of the case of "Peasantry versus Pheasantry," which will, we fear, prove eventually one of the most perilous trials ever hazarded by an oligarchy.

"S. R."—The quotation has already appeared in our columns.

"Mr. Francis, of Brompton," inquires, 1. "Would a repeal of the Corn Laws cause an increase of the corn grown in this country, and to what amount?"—To the amount of capital which the landlords would allow to be invested in the soil by letting farms at an equitable rent, and on a secure tenure.—2. "What would be the number of quarters imported, and the average price per quarter?" The number of quarters imported would be the quantity requisite to feed that portion of our population which has now an insufficient supply of food; the price must, of course, depend on circumstances of demand and supply; but, judging from the Channel Islands, where there is Free Trade, the price may be taken as from 48s. to 52s. per quarter.—3. "With what countries would our foreign trade be extended if the Corn Laws were abolished?" With all countries where there is a superabundant supply for the belly, and an insufficient supply for the back, such as the western States of America, the Crimea, &c.—4. "What effect would the repeal of the Corn Laws have on wages?" The rate of wages has no more to say to the price of food than to the age of the moon; it is determined solely by demand and supply; now, as more trade must create more employment, and more employment must produce a greater demand for labour, it is perfectly clear that the opening of our ports would raise the rate of wages in nearly the exact proportion of the extent to which commercial restrictions are re-

moved.—We have answered these questions without any reference to the captious form in which they have been put; and if the querist be sincere in his inquiry after truth, we recommend him to procure Archbishop Whately's "Easy Lessons on Money Matters," which contain, in a simple and concise form, the elementary principles of economical science; a slight knowledge of these principles would have enabled Mr. Francis to solve his four problems without our aid.

"S. T."—The incident is instructive; but there are circumstances which render its publication questionable.

"J. C."—The hint is worth attention.

The following specimen of the protection given to infant labour by the monopolists is very instructive at the present crisis:—"A man of the name of M— is a labourer, with a large family. He resides in K—, and works for J. W—; as likewise does his son, a boy thirteen years old (not more), who is employed keeping birds off a field of 100 acres or so. On Sunday the 24th of March, this year, after this worthy magistrate had been to church, and learned that divine precept of doing to others as he would wish to be done unto him, he went to where the boy should have been keeping birds, and found him asleep, and he gave him what we in this county call a good thrashing; and, not satisfied with that, the next day he sent a policeman for him, who handcuffed this child, and brought him to T—, and took him before the said J. W—, Esq., and L. T. B—, Esq., another worthy magistrate of the same kidney, and by them he was committed for the remainder of the week to Swaffham Bridewell, where his hair was cropped, and he was put upon the treadmill, and all for the heinous crime of going to sleep."

"A Subscriber" sends the following:—

"LINES WRITTEN AT THE TIME WHEN CHURCH EXTENSION WAS UNDER THE CONSIDERATION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS."

"Give us this day our daily bread;
This our most righteous Master said;
Then how can sinful mortals dare
Refuse a nation's humble prayer?
The starving thousands of this land
Look up unto the ruling hand,
And pray for bread with begging tone;
What do they get? Behold, a stone!"

"S. D." of Hillacombe, sends the following exquisite lines; they do high honour to her head and heart:—

"SPRING COMETH, BUT MAN SUFFERS."

"Spring comes, and lo! the green buds swell,
The primrose lifts her head;
Nature, revived beneath the spell,
Comes breathing from the dead."

"The butterfly floats o'er the mead,
The bee hums round the bower;
God will His smallest creatures feed,—
There's honey in the flower!"

"There's honey in the flower! and see
The dewdrops round it cling;
Come forth, bright butterfly and bee!
Rejoice ye in the spring!"

"Tarry not, insect, bird, and beast,
Attend your Maker's call!
Earth spreadeth forth His bounteous feast,
More than enough for all."

"But man! man only looketh on,
Mournful and sunken-eyed,
What hath God's noblest creature done,
That food should be denied?"

"Famine is on his thin-worn brow,
He sees the spring, yet sighs,
Lovely are earth and heaven,—but lo!
Man's burning tears arise."

"Oh God! dost Thou deny us bread?
Thou God of earth and heaven!
All else 'I'hou madest Thou has fed,
For all Thy care has striven."

"Raiment and shelter they receive,
Insect, and beast, and bird;
Cold and unsheltered, wilt Thou leave
The creature first preferred?"

"We watch the life-restoring spring
Reclothe the field and grove;
Sunshine and shower, and beauty bring
New witness of Thy love."

"Oh God! not Thou,—but evil men
This deadly wrong have brought;
Thou saw'st Thy work was good—how then
By Thee was misery wrought?"

"It could not be! Is not! Men slay
Their fellow-men, and smile;
Thy children's bread they take away,
And reckless feast the while."

"They take our food—our raiment take—
Scarce roofed the peasant lies;
And bitterer grows the heart whose ache
The proud oppressor eyes."

"Scorns, too, while eying! Yes, in vain
Each suppliant word was said;
Useless to ask, or to complain
To them who stint us bread."

"Bread—life—all, all, they swallow up,
Though hopeless millions pine;
Oh God, our God! remove this cup,
And be the glory Thine!"

"Give victory to the patriot band,
The many o'er the few!—
Join suffering nations hand-in-hand,
Till peace and right subdue!"

"Then shall the foodful earth increased,
Her corn and olive bring;
And man, no less than bird or beast,
Be gladdened by the spring."

"S. D."

"T. P., Jun." is referred to the reply to Mr. Francis's queries.

"A Subscriber of Warminster."—We shall inquire.

"A Constant Reader."—Advantage will be taken of his hints.

"Justitia."—Perhaps.

"E. S. A." is not forgotten.

"W. C.'s" song is set to an old tune, but is none the worse for that:—

"The spade, the sickle, and the scythe,
The harrow, plough, an' a' that,
To haud them up we would be blythe,
Gin just-e didna' thraw that;
For a' that, an' a' that,
Protection laws, an' a' that;
The poor, they plead for cheaper bread,
An' we maun bear, an' a' that."

"To you, ye owners o' the soil,
They raise their cry an' a' that,—
'O gie us bread, and we will toil
To haud ye braw, an' a' that;
For a' that, an' a' that,
Nae mair be't said for a' that,—
Ye feed your packs o' useless hounds,
An' starve the poor, an' a' that."

"It's no the farmer that we blame,
They are but dupes an' a' that;
It's you that has the sin an' shame
To answer for, an' a' that;
For a' that, an' a' that,
The time is come, for a' that,
When justice true, 'twixt us an' you,
Maun be the law an' a' that."

"W. CALDER."

"A Lover of Fair Play" sends the following example of the paternal love and affection of landlords for their tenants:

"C. G., Esq., the honourable member for B— has a tenant by the name of White, who rents a small farm under him, which is exceedingly overstocked with game; and about the middle of last month the son of Mr. White was caught while in the act of taking from a trap one of the numerous hares with which the farm abounds to such an alarming extent that the crops are frequently much injured by their rapacity. A summons was served on him by the laying landlord, to appear at the bench; and the consequence was, the young man, whom the local papers represent as a very respectable character, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, to hard labour, or pay a larger sum than he had in his possession; and not willing to take from his father that which, it may be presumed from the terms on which farms are generally let, he had but a short supply of, submitted to the punishment of the law and was taken to Petworth prison for three months to hard labour! But did it rest here? Did Mr. G— feel that he had succeeded in punishing the offending culprit, that the requirements of the law were satisfied, and himself sufficiently avenged? No! he must go to the whole length; not satisfied with the punishment of the guilty, the innocent must be made to suffer; the young man's crime has rendered criminal in the sight of the arbitrary aristocrat the whole family, and father, mother, sisters, and brothers, are all obliged to sacrifice the endearments of home,—the beautiful green meadows, and luxuriant corn fields, so long the subjects of their daily toil, their watchful care, and their anxious solicitude, must be left for ever,—for a notice to quit has been served on the innocent, unoffending family.

"O," of Salisbury, has taken the same subject as our fair correspondent of Billacombe; there is, however, sufficient variety in the coincidence to justify the insertion of his lines; and we think that our readers will be pleased to see the agreement of thought between a poet and poetess, writing on the same subject, unknown to each other:—

VERNAL THOUGHTS.

"Is this a time to be cloudy and sad,
When our mother, Nature, smiles around;
When even the deep blue heavens look glad,
And gladness breathes from the blossoming ground?"
BRYANT.

"A time for smiles! a time for smiles!
The laughing Spring comes gaily on;
Who would be sad while she beguiles
All beings from her flowery throne?
'All hail to thee! sweet Spring, all hail!'
Swells vocal from each fragrant vale,
I join the general hymn to thee,
And cry, 'All hail, thou great restorer!
Thy blessings fall on flower and tree,
And earth revives from storms past o'er her:
The heart breathes gladness in thy voice,
That cries to all around—rejoice!
All nature thrills at thy glad sounds,
And with new life man's spirit bounds."

"A time for gloom! a time for gloom!
For sad thoughts rush upon the mind
Of those pale tenants of new shrouds,
Whose wallings on the winter's wind
Spoke the wild tones of dark despair.
Their voice is hush'd; where are they—where?
Where plenty is, they died of want;
Died—broken-hearted and subdued—
Beseeching Heaven with prayers to haunt
The TANNERS OF THE PEOPLE'S FOOD.
And shall those prayers unheeded fall?
Can dying lips no curses call?
Bethink ye, Starvers of the Poor!
Can ye their Maker's frown endure?"

"Go to yon bread-taxed wanderer,
Tell him to smile his gloom away,
For Spring's soft voice salutes his ear
With gladness, and bids him be gay.
What doth he answer thee?—'Tis this:—
'True, spring's a time for general bliss;
It was so with me once;—but now
'Tis so no more. Last spring I had
A wife and babes; but, sure and slow,
WANT did his work, and they are dead!
With others I roam'd forth, to find
The bread for which in vain I pined;
But they before the storm fell, one by one,
And I am left to starve, and die—alone!"

"Salisbury, April 1, 1844." "O.

"A Landowner at the Cape."—The matter is not worth notice. An unknown correspondent sends the following ballad, which reminds us of the early labours of Southey and Coleridge:—

Stimula similibus curantur;
OR, THE HOMŒOPATHIC DOSE—A PARABLE.
Showing how one grief may be cured by means of another.

By a Non-elect.
Mono-Polly sat weeping and wiping her eyes:
"Oh, it grieves my heart to see
These poor little objects of girls and boys
Trudge on to the factory!"

"I wonder how Bright can sleep at night,
And think on the wrongs of the poor,
When a ticket for soup would set all right,
And away with his Free-Trade bore!"

"Brazilian commerce, these spouters crave;
O horrid!—A saint would weep
For the wretched slave, while they bully and rave,
'Let sugar and corn be cheap.'"

But a plain old man his story began:
"There was a ship, quoth he,
Laden with wheat; a precious freight,
And brought from a far country;

"Where the merchants said, 'We've plenty of bread,
But our people lack clothes to wear;
We'll send this grain to the spinners of thread,
For the poor are famishing there.'"

"When the breezes fair the good ship bore
To the Isles of the Ocean Queen;
The ports were closed on every shore,
As though dearth they had never seen.

"For the lords of the isle a law had made,
That corn should be scarce and dear,
That the extra price, to the farmer paid,
High rents and tithes might bear.

"So the ships lay rotting, the looms were still,
The workmen no bread could buy;
And hush'd was the clang of the busy mill,
And grievous the children's cry.

"Their lot grew worse with every year,
Yet the landlord no want could see;
For the pheasant, the grouse, and the fallow-deer
Were as fat as fat could be.

"But blind to the cause of all their woes,
The ploughmen the spinners would blame,
Till the wall of despairing thousands rose,
Like the roar of the mighty main.

"Then the troops came down, with bayonet and gun,
And cannon, and grape-shot keen;
They drove the starving rebels along,
Till the streets were all swept clean.

* Ancient Mariner.

"When the Esquimaux dog the nearest dog,
He bites the dogs before;
So the lord screw'd hard the farmer to rob,
And the farmer squeak'd his boor.

"A mother chid her babes, who cried
For food with a blither wail—
'You must learn,' she said, 'these pangs to hide,
Or your father must go to gaol.'

"The father, sore griev'd for many days,
Rash'd out, and a bird he kill'd;
'For I've labour'd hard,' said he, 'to raise
'The grain which this pheasant hath fill'd.'

"Now, a man who kept your father's game
Attack'd him on his way;
And they struggl'd sore, till the man was slain,
Who had snatch'd his prize away.

"When'er a good deed of the nobles I hear,
To their praise I'll speak it out;
Though justice be dear to the rich man here,
Yet they'll hang the poor for nought.

"So justice condemn'd this man to die—
To swing from the gallows tree;
And the judge made a solemn and warning cry
Against murder and felony.

"The mother broke her heart and died—
Her troubles soon were o'er;
But few would relieve a felon's child,
As they wander'd from door to door.

"Oh Christ! 'tis a cutting thing to say,
How they perish'd one by one;
How they wither'd, like autumn leaves away,
When their spring was scarce begun.

"And" * * * * *

But the lady had ceas'd her sobs and sighs,
Her tears, her sorrows were o'er—
She darted away, in a mad surprise—
Monopoly wept no more.

"G. S. P." is under consideration. "P. L." ditto.

"S. P." We must expect such tricks.

"E. W., of Roscrea.—The matter is under consideration.

"W. S., of York.—The time has gone by.

"A Constant Reader," of Pimlico.—We doubt the prudence of the course he recommends.

"A Leaguer."—See the answer to our Leeds subscriber.

"T. D."—We shall see.

"A Staunch Free-Trader."—We think he may establish his right to vote.

"J. H. B."—Free Trade may easily be shown to have caused the prosperity of all the great commercial states of antiquity.

"The Ploughman of Haddington."—We fear that his verses would not satisfy all our readers.

"W. R." is thanked.

"J. B.'s" verses are not quite up to the mark.

We have not separately noticed a large number of communications from farmers and agricultural labourers, complaining of the wrongs and oppressions to which they are subjected by the severity with which the game laws are enforced, and by the destruction of their green corn by hares and rabbits. Some of these correspondents have taken the pains of collecting names, dates, and facts; and we have given two examples of such authenticated statements in this day's paper. It is a proof of the little effect which the slanders on the League have produced, that it is to our paper the farmers instinctively turn when they wish to bring their grievances before the public.

"J. P. L." sends the following:—

"THE UNEMPLOYED ARTISAN'S PATER NOSTER.

In te, Domine, speravi.

"Give us this day our daily bread;"

Oh, Father! hear our prayer;

All hope of earthly aid has fled—

We sink into despair.

"Our little ones scream out with pain,

And clamour to be fed;

Father, their cries to us are vain—

'Give us our daily bread.'

"O'er the poor infant at the breast,

The mother bows her head;

The fount is dry, in vain 'tis pressed—

'Give us our daily bread!'

"Our eldest born, with hollow eye,

And eager, stealthily tread,

Would take the food he cannot buy—

'Give us our daily bread!'

"He must not beg; he shall not steal,

Though stores before us spread;

But we will work with earnest zeal—

'Give us our daily bread!'

"Famine hath laid his withering hand

Upon each sufferer's head;

Oh, Christ! is this a Christian land?—

'Give us our daily bread!'

"Thy kingdom come! Father, receive

Our souls when we are dead;

In Heaven we shall not pine and grieve,

Or want our daily bread!"

The Publisher of THE LEAGUE begs to inform Advertisers that in future no advertisements will be inserted in this paper, as the space is required for more general purposes.

THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE beg to announce that their Weekly Meetings in the Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden, will be suspended during the Easter recess; after which, due notice will be given by advertisement of their recommencement.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, April 6, 1844.

The labouring classes of this country have as many friends as the hare in Gay's fable. Philanthropic landowners propose laws for their protection, busy bishops patronise charitable collections, and the Times writes leading articles; and yet with all this sympathy and bustle, we still find that, as Carlyle said long ago, "man is not helped." The secret of which we take to be, that there is too little disposition to put man into a condition to help himself. To give the labourer his rights is little glorification for anybody. That plan is too simple for the ostentation of beneficence. Surface morality is all the go. Be very generous, and forget the plain dictates of common honesty. Subscribe for

the poor man's spiritual instruction, be loud for his political rights, and regulate his hours of work that he may not toil overmuch; but don't knock off the fetters of industry, perhaps it may walk alone and take care of itself, which would supersede a world of patronising and advocacy.

Sir James Graham, with a caution that Conservatism might have been expected to applaud, shrinks from a new principle of legislation which would lead to interminable interference with all those social relations of employers and employed which have hitherto been left to adjust themselves; and which, in a state of commercial freedom, will be sure of adjusting themselves much better than by legislative intermeddling. Hereupon the Times discovers that we actually are in a new state of society, which requires a new set of legislative principles. Steam "has done it all." The workpeople must be protected against steam. And as "Heaven has sent" this mighty power of change, we suppose the devil must be invoked for its restraint. But our cotemporary shall expound his own theory:—

"A new power of nature has suddenly started up in the midst of us, as if it were a mighty river suddenly gushing out of the earth, or a new order of existences, half brutal half rational, with which we suddenly found ourselves allied. The whole nation feels its benefit; industry its aid; but the labourer its competition. At the same time our population has fearfully increased far beyond our natural capabilities. These changes are not of our making: Heaven has sent them. We cannot close our eyes to the fact. Though we tried to reject the fact as a whole, still we should be obliged to encounter it in a thousand details. The disorders of the country are new. Their symptoms are anomalous and monstrous, if we look only to what has been before. The learned practitioner cannot find them in the old works of pathology; or, if he thinks he has identified the new with the old, is set right at last by the discovery that he has made some fatal blunder. A vast and friendless population, driven through the most miserable straits of life, thronging, and crushing, and treading on one another, pass between the Scylla of excessive working and the Charybdis of destitution. Where shall we find the like of this in history? Then, why are we to insist on the necessity of a legislative precedent, if there be none exactly to the purpose?"

This philosophy is struck off rather hastily. How "the whole nation" should feel the benefit of steam, and yet damage fall on "the labourer" by "its competition"; or how it should at once "aid" industry, and yet hurt the industrious, are points on which a little explanation might advantageously have been bestowed. However, the comparison with a new river is a good one. Were such a boon granted by bountiful Nature, would the Times forthwith limit the time when its waters might irrigate the garden or satisfy the thirst?—restrict the number of vessels and quantity of goods that might pass along this natural highway?—or, better still, petition Providence that its waters should only flow ten hours a day, so as to diminish its competition with pumps, carriers, and turnpike trusts? For that is what the Times seems to be driving at with the metaphorical river. Steam works too much for its liking. Will the beast never tire?—Then he must be stopped. Down, sir, down! Though unexhausted, you shall be idle, that the operatives may be idle too; you doing nothing, and they helping you; you corroding with rust, and they pinching with hunger. O this Philanthropy!

The "vast and friendless population" find their best friends, we take it, in those who give them work and pay them wages; and their worst enemies in those who, for their own profit, diminish the amount of work and the worth of wages in the market. The novelty of the case is quite capable of being dealt with on sound old principles. It is a novelty of degree only; the feudal and industrial principles, long at war in society, are now face to face in a grapple for ascendancy. An oppression, which the world never willingly endured, has assumed its most sordid and grinding form; and the objects of that oppression have, more than in any past time, developed their resources and social importance. The last and greatest victory of many, by national industry over class domination, has to be gained, and must be gained, or all that has been done is done in vain, and the ruinous consequences must be endured. As the evil, so the cure, differs only in degree from former appliances; more trade requires more freedom, as more oppression has generated more wretchedness. *Voila tout.* There is little occasion for novelties, and less for quackeries. Freedom is the old prescription; it agrees with the patient's constitution; there is only to increase the dose in proportion to the emergency, and recovery is sure. *Probatum est.*

ANTI-CORN-LAW PAPERS.—The Anti-Laguers are not likely to have it all their own way. The walls of this town, and all the district round, have been placarded with an address to farmers, showing the fallacy of protection, and calling upon them to ask themselves what benefit they have derived from the Corn Law. This address, printed on a sheet along with Mr. Cobden's last speech on the effect of protection upon the tenant-farmer, was given to every person as he entered the Anti-League meeting at Garatung, on Thursday.—*Preston Guardian.* PROTECTION TO AGRICULTURE.—The Hereford Agricultural Protection Association has offered a premium of £10 to the writer of the best pamphlet on the advantages of a protective duty.

REVIEW.

The History of Holland, from the Beginning of the Tenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century. By C. M. Davies. London: Parker.

Ancient alliances and ancient rivalries equally render the history of Holland interesting to Englishmen; similarity of commercial pursuits, social habits, and, to some extent, of language, united England and Holland by bonds which have often been loosened but never wholly broken. The author is the first English writer who has written the history of this great commercial state with a spirit of sympathy for mercantile industry and trading integrity; most of those who have discussed the history of the Netherlands despised trade, or at least affected to despise it; they bestowed their sympathies on the counts, barons, and knights of Burgundy, but had very little feeling for the struggles of boors and fishermen. In consequence of this "aping of chivalrous romance in sober history," as Dewey well expresses it, the early struggles of the Dutch were passed over in silence, or with slight notice, and no value seemed to be attributed to the history of Holland until it became a province of the Dukes of Burgundy. But, interesting to every lover of freedom as is the record of the glorious struggle made by the United Provinces against the Burgundian dukes and their heirs the kings of Spain, additional importance is given to the contest, when it is known that the Hollanders contended for no novel system, demanded no unprecedented privileges, but took up arms to defend an inheritance of liberty derived from a long line of gallant ancestry,—a system of constitutional freedom which had been cradled in morass and forest, which had acquired strength as labour developed the resources of the country, and which unbroken tradition had so interwoven with the mind of the country, that it formed a part of individual existence.

The early constitution of Holland deserves greater attention than it has hitherto received from students of general history, because in it the system of municipal government was more fully developed than in any other European state, and was also more demonstrably original, for no traces of Roman institutions can be found in their ancient laws. These municipalities exhibited in their outward form the framework of an associated aristocracy rather than that of a pure republic; but the spirit by which they were animated was thoroughly popular; for though magisterial power was intrusted only to a few, yet these rulers were for the most part men engaged in trade, mixing on equal terms with the rest of their fellow-citizens, and holding office for so short a term and on so uncertain a tenure, were thus prevented from forming themselves into an oligarchy or establishing an exclusive spirit in the government. To these municipalities the feudal nobles in the interior were strongly opposed. Holland, in the fourteenth century, like England, Germany, and France, was distracted by the dissensions between the feudal nobility, beginning to feel an uneasy consciousness of declining power, and the commons, who were fast acquiring a sense of their increasing strength. It must, however, be observed that the nobles were losing nothing but the power of committing wrong with impunity; in real wealth, income, and honourable greatness they advanced with the general progress of the rest of the community; but they felt that others were rising into an importance which would lead to rivalry, and they resolved to check the growth of mercantile wealth, not because that wealth in any way tended to their impoverishment, but because it threatened to create a power able to check their exorbitant privileges, and interested in restraining their plundering propensities. These parties existed, agitated, and hustled each other for many years before either became conscious of separate existence. The commons revolted against class-legislation, without distinctly seeing from what class the obnoxious laws proceeded; and the feudal lords battled against each instance of the assertion of equal rights, without clearly comprehending that they were standing by their order. Under such circumstances, a banner and a cry were alone wanting for the several partisans to find their places in the battle-field. A dispute with the Princess Margaret was the electric spark which sent the discordant elements to their opposite poles; it supplied them with an excuse for war, and, what in civil dissensions is scarcely less important, with characteristic names.

"The nobles espoused the side of William, while the people and inhabitants of the towns, with the exception of the larger and more aristocratic cities, adhered to Margaret, who was supported besides by the Lord of Brederode, and a few others of the most popular nobility. The former were called by the party name of 'Cods,' because the cod devours all the smaller fish; and the latter by that of 'Hooks,' because with that apparently insignificant instrument one is able to catch the cod. It does not appear what occasion gave rise to these very primitive appellations, so characteristic of the people and their pursuits."

At first the aristocratic "cods" seemed likely to carry everything before them; their vessels were trained to war—at least to so much of warlike pursuits as troops of banditti can learn, for freebooting

was at this period a recognised aristocratic pastime—their names and titles had a strong hold on the imagination of their adversaries, and had they exhibited but a moderate portion of justice and forbearance, no "hooks" would ever have been fixed in their gills. But the commons were beaten into the art of beating in their turn; the nobles gradually trained their opponents into strength, while their sources of income being cut off, they found their mercenaries quite as dangerous as their open enemies. So impoverished was the state in this struggle that Albert, the sovereign of Holland, died insolvent, and his widow was obliged to go through a strange process of law, called "boedelafstandt," by which she was exonerated from responsibility for his debts by renouncing the succession to his estates. The particulars of this ceremony, which appears not to have been uncommon in the Netherlands, are thus described:—

"The widow, having chosen a guardian, demanded, through him, permission, before a court composed of the bailiff of the place and four assessors, to renounce the hereditary estate of her husband, according to the law of Rhyndland. Permission being given, the body of the count was placed on a bier and brought before the door of the court: the lady then, dressed in borrowed clothes, and retaining nothing in her possession which she had received from her late husband, went out with a straw in her hand; this she gave to her guardian, who threw it on the bier, renouncing and surrendering in her name the right of dower, and all interest in the estate of the late count, and in all debts due to or from him."

The struggle between feudalism and commerce changed its aspect when the county of Holland was joined to the duchy of Burgundy. Barante's delightful volumes have rendered us familiar with the gorgeous pageantry and brilliant magnificence of the Burgundian court, but they pass lightly over the taxes on industry, the imposts on trade, and the sale of commercial monopolies, by which such luxury and extravagance were supported. Charles the Bold, who had strong claims to the additional title of Bad, was the Rehobom of the Burgundian line: he answered the remonstrances of the commercial cities with fresh imposts, and the complaints of an over-taxed people with new exactions. His feudal chivalry cheered him in his mad assaults on the sources of his own and their greatness, but the progress of civilization had greatly diminished their barbarous strength; the successful revolt of the Swiss had brought forward infantry as the most powerful arm of war, and shown that mail-clad chivalry could be turned back by the pikes of naked peasants.

Charles of Burgundy hated the very name of liberty; he resolved to crush the rising freedom of the Swiss, and, as he could not trust his own subjects, he hired a body of Italian mercenaries. To their treachery he fell a victim; and, on his death, the Dutch and Flemings for a brief space recovered their former freedom. This, however, only aggravated their misery when the sovereignty of their country was annexed to the monarchy of Austria, and subsequently to that of Spain. Among other acts of tyranny a tax was levied on food, and this led to an insurrection, which received the significant name of the "Cassebrotspeel," or "bread and cheese sport;" for it was a struggle on the part of the people to obtain the means of subsistence.

The great religious movement which had been long at work in the human mind before the voices of Luther and Calvin were found to give utterance to its demands, began to agitate Holland at a time when political disputes had prepared men to look for a better system both in Church and State. The Reformation in Holland was more purely the work of the people than in any other European country; no where else had the Catholic clergy so completely identified its cause with that of the ascendant oligarchy, and perhaps no where else had bishops and priests so ostentatiously disregarded the instruction of their congregations. It was commonly said that they had misinterpreted Christ's injunction to St. Peter, and read the text "Shear my sheep." This religious contest was closely connected with a struggle for the repeal of the obnoxious Corn Laws, which had been renewed by the Emperor Charles V. This greatly overrated monarch imposed a tax on the export and reshipment of corn:—

"Hardly was the permit money begun to be levied, when the pernicious effects of the measure appeared. One hundred and fifty Baltic ships, accustomed to trade with Holland, sailed westward without coming into port. In Amsterdam it gave rise to some tumults, in which the receiver narrowly escaped with his life. The states, understanding that great difficulty was found in filling the office of receiver, since men feared to undertake it in the present temper of the people, again sent to petition the governess for a repeal of the obnoxious impost. She agreed to it on condition that 25,000 gilders should be paid to the emperor as an indemnification for the loss he would sustain. The states gladly accepted her proposal, Amsterdam consenting to pay a third of the required sum, and thus Holland was again relieved for some years from this injurious restriction on her trade."

Philip, the successor of Charles, and the husband of our Queen Mary, by his religious persecutions and fiscal exactions, spread misery throughout Holland and Belgium;—trade declined, manufactures stopped, operatives starved, distress spread everywhere, and discontent followed in its train. At this

crisis Philip intrusted the administration of the Low Countries to Cardinal Granville, a statesman equally remarkable for his love of Corn Laws and his hatred of Dissenters. The new governor devised a most ingenious remedy for the disorders of the Netherlands, viz., the creation of fourteen new bishoprics; thus anticipating the worthies who propose to heal the distress of England by the erection of new churches. The popular opinion respecting the cardinal's mode of cure was whimsically expressed by the H. B. of that day:—

"The cardinal had, one day, thrust into his hand a picture of himself sitting on a nest of eggs, from which bishops were hatching; over his head was a devil, saying, 'This is my beloved son, hear ye him.'"

Philip's ministers zealously seconded his edicts of persecution, but here the ancient municipal institutions of Holland proved a valuable defence against bigotry; the popular magistrates protected the Reformers, and, by various artifices, rendered the penal edicts a mere dead letter. It deserves to be remarked that, when these municipalities, in a later age, attempted to persecute those who had embraced the tenets of Arminius, they found themselves embarrassed by their former honourable proceedings in defence of the persecuted. We may further remark that these circumstances took a strong hold on the popular mind, and rendered corporations the most generally loved of all the institutions of Holland.

"The efforts of the magistrates to shield their fellow-citizens of the Reformed religion from the effects of these edicts were various and unceasing. Sometimes they induced them to attend mass once or twice for appearance sake, and then appealed to the circumstance as a proof of their being good Catholics; often, when they knew an accusation was likely to be brought against them, they gave them timely warning, or provided them with a place of concealment. The method adopted on one occasion by the magistrates of Hoorn was rather curious. The government of that town being accused before the Council of Holland, by one Dirk, a hot-headed meddling priest, of remissness in the punishment of heretics, a commissioner, named Charles Smyter, was sent to inquire into the matter. On his arrival at Hoorn, he was received with great courtesy by the burgomasters and principal members of the government, who took it by turns to entertain him, which they did so effectually, that the only movement he was able to make was 'from bed to table, and from table to bed.' The answers, therefore, to all such as came to give information concerning heretics, was either that the commissioner was engaged at meals, or that he was asleep. Having spent a week in this manner, and hearing no accusation, he returned to the Hague, lauding to the skies the religious disposition of the good citizens of Hoorn, against whom, he said, he had not heard the slightest complaint of heresy during the whole time he had been there. The chief burgomaster had not forgotten to recommend his hospitalities still further, by a liberal present of money."

Philip, disappointed by the ill success of his exterminating measures, began insidiously to profess more tolerant principles in religion, and a more equitable course in policy; he promised to grant what he was pleased to call "a moderation," but which, in fact, was a fraudulent aggravation of tyranny.

"The joy caused by the relaxation of persecution consequent on the orders of the governess soon gave way to renewed fear and suspicion. When the moderation (or, as the populace called it, 'murderation') devised by her and the privy council became known, it was found to be such as to excite the indignation of many, and the contempt of all. Priests, teachers, and those who exercised any office among the Reformers, the composers, printers, or sellers of any pamphlet, song, or pasquinade, were to be hanged instead of burnt alive; the punishment of death being changed to banishment, in favour of the common people only."

The administration of the Duke of Alva soon brought matters to a crisis; he not only expelled the discontented Hollanders, whom he contemptuously called *Gueux*, or "beggars," but he menaced war against any nation which would afford them shelter. But despair is often the parent of hope, and what was designed to crush the *Gueux* became the great impelling cause to their career of present revenge and future glory.

"His remonstrance, which bore somewhat the appearance of a menace, induced Elizabeth, who feared to draw on herself the enmity of Philip, to issue an order commanding the *Gueux* to quit the ports, and strictly forbidding any one to harbour, or supply them with food or other necessities. Thus driven from their last refuge, and left without a single spot of earth in Europe whereon to set their foot, the *Gueux*, under the command of the admiral, William van der Mark (one of those who had sworn to let their hair and beard grow till the death of Egmond was avenged), set sail in their vessels, twenty-four in number, for the Texel, purposing to attack the duke's ships of war which were then lying there. On their way they captured two large Spanish vessels, and being driven by stress of weather into the Meuse, presented themselves suddenly before Briel. The town being destitute of a garrison, and the poorer people favourably inclined to the *Gueux*, the more wealthy inhabitants fled precipitately, and Van der Mark took possession in the name of the Prince of Orange as stadtholder, with little opposition. The lives and property of the citizens remained untouched; but the *Gueux*, wreaking a cruel vengeance on the priests and monks, hanged no less than thirteen of them; they likewise stripped the churches, and broke all the images."

From the moment that the *Gueux* had regained a footing in their native country, they devoted all their efforts to achieving its independence, and the exploit just recorded may be taken as the first blow struck in that great war between Commerce and

Feudalism, in which the English and Dutch, as leaders of the mercantile interests of the world, rent in sunder the restrictions which the court of Madrid, aided by the Bulls of the Vatican, attempted to impose on European intercourse with Asia and America. In spite of what appeared to be the most fearful odds, England and Holland, fighting under the banner of Free Trade, beat down to the dust the overwhelming power of Spain. Alas! that we should add the lamentable fact that both subsequently abandoned the principle which led them to victory, and frittered away the high destinies which had been placed in their hands, for the petty chicanery of monopoly and its delusive gains!

Let us, however, keep our eyes on the animating example given by the Free-Traders in their early career, and for a time forget their subsequent errors. When the Dutch first raised the standard of revolt they literally were the beggars (Gueux) that they were called. On the other hand, Philip, their oppressor, wielded not only the vast resources of the entire Spanish peninsula, then the most productive country of Christendom, but also the treasures imported from Peru, the profits of the commerce with the East and West Indies, the trade of the Mediterranean, and an entire command over the intercourse between Northern Europe and the Levant. When the war closed, Holland took the lead of all Europe in commercial wealth, and Spain was bankrupt.

"It cannot be supposed for a moment that the inhabitants of a small and impoverished nook of land, such as Holland and Zealand, were possessed of more resources to pay and provide for their troops than a monarch who had the wealth of both worlds at his command; on the contrary, their trade and manufactures had decayed in consequence of the war; many of the richest families had fled during the persecutions of Alva, taking with them a large portion of their property, and the best of their lands were laid under water by the cutting of the dykes; but they found, in this time of trial and distress, an inexhaustible mine of treasure in their unsullied national probity, their unimpeachable public credit. During the long sieges, when specie failed, the States or municipal governments were in the habit of issuing promissory notes, or coining money of tin, and this money was received in payment by the foreign troops, as well as the natives, without the slightest hesitation; nor was such traffic as remained ever embarrassed for an instant by want of confidence in a circulating medium so wholly destitute of intrinsic value. The holders of it implicitly relied on the conviction that no plea of distress, no complaint of usury or extortion, would stand in the way of their receiving the full amount it promised, as soon as circumstances permitted; nor did they doubt that nothing but the utter destruction of the Government would prevent its fulfilling to the letter every engagement it had entered into. It was this perfect integrity, this unbounded confidence between man and man, which enabled Holland to protract the war until the resources of her adversary were completely exhausted. A striking contrast in this respect was presented by the conduct of the King of Spain, who, having incurred a debt of 14,500,000 ducats to the merchants of Spain and Genoa, obtained from the Pope a dispensation, permitting him to revoke all his promises and engagements, lest he should be ruined by usury while combating the heretics."

English historians have, for the most part, omitted mention of the service rendered by the Dutch to this country when menaced by the Spanish Armada. It ought to be known that, while our admirals were defeating the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Dutch blockaded the Prince of Parma, and prevented his making, as he intended, a dash on the Thames, while the fleets were engaged in the Channel.

"During the whole of the time consumed in that glorious contest, the image of which is fresh and bright in the mind of every English reader, the great commander was kept in a state of helpless inactivity on the shores of Flanders. Justin of Nassau, with thirty-five Holland and Zealand vessels, well armed, and containing, besides their complement of seamen, 1200 skilful musketeers, effectually blockaded the harbours of Dunkirk and Nieuport, so that not only the ships of Parma were debarred from egress, but the smaller vessels of the Spanish fleet were prevented from entering to afford them any assistance, the approach of the larger being impossible from the shallowness of the water. The fleet of Parma meanwhile, though infinitely superior in number, yet being equipped for convenience of transport rather than for battle, was scarcely fit to sustain a regular engagement; to which, also, an additional obstacle was found in the ill disposition manifested by the crews. The memory of the old 'Water-gueux,' of whom the rear-admiral in command, Justus le More, was a remnant, had not yet faded away from men's minds; and the terror excited by the Holland and Zealand mariners was so excessive, that all the efforts of Parma were unable to check the desertion among his men, which continued day and night without intermission. In vain, therefore, did the Spanish admiral, having reached the port of Calais, urge him to effect a junction without delay; he could do no more than hurry from place to place in an agony of impatience; at one time offering up bootless vows at the shrine of Notre Dame de Halle; at another giving orders to his troops to embark and set sail at all hazards; and then again countermanding them, as dreading to trust that army on which the hopes of Spain depended, to the mercy of the tempestuous waves and the enemy, who lay in wait for their destruction. Eighteen thousand troops were already on board the vessels at Nieuport, and had been two days eagerly awaiting the signal for departure, when they were ordered to reland."

"Empire would be eternal," said the first of Roman statesmen, "if the arts by which it is gained continued to be used for its conservation." Holland and England soon abandoned the principles which led them to glory, and adopted those very monopoly

lies which had cankered the strength of their Spanish adversary. It is not necessary to pursue the history of Holland farther at present; we may return to it at another period. But we cannot part from the author of the volumes before us,—a lady, as we are informed,—without saying that we have rarely met a historical work exhibiting more diligent research, honest statement, and judicious inference. On the illustrations it affords of the great struggle for Free Trade against the monopoly of an oligarchy, we shall now only say (for we intend to revert to the subject,) that it shows how a nation holds, even under the most adverse circumstances, mastery over its own destinies; and that if England fails abroad, it will be only the consequence of corruption at home. If the only hope of salvation for a commercial country—perfect emancipation of its industry—be refused or delayed until the concession is unavailing, the future historian may tell the tale in the words of our immortal bard:—

"That England, wont to conquer other nations,
Has gained a shameful conquest o'er herself."

Antigua and the Antiguan; a full Account of the Colony and its Inhabitants. London: Saunders and Otley.

These volumes contain a very lively and interesting account of the past state and present condition of the island of Antigua; internal evidence shows them to be the production of a lady whose powers of observation and reflection have been sedulously cultivated, but who has not had much practice in literary composition. There is a tropical luxuriance in the style characteristic of a first essay in authorship, and a tendency to sentimental digression which evinces more good feeling than good taste. We note these trifling defects in no unkindly spirit; taken as a whole, the work displays information, intelligence, and high moral purpose; there is little to censure, and much to praise; indeed, we know not any other publication which contains so vivid a description of the physical aspect and social condition of any of the West India islands.

Antigua has some honourable peculiarities in its history: it was uninhabited when first discovered, and thus no stain of injustice to aborigines rested on the early settlers; the Antiguan planters generally abstained from the importation of negroes before the slave trade was abolished by law; they were, for the most part, merciful masters, and when emancipation was granted, they voluntarily surrendered the "apprenticeship" which proved so heavy a deduction from the intended boon in several of the other islands. From private sources we can add that the landholders resident in Antigua have entered on a vigorous course of agricultural improvement, that they are seeking earnestly the scientific and mechanical means best adapted to the cultivation of the soil; and that Mr. Walker, of the Marshal's Office, Antigua, a gentleman long and honourably connected with the scientific societies of London, has begun, in their name, to open a communication with all the public bodies and private individuals likely to assist in the improvement of the various processes of production. Already a marked change has taken place on the island; lands long practically abandoned to sterility have been brought into cultivation; the cottages of the negroes have improved in cleanliness and comfort; the value of landed property is rising in the market; crimes of violence have greatly diminished in frequency; and crimes against property have not increased in the ratio of property itself.

All these gratifying signs of improvement are obviously the result of FREE LABOUR, and are, therefore, evidences of the national value of FREE TRADE, for labour is as much an article of trade as cloth or corn. Now, it is edifying to find that free labour in the West Indies was opposed by the very same parties, and with the very same fallacies—we cannot call them arguments—which are now brought against Free Trade in England. The slave-trade was defended on the same ground as the corn-monopoly, consumption of British manufactures, peculiar burdens, protection of British industry, and vested interests. Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, assailed those who proposed the abolition of the slave-trade in terms almost identical with those directed against the enemies of monopoly, so that Cobden seems only to have inherited the epithets of Wilberforce. Those friends of humanity who protested against the compulsory enslaving of their fellow-men were stigmatised as Jacobins, fanatics, abettors of assassination, selfish speculators, and enemies of Church and State. It was confidently predicted that the West India islands would revert to primitive desolation if kidnapping and man-hunting should be abandoned, and it was virtually asserted by majorities of the British Legislature, that the laws of God were inconsistent with the welfare of man. Long and arduous was the struggle, but at length the cause of justice and humanity prevailed; the infamous slave-ship was wrecked in St. Stephen's amid the cheers of a large majority, though a minority of enslavers, including Castlereagh, Eldon, Hawkesbury, and Sidmouth, clung desperately to her

shrouds; and well would it have been for England if they, with her, had sunk for ever below the level of political existence.

The abolition of slavery was not less fiercely resisted than that of the slave-trade. Journals were found as unscrupulous in the support of the West-India interest as they are now in the maintenance of the so-called landed interest; and, with significant identity, the "Bible and Crown" formed the cognizance of those who "protected" the labourer, by denying him the right of selling his labour in open market, as these same symbols decorate the papers which "protect" the labourer, by denying him the right to purchase his food in open market. In both instances protection signified "the plunder of the class pretended to be protected;" and we may be well surprised that such cognizances were assumed by the advocates of hypocritical robbery.

And yet these symbols had their significance; the Bible was always depicted *shut*, intimating that its name was to be used and its contents disregarded. Just in the same way that a block of wood bound as a Bible was borne in procession before Lord Sandon at Liverpool, the undesigned emblem of sanctimonious monopoly—hypocrisy outside and stupidity within. The crown was represented alone; and this, perhaps, may be interpreted as symbolic of the party which has ever maintained its existence by widely separating the sovereign from the people.

FREE LABOUR was obtained in spite of the bel-lowings of the *Bull*, the ponderous prophecies of the *Standard*, the still more ponderous jokes of the *Age*, and the waiting-maid horror of "niggers" evinced by the *Morning Post*. Fallacy and falsehood, cant and calumny, the arts of the hypocrite and the sophist were unavailing when fairly brought into collision with the sound sense and good feeling of the English people. The monopoly of labour capitulated, and its mercenary supporters would have been left without employment had not such an unscrupulous army of defence been wanted for the monopoly of food. We now see the precise fallacies, which events have so decisively refuted in the West Indies, again brought forward to maintain the slavery laws of England;—we say "slavery laws" because it is equally an interference with natural right to restrict buying as to restrict selling;—and we therefore point to the volumes before us as a recorded refutation of the hackneyed sophisms by which monopoly has invariably defended injustice.

An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity. By Jonathan Dymond. London, Gilpin.

We propose, at an early opportunity, to review Mr. Dymond's "Essays on Morality;" but the importance of the subject he has specially discussed in the work before us, and its immediate connexion with the subject of Free Trade, induces us to give this volume the precedence. It is unnecessary to follow the author in examining the various pretences which statesmen in various ages have assigned for war; monopoly has been the cause of all the wars that ever existed, and perfectly Free Trade has been the surest bond of peace that ever united nations. In ages of barbarism bands of robbers preferred plunder to labour; conquerors were nothing but robbers on a large scale; and what are called "war-like states," such as the republics of Rome and Sparta, were nothing better than joint-stock associations for obtaining profit from rapine and murder.

As civilization advanced men became unwilling to confess the mercenary motive of mere conquest, and sought to disguise it by a variety of pretexts which received the name of political causes. Now, each and every one of these so-called political causes will be found to be nothing more than a varied form of monopoly, and this will be found to be the case even in those wars which are usually regarded as defensive. The point of most practical importance to be established is, that every monopoly has a tendency to excite hostility, and that every one who supports a monopoly as a monopolist, virtually gives his adhesion to a declaration of war.

It is not necessary to encumber this inquiry by entering into any discussion of the legality of war under any circumstances, nor to inquire whether hostilities of every kind are forbidden by the Christian dispensation; Mr. Dymond on this head goes so far as to denounce resistance to wrong, by violent means, under any circumstances, and to deny the individual right of self-defence; but this is an abstract refinement which need not now be discussed, because it is sufficient for our purpose to take the more commonly recognised principle, that war is in itself an evil. It is expensive, as we have discovered to our cost; it produces habits of public profligacy, as the records of our naval and military departments amply show; it demoralizes those engaged in it, as the criminal records of the country prove; and even in the higher class of officers it has a tendency to substitute false honour for true virtue, as society has felt by melancholy experience. Let us now inquire for whose advantage this vast amount of evil is incurred, and let us take for example the greatest war of modern times.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 29.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 13, 1844.

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NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

THE LEAGUE AND THE COMING ELECTIONS.

We need scarcely state, what must be obvious to every one, that the total and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws cannot be expected from the present House of Commons. The hopes of the Free-Traders rest not on the winning over of members, but on the conversion of constituencies; and this conversion must be a work of some difficulty, because at the last election a greater amount of bribery, of intimidation, and of corrupt influence was brought to bear on the electoral body of England than at any other period of our parliamentary history. It is, however, a gratifying fact, that a reaction against corruption has commenced, and is rapidly gaining strength; the League, under these circumstances, has come forward to offer its aid in purifying the constituencies, not by dictating to any electoral body whom it should choose or whom reject, but by affording an opportunity to the Free-Traders in every borough, whether they be few or many, of evidencing their principles by their votes, and forming a nucleus around which the friends of truth, justice, common honesty, and common humanity may rally. It was while men slept that the enemy sowed tares, and it was at a time when the honest and sound portion of the electoral body was in a state of ositancy and apathy that monopolists gained their majority at the last election. The League has to rouse the sleepy, to encourage the timid, to fix the wavering, and to strengthen the weak. Its duties are both sanatory and educational, and in many cases it must have to deal with reluctant patients and refractory pupils.

It could not be expected that purity and principle should immediately and everywhere triumph over inveterate corruption and selfish interest. On the contrary, defeat in the first struggle was to be anticipated in almost every instance. Those who are accustomed to sell their votes naturally feel exasperated when an association is formed to deprive them of their unhallowed gains; they are likely, in the first battle, to vote against the League which closes the market where they trafficked their consciences; and it is not until the heat of guilty resentment subsides that they will begin to reflect on their responsibility to God and their country.

In performing its educational functions, the League must seize the golden moments when the constituencies are in the best state for receiving instruction; at the time of an election men's minds are excited to the subjects at stake in the Legislature; the ground is open for the reception of the seed, and the sower should avail himself of the opportunity. It is true that some of the seed may fall by the wayside, and some may fall on the stony ground, where there is not depth of character for it to strike root; the thorns and thistles of bribery, intimidation, and corrupt influence may choke many

plants after they have grown; but where the seed of sound principle falls upon honest hearts it is sure to produce such a luxuriant crop as will amply atone for the deficiency of the rest.

The League is most securely fixed in those boroughs where it first encountered defeats; Stockport, Durham, and Walsall were lost before they were won. Salisbury and Devizes have a growing spirit of emancipation from thralldom which promises, at no distant date, to lead to the establishment of their independence; everywhere we find an increasing determination in the constituencies to redeem themselves from the yoke to which they submitted in the hour of their delusion, and the League is a ready ally to cheer their exertions and to aid their efforts.

The death of Lord Abinger is likely to lead to the vacating of several seats. Let the constituencies in all these places be up and stirring; there is wisdom in the proverb, that "God helps those who help themselves;"—let them, without delay, select their own candidate, organize their own committees, and guard against their own peculiar dangers. The League is ready to aid every struggle against monopoly, and is more anxious to act as the ally of the Free-Traders in each borough than to assume the place of principal. To those constituencies which in a few days will be called upon to pronounce their opinion on the great question of our time, and to decide between Free Trade and Monopoly, the Council earnestly and respectfully recommends an early organization of all the strength which can be brought to aid in the emancipation of British industry. Let no man be ashamed of incurring the risk of present defeat. There is a recuperative energy in sound principle which sends it aloft the moment it has touched the earth with a rebound more than proportionate to its apparent abasement; and those who do not know how to endure defeat are deficient in one of the most essential qualifications for winning victory.

GENUINE PHILANTHROPY.

A story is told of a French princess, who, having heard that the poor were famishing for want of bread, proposed that they should be fed on plum-cake, her royal ignorance leading her to believe that because cakes were more common in the palace than plain bread, they must, therefore, be cheaper, and more easily procured. Philanthropists exist in England, who, with less excuse, propound schemes of relief for the misery of the nation infinitely more preposterous than that of the French princess, and who, when the absurdity of their remedies is demonstrated, accuse logic of cruelty, and science of hardness of heart. In their view, consummate ignorance is the first and greatest qualification for the administering of relief, and the exercise of judgment in the ministrations of mercy is a crime and a grievance. Pauperism is spreading through our towns and villages; "vote money for its support," exclaims the pseudo-philanthropist; "give out-door relief with a lavish hand, feed the pauper better than the independent labourer." The man of economic science agrees with the pretended philanthropist, that relief should be given to immediate necessity; but he goes a step farther, he asks, "Why does such a mass of pauperism exist, and why is it manifestly on the increase?" He finds that our fiscal laws render food dear and labour cheap, thus doubly robbing those who depend on their daily toil for their daily bread; he finds Corn Laws preventing the labourer from buying means of support from those who are anxious to sell, and from selling the produce of his skill and industry to those who are anxious to buy. He speaks, as science teaches, the obvious truth, that such a system must, by its double wrong, continually thrust down the labourer from depth to depth; must increase the number of the unemployed, and decrease the profits of the employed, not merely by enhancing the amount of his outlay for food, but also by bringing every one of the unemployed as a competitor against him in the labour-market. Level as is this reasoning "to the meanest capacity," the pretended philanthropist vows that he cannot understand it, avers that it belongs to the cold calculations of political economy, and designedly misrepresents it as a proposal "to make those work more who work more than enough already."

It is quite true that the rule of the economist is to give the means of support in exchange for labour only, admitting but the exceptional cases where persons are incapacitated for work by disease or old age. It is not less true that this is also the rule of real benevolence and genuine philanthropy; for pauperism is a moral evil, which requires prevention, not

aliment; and industry is a moral good, which no legislature can fetter or control without generating a mass of misery which grows by what it seeds upon. It is right to save the poor man from starving; but it is not only right, but pre-eminently benevolent, to save him from the degradation of receiving alms. Independence is the poor man's birthright; it was for its maintenance that God endowed him with the capacity for labour, and pronounced as his blessing, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." Labour is not a curse, nor is the labourer a degraded being; toil was enjoined before the fall, for Adam was placed in Eden "to dress and to keep the garden." The economist seeks to secure for the labourer the heritage of remunerative toil bestowed upon him by his Creator; the pretended philanthropist would consent to see him stripped of his heritage, and then fed only by the crumbs which fall from monopoly's table.

Overworking, toiling for a length of time disproportioned to the powers of endurance, and in particular the lengthened toil of women and children, are grievances which justly call for commiseration and redress. "The remedy is easy," says the pseudo-philanthropist; "limit their hours of work, and the business is done." The economist cannot accept such a remedy without inquiry. He sees that this overworking is clearly the result of an inadequate remuneration for labour; and he therefore sees that the cause of the evil would be greatly aggravated by adopting a scheme whose first and most obvious result would be to diminish that remuneration still further. It is because wages are already too small that women and children work as milliners, as lacemakers, as miners, or as factory hands, for a longer period than is desirable; but if these wages be further diminished, to what must the sufferers have recourse in order to supply the deficiency? There are worse evils than overwork to which the craving stomach and the empty pocket may drive the female or the youthful operative. Destitution and depravity are too closely allied to allow the man of prudence and of science to abridge their present means of support; but he seeks out the way for trying the experiment of the pretended philanthropist with safety. He desires to increase the remuneration for labour, to raise the rate of wages, to deliver industry from the bondage and subjection in which it is held by monopoly, to strike off the manacles and fetters which restrain the healthful interchange of the products of industry between nations which are mutually in want of each other.

These pretended philanthropists affect to be exceedingly generous at the expense of other people: they would, as they confess, throw the burden of supporting those whom their selfish and restrictive laws have pauperized on the merchants, the manufacturers, and the capitalists, and they almost point out this class as fair spoil to those whom iniquitous monopolies impoverish. But the economist, seeing that capital is absolutely necessary for the employment of a dense population, declares to the operative that any attempt on his part to force a higher rate of wages from capital than the rate of profit allows is a suicidal policy, worse than that of the man who killed the goose that laid golden eggs. It is the clear interest of every workman to encourage the investment of capital in the branch of industry to which he belongs, for every such investment is a bond, with a heavy penalty attached to the breach of its conditions, into which the manufacturer enters for continuing to give employment.

There is so much of mock philanthropy and mawkish sentimentality abroad—there is so much of hypocritical and affected sympathy for the poor "canted in this canting world"—that it is time to apply some test by which sincerity may be determined, and by which genuine benevolence may be distinguished from the counterfeit either of fraud or fatuity. Such a test is not far to seek—"What is the cause of pauperism but an inadequate supply of the necessities of life? What is the cause of overworking but inadequate wages for fair labour?" The remedy, then, is to increase the supply of food and to increase the demand for labour, for that alone can raise the rate of wages.

Industry, under the natural conditions to which it was subjected by the Creator, would provide employment for all, adequate remuneration for all, and proper means of support for all. To deny this would be to pronounce a sentence of condemnation on Providence, and to imitate the blasphemy of the ignorant Monarch who, referring to the Ptolemaic system, declared that he could have made better physical laws for the universe than had been devised by the Deity. If industry has failed to accomplish this end—and that it has done so is proved by the

misery of our towns and the wretchedness of our rural districts, by the houseless outcast of London, and the equally destitute denizen of the hovels of Dorsetshire—this lamentable result must have followed from its being subjected to unnatural laws, different from those which the Creator had established. An eminent prelate has said that a man's opinions on the Corn Laws may be taken as a fair test of his pretensions to a character for genuine benevolence. Does a man vote for continuing the restrictions on the supply of food? Then is he a propagator of pauperism, and his asserted sympathy for the poor is a mockery and a delusion, and an impudent fraud. His aims are an insult, his pity a lie, and his charity a wrong. It is he who compels the needlewomen of London to "work—work—work," until the frame is distorted, the sight ruined, and the heart broken; it is he who compels the mill to be open for twelve hours, and the iron-worker's shed to re-echo the sound of toil late in the night. His commiseration for the overworked is like the kindness of the Spanish friar who picked the pockets of the rustic while pretending to bestow upon him a benediction. In the repeal of the Corn Laws justice and benevolence are equally interested—in the advocacy of "Free Trade" the rights of industry and the relief of the industrious are equally advanced; and when this great object is accomplished, as it must be at no distant date, the Psalmist's beautiful picture will be realized—"Truth and justice have met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other."

THE FRUITS OF EXPERIENCE.

(From a Correspondent.)

"Heaven be praised!" exclaims a metropolitan historian, "Old London was burned!" In this somewhat paradoxical way he conveys his opinion that that prodigious calamity was a very great blessing. The generation that endured it might not think so, especially when surveying the smoking ruins of the city; but in spite of obstinacy, perverseness, and an eager haste to build it up as before, the Great Fire was a great benefit, and London has been a better, if not a wiser, city ever since.

For, though we are apt to look back upon our forefathers as sturdy and stalwart—men of a blunt character and a determined spirit—they could exhibit a stolid fatalism worthy of the Turk. There they were, nestling in their crooked lanes and wooden houses, enduring their periodical visits of fire and plague, and attributing them to inscrutable causes, over which they had no control. When a fire burned down the wooden houses in a crooked lane, they sighed over the calamity, and built up again their wooden houses in exactly the same crooked way as before. Field-lane, now tottering to its fall, seems to have remained to the present day, in order to give Londoners some idea of the dwellings and streets, and the filth which our wise forefathers endured. The grim Plague used to come, sometimes once a year, to pick out its victims; but no inhabitant of the wooden houses in the crooked lanes ever seemed to imagine that he was one of the causes which procured the visitations. No; they sighed; shook their heads; said it was all Divine Providence, and that they must submit; and digging graves at their very doors, filled them full with their dead, and folding their hands, hoped that the mysterious and awful Plague, coming as they thought without cause, and departing as they imagined without reason, would be mercifully considerate, and give them a long day, without paying them another visit.

It would almost seem as if Providence got tired of a perverseness which attributed evils arising from slothful ignorance to the merciful Being who, in kindness to his creatures, causes his sun to shine impartially on the evil and the good, and sends fertilizing showers alike to benefit the just and the unjust. A Great Fire was permitted to come, which swept the City from the Tower to the Temple, burning out the receptacles where the plague used to find annual board and lodging; but at the same time devouring, in its fury, cathedral, church, Guildhall, and Exchange. The citizens were not all taught by the awful lesson. Many of them set to work to build new London like the old. Some, from mere habit, were so attached to wooden houses and crooked lanes, that they preferred them to spacious streets and brick buildings. Others, looking to more immediate profit, stuck to crooked principles, and thought that immediate personal advantage was a greater good than general utility. But in spite of all this, the Great Fire was a Great Fact, and triumphed over the London Richmonds and Buckingham of the day. It gave us a noble St. Paul's, and many churches; cleared the ground for a better city; and, above all, banished the Plague, bidding it come back no more.

We, too, have endured a great calamity, which, like the Great Fire, has burned down all dependence on the narrow, crooked principles which hitherto have subjected us to periodical visitations of distress. Ever since 1815, we have been patching up our restrictive policy—widening it a little here, narrowing it a little there, but never getting out of the crooked line on which the whole proceeds. From 1817 to 1819 (especially in the latter year) we had fearful commercial distress, which fell with terrible weight on the working classes. What was the cause? Oh, said the solemn big wigs, "It is caused by a transition from War to Peace," and when the working classes

got troublesome, and could not comprehend the meaning of a transition from war to peace, to keep them quiet, they gave them "Six Acts," suspension of Habeas Corpus, special commissions, fines, and imprisonment. After 1819, good harvests came, prices fell, wages rose, and prosperity ensued. But the farmers, who, on the faith of a Corn Law, thought that they would get perpetual high prices, and agreed to give high rents, were nearly all ruined. The year 1822 was a terrible year for them. Again, the big wigs were asked what was the cause, and they again solemnly shook their big wigs, and said, it was all owing to "Peel's Bill," which brought about the hard necessity of paying gold for paper. Deficient harvests began to show themselves once more, and the country got worse as the farmers got better. Down went the country banks; down went commercial firms; people ran for gold; and thousands of industrious workmen were poured out into the streets, roads, lanes, highways, and byways, seeking for employment during many long months, and literally finding none. What caused the "panic" of 1825, and the misery of the following year? Once more the big wigs spoke, and they said that it was "over-speculation," for there were people foolish enough to send skates to the Brazils, and frying-pans to Kamschatka, and therefore the whole country was ruined.

No doubt there were wise people in old London who pointed to the crooked lanes and the dirty, dilapidated wooden houses as the true causes of the periodical visits of the plague. And ever since 1815 there have been wise people continually pointing to the Corn Law and other monopolies, as the true causes of our periodical visits of distress. But as it required the sweeping influence of a great fire to give effect to the reasons of the one, so it has required the full force of a long-continued disastrous period to make the nation feel the other. Hitherto, there have been not a few, counting themselves very wise, who have looked on periodical visitations of commercial distress as being as inevitable as the changes of the seasons or the fluctuations of the barometer. Besides, there were great questions which absorbed the public attention, Catholic Emancipation, the Reform Bill, and other measures had to be carried; and, without irreverence, we may say, that it seems as if Providence had permitted the good seasons from 1832 to 1836 in order to give us room and margin enough to prepare for a great change in our commercial policy, as the fitting accompaniment to the acquisition of political power.

But we were not wise enough to take advantage of it. We fell asleep in the interval between 1832 to 1836. Then came the greatest of all our commercial calamities, the longest in duration, the severest in operation, the most wide-spread in extent, which we have endured since 1815. The period from 1836 to 1842 will be memorable in our future history, because, like the great fire, it has swept the ground for a larger and a better policy. True, we have no great statesman in office, ready to take advantage of the occasion, and, like Sir Christopher Wren, to write his name on the fabric of his country's greatness—"Si monumentum queris—circumspice!" But, nevertheless, we have not endured the calamities of 1837 to near the end of 1843, for nothing. There is a limit to public forgetfulness as well as to public endurance. Even stanch Conservatives feel that a period of returning prosperity is the most fitting of all periods in which to settle the question of Free Trade; and, by settling, prevent the return of another period of national disaster. Go amongst them, and you will hear all sensible commercial Conservatives freely proclaiming that they will never do as they have hitherto done; that the first alarm of a deficient harvest will send them to their "pigeon holes," contracting their engagements, watching their resources, and preparing for the storm which must ensue, if there be no previous alteration in our commercial policy.

Let Free Traders save them the trouble, by saving the country from the fearful experiment. As noon follows morning—as night follows day—so sure will like consequences ensue from like causes. Let our commercial policy remain unchanged, and the next period of commercial distress will bring about changes more serious than we can now venture to hint at. Now, therefore, is the time to effect the great change—a time of slow revival, which it would accelerate and perpetuate. If the people, true to themselves, and taught by the dear experience of the past, will determine the reign of party and of class, and, by acting on their representatives in the House of Commons, infuse into our legislation some of that common sense which ought to be the distinguishing characteristic of a commercial people, then we may have reason to "thank Heaven" that we endured the disasters of 1837-1843; and when the Anti-Corn-Law League shall have done its work and departed, its memory, like that of the architect of St. Paul's, will be associated with its one great achievement—that of the noble fabric of commercial prosperity by which England, like London, may be marked out during future ages.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEMORIALS.—The memorials to the borough members to vote for Mr. Villiers's motion, which are now being handed about amongst the electors, are receiving numerous signatures, and already bear the names of many Tories, whose perceptions of commercial expediency are too clear to be blinded by the haze of party predilections.—*Leeds Times*.

The Bradford memorial from the electors to the members of the borough, requesting them to vote for Mr. Villiers's motion for Free Trade, has received within the last few days upwards of 400 signatures.—*Leeds Mercury*.

MEETINGS.

WOLVERHAMPTON.

One of the most numerous attended, respectable, and influential meetings, held for many years past in this borough, took place on Monday, for the purpose of receiving a deputation from the Anti-Corn-Law League, and giving expression to the oft-repeated opinion of the inhabitants, that the Corn Law monopoly was, of all others, the most ruinous and destructive to the trade and commerce of the district. For some days past the town was extensively placarded, announcing the intended visit of R. Cobden, Esq., M.P.; J. Bright, Esq., M.P.; and the Hon. C. P. Villiers and J. Thorneley, Esq., the two respected borough members. The interest which this announcement excited was very great; indeed, so great that it soon became pretty evident that there was not a building in the town adequate to hold the numbers desirous of attending the demonstration. It therefore became necessary to provide a suitable place of meeting, and the erection of a pavilion in Howley-field was accordingly resolved upon, and speedily prepared in the most commodious and substantial manner. The building was in length about 100 feet by 80 feet wide, and capable of containing 3000 persons. On each side and one end commodious galleries were erected, to which admission was obtained by paid tickets. At the other end a large platform, extending the width of the place, was raised for the accommodation of the speakers, and the whole pavilion was covered over with new canvas. About half an hour before the meeting the building began to fill, and in a short time the galleries were occupied by a great number of respectable inhabitants. On the platform there were also a great number of gentlemen of respectability of the town and neighbourhood, amongst whom we noticed the following:—

J. Barker, Esq., B. Walton, Esq., J. Walker, Esq., W. Clarke, Esq., S. Cartwright, Esq., E. Edmonds, Esq., of Iron bridge; S. Horton, Esq., Prior Lee; — Demark, Esq., of Bilston; H. Southall, Esq., J. Gates, Esq., Bilston; J. Darby, Esq., Sedgley; — Harris, Esq., S. Blackwell, Esq., Dudley; H. Hall, Esq., Sedgley; T. and C. Clarke, Esqrs., J. Bradshaw, and R. Thacker, Esqrs., Dr. Bell, Dr. A. Bell, Dr. Simkin, Rev. H. Smith; Rev. Messrs. Prigg, Hill, Gornal, Hunter; Mr. W. Lowe, Mr. Charles Daniels, Mr. J. A. Lander, Mr. J. Longman.

A few minutes before two o'clock, Mr. Cobden, accompanied by the borough members, J. Walker, Esq., and a number of other gentlemen, arrived at the place, and was received with tremendous cheering, which continued for some time; after which, on the motion of Mr. Walker, seconded by Mr. Cartwright,

JOHN BARKER, Esq., magistrate, took the chair, and opened the business of the meeting. He said he was not insensible to the honour they had done him in nominating him to take the chair on that occasion. He felt sensibly that there were individuals present much better qualified to discharge the duties of chairman than the individual who had then the honour of addressing them. He felt it necessary to solicit their forbearance, their sympathy, and their support. He should, therefore, without preface, briefly occupy their attention while he opened the business of the day, leaving it to the gentlemen who favoured them with their presence to fill up the details. That was not a political meeting; they were not met to discuss political subjects; they were not met to discuss universal suffrage, or household suffrage, or vote by ballot. No, none of these topics would be put before them, because it was exclusively a Free-Trade meeting. They were met for the purpose of receiving a deputation from the Anti-Corn-Law League, the members of which were banded together to counteract the operation of a law, the principles of which were opposed to the great interests of the country. (Hear.) They were met to enter their protest against one of the greatest impositions that was ever practised upon any country, and in doing so they would be testifying their approbation of the conduct of their two excellent members, Messrs. Villiers and Thorneley (cheers)—who had so eminently distinguished themselves by their uncompromising opposition to the grievous impost of a bread tax. The supporters of the Corn Law said that it was necessary that agriculture should be protected in consequence of burdens being imposed upon the land which were not imposed upon other property. He had in vain looked to the right hand and to the left, but he could not find the burdens complained of, but he certainly could find burdens imposed upon the commerce of the country, from which agriculture was free; but as it was more than probable some of those burdens would be particularly enumerated by gentlemen who would follow him, he would not trouble them at length on these points. He felt the deep importance of the home trade as well as any man, and most certainly he was not disposed to overrate it; but he was most decidedly of opinion, that it was impossible for this great country to go on, and retain its position as a commercial nation, if they were to be prevented from exporting the products of their industry. It was indispensably necessary that they should export their manufactured goods to those countries that stood in need of them, and take in return the articles of utility which were the growth of those countries. He (the Chairman) thought he could not do better on that occasion than read to the meeting a few extracts from the pen of a living author. The writer so fully and entirely represented his feeling, that he could not do better than read these extracts to the meeting. Before, however, doing so, he thought he should not be discharging his duty conscientiously, if he did not state that he did not believe the Corn Law was at the root of all the evils of this country; he believed the laws affecting the currency must be altered to ensure a better state of things. If, however, they altered the Corn Laws, an alteration of the currency would inevitably follow; and he was in favour of a removal of this very unjust restriction upon the introduction of the essential article of life. He would now read the extracts to which he referred. The hon. gentleman then read the following extracts from a pamphlet called "Corn and Currency":—"It may be doubtful even whether the existing system of prohibition be so entire a benefit to the landowner himself as he would seem to imagine, for in the variety of seasons it is impossible that the land cultivated within these islands can, year by year, from one harvest to another, produce a supply of corn exactly commensurate with the demand. At one time the prohibitory system is unjust to the grower, and at another time to the consumer. The grower is injured when, after a harvest somewhat deficient, the ports are opened by a sudden rise of price, and a large accumulation of foreign corn is poured at once into the country, bringing on the farmer the loss incurred in

over-production, and ultimately on the landlord a corresponding decline of rent. The consumer is injured in the interval between the rise of price and the importation of foreign grain; he is even exposed to the horrors of famine, for, in proportion as the demand for foreign grain is unusual, the supply in case of emergency must be precarious. Farming is thus made a 'gambling' and a 'hazardous speculation.' No caution can guard against ruinous losses, for no prudence can foresee the chances on which they depend—whether the price of wheat will rise to 78s., when the profit to the farmer would be enormous, or touch the maximum of 80s., when, by the opening of the ports and of the granaries in bond, wheat would instantly fall at least 50 per cent., to his entire ruin, is a matter almost entirely of accident, frequently influenced by fraud; thus the full operation of the present Corn Laws exposes agricultural capital to losses rather incident to the hazard-table than to fair mercantile speculations. Rents must also certainly vary, together with the lowest quality of the soil, which the hope of profit may force into cultivation. The landowner can never know beforehand what is his real income; he cannot regulate with certainty his expenditure with wheat at 70s.; his farmers pay their rent with wheat at 80s.; on the opening of the ports the price falls at once to 40s., and the rent, calculated on the moderate scale at 56s., cannot be paid. Thus revenue from the soil is literally made the sport of wind and weather. The landlord's best customer is the manufacturer; but his property depends entirely on high profits, which it is the avowed object of high prices to reduce. If corn be dearer in England than elsewhere, wages must be higher, profits must be lower. Thus our foreign competitors obtain the greatest possible advantage, and, if the system become permanent, manufacturing employment, except from the home market, must cease in this country. And surely it is not the intent of any class so to enhance the price of labour and provisions as to secure to the foreigner successful competition, and to choke with obstructions the principal channels of native industry. The feeling of the people must be hostile to the present Corn Law. The receivers of rent are a very small body; backed by public opinion they are almost omnipotent; in violation of public opinion they cannot long retain an exclusive advantage. The contest is fearful, for on what ground will it be decided? On the very topic which inflames to madness: that hunger which breaks through walls will be arrayed against them, reason will be heard no longer, the barriers of society will be broken down, and estates, distinctions, and honours swept away in one resistless torrent." And now (continued the Chairman), who did they think was the writer of the language he had just read? Was he a Destructive!—No. Was he a Leaguer?—No. Who then was he?—Why, he was no other than a member of the present Cabinet. The writer was no other than Sir J. Graham, her Majesty's Secretary of State. (Cries of "Hear, hear," and loud cheers.) Having read the opinion of such a man upon the subject, and that opinion being so fully in accordance with his own, he should not detain them one moment longer, but introduce a gentleman, well known, and no less respected by the inhabitants of that borough. He meant the Hon. Mr. Villiers. (Cheering.)

Mr. VILLIERS, who was received with tremendous cheering, after alluding to his own indisposition, expressed great pleasure in observing the number that had gathered together on that occasion, for, assembled as they were to receive and welcome, and give their cordial thanks to the distinguished men then present, whom he might term the apostles of freedom of commerce, it was a sign to the world that they were constant to the cause for which they had themselves so long contended (hear, hear), and that they were found in politics, as in business, ever steady and true. (Cheers.) Lucky, indeed, would it have been for the country had other towns and other places acted and thought as Wolverhampton had done. What misery, what ruin, what sacrifice of life, might have been spared (hear, hear)—for these calamities are the offspring of scarcity of food and want of employment (hear, hear); and when they prevail, the Corn Laws answer their purpose (hear, hear); for it was no matter of opinion, but the undisputed fact, that the law was passed to produce scarcity (hear, hear); it was without object or meaning if it did not exist for that purpose (hear, hear)—it was passed to prevent food coming in that would otherwise enter, in order by scarcity to enhance the price at home, and it would have come in for no reason but because it was wanted by the people who had not enough. (Cheers.) They had been early here in the field on this question, seeing its true character, and denouncing such a law as opposed to nature's law, and to every want and interest and policy connected with the wellbeing of this nation. (Cheers.) They were never deceived here by the jargon of monopoly, which sought to prove, if it proved anything, that scarcity was a blessing. It was attempted to persuade the working men that when food was dear the reward of labour was great, or, as they say, when the price of bread is high, wages are high. Now, the first answer which they did and could give to that was a short one, namely, that it was false (hear, hear)—a deliberate falsehood,—and he challenged all denial of the fact, that there never had been a period when food was scarce or dear that was not a period of peculiar suffering and distress for the working class. (Hear, hear.) He did not say whether it stood to reason or not that it must be so, but it was the fact, and they need not talk about what would or would not be the case under a Corn Law; experience, unfortunately, had settled that (hear, hear);—22 years was enough to show what good and what harm would happen under any law (hear, hear), and there need be no question, therefore, about their effect on wages. There was a shorter answer still, however, to the fallacy, which was better than all the rest; and he heard a working man give it in this town once with great effect; which was, that if scarcity was such a good thing for his class, what a blessing no food at all must be! (Loud laughter and cheers.) The conclusion was quite logical (hear, hear), and illustrated well the stupidity of the argument. (Hear, hear.) Every one has seen that when food was dear, men worked harder and longer to obtain the same amount of it, and that the same labour being done by fewer hands, more were thrown out of employment, and wages were thus made to fall. (Hear, hear.) The trading classes had never either been deluded in this town by what the monopolists directed to their understandings, which was, that if the rich were made richer by a Corn Law, they would spend their fortunes upon the shopkeepers, and that their custom, which they call home trade (a laugh), would be better for them than foreign trade. (Hear, hear.) Now, they had taken the just view here of that matter, as well as

of the other, and had said, be so good as to leave us alone (laughter); take your hand out of our pockets if you please (loud laughter), and we shall get on in our own way, which we understand better than you can understand for us. We do not see the sense of giving what we have to those who have no right to it, for the chance of getting some of it back again. (Cheers.) Fancy a shopkeeper here being told that it was for his advantage that a man should take half the goods out of his shop, and then, being the richer for it, should promise some day to come and buy what was left in the shop. (Laughter.) Would not the shopkeeper, think you, hand such a customer over to the police, to transmit him to the county gaol or the lunatic asylum? (Hear, hear.) Well, but that is how the monopolists commonly defend the Corn Law. (Hear, hear.) Your complaint, however, against them was, that they had by their mischievous meddling with the trade deprived you of many excellent customers, and had not supplied their place themselves, and had caused trade seriously to decline. (Hear, hear.) What had been done in the case of the foreign trade in this country was just as if some four or five wealthy men had wished to spend their fortunes in this town, and that the high constable or the magistrates of the place had driven them away, saying that they should employ and deal with their own people themselves—that they were the natural customers for the people—that if the strangers were allowed to buy your goods it must be on very particular terms, and which they knew they could not accept. (Hear, hear.) They would surely think it very cruel if they saw these strangers driven away, if these great men who had sent them away did not fully supply their places, and provide the town on as good terms with the articles that the foreigners had offered in exchange for your goods. (Hear, hear.) This was exactly what they had done, however: if they would suppose these strangers' names to be Russia, Prussia, Germany, and the United States, and the authorities to be the landlords of this country, the illustration would be exact. (Hear, hear, hear.) Each of these foreigners had implored the landlords to be allowed to deal with the people of this country on fair terms, and had given distinct warning that, if they were not, they must go to another shop, or manufacture at home. The result was that they had done what they had threatened, and that, though formerly good customers, they had either made for themselves or become rivals (cheers); and they knew the landlords had done nothing to supply the place of their former customers, either in trade or the employment of the people; they had, on the contrary, made them give double the quantity of goods for the same amount of food. (Hear, hear, hear.) Nor had they been cured yet. (A laugh.) They were going on with the same system; and the people would suffer much more if they did not bestir themselves. They had not yet lost the Brazilian customer; but, like all the others, they wanted to pay for the goods they took from England in what they could spare most of from their own country, and in what was most wanted here. They had warned them, like all the others, that they would go to another shop if they did not comply; and which they would do. A valuable trade would then be lost. The pretext was a little different from the other cases, that was all. They had pretended before it was all for the good of the people that they made food dear and trade less; but in this case all the people who used to support the slave trade, and all the people who used to have slaves, have united to resist the trade with Brazil, not for the sake of the people of this country, and of course not on their own account, but because their hearts do bleed so for the poor slave in Brazil, and that it would be so shocking for you to eat the slave-made sugar. (Laughter.) If they succeeded in stopping the trade with Brazil, it would be done after their eyes had been opened. They knew the interest of this country was to allow no obstacle to the imports from other countries. They were the means by which foreigners paid for their goods; and anything that stopped the imports deprived the hard-working people of this district of their customers. (Hear, hear.) He would not, however, discuss this further—it was carrying coals to the north to argue that question here. They understood the question better than he did. He had himself learnt much from them on this matter. He had seen the full importance to the working classes of the foreign trade clearer than he had ever done before. He was hardly aware, before he had seen its practical working in this district, what numbers of our fellow-subjects depended for the means of life on the continuance, and, he should say, the extension of the trade with foreign states, how the more or fewer orders from abroad, or the more or less competition with nations abroad in the neutral markets, immediately determined for how much and how long thousands and tens of thousands here should toil in the day (hear, hear)—the utter ruin to the place and to the people which would follow the loss of any customer abroad. (Hear, hear, hear.) He had heard here more than he had elsewhere how competition with foreigners had increased, and how each year the foreign merchants, or the factors, were obliged to get their orders executed at lower and lower prices, or not to execute them at all; and on every occasion the unfortunate people of this district were compelled to work longer for less reward. (Cheers.) He had often thought how cruel he should think it, if he were a working man, that men who knew nothing of trade—nothing of the interests of the productive classes, and who did nothing themselves—should pass laws to create and encourage this competition, and thus deprive him and his family of the means of existence, but on the terms that made life a curse. (Cheers.) It was when he reflected on the sufferings of the working classes, and when he knew how much more they must suffer from such a cruel obstruction to their trade as the Corn Law than any other class, that he was able to treat with contempt and indifference the reproach that was so often made, that he was eternally and exclusively, on their account, for the repeal of those laws. (Hear, hear.) He knew that he was only asking that the working classes might not be further oppressed and degraded (hear, hear); and while the law continued he would continue to make the same demand. (Cheers.) He should like to put some of those fine gentlemen who regarded all mention of the Corn Laws as a bore upon short commons themselves (laughter), and then, if they began to cry out lustily (which they would) for their equal fare, tell them to think of many other things but their dinner—that it was not by bread alone that men lived, and to think of their immortal souls, and cultivate their minds and improve themselves generally. (Loud laughter.) They would take it very quietly, wouldn't

they? (Laughter.) And then, after vexing and injuring them in every way, issue a commission to inquire into the cause of their degradation. (Loud cheers.) They had no reason to care for the taunts of ignorant, selfish men; they had been right on this question from the first, and their opinions were daily gaining ground; and they had reason to be proud that they had done everything which the constitution allowed them to obtain their object. (Hear, hear.) There was near him a gentleman who had drawn up the strong petition against the law in 1815, which was presented to Parliament (hear, hear); and when first the franchise was extended to them, they did not, as some did, select men to rivet the chains by which they were bound (hear, hear); or, what was more foolish still, choose one man to unbind their fetters, and another to fix them on again. (Cheers.) They sought and returned two of the most determined enemies of monopoly that the country contained—he alluded to Mr. Fryer and Mr. Whitmore. (Cheers.) When those gentlemen retired, the borough was famous for its opinions on this great subject, and he owed his connexion with it to that circumstance (hear, hear, hear); and it was their intelligence and constancy on that subject that gave Mr. Thornely and himself such pride and satisfaction in being their representatives. (Cheers.) He thought that they were acting in perfect consistency with all their former conduct in now giving a cordial hand of fellowship to the League. He believed that there was no way in which any man could support the cause more effectively now than by aiding the League, and he knew that they were too honest and too anxious in the cause not to hail their visit with joy and with gratitude. (Hear, hear, hear.) Ten years ago there were, perhaps, not two boroughs in the country so well informed as Wolverhampton on the subject; now there were at least fifty. He ascribed that chiefly to the knowledge that had been diffused in the country through the operations of the League. (Hear, hear, hear.) Let them rescue fifty men from the enemy and they would succeed. He believed it was to be done. (Hear, hear, hear.) Perseverance in a good cause would do anything. (Hear, hear.) The League was now everywhere. It was a body composed of men drawn from every part of the country, and of those who had the heart and the spirit to determine that their fellow-subjects should not longer starve, that commerce should not decay, and the country decline, while they had the smallest means within their power to prevent it (cheers); and they had the fortune to find the leaders of that League, animated by the right spirit, resolved to vindicate the rights of commerce and the rights of industry, and no longer suffer them to be trampled upon, insulted, and despised, as they had hitherto been. (Loud cheers.) No revival of trade, no improvement of revenue, no good harvest, would ever induce them to relax their unceasing hostility to this unrighteous law. (Hear, hear, hear.) They were like their old member, Mr. Fryer, who always said let them have but one thing to do with the law—which was to abolish it. (Hear, hear.) He remembered at the general election in 1837 he requested him (Mr. Villiers) to bring forward the total repeal the year following: he had assented, but he said that the harvest had been so good as to deprive it of the usual interest. "Good harvests, sir!" he said; "what had that to do with it? A good harvest will not make a bad law a good one." (Cheers.) It is a bad law, and will bear bad fruit as long as it lasts, and it will do much more harm yet, and he (Mr. Fryer) was a true prophet. In the year following, 1838, the prices rose, and in consequence of these laws the whole commerce of the country was disturbed, and a period, he believed, quite unexampled of misery and distress to the productive classes ensued for the five following years (hear, hear); and as sure as we are here this day will everything recur that has ever occurred before. (Hear, hear.) There is no reason why it should not. Sir Robert Peel's Corn Bill was not proposed to prevent it. Even the squires say it will do no harm, by which they mean that it will do you no good. ("Hear, hear, hear," and a laugh.) Would it not be madness to give it what they call a trial, when its principle has been long tried and has been so justly convicted? (Hear, hear.) There is only one thing to do, depend on it, which is, to get rid of every vestige of it, and this will be done at last by agitation. Justice is only rendered in this country by making the ruling classes uneasy. (Hear, hear.) If the agitation stops, they say the people are indifferent; if it perseveres, they yield. (Hear, hear.) Then, he said, there never was a machine more complete for this purpose than the League, and it was a duty to support it. (Hear, hear.) He spoke feelingly on this subject, for if the interest was not maintained out of doors it was intolerable to move, and not possible to succeed within. They knew that their late member, Mr. Whitmore, had retired from the house in disgust at the impossibility he found of making any impression upon the question of Free Trade. He complained of the interest that resisted him within, and the apathy which did not support him from without. (Hear, hear.) Had such a body as the League been in existence the cause might still have retained the service of a valued friend. (Hear, hear.) The League were now grappling nobly with their three great opponents, namely, interest, ignorance, and fear. They were facing those who asserted their interest in this law, and they told them that they were foolish as well as wrong. They sought to enlighten the ignorant, and to infuse a little spirit into the souls of those that dared not say they were their own. (Hear, hear.) They had drawn the great men from their retirement, had brought them before the public, and had made them speak out, and show cause why this law should not be abolished (hear, hear, hear); and a very pretty thing they had made of it (a laugh)—the wisdom of their former silence had become very striking, he should think, even to themselves. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) When men were not guilty they might talk at random, but not when they were so, and had been caught. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) They had all seen men brought before the bench, and, if they had the luck to be advised at the time, they were always told not to say anything, lest they should commit themselves. (A laugh.) Sir Robert Peel had, he believed, given his friends this advice (a laugh), but the League had driven the squires mad, and they won't be advised, and they will talk. (A laugh.) Now, formerly, they could say many things in Parliament which did not signify, for nobody cared; they did what they liked, and they used to tell the House how prosperous the farmer was, and how happy and contented the labourers were, and how they loved their lords (a laugh); the farmers and labourers never heard what they said, and the members for Wolverhampton were

told that they knew nothing of the farmers and labourers. (A laugh.) Lately, however, they have been saying these things in the counties, and within earshot of the farmers; the poor farmers have been roused into thinking all over the country (laughter), and they are now asking themselves and one another how it is that the Corn Laws can have done them so much good, seeing that no good at all has ever been done them (laughter); that for the last 28 years they have been very ill off—never certain of anything; and, in short, worse off than their neighbours. It is a little more than they can stand to be told that the law passed to keep up rents is all for their good, and that the landlord cares nothing about his rent. (Laughter.) They have been talking and thinking now for the last year about this, and at last, as if they could stand it no longer, a thing happened, the like of which, I suppose, never happened in this country before; two real live farmers (laughter), from two different parts of the country, not known to each other, but both precisely the kind of farmer said to be benefited by the law, came to London, and told Mr. Cobden that, if there was an opportunity, they should be perfectly ready to state the real case of the farmers at Covent-garden Theatre, at one of the great meetings held there by the League; and accordingly, about a fortnight ago, they did so; and a very pretty tale they did unfold about the blessings to them of Corn Laws. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Such a tale, that if there is any modesty in the composition of landlords, they will never mention the farmers again as long as they live as an excuse for their monopoly. (Hear, hear.) It is impossible to do justice to their narration of all the mischiefs which upon them especially, as farmers, they declared the Corn Laws had inflicted (hear, hear), but they defied contradiction to anything that they said, and they have received none. (Cheers.) They are notorious as good farmers in their counties, and are well known as respectable and able men (hear, hear). Even the poor agricultural labourer has found some friends who will not allow his name to be used for the support of what oppresses him. (Hear, hear.) Even the clergy have been speaking and writing on his behalf, declaring that his condition cannot be worse, and if the landlords would but pay half the attention to feeding him that they do to fattening their cattle, that they might then venture to speak of him as the subject of their solicitude. (Cheers.) At present he was starving, neglected, and degraded, and he felt an hostility to all above him. (Hear, hear.) This was the clergyman's statement, not his. (Hear.) So much for the blessings of scarcity in the agricultural districts. (Hear, hear.) These things are now being revealed, and if the League had no other claims to the gratitude of the country, they would deserve it on the ground that they had raised discussion and spread general interest on the condition of the people. (Hear, hear.) A more important subject could not now be discussed (hear), and by discussion the truth would be elicited. His friend Mr. Cobden did not even despair of convincing the landlords themselves that they were as foolish as regarded themselves as they were said to be unjust with regard to others. (Hear, hear.) He trusted he might succeed. Nothing to him on the subject ever appeared more clear than that. (Hear, hear.) They all knew that their rents had increased enormously during the present century, and it was difficult to believe that they could mistake the cause, and, forgetting that they had done nothing themselves to produce it, that they should overlook in their measures for injuring commerce and manufacture, the real cause and sources of all their wealth. (Cheers.) That the truth, however, should be elicited in time, and justice should be done, was his fervent prayer; it was in hopes of this being effected by the efforts of the League that he urged upon his friends to assist it. (Hear, hear.) He had attended there that day out of respect to the borough, and he was sure they would believe him when he said that the same feeling would prevent his advising them to any course that he did not think right and honourable. (Cheers.) Let anybody suggest any other course than that the League was pursuing, and he would attend to it and adopt it if proper; but, till he heard of something more likely to bring about the repeal of this law, he should do all in his power to support that body. Let them only remember that, during the three years since he last had the honour of addressing them, the population had increased one million (cries of "hear, hear"); that, for forty years past, this country had been unable to raise food sufficient to feed the people; and that the law in question was one to prevent the exchange of the labour of the people of this country for the food of other countries which they did not raise in this. (Cheers.) Could this go on safely, and could any man, who believed the contrary, conscientiously abstain from doing something towards its removal? (Hear, hear.) He said, then, let those who had not leisure to act for themselves in this cause, contribute to aid those who could act for them, and thus relieve themselves from any participation in continuing such an absurd, mischievous, and ill-suited enactment as that of the Corn Law. (Immense cheering.)

Mr. THORNTON, on being introduced by the chairman, was well received, and in the course of his speech said he verily believed if no Corn Law existed at present there was not a man in the country who would be bold enough to petition for its enactment. (Cheers.) When he and his colleague (Mr. Villiers) accompanied a deputation of the iron trade to Sir Robert Peel in autumn last, one gentleman on that occasion remarked upon the importance of the American trade. When this subject was mentioned he (Mr. Thornton) told Sir Robert Peel that he went along to the full extent with his colleague (Mr. Villiers) upon the subject of the Corn Laws—that he objected not only to a sliding scale, but to a fixed duty—and that, in his opinion, so long as a protective duty on corn was maintained, the American tariff would exist in full force, but so soon as that protective law was repealed the tariff would be abolished.

The CHAIRMAN then rose, and said the meeting was, as he had before stated, purposely called for discussing the principles of Free-Trade; but all political topics were advisedly excluded. If, however, any gentleman present differed from the opinions of previous speakers upon the subject of Free Trade, he would now, under the restriction adverted to, if he thought proper, have a right to address the meeting. All he (the chairman) would say was, that if there were any such gentleman present, he would do all in his power to obtain for him a fair, silent, and impartial hearing. He would now call upon any opponent of Free Trade to come forward and state his views. [The chairman paused for a short time, but no person took up the challenge.] It appeared (continued the

chairman) the meeting was unanimous upon the subject. (Cheers.) He would now introduce to them their distinguished friend Mr. Cobden. (Great cheering.)

Mr. COBDEN, upon being introduced by the chairman, was received with vociferous cheering. Since their worthy chairman had made an offer of discussion, and it had not been accepted, it might be said that they were all agreed upon the question under argument. But he (Mr. Cobden) was told, that, although silent, there were gentlemen present who, from timidity or from other reasons, objected to enter upon a public discussion. He would therefore attempt, if possible, to convert one of these stray sheep, and, if possible, send him as an apostle or missionary of Free Trade into the agricultural districts. (Cheers and laughter.) Mr. Cobden proceeded to show that the agriculturists, instead of being taxed beyond the manufacturers, were exempted from a great portion of the imposts paid by the latter classes of the community. He enumerated the farmer's dog-tax, horse-tax, dairy and cheese-room window-tax, toll on manure, &c. He (Mr. Cobden) was engaged in a manufacture which required a large quantity of a certain description of manure. If hundreds of loads passed through turnpike-gates to his works in the course of a year, he was, as a matter of necessity, compelled to pay a heavy amount of tollage. Now, the same description of manure, when at other times passed through turnpike-gates, paid no toll at all; and why? Because it was placed upon the lands of the great squires and landlords. (Cheers and laughter.) Speaking of the Corn Laws generally, Mr. Cobden said there was not a man of intellect in the House of Commons who was not ashamed to advocate them. He admitted that Graham and Gladstone, Stanley and Peel, were intellectually able and distinguished men; but it was impossible to sit opposite to them and not perceive that it was nothing but the force of circumstances which induced them to maintain their present position—it was as clear as day that they were ashamed of the humiliating task which they had to perform. (Cheers.) No doubt, while they were saddled and bridled by the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Buckingham, they would continue their present policy, but they might rely upon it, on the first opportunity which presented itself, the Ministers to whom he had referred—by far the ablest members of the Cabinet—would bolt out of the course, and run in an opposite direction. (Cheers and laughter.) After contending that agriculturists themselves would have no reason to complain of a repeal of the Corn Law, Mr. Cobden next proceeded to show that low prices of bread had always a beneficial effect upon the labourer. He put it to the labourer how high prices had benefited him during the last five or six years. They had received less wages, obtained less employment, and in many cases the unfortunate workpeople had had no employment at all. (Hear, hear.) They had had their wages reduced to the lowest ebb in 1839, 1840, and 1841, when corn was high, but when prices became more natural and free, when wheat was reduced to 50s. 8d., then trade gradually revived; iron, as it had done recently, rose 20s. a ton; employment became more general, and wages were augmented. Were not these facts? No man could deny but that trade, especially in Lancashire, was in some degree improving; and he (Mr. Cobden) would go further—he would prophesy that if corn kept at no higher price than 50s., trade and commerce would continue to improve; but if it got up as before to 60s. and upwards, then wages and employment would be as low and as scarce as before. (Hear, hear.) They had been told that if they reduced the duty on corn this step would be followed by a reduction of wages. He (Mr. Cobden) came there to prove that what their opponents said was not true. (Hear, hear.) Again, they had been told the working men of the kingdom derived no benefit from foreign trade; but if they did not others did. There were classes of the community who derived considerable benefit from the importation of the luxuries of life; and why did not the poor and working man enjoy with the rich equal benefit? Because there was a law to prevent the free importation of bread, pork, and other necessities of life. (Hear, hear.) He knew what was passing in the minds of farmers, who were then listening to him. "Yea," said they, "but every sack of flour and cask of pork brought to this country will be to our injury; it will by so much reduce the price of my stock and the amount of my gains." But the farmers should recollect that the people of this country were not all fed. It was because not less than 10,000,000 of the population of Great Britain and Ireland—for he always considered Ireland a part of his own country (cheers)—scarcely ever tasted wheaten bread, and were never fed at all upon meat, that he and his friends of the League advocated the entire removal of all taxes upon human food. (Cheers.) He knew no place in the kingdom where all the elements of prosperity showed themselves so clearly, so manifestly, as they did in Wolverhampton and its neighbourhood. Free Trade was all that was wanted. (Cheers.) Why, they had everything about them. They in Manchester had to go to America for every ounce of cotton they used before they could begin to work; they in Wolverhampton had their materials at their very door; at every step they kicked them before them. (Cheers.) They had skilled hands and skilled fingers, able to manufacture articles from a steam-engine to a grate, and down to a needle, and yet here they were with all these advantages with their hands tied behind them, by a parcel of monopolist squires who knew nothing and cared nothing for either them or their interests. (Cheers.) It was true, however, that they had even amongst themselves people who stood by the Corn Law, and why? Because it was termed a party question. There would be just as much sense in maintaining the old system in astronomy, that the sun goes round the world, and not the world round the sun, because Newton, Copernicus, and Laplace made it a party question, as making the repeal of the Corn Law a party question. He could only compare it to an absurdity which occurred in their own House of Commons. A discussion took place upon the subject of lighting the house. Some hon. members maintained the superiority of the Bude light, and others contended for a different mode of illumination. However, at length a division occurred, and strange to say, the Tories walked out at one door, and the Whigs at another. It was a party question. (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. Cobden concluded by saying, they knew the object of the League. Too many kind things had been said of himself and his friends. They had certainly done what they could; but the League would be entirely powerless unless supported by such gentlemen as those by whom he was then surrounded. But the question was not, as stated by their

opponents, whether the League was good or bad, but whether the Corn Law was good or bad. (Cheers.) Really, as a farmer's son, he was ashamed to see how the farmers throughout the country were bamboozled on this point; he confessed he was ashamed of his order. (Cheers.) It was not the League, but the Corn Law, which was on its trial. (Cheers.) They might say that what Cobden now said was inconsistent with what he said in 1840; but he repeated it was not Cobden or the League, but the Corn Law, which was on its trial. (Cheers.) Now, he would advise the farmers present, if at any future meeting of the landlords they heard the speakers begin to abuse Cobden, to interrupt them by saying, "Please tell us how we are benefited by the Corn Laws—that is what we want to know—we want to hear nothing of Cobden." (Cheers and laughter.) He (Mr. Cobden) cared little for the abuse heaped upon him. Such scolding as generally proceeded from the squires was, indeed, entirely unworthy of the tea-table of a ladies' boarding-school. The squires, on these occasions, were the laughing-stocks of the whole kingdom. (The hon. gentleman concluded a long speech amidst vociferous cheering.)

Mr. MOORE detailed the progress of the League, its labours, and successful operations; after which he appealed to the meeting for support, and was responded to by a splendid subscription of nearly £800, including £150 from Messrs. Villiers and Thornely.

Colonel THOMPSON, who arrived late, addressed the meeting; after which thanks were given to the chairman, and the meeting separated in the most orderly manner.

BRISTOL.

GREAT ANTI-CORN-LAW TEA MEETING.

Another of these splendid demonstrations of public feeling took place last evening at the Public Rooms, in Broadmead. The meeting was announced for six o'clock, the doors to open at five; and by the first named hour every seat in the spacious building was occupied, a large portion of the company being ladies. The meeting was presided over by that consistent friend to Free Trade, and ornament of his order, Earl Ducie, who took the chair at a few minutes after six. The deputation consisted of R. Cobden, Esq., M.P.; W. J. Fox, Esq.; and R. R. Moore, Esq. It was expected that J. Bright, Esq., would have been present, but he was unable to attend from a reason subsequently explained. It was also anticipated that G. Thompson, Esq., would have accompanied the other distinguished visitors, but he was unavoidably prevented from fulfilling his intention. On the platform were the principal gentlemen of this city friendly to the cause of Free Trade.

Tea was served with the order and alacrity which has always characterised their proceedings; and the refreshing beverage, together with its more substantial accompaniments, having been discussed, the company addressed themselves to the intellectual treat about to be set before them.

The noble CHAIRMAN rose, and was received with loud and long-repeated cheering. Silence having at length been procured, he said:—Ladies and gentlemen—and I am very glad that I have to say "ladies," as well as "gentlemen," for on previous occasions upon which I have attended meetings on this subject we have generally been deprived of the presence of the fair sex. (Hear.) In opening the business of the meeting, or I should, perhaps, rather say the consequences of that business, for its being advertised as a "tea meeting," I should say the tea was the great business,—well, ladies and gentlemen, that part of the business being over, I hope that the ladies will go home feeling that both the bread and the sugar should be looked after. (Applause.) Although we are met to-night on behalf of the Anti-Corn-Law League, so also are we here as friends to the general question of Free Trade. (Hear.) And I call upon all, and I call upon the ladies in particular, to urge that question on all over whom they have any influence. (Cheers.) In the few observations I shall address to you this evening, I shall be extremely brief, and that for several reasons. In the first place I am extremely anxious that you should hear the talented gentlemen who are coming here as a deputation from the League (cheers) with ears unwearied. I am desirous not to fatigue you by my arguments in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws, that you may hear untired the addresses of Mr. Fox and of his friends Mr. Cobden and Mr. Moore. (Cheers.) Another reason why I shall be short is, that upon a question so much used, and which has been so widely and continuously discussed, I feel unable to give to the subject that novelty which would be required to amuse and instruct you. It requires all the talents of such men as Fox, and Cobden, and Bright—talents rendered more illustrious by their perseverance, their integrity, and their zeal—to give to this question novelty and interest; and even they, I am confident, feel a difficulty, with all their talents, to bring forward fresh arguments in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws, or amuse and improve such an assembly as this. There is, too, another reason which will prevent my using many words—it is this:—If I belong to any class—except that in which I have been placed by the unmerited circumstance of birth—I belong to the cultivators of the soil. (Applause.) The farmers hitherto have not shown any great degree of common sense, they have not manifested much knowledge of the subject, and have not shown any very clear perception of their own interests. I shall, therefore, be very brief. Ladies and gentlemen, the gentlemen who will address you this evening, as well as myself, will do so as members of that much vituperated body the Anti-Corn-Law League—(hear)—and our object in coming forward to-day is to ask you to become members of that body, and to aid it with your purse and your person. (Applause.) We are not afraid, nor ashamed, of asking you to join that body, although we know that there is no word so bad that has not been applied to it, and there is no mischief which can be done which it is not said the League will do. (Hear.) We are told, ladies and gentlemen, that its days are numbered—(a laugh)—that we have aroused the British lion. (Laughter.) I hope that we have aroused something better—that we have aroused that which will be found far more powerful to do good—far more powerful to advance the good of the country. I hope that we have aroused the common sense of the nation. That it is which we have aroused, and the common sense of the country when once awakened will be found more potent to do good than any other power which we could call into action. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, the Anti-Corn-Law League would deserve your best thanks and support, even were they on the subject of the repeal

of the Corn Laws mistaken in their views. If it should be found that the great advantages we expect to flow from a repeal of the Corn Laws should not be realised—if the benefits which we anticipate as the results of their abolition should not come—still I say the Anti-Corn-Law League has rendered services which will entitle it to the best thanks of the nation, for it has brought the masses of the people to think, to reason, and I trust to act, for themselves. (Cheers.) I remember, in past days, when I was a candidate for the other House, that when I canvassed the electors I always met with one of two answers—it was either, "Oh! I must look to my own interests," or else it was, "I have always voted blue or yellow, and I intend to stick to my colours." (Laughter.) Since then the Anti-Corn-Law League has induced the masses of the people of this country to consider and reason on the things that are passing in the world; and I say, that through thus having so agitated and invited them to think for themselves, and to use their own minds, that hereafter, when any person shall canvass them for their votes, in whatever part of the country it may be, the answer which the people of England will give will be more suited to common sense, and they will say that they will be guided in all things in accordance with common sense. (Cheers.) We have been told by our opponents, that supposing the Corn Laws were repealed, the land would go out of cultivation. (Hear.) Now, I don't think greater nonsense was ever talked. Ever since the peace, the price of corn has been gradually reduced, while the cultivation of the soil has been gradually extended; but, as far as my experience goes, I do not know that rents have been reduced. (Hear.) I am not aware that such has been the fact; if anything there has been a contrary tendency; rents have inclined to rise. (Cheers.) The repeal of the Corn Laws might have the effect of putting a stop to the practice of persons, without adequate capital, taking to very large farms, and that I cannot consider any injury: at present, from the gambling nature of the business, such parties are tempted to put into the lottery, and the consequence is that the land is not properly cultivated, and they themselves are ruined. (Hear.) If farmers with a small capital were by a repeal of the Corn Laws induced to take smaller farms, farms to which their capital is adapted, I believe the result would be a much better cultivation, and I refer you as a proof to the farms, generally small, in the vicinity of large towns. Call to mind the spots of many such a farmer who has little else than his own labour to depend on,—a man holding but few acres,—and compare the state of it with that of some other man who holds a large tract of land—you may see such instances in the neighbourhood of your own town—and then say who has been first in the race of improvement? The man who holds the larger or the man who is possessed of the smaller? (Hear.) We are further told that, if the Corn Laws were repealed, the land could not be cultivated even rent free. (Hear, hear.) When I heard this, I took the trouble to look into my own farming accounts, to see what proportion rents and parochial taxes bore to the other expenses of producing corn. I found that the rent and taxes amounted now to one-third of the expense of producing a bushel of wheat. Now, if the price of corn will fall with the repeal of the Corn Laws, why, certainly, the expenses of production will fall with it. (Hear, hear.) Take simply the question of seed-corn and horse-labour. Horses will become cheaper, and, as their food would be cheaper also, they would be kept at a much less expense. Thus there are two grand expenses lessened in the cost of production. But these are not the only items of expenditure which would be reduced; the reduction would not stop there; many other things could be mentioned, I need only state the parochial taxes. (Hear.) Supposing these reductions to take place, the rent and taxes would then be in a proportion of two-fifths to all the other expenses. In speaking about rents, I quote from my own books, which tell that all the charges on my land are paid. (Hear, hear.) I am satisfied that wheat could be grown in this country at a lower price than the average of the last 10 years in Jersey (which is generally taken as the criterion), and yet pay a fair rent to the landlord, and give a remunerating profit to the farmer. I am supposing, of course, that the landlords would meet their tenants fairly, and give them leases long enough to enable them to make the necessary improvements—(cheers)—and expend their capital with advantage to themselves. I have already trespassed too long on your attention, but just before I began to address you my friend Mr. Hunt made some few remarks to me on the subject, and I could not resist the temptation of making an observation on it. I will now conclude by simply saying that I hope and trust that you, ladies and gentlemen, before you leave this place, will add both your mites and names to the League. I now beg to introduce to your notice W. J. Fox, Esq. (Great cheering.)

W. J. Fox, Esq., on rising, was received with the loudest acclamations. He said:—My Lord Ducie, in opening this meeting, has (if I may be allowed on the part of this meeting, as well as on mine own, to say so) greatly underrated his own powers as an advocate in this great cause. (Cheers.) I, for one, have been exceedingly interested and instructed by the exposition which he has just given us. I am instructed by it as coming from such an authority; as being the testimony of a noble landowner whose charges are all paid, and one, therefore, which bears down the whole mass of testimony from landowners whose charges are not paid, who are only the nominal proprietors of the broad acres over which they profess to have the mastery, who have to meet the difficulties of mortgages and marriage settlements (hear), and who tax the country to enable themselves to meet those difficulties. (Hear.) But it is not only the testimony of the noble lord which is valuable: his arguments are so in an equal degree. With the economical part of the question he has fairly grappled. He has taken that part of the Anti-Corn-Law League's reasoning where it was supposed to be the weakest, and he has shown its power and strength. He has touched on the most important part of the whole subject. He has shown the substantial good which the League has effected; that good which will endure when the Corn Laws are matter of history; that good which is beyond all economical good; that good which springs from arousing the mind of the country, calling forth its spirit and independence, without which prosperity itself is a mere transitory enjoyment, and without which freedom is only an empty name. Mr. Fox having pointed out with his usual felicity of diction the benefits which the League agitation had already conferred on the country, in having taught the people to think, in the diffusion of information, and in calling into

activity their energies, principles, and patriotism. He contended that if there was anything more extraordinary than this agitation it was that the necessity for it should exist. Why was it necessary that they should leave their homes, and hold meetings? Why all this toil and sacrifice and outlay for a matter so plain and simple as the right of the tradesman to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market,—for the right of the labourer to exchange the produce of his toil for the bread he had fairly earned? They were compelled to agitate,—they were driven to it; and if the Duke of Richmond thought the country should not be troubled with agitation, let him suffer justice to be done. Mr. Fox next ably replied to some strictures of the *Times* upon the League; and having spoken at considerable length on various branches of the question, concluded as follows:—In every view, direct or indirect, which can be taken, the Anti-Corn-Law League is entitled to your support. It is so entitled for having brought into exercise the intelligence and intellect of the country; for having taught to listening thousands the lessons of truth, of knowledge, and of science; for having placed the advocacy of its principles on the broadest basis, and for having pursued as its policy the plan marked out by Providence itself, which has given to the different regions of the earth different products, that the necessities of the one might be furnished from the superfluities of the other. (Cheers.) We appeal to you as the grand jury of the electors of the country, and ask at your hands a verdict in favour of that body by whom so much has been already achieved, and by whose ultimate success thousands of other blessings will be procured. For these reasons I hold that the League is worthy of all support, is worthy not only of your best wishes, but of your most earnest and unceasing aid. If, as the wise man said, there is a time for everything,—a time to be silent and a time to speak,—then the time to speak is whilst we have health and strength and life; the time to be silent is only when we lie unconscious in the grave. (Loud and long-continued cheering greeted the speaker on his resuming his seat.)

The CHAIRMAN then said:—I have now to introduce to you our tried and valued friend, Richard Cobden, Esq. (Loud cheers.)

R. COBDEN, Esq., on rising, was received with rapturous applause. We give the honourable member's very happy remarks on Mr. Cayley's pamphlet recently issued by the Protection to Agriculture Society:—I just now put into the Chairman's hands a little pamphlet which I purchased just before I left London, and which is quite a curiosity in its way. It is the first tract of the Protection to Agriculture Society, written by Mr. Cayley, member for the North Riding of Yorkshire, giving reasons for such protection. A man should be cautious in not giving reasons until they are called for, and then he should be careful in seeing what reasons he gives, and whether they may not furnish pegs for an opponent to hang his arguments on. Now, I must say, I don't think Mr. Cayley has been very successful in this instance. Of the twenty-four pages, of which the pamphlet consists, there is only one page and a half about farmers; not a word how they have been benefited by the Corn Laws; nor, as their pockets have been nearly emptied by the operation of those laws, any instruction where they are to find money to fill them. I have before had occasion to remark how the arguments of the Monopolists are generally couched in the future tense—it is always with them, "may," "might," "could," "would," or "should." I will read you a specimen from the pamphlet in my hands:—"With many of the advantages, however, of a home trade, a system of Free Trade would at once interfere. Especially would it interfere to endanger the interests of that great variety of occupations among the handicrafts of a country, which, in the aggregate, form a nation's surest source of employment. Because the probable (laughter) result of a real Free Trade would be that all, or most of the smaller occupations, which a protected home trade affords to a people, after a short competition, would (cheers) be absorbed and distributed among those countries which had no great manufacture. Each of these countries would then apply its undivided powers to produce some small article of trade, whilst such countries as were favoured by nature for some manufacture, might in the end possess the monopoly of supplying the produce of that manufacture to the rest of the world. The countries which in this deadly strife would be the most favoured, and in the long run would possess a monopoly, would be those which at the same time grew the raw material, and possessed coal and iron in that near neighbourhood necessary to its cheap manufacture." (Shouts of laughter accompanied and followed the reading of this extract, from the humorous emphasis laid by Mr. Cobden on the repeated contingents.) I have somewhere read (continued the hon. member) that Mahomet in his youth asked his mother what profession he should follow. She advised him to turn prophet. But if the prophecy should fail (rejoined he), what would the learned say? Oh! (she replied) if you can carry the ignorant with you, you needn't fear the learned, for they are but few. (Cheers and laughter.) She knew the secret how to sway the minds of the ignorant, and to make them fear and tremble, is to prophesy terrible things. Mr. Cayley has taken similar counsel; he works on the ignorance of the farmers by dealing in awful prognostics. (Renewed laughter.) But in this book he takes up still safer ground—he adopts the subjunctive mood—the prophecy, hypothetical. (Laughter.) I will read you a passage more ingenious than the other, for it begins with an "if." "If" is a great peacemaker, Shakspeare says. (Loud laughter.) "If the natural tendency of Free Trade must be, in the long run, to encourage, more or less, in each nation one great absorbing species of industry, to which all the energies, both of the mind and the body, of a nation would be exclusively applied; then, if each country had its fair share of work allotted to it in the scramble for custom, oftentimes on one manufacture alone might a whole people be dependent for employment. At the present day, in Great Britain, we may suppose that the cotton manufacture might temporarily occupy such a position, if other countries would allow it. Still, if even sixfold the present population employed in the cotton manufacture could, in exchange for foreign corn under an entire Free Trade, find work in cotton factories, there would only be employed a sixth part of our whole population; whilst the rest of the industry of the country might all be paralysed. But let us suppose such a state of things in real operation: what might be the result? Professor M'Culloch tells us: 'Some day, on a sudden, foreign countries might cease to take our cotton manufactures, at a time when we were depending for our daily supply of bread from our foreign customers.' With what commodity

could we then buy bread corn, when our cotton, our only money, was refused? If our cotton could not then be sold, in what state would our population then be placed? In one of absolute starvation! For, under this perfectly Free Trade, our growth of corn at home would be so diminished as to afford only, perhaps, half a supply for the whole people. But even supposing other nations would continue their demand for our cotton," &c. &c. &c. [This extract, like the other, gave rise to continued merriment.] This reminds me (continued Mr. Cobden) of an answer given by Saddletruss, a great metaphysical disputant, in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," when brought to a hard fix by his opponent in argument—"Can you contradict that?"—"Na, na, but I'm not going to admit it." (Shouts of laughter.) I will now hand the pamphlet over to the gentlemen with nimble fingers below me, that they may verify the extracts I have read, that I may not be thought guilty of libelling such a respectable body, which numbers amongst its officers five dukes, as many earls and lords, and half-a-dozen members of Parliament, and who, after racking their brains with months of painful cogitation, have put forth as their first publication, a pamphlet which, with its "reasons" for protection, rivals Tom Thumb's ministerial exposition. "As near as I can guess, I can't tell." (Laughter.) I think my friend Hunt [alluding to Mr. Hunt, tenant-farmer, who spoke at the recent Gloucester county meeting, and subsequently in Covent-garden Theatre, and who was present on the platform in the earlier part of the evening] and others are quite safe whilst in the company of such people. (Laughter.) It would be rather humiliating for a fine lusty fellow as he is to seek for the protection of Mr. Cayley, who is a very humane man, and quite as harmless in his person as in his arguments (laughter); but any one who saw him walking across the floor of the house would hardly think him the man to protect our friend Hunt. I wonder the farmers are not ashamed to seek protection. I would scorn to let any one protect me, though I am not so stout as the great brawny fellows, with faces like the rising sun, and with shoulders capable of bearing a quarter of a ton, who are dragged out by these societies as seeking protection. Protection is only wanted for superannuated persons, and young children of three or four years old, and those protectors are generally called nurses. (Loud laughter and cheers.) They tell us 7-9ths of the population are farmers or dependent on farmers, and yet they tell us they want protection! Who is to protect them;—and from whom? From an American, a Pole, or a Russian? Surely not, according to their own representations, the poor and sickly manufacturers who form only 2-9ths of the numbers, and possess but 1-20th of the capital, of the kingdom. (Cheers and laughter.) I am glad to find our noble chairman repeating his efforts to put down a system injurious to the landowner and to the tenant-farmer, as well as to every other class. I regret that I had no opportunity of summoning him to give evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, for which I moved. (Loud cheers.) If it had been allowed me to bring forward evidence I should have produced such an array as must have carried conviction even to the Duke of Buckingham himself. Out of the mouths of farmers and landowners would I have condemned them. But now you will allow me to say that we have met for business. I have brought you down from the height of Mr. Fox's eloquence to the proper level for proceeding with it. I will leave to Mr. Moore to explain what we have done, and are doing, with the money; but there is one other point to which I wish to advert. We have lately been taking part in some election contests, which, from not having turned out favourable, our friends may deem discouraging. I wish to disabuse your minds of an impression which may be the natural result of defeat in elections as you have seen them conducted. When we hear of an approaching election in a borough where there is no chance of winning, we transfer our lecturers and our tracts just at the moment when the people are most anxious to learn,—when public interest is concentrated on the question. We do not spend money in bribing, or coaching, or treating, as you may have seen done, but we go to prevent these things being done by others. (Cheers.) And wherever we are invited, wherever there are 50 or 100 sincere friends of the cause, thither will we go, and although for the time the result may be disastrous, we feel assured we have laid the foundation of future triumph. (Loud cheers.) I will now leave you in the hands of Mr. Moore, and thank you cordially for the patience with which you have listened to my thrice-told tale. (The hon. member resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic applause.)

The Noble CHAIRMAN then called on R. R. R. MOORE, Esq., who, on rising, was received with much cheering. He said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I have, as usual, here as elsewhere, but little to do in making speeches. You have so often heard this question urged here, and you have had it laid before you with so much power and ability to-night, that I think you are ready to subscribe your portion to the £100,000 fund. (Hear.) I confess that it is not a task of which I am particularly fond, that of being continually asking people for subscriptions for the League. But it so happens that it almost always falls to my lot to be the collector and announcer of the contributions at every meeting; I believe, however, that in any other cause but that of Free Trade I should not take that position. And I feel I am not here to ask you for your subscriptions, for I know that you will give them freely, and with a good will; but I am here to announce what you take the opportunity of giving to the League; and I am sure that it would be a matter of regret to you if that opportunity were not afforded to you. Mr. Moore then gave a lucid and forcible statement of the past proceedings of the League, and concluded with an eloquent appeal to the meeting to sustain it by their subscriptions. He then proceeded to announce the collection made in the room, slips of paper having been previously handed round for individuals to fill up with whatever sums they thought fit. Previously to announcing the following, he said, their noble Chairman had already given in his subscription, and was a constant annual subscriber. Amongst the sums announced were—E. Thomas, 100l. (loud cheers); G. Thomas, 100l.—(loud cheers); J. Eaton, 50l.—(loud cheers); W. Tothill, 50l. (loud cheers). It is not necessary to repeat the applause which followed the announcement of almost every sum, large or small. J. Charleston, 25l.; W. Willis, 20l.; Thomas, Fripp, and Co., 10l.; Lang and Sons, 10l.; a Friend, 10l.; E. Kidd, 20l.; S. P. J., 10l.; C. Tothill and Co., 15l.; D. Wheeler, 10l.; R. Bruce, 5l.; G. Tovey, 5l.; J. Eyre, 5l.; T. and H. J. Mills, 5l.; W. H. Somerton, 5l.; J. Hale, 5l.; Stephens, Brothers, 5l.; H. Viger,

101.; a Friend, per S. P. Jackson, 51.; Z. Fry, 51.; Summers Harford, 51.; W. Fry, Banwell, 51.; George Jones, 51.; P. D. Tuckett, 51. "per annum till Free Trade is obtained," J. Wetherman, 31.; H. E., 21.; J. G., 21. 2s.; E. Hunt, 11. 1s.; Mary Hunt, 11. 1s.; T. Rankin, 21. 2s.; W. H. Castle, 21.; T. Davies, 21.; A. Tunstall, 21. 2s.; J. W. Cash, 21. 2s.; a Friend, 21. 2s.; E. Halsall, 21.; R. M. Ring, 21.; J. Prowse, 21.; Rev. J. Burder, 31. 3s.; L. Jackson, 11. 1s.; H. S. Nash, 11. 1s.; T. Woodhall, 11. 1s.; J. R. Joy, 11. 10s.; J. Randle, E. Humpage, J. Mensies, C. Price, C. Price, jun., Rev. G. Annasley, J. Davis, F. Ashton, Foster, J. Whorast, S. Brett, J. Brayley, W. Hedges, Sales and Solomon, Rev. G. Armstrong, W. Knowles, Mrs. Knowles, Miss Knowles, T. Warren, A. Warren, J. Cox, J. H. Allis, W. Wood, H. Jennings, S. Stokes, T. Bale, W. Butler, Robert Ellis, H. Lee, J. W. Newcombe, T. Bromhead, W. H. Terrell, F. Terrell, J. Rider, W. Pollard, 11. each. There was also an infinity of sums from 11. down to 6d. In announcing particular sums Mr. Moore kept the audience in a continued roar by a quaint commentary on any peculiar signature adopted. Amongst some of these were—"A contribution towards mowing the grass on Bristol Quays." "Ah! (said Mr. M.) I hope some persons will get ships into your docks and out of them."—"A voice from Agraman's empty warehouses;" "The ghost of the Great Britain going to Liverpool;" "One who thinks Brazilian sugar will not poison colonial coffee." One contribution accompanied with half-a-dozen lines of very passable poetry. "That (said Mr. M.) I call Rhyme and Reason." A subscription being signed "Where's Bright?" Mr. Moore said—"I'll tell you; he has been working so hard that he has almost lost his voice, and if he attended too many meetings there would be a chance of his losing it altogether. As there is a meeting at Liverpool on Friday, he was unable to attend both." "A testimonial to Rowland Hill" called forth a warm eulogium on that gentleman. "The Penny Postage (said Mr. M.) enables us to carry on our correspondence, and the distribution of our publications, to an extent that we could not have done without. I hope Mr. Rowland Hill will be supported, loved, and cherished as one of the greatest benefactors the human race ever had." (Loud cheers.)

The total amount subscribed in the room was £624 1s. 10d., made up before the close of the proceedings to £630.

G. THOMAS, Esq., said he would not trespass on their time beyond reading the resolution he held in his hand:—"That this meeting, in thanking the members of the deputation for the readiness with which they acceded to the invitation to be present on this occasion, and for the high gratification which their addresses have afforded, pledges itself in proof of its sincerity to co-operate with the League in the peaceful agitation of the great question of Free Trade, until its principles are fully incorporated with the law of the land." He thought, from what Mr. Moore had stated, there were certain gentlemen who had taken up and persevered in the cause to a degree to injure their health. Mr. Bright was suffering from his exertions, and he hoped the young men of the city would come forward, and not let the burden rest on a few shoulders.

G. GOLDNEY, Esq., seconded the motion, which was put and carried amidst reiterated acclamations.

R. COBDEN, Esq., returned thanks on behalf of his colleagues and himself, who would feel fortified in their future course by the cordial manner in which they had been received. (Cheers.)

Earl Ducie having vacated the chair, it was taken by G. Thomas, Esq., when

H. VINCER, Esq., said he had much pleasure in moving the following resolution, which he was sure would meet with their unanimous concurrence:—"That this meeting desires most earnestly and cordially to express the sense which it entertains of that patriotic feeling which has induced the Right Hon. the Earl of Ducie to honour these proceedings by presiding over them; and, in recording its thanks for his lordship's kindness, this meeting begs to assure him of its entire conviction that the honour of the peerage, and the prosperity of the people, are best supported and served by that interchange of good feeling and mutual respect which his lordship has over so nobly and consistently encouraged."

G. E. SANDRUS, Esq., seconded the resolution, which on being put,

Mr. COBDEN said, "Let me see if the men of Bristol know how to cheer. I'll be the fagman." The hon. member accordingly led off the cheering, which was of a deafening description, accompanied by waving of hats, &c.

Earl Ducie, on rising, was received with renewed applause. He said—"In returning thanks for the honour you have done me in passing this resolution, I have but one remark to make. In that resolution you refer to the best possible terms between the people and the peerage. It is impossible they can work together for the good of the community if one class is sacrificed to another. (Loud and continued cheers.) If you wish all to go on for the good of all, continue as you have done to-night, in support of the Anti-Corn Law League. (Renewed applause.)

Three rounds of tremendous cheering were given in succession for Messrs. Cobden, Fox, Bright, and Moore, followed by three others for Free Trade; and the meeting separated, close upon eleven o'clock, highly delighted with the evening's proceedings.—*Bristol Mercury*.

NEW MILLS.

A deputation from the Anti-Corn-Law League, consisting of John Bright, Esq., M.P., Mr. W. Rawson, and Mr. A. Prentice, attended at New Mills on Monday evening last; and, in one of the rooms of Mr. Schofield's new factory, addressed an assemblage of from 600 to 800 persons. Thomas Gisborne, Esq., M.P. for Nottingham, was unanimously called upon to preside.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the business of the meeting, expressed the pleasure he felt in presiding on that occasion, especially at witnessing the interest they took in a subject with which the welfare of all classes was intimately connected. He proceeded to commend the exertions made by the Anti-Corn-Law League, who, he said, would take care of the food of the people, and let all have plenty; and concluded a speech which was received by general cheering, by introducing Mr. Prentice to the meeting.

Mr. PRENTICE said, the question of the Corn Laws was now so simplified that any one could understand it. The world could produce a hundred times more than it did now, so that all our people might have enough, but for the absurdity of man's legislation. He (Mr. Prentice) always thought of Smithy Door, when he came into that

district; for there, on a fine June morning, they would see the whole question illustrated at once. On the one side the market was filled with vegetables and fruit from Cheshire, and all the places westward of the county; and, on the other side, carts from Ashton, Bury, Rochdale, which had come laden with cotton goods, and which took back loads of the vegetables of Cheshire. There was the principle of perfect freedom of trade carried out. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Prentice afterwards alluded to the fallacy of the notion of our being independent of foreigners; and, after a general enunciation of the principles of the League, he proceeded to show the manner in which it was proposed to make them operate on the country, and concluded amid loud cheers.

Mr. BRIGHT was then introduced by the chairman, and commenced by explaining the object of the deputation, which was to convince those who were not already convinced, and to confirm others, that, in opposing the present restrictive policy, they were advocating a principle which must tend to the good of all classes of the country. Mr. Bright afterwards alluded to the sugar question, and also to the common notion that machinery was the cause of all our distress, and concluded by remarking that, in advocating the great question of Free Trade, they were merely desirous of doing justly to all, and of carrying out the fiat of God, "in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread."

Mr. JOHN KERSHAW, of Hurst, and Mr. JOHN YATES, of New Mills, afterwards addressed the meeting; and a vote of thanks to the deputation was proposed by Mr. JOHN CAIRNS.

The following subscriptions were afterwards handed up, and read by the Chairman: T. Lloyd, Esq., £30; John and Charles Yates, £25; J. Walsh, Furness, £10; T. Gisborne, Esq., M.P., £10; T. Waller, Mellor, £5.

To give £1 my heart is willing;
But niggard pocket cries a shilling.
I've lost, heart cries, without dejection,
I'll vote trade's freedom next election! Enclosed 1s.

Mr. YATES came forward and said, that he believed the subscriptions then amounted to £95; but he had said they could raise £100 before the meeting began, and therefore in order to make good that sum, and to stick to his word, he would give the odd £5. (Cheers.)

A vote of thanks was afterwards passed to the Chairman, and the meeting then separated.—*Manchester Guardian*.

STOKESLEY.—On Tuesday evening last, a meeting of the friends of Free Trade was held at Stokesley, in Cleveland, the centre of an agricultural district. As all the usual places of meeting in the town were refused to be lent for the purpose, and having no Free-Trade Hall, as in Manchester, in which to expound our views, we were obliged to put up with such accommodation as was to be had. In Stokesley the very rooms commonly used on these occasions are a monopoly. The old proverb says—"When there's a will there's always a way;" and the meeting was not to be prevented for want of a proper place in which to assemble. A large building was obtained, formerly used as a dye-house. With the exception of the distribution of the League publications, and the humble but persevering advocacy of the *Stokesley News*, no steps had been taken to crush the hydra in this stronghold of monopoly. At seven o'clock in the evening the room began to fill, and a few minutes after Mr. Plint, of Leeds, attended by Mr. George Twedell, editor of the *Stokesley News and Cleveland Reporter*, entered the building. It was then proposed, seconded, and carried unanimously, that Mr. Twedell take the chair. The chairman having stated the object of the meeting, introduced Mr. T. Plint of Leeds, one of the deputation of the National Anti-Corn-Law League. Mr. Plint rose and delivered an excellent address, characterised throughout by sound argument and research. During Mr. Plint's address Colonel Thompson entered the room, and was received with loud and long-continued cheering. The chairman then introduced Colonel Thompson, who, on rising, was received with loud cheers. He delivered a humorous speech, full of pungent illustrations. His appeal to the working classes was powerful, and will not soon be forgotten. At the conclusion of the gallant colonel's address, some interruption was attempted by a few of the O'Connorites, but was instantly suppressed by the working men in the body of the meeting, who promptly supported the chairman in the discharge of his duty. A vote of thanks was then given to Col. Thompson and Mr. Plint, with three cheers, after which the meeting separated.

SUNDERLAND.—On Monday evening, the 1st instant, a meeting of the inhabitants of this town was held in the Athenæum, for the purpose of hearing addresses by Colonel Thompson, and Thomas Plint, Esq., of Leeds, a deputation from the League. The attendance was not so numerous as usual—the reason being, no doubt, a charge of 3d. admission to the gallery, and 1d. to the body of the hall. On the platform was Mr. Dickenson, a Chartist of the O'Connor school (who has recently taken up his abode here), and in the room were several working men who appear to hold the same sentiments. On the motion of D. Jonassohn, Esq., the chair was taken by Joshua Wilson, Esq., the head of the largest mercantile firm in the town. After Colonel Thompson and Mr. Plint had addressed the meeting in their usually effective style, Mr. Dickenson made a long speech, in which he avowed himself a Free-Trader, though he opposed the League; but he was supported by a very small number of persons. Mr. Jonassohn moved a vote of thanks to Colonel Thompson and Mr. Plint, for their able and instructive addresses. Half-a-dozen "Whole-hogs" had the good manners and good sense (1) to hold up their hands against Mr. D. Jonassohn's resolution. Colonel Thompson briefly acknowledged the compliment, and the meeting separated at a late hour.—*Sunderland Herald*.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETINGS.—On Wednesday, the 3rd inst., two meetings were held in the Union-hall, Barnard Castle. In the afternoon the chair was taken by Mr. Jacob Allinson, of Cotharstone; and in the evening by Mr. J. Rogers, of Barnard Castle. The company in the evening was much more numerous than that in the afternoon, for, although it was the market-day, comparatively few farmers were in the town, the weather being so favourable for sowing seed, &c. The addresses, which were given by Thomas Plint, Esq., and by Col. Thompson, a deputation from the League, were such as need no eulogising. They were listened to with deep attention, and met with great applause; all present seeming to be convinced of the soundness of their arguments and the necessity of obtaining a repeal of all monopolies. It was

also resolved that an address, signed by as many electors of the township as could be obtained, should be sent to the hon. members for the south division of this county, praying them to support Mr. Villiers's motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Thanks were unanimously voted to the gentlemen of the deputation and chairmen.—*Leeds Mercury*.

WHITBY.—The same deputation attended at this town on Thursday evening, the 4th inst., and addressed the inhabitants in the Temperance Hall. The room was crowded, a considerable number being unable to obtain seats. A majority of the audience consisted of the working classes, of both sexes, with a fair proportion of tradesmen and professional men, and amongst the two latter classes a good many who supported the present monopolist member at the last election. Col. Thompson made one of his happiest speeches, and was enthusiastically cheered throughout his address. Mr. Plint dwelt on the statistics of the question; his statements and reasonings were heard with close attention, and made a strong impression on the meeting. At the conclusion it was announced that in the course of the summer a deputation from the League would hold an open-air meeting in Whitby,—an announcement which gave great satisfaction, and was received with acclamation. Thanks to the deputation were voted with three times three and one cheer more, which were heartily given.

WHEATHAMSTEAD.—PROGRESS OF PUBLIC OPINION.—AN EXAMPLE WORTH FOLLOWING.—On Thursday evening, the 28th ult., a meeting was held at the Swan Inn, Wheathamstead, for the purpose of forming a club, to assist in furthering the objects of the GREAT FACT with which "all Europe rings from side to side." Hemel Hempstead, St. Alban's, Kimpton, and other places sent their quota of supporters of Free Trade, most of whom departed thoroughly convinced of the justice and propriety of the steps taken, and resolved upon instant imitation of them. Mr. Charles Lattimore took the chair, and commenced the business of the evening with a speech of great length and eloquence, doing full justice to the subject, and illustrating it with a variety of details, to which the company listened with deep interest, and which they frequently interrupted by enthusiastic cheers. In the course of his speech, Mr. Lattimore humorously disposed of the cant about landlord-claims to compensation, in case they should be deprived of the "protection" they have extended to themselves, and which means the robbery of all other classes; exposed very felicitously the fallacy of protection; proved that the people themselves were not blameless in this matter; showed forcibly where their power lay, and pointed out the means of applying it. He concluded with a powerful appeal to his hearers, as they valued civil and religious liberty, never to cease striving for commercial freedom—the three blessings being inextricably linked together. Resolutions in accordance with the object of the meeting were proposed, seconded, and carried unanimously. A vote of thanks was passed to the chairman, and the meeting separated.

FREE-TRADE MEETING AT MORPETH.—On Wednesday evening, Mr. Liddell, of Newcastle, delivered a lecture in the Town Hall, Morpeth, on the Corn Law, and the general question of Free Trade. The room was crowded; and at the conclusion of Mr. Liddell's address, Mr. Soulsby, in opposition, showed that high duties are levied upon some articles which are wholly consumed by the aristocracy. A discussion ensued, in which Mr. Proggatt, Mr. Watson, and other gentlemen, took part.—*Tyne Mercury*.

RENFREWSHIRE FARMERS AND THE CORN LAWS.—From all that we can learn, the requisition for the Renfrewshire Anti-League meeting has been abandoned. The farmers of this county, as we anticipated, have had too much experience of the bad effects of the Corn Laws to run the risk of injuring themselves farther by lending aid for their continuance. By the last accounts that we heard of the Renfrewshire requisition, it had got up the country to Bridge of Weir and its neighbourhood, but, after making all possible inquiry, we have been unable to trace it further; and we presume the unfortunate document has been lost, without getting to Kilmacolm.—*Renfrewshire Reformer*.

PROVINCIAL PRESS.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE.—In the course of the discussion which took place on Lord Ashley's amendment on Friday week, Sir Robert Inglis said, "The supporters of the ten hours' proposition had been taunted with the sufferings of the agricultural population. They had been told of English women being kept labouring in the fields during seven or eight hours on a winter day, without the opportunity for change of clothing. He would be glad to hear the county pointed out in which that occurred." We should be glad to know the agricultural county in which it has not occurred. If the right honourable baronet will only take the trouble to refer to a report laid before Parliament last session, on the employment of women and children in agriculture, he will find the following remarks, by Mr. Austin, relative to the female population of Dorset, Devon, Somerset, and Wilts:—"The clothing of women employed in field-labour would appear to be inadequate for their work, but the deficiency is not complained of by them. A change of clothes seems to be out of the question, although necessary not only for cleanliness, but for convenience and saving of time. The upper parts of the under-clothes of women at work, even their stays, quickly become wet through with perspiration, whilst the lower parts cannot escape getting equally wet in nearly every kind of work they are engaged in, except in the driest weather. It not unfrequently happens, that a woman on returning home from work, is obliged to go to bed for an hour or two to allow her clothes to be dried. It is also by no means uncommon for her, if she does not do this, to put them on again the next morning nearly as wet as when she took them off. It does not appear that any ill consequences to the health have been observed to arise from this cause, unless rheumatism be partly attributable to it." Here, then, is a statement as to the condition of female labourers in the agricultural districts, which we would recommend to the special consideration not only of Sir Robert Inglis, but of all those supporters of Lord Ashley who have been so loud in their condemnation of the factory system, on account of the amount of toll to which females employed in mills are said to be subjected. Mr. Austin seems inclined to believe that change of clothes has "no ill consequences to the health."

but there are others who hold a very different opinion. Thus we find from the report of Mr. Deacon on the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Lincoln, that, although all his informants (with one exception) agree that out-door labour is "conducive to health," the single witness to the contrary is perhaps more worthy of credit than the whole host of those who differ from him. The Rev. E. J. Howman, rector of Bexwell, in Norfolk, who is said to have paid great attention to the condition of the labouring classes, makes the following statement:—"As far as I have been able to form an opinion, I am satisfied that out-door labour is prejudicial to the health of females; and this opinion has recently received confirmation in the inquiries I have made on the subject amongst my medical friends. There are very few at the age of fifty who are not affected with rheumatism in its various shapes. A young man, who has recently come from town to assist one of our surgeons, was particularly struck with the prevalence of scrofulous complaints amongst the women." Much stress was laid by Lord Ashley and his supporters on the ignorance of domestic duties among the females employed in factories; but this evil, we fear, is one which prevails to quite as great an extent among the female population of Dorsetshire, and other agricultural counties, as it does in the manufacturing districts. In the report to which we have already referred, Mr. Austin, one of the assistant commissioners, states that, "among the women of the agricultural labouring class, ignorance of the commonest things, needlework, cooking, and other matters of domestic economy, is described as nearly universally prevalent. A girl brought up in a cottage until she marries is generally ignorant of nearly everything she ought to be acquainted with, for the comfortable and economical management of a cottage." Mr. Austin remarks that, in consequence of their ignorance of domestic economy, such girls are prevented from getting out to service. We rather fear that, even though they were ever so well trained, it would still be impossible for them all to find situations in the country. The only two modes by which the great mass of them can earn an independent livelihood are in the field or in the factory. Lord Ashley and his followers seem resolved to exclude them from the one mode of occupation; but his lordship obstinately shuts his eyes to the obvious fact that, by so doing, he would, in the first place, render the condition of the female population of Dorsetshire, and other agricultural counties, still more wretched than it is at present.—*Manchester Guardian*.

AGRICULTURAL PROPHECIES.—A few days ago, the *Standard*, in calling attention to the account recently published, of the trade and navigation of the United Kingdom for 1843, took occasion to show that the agricultural interest had very little ground for the alarm raised respecting the effect of the new tariff on the importation of agricultural produce. It might have added, that there was no better ground for Sir Robert Peel's statement, that the reduction of the duties on foreign provisions would diminish the cost of living to most people to an extent equal to the amount paid by them as income-tax. If the timid landowners and farmers are to be laughed at for the panic which prevailed among them in consequence of the alteration of the tariff, they have a good right to reply that their apprehensions were warranted by the Premier's own declaration. Were the *Standard* an honest, independent journal, it might have been expected to warn its readers against placing much reliance on any future predictions of Sir Robert Peel and his agricultural supporters, seeing that they have been so very much at fault in their late calculations. Instead of doing so, however, it endeavours to show, that because the landowners had no sufficient cause to be alarmed about foreign competition, therefore the manufacturers who oppose the Ten Hours' Bill from a very natural fear that such a measure would endanger our foreign trade, are equally mistaken in their apprehensions on that score. Having mentioned a few of the articles of food imported, with a view to show how insignificant the total quantity has been, compared with what the agriculturists anticipated, the *Standard* makes the following remarks:—"We recommend these facts to the attention of the farmers throughout the country, and more especially to the notice of the editor of the *Mark-lane Express*, who laboured weekly, with commendable assiduity, nearly all last year, to convince the occupiers of the land that they were irretrievably ruined by the facilities given to foreign competition. If the subject be fairly scanned, without any preconceived opinion or prejudice, it will be found that there is as little ground for the present alarm attempted to be set up, that our manufacturers will be swamped and extinguished by foreign competition if Parliament enforce a Ten Hours' Bill, as that the cultivation of the land would be impossible under the now existing tariff of duties upon imports." "We recommend these facts to the attention of those farmers" who attend Anti-League meetings, where they hear noble landowners asserting, that, were the Corn Laws repealed, half the arable land in the United Kingdom would be thrown out of cultivation. Men who have been mistaken in their predictions regarding the probable operation of the new tariff and sliding scale should be very backward as to what they say about the effects of an abolition of the Corn Laws.—*Ibid.*

THE "ABSTRACT" FREE TRADERS.—It will be remembered by all the world, that the slippery and sophistical Sir Robert, in imitation of the lawgiver of old, retired from the public gaze, and, in the shady solitude of Drayton Manor, or the official privacy of Downing-street, originated and matured the benevolent design of an Income-tax, and produced that *ne plus ultra* of the pedlar's art, the alterations in the tariff. It will be further remembered that, when an anxious senate congregated round the man whom Canning has aptly described as the "sublime of mediocrity"—whose lips were never touched by fire from Heaven, nor moved in obedience to the inspiration of genius—he solemnly announced, "that the doctrine of Free Trade was the doctrine of common sense, and that its obvious corollary, to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, was the undeniable dictate of policy and prudence." Gladstone has stated the same principle, again and again, *uque ad nauseam*; and any member of the party possessing a single idea having the slightest reference to legislation, has signified his adherence to the truth which (thanks to the League!) has been spread throughout the length and breadth of the land—not fitfully, but copiously and universally, like light itself. It has filled, not the rich man's palace only—it has descended to the lowly cottage. Wherever a little group of humanity has existed, either, like the dew of

early morn, has it been attracted and deposited, vivifying into green and vigorous life the long-dormant elements of social usefulness and prosperity. These are no high-flown figures of speech; they but faintly shadow forth the spread of truth, and the extinction of that preference of class which our rulers have hitherto so shamefully exhibited. It is true, no straggling ray of intelligence has penetrated the more than primeval darkness of his Grace of Alnwick's intellect; it is more than probable that such an event is an optical impossibility. The Hon. H. T. Liddell will continue to see, in the grey gloaming, the giant proportions of the Free-Trade spectre. Sir Charles Monck will be for ever affected with incurable jaundice. And (to descend to "meaner things") the moral apothecosis of "honest John" from that dark abyss of infamy in which he has long been cast, "full many a fathom deep," is not seriously to be anticipated. But these dark shadowings do not mar the general effect; this is but discord in harmony. Burke has said, that "obloquy and abuse are essential parts of triumph;" the Roman conqueror forgot not to introduce them into his ovation; and why should the progress of this great question be removed from the operation of ordinary laws? Why should the stupid, the selfish, the depraved, not attempt to return to its source the irresistible stream of enlightenment and truth? But, leaving folly and faction to pursue their course, we seriously ask, what prevents the application of the plain and evident principles which the Ministry have admitted? They have indicated the truth. The mysterious, oracular Sir Robert, in his incubation of the tariff and income-tax, permitted himself to re-hatch the principles of Free Trade. The gallant Premier rushed into the Senate, and exclaimed, "I have found it! I have found it!" You have, Sir Robert, found it, explained it, and laid it down as your rule of faith; and from its inferences there is no escape. Mr. Gladstone may exhaust all the resources and all the graces of a *maître d'épée*; but he is always bound—he is like one of his former unhappy slaves, dancing in chains. And you, Sir Robert, are perfectly safe in similar toils. And if these principles are announced for any other object than that of deception, why not carry them into operation? Why urge so many specialities? Why hypocritically talk of slavery? Why talk of expediency when this is an inference from unbending principle? Why adopt the Jesuitical and false pretence of alleged necessity, "the tyrant's plea"? Why make eternal, immutable justice dependent on temporary and changeable conditions? Was Christianity taught in this way? Were its holy precepts so constructed that they could be disobeyed at pleasure? Or was the "vested interest" of vice and superstition regarded as sacred? Men of strict integrity, who wear not their principles more loosely and capriciously than their garments, under these circumstances would have exclaimed with the ancient satirist, "Let justice be done on earth, though Heaven itself should perish."—*Gateshead Observer*.

BRISTOL PRO-CORN-LAW MEETING.—An advertisement appeared last week in the Tory journals of this city, notifying that a meeting "for the purpose of forming an agricultural protection society for Bristol and its environs," would be held on Thursday, the 4th of April, at the White Lion, Broad-street, and calling upon "those friendly to the cause of British agriculture" to attend. We desire the attention of our readers to the particulars of the case. The meeting was regularly advertised; the day fixed upon was the one for holding both the corn and cattle markets; Bristol was swarming with farmers; and yet (tell it not in Gath!) only thirty, or it might be two-and-thirty, individuals "friendly to the cause of British agriculture"—that is, as understood by the getters-up of "protection societies"—could be prevailed upon to make their appearance at the meeting! The failure was signal and complete. One of the parties present attempted to account for the absence of the tillers of the soil. The reason he gave was curious, as illustrating the advantages which practical agriculturists in this locality have derived from "protection." The farmers in Bristol and its environs were too poor to subscribe; but when it should be known how low was the amount of subscription which would be accepted—"the smallest donations thankfully received"—he was sure they would come forward. Perhaps! They may, it is true, make themselves members of this potent society by paying half-a-crown a year. But why should they be guilty of such needless extravagance? Why should the farmers throw away half-a-crown a year? Have they ever benefited half-a-crown a year, or do they ever expect to benefit half-a-crown a year by "protection"? On the contrary, has not "protection" gradually depreciated their capital? Have they not been rented at legislative prices, and have they not had to pay their rents at market prices—a difference of 10s., 20s., and sometimes 30s. per quarter? This is the sort of "protection" which has been extended to them, and they are evidently tired of it. At all events, they do not think it worth half-a-crown a year! Another delusion attempted to be got up by those who wish to let their land for more than its real value is, that the formation of Anti-League societies is a tenant-farmers' movement. Let us analyze the Bristol meeting, and we dare say it will be found a fair specimen of the class. The following were the individuals who took part in the proceedings, as speakers, or as proposers and seconders of resolutions:—John Scandrett Harford, Esq., chairman—landowner; Richard Mullins, Esq.—landowner and farmer; Hugh Vaughan, Esq.—landowner; Colonel MacLaine; Dr. Wallis—doctor of physic; J. Marmont, Esq.—land-surveyor; E. Sampson, Esq.—landowner. A pretty tenant-farmers' meeting, truly! We never see an attempt made to put the tenant-farmers forward for landlord purposes, but it reminds us of Landseer's clever print of "the Cat's Paw," where the cunning monkey is using poor puss's paw in order to get the roasted chestnuts off the hot stove. The farmers in Bristol and its environs, however, seem to have very little inclination to be used as "cat's paws." We think they show their sense by keeping their "half-crowns" in their pockets, and by allowing those exclusively interested in "protection" to subscribe for its maintenance.—*Bristol Mercury*.

In the year 1834 a public meeting was called in Norfolk to petition upon the subject of agricultural distress. The writer of this article was, at the time, on a visit to the late Earl of Leicester. Their first subject of conversation was this meeting and its cause. He asked the earl's opinion as to both. "I will not answer you to-day," said his lordship, "but I will show you to-morrow." The morning came, and they drove to a principal tenant near the park. They met him in the yard, when the earl gravely said, "That man is the greatest enemy I have on earth."

The good farmer very earnestly inquired what his landlord meant, perceiving that there was some covert design in his attack. "Why I mean," said his lordship, "that you buy all the Wells manure out of my hands." "Ah," said Mr. M., "you do not like me the worse for that." "Perhaps not; but tell me, have you spent £500 or £600 this year in this way?" "Sir, if you will believe me, Sir!" "And do you think the land is the best bank in which you can place your money?" "I do, Sir." "There," said his lordship, "there's agricultural distress for you!" This anecdote, which is related verbatim as it passed, was strongly recalled by the quotation in the "Quarterly Review" of "Lord Stanley's wise and important declaration at Liverpool, in July, 1841, that 'there was no bank in the whole country—no commercial speculation—no investment—so safe, so sure, and profitable as that in which even borrowed capital may be engaged by investing it under the ground.'" It was the universally expressed opinion of this venerable agriculturist above-cited, that "no land was so bad that it would not pay for cultivation."—*Sussex Advertiser*.

THE LATE ELECTION FOR CHRISTCHURCH.—The vacancy caused by the resignation of Sir George Rose—who took care to have his Tory successor ready for the struggle—took the electors of Christchurch completely by surprise. The addresses of Sir George Rose resigning the honour of his seat, and of Captain Harris soliciting the honour to be elected (they are all honourable men!) adorned the walls of Christchurch on the selfsame night, and revealed the true state of things to the admiring inhabitants on the selfsame morning. The Liberal electors were completely unprepared. They were not alone taken by surprise, and found unprovided either with a candidate, or with the other materials for a successful contest, but they were unprepared upon the great questions and principles on which they were hastily called upon to decide. The Anti-Corn-Law League entered the field in a hurried, and perhaps inconsiderate, manner. The constituency is small, and in the midst of a district purely agricultural—surrounded, and of course much influenced, by that class in the state which Lord Stanley describes as being most sensitive and fearful of change and innovation. The candidate put forward by the League at last, almost openly avowed that he came forward not with any sanguine hopes of success, under such untoward circumstances, but in order to enable every independent elector to register his vote, and in fact to make a beginning. Accordingly a beginning has been made, which has only to be properly followed up. There is to be found in Christchurch a band of independent electors, which must be extended and increased. Although not possessed of much commercial enterprise, or directly engaged in extensive trade, there is enough of intelligence to be taught the lessons of true commercial principles, and to learn wherein the true greatness and prosperity of the whole empire, and of every class therein, must eventually be centered. The Anti-Corn-Law League has entered Christchurch. It should pursue its operations there as it did at Salisbury, undaunted by the first sudden repulse. It should register electors—found an association—lecture and instruct the people—disseminate its useful publications—and in every way enlighten and prepare the public mind for future struggles against monopoly of all sorts—whether in the food or in the representation of the people. It cannot be that the independent electors of Christchurch will always allow themselves to be handed over, tied neck and heels, from one powerful family to another—made the mere stepping-stones to promotion, and to enable lazy sinecurists to pocket more and more of the people's money. The electors of Christchurch, as well as of other places, must be prepared for that awakening of popular opinion, which is sure to follow the present lethargy of the public mind.—*Hampshire Independent*.

HASTINGS ELECTION.—We are neither surprised nor disappointed that the Hastings election should have terminated in the return of Mr. Briscoe. No one at all acquainted with the history of the contests in that borough could contemplate any other result at present. A constituency demoralized by continual bribery, and of whom no mean portion have been habitually taught to look upon candidates for representation merely as candidates to be plucked, pulled at, and plundered,—such a constituency could be hardly expected, on a first application of principles instead of *purses*, to be sufficiently purged from the old leaven, to have sufficiently overcome the effects of former demoralization, to welcome a candidate who came forward upon principles so entirely opposed to the past predilections of the men he addressed, and so utterly subversive of all hope of future plunder, as those upon which Mr. Moore took his proud stand upon this occasion. We are therefore, we repeat, not surprised at Mr. Briscoe's return, but we are surprised that, out of such a constituency, so large a number as 174 men should have been found to record their votes under circumstances of the greatest discouragement, in the teeth of widely-extended and powerfully-exerted local and personal influence, and in spite of that prejudice which must attend a League candidate in such a town as Hastings. We say again, we are surprised that so large a number should have been found to record their votes for a stranger, who came in avowed and open hostility to the "good old system," and whose sole influence resided in the truth of the cause he espoused, and in the force, earnestness, and ability with which he advocated its principles. Such a defeat is no discouragement, but is, in fact, a great moral victory. It is the herald of future triumph—of the triumph of principle, and the downfall of those foul practices which have delivered over the constituencies of England to venal and self-abandoned thralldom, converted the representatives of the people into the wolves of the flock, and perverted one of the noblest gifts of the constitution into one of its darkest, deepest, and most pernicious curses. But the good seed has been sown, and we look with confidence for its vigorous growth, spite of the tares among which it may peradventure have fallen.—*Sussex Advertiser*.

The truth is, that the voting in Hastings is an anomaly and a puzzle, and has ever been, to every politician that has yet attempted to comprehend it; and Mr. Moore coming late into the field against such tremendous odds, as would have deterred any but so dauntless a champion of an oppressed and starving people, has done wonders indeed, in the strong footing he has gained in the borough, the improved political morality he has engendered, and the lesson he has taught the corruptionists, that seats in Parliament will no longer be suffered to be bartered from one to another, in the old quiet way, without an honest Leaguer to thwart their plans and expose the juggle.—*Dover Chronicle*.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, April 10, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | |
|---|----------|
| Joseph Ivimey, solicitor, 25, Chancery-lane .. | £10 10 0 |
| "An expected Balance" .. | 5 12 7 |
| Benjn. Poole, Old Whitmore Head, Hoxton Old Town .. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Bridden, 9, Newhall-street, Birmingham .. | 1 0 0 |
| From the Workmen in the employ of Messrs. Maudslays and Fields, engineers, Lambeth, (seventh contribution) .. | 2 10 0 |
| R. W. Field, 41, Bedford-row .. | 20 0 0 |
| R. Barrett and Son, Beech-street, Barbican .. | 3 0 0 |
| Francis Standing, do, do .. | 1 0 0 |
| Robert More, Old Street-road .. | 5 5 0 |
| Z. T. Purday, 48, High Holborn .. | 1 0 0 |
| E. Swaine, 125, Piccadilly .. | 1 1 0 |
| James Allen, Station Inn, Rotherham .. | 1 0 0 |
| Chulmleigh, (Thomas Sharp .. | 0 5 0 |
| Devonshire, (William Bond .. | 0 5 0 |
| (J. W. Warriner .. | 0 1 0 |
| C. L. and J. L., Egham .. | 0 2 0 |
| F. S. .. | 1 0 0 |
| William Cash, 30, Wood-street .. | 10 0 0 |
| Mr. Baker, 18, Bath-street, Newgate-street .. | 0 5 0 |
| George Allen, 7, Cowper-street, City-road .. | 5 5 0 |
| C. J. Foster, 6, Stone-buildings, Lincoln's Inn .. | 1 1 0 |
| W. Allen, 7, Union-street, Whitechapel .. | 0 10 0 |
| Dr. Bateman, East India-road .. | 5 0 0 |
| John Marriott, Wellingborough, Northampton .. | 2 2 0 |
| Prentice and Cathall, Ducle-place, Manchester .. | 5 5 0 |
| John Hardcastle, Old Malton, Yorkshire, second subscription of same amount .. | 0 10 0 |
| Hugh Miller, Ayr, N.B., per Rob. Robertson .. | 1 0 0 |
| John Browning, Farnham, Surrey .. | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Leech, Orleans, per Leech, Harrison, and Co., Liverpool .. | 5 0 0 |
| N. B. R., per Sidney Smith .. | 1 0 0 |
| B., per Sidney Smith .. | 2 3 0 |
| A Friend to the Ballot .. | 0 2 7 |
| Smithson Holmes, Barningham, near Greta-bridge, Yorkshire .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Miller, Greenfield-lodge, Laseawade, N.B. .. | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Woodworth, Victoria-place, Newton-heath, near Manchester .. | 1 0 0 |
| W. R. .. | 1 0 0 |
| Stephen Woolley, Colne, Lancashire .. | 1 0 0 |
| Workmen of Henry Holroyd, Colne, Lancashire .. | 1 6 4 |
| William Coop, Weathoughton .. | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Green, do .. | 0 5 0 |
| Small sums, do .. | 0 6 0 |
| Wm. Pritchard, Withy-grove, Manchester .. | 0 5 0 |
| Jas. Brerley, 5, do .. | 0 10 0 |
| Richd. Colden & Brothers, Mosley-st., Manchester .. | 200 0 0 |
| Wm. Higgins and Sons, King-st., Salford, do .. | 50 0 0 |
| John Lloyd, 19, York-street, do .. | 2 0 0 |
| Wm. Bealey, Mosley-street, do .. | 10 0 0 |
| M. Laren and Nephews, Fountain-street, do .. | 50 0 0 |
| Ashworth and Cartwright, do .. | 5 0 0 |
| R. R. Roberts, 8, Cavendish-st., C.-on-M., Manchester .. | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Dale, Market-place, do .. | 1 0 0 |
| William Roden, New Town-row .. | 1 0 0 |
| John Cornforth's Workmen .. | 2 7 9 |
| Joseph Shorthouse, Newmarket-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Yates, Deritend .. | 0 2 6 |
| Mrs. Richards, do .. | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Allen, do .. | 0 10 0 |
| Mr. Nevill, Warwick-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Bottomley, Deritend .. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend that has Tory customers .. | 0 5 0 |
| George Wareham, Bordesley .. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Bodenham, Deritend .. | 0 5 0 |
| Mr. Shenston, Bordesley .. | 0 5 0 |
| Bassano and Fisher's men, Liverpool-street .. | 1 9 8 |
| Bassano and Fisher, do .. | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Hughes, do .. | 0 5 0 |
| John Muddiman, Adderley-street .. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend in Greenway-terrace .. | 0 5 0 |
| Cemm, Coventry-road .. | 1 0 0 |
| Rd. Tutton, Birchall-street .. | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend, Camp hill .. | 0 2 6 |
| Thos. Hildick, Deritend .. | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums .. | 0 11 0 |
| C. Alhusen and Co, Quayside .. | 25 0 0 |
| Sir John Fife, Mayor of Newcastle .. | 10 0 0 |
| Loah, Wilson, and Bell Quayside .. | 10 0 0 |
| John Ridley, 16, Lovaine-place .. | 5 0 0 |
| John Rayne, Close .. | 2 2 0 |
| Joseph Pollard, Love-lane .. | 2 2 0 |
| Haggle, Brothers, South-shore Ropery, Gateshead .. | 2 2 0 |
| R. H. Haggle, Close, (second subscription) .. | 1 1 0 |
| R. D. Smart, 60, Grey-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. A. Cook, Walker, near .. | 1 0 0 |
| John Carr, cokeburner, High Villa-place .. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Bell, Jun., Byker, (second subscription) .. | 1 1 0 |
| A Free Trader .. | 1 0 0 |
| A Free Trader .. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Richardson, Union-street .. | 0 10 0 |
| No Monopoly .. | 0 5 0 |
| Robert Fletcher, Hanover-square .. | 2 2 0 |
| Jos. Dixon, Tyne-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. Edward Jukes, St. Alban's .. | 1 0 0 |
| James Cowban .. | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Aspdon, Darwen-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| John Brown, Henry-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Dean, at Mr. Brown's, James-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| Abraham France, Paradise-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| John Whitehead, Back-lane .. | 1 0 0 |
| Christopher Parker, Daisy-field .. | 1 0 0 |
| James Stott .. | 1 0 0 |
| Sundry small sums .. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Stilegman, Castlegate .. | 5 0 0 |
| John Osborne, lacemaker, William-st., Nottingham, Sixth .. | 1 0 0 |
| R. Machin, tradesman .. | 1 0 0 |
| An Admirer of Golden and Bright .. | 15 0 0 |
| J. R. Allen, St. James's-street .. | 5 0 0 |
| Levin and Bacon, Stoney-street .. | 20 0 0 |
| Fairbrother and Crowther .. | 3 0 0 |
| James Rutwistle (2nd subscription) .. | 1 0 0 |
| A Hair from Col. Sibthorpe's Whiskers .. | 0 15 0 |
| Mr. Gatty .. | 0 5 0 |
| James B. Green .. | 0 5 0 |
| John Gash .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Davis .. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend .. | 1 0 0 |
| W. H. (2nd sub.) .. | 0 5 0 |
| T. F. (2nd sub.) .. | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Hinks, Little Stonegate .. | 0 5 0 |
| R. S. Jubber-street .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Wilkinson, Swinegate .. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Brodie, Shambles .. | 0 5 0 |
| F. R. W. .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Gifford, Groves .. | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Smithson, Colliergate .. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Williams, Lawrence-street .. | 0 2 6 |

| | |
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| Sunderland, Ninth Remittance. { Thomas James Backhouse, Fawcett-st. .. | £2 0 0 |
| { Thos. Hutchinson and Friends, Sun- .. | 1 0 0 |
| { W. D. .. | 0 10 0 |
| { John Bamber, Bridge-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| Farsley, near Leeds, Second Remittance. { Daniel Peckover .. | 5 0 0 |
| { Nathan Overend, Farsley Beckbottom .. | 1 0 0 |
| { David Marshall .. | 1 0 0 |
| { Richard Duffield .. | 0 10 0 |
| { Joshua Fairbank .. | 0 10 0 |
| { Samuel Gray, Calverley .. | 0 10 0 |
| Preston, 3rd Remittance. { Daniel Clinton .. | 0 1 0 |
| { Thomas Smith, Wellington-street .. | 0 5 0 |
| { James Mould, 15, St. Peter's-square .. | 0 5 0 |
| { Charles Clifton, 11, Frenchwood-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| { J. Parkinson, Livery Stables, North-road .. | 1 0 0 |
| { John Bamber, 21, Stoney-gate .. | 1 0 0 |
| { A Friend .. | 2 0 0 |
| { A Poor Parson .. | 0 5 0 |
| { A. B. .. | 1 1 5 1/2 |
| { Mr. Harkness, Water-street .. | 0 1 0 |
| { William Crankshaw, cotton spinner, Mellor, near Blackburn .. | 5 0 0 |
| { Hugh Lamb, Market-place .. | 1 0 0 |
| { A Friend .. | 0 5 0 |
| { James Walsley, Mullineux-square .. | 1 1 0 |
| Workpeople of Alderman Orrell .. | 4 8 1 |
| William Rique, Castle-street .. | 0 15 0 |
| David Dixon, do .. | 0 5 0 |
| Lawrence Doran, York-street, Edgeley .. | 1 0 0 |
| John Clarke, George-street .. | 0 5 0 |
| James Berry, Newton-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| Joel Hallworth, do .. | 1 0 0 |
| A Cheshire Farmer, per H. Robinson .. | 2 0 0 |
| David Renshaw, Wellington-road North .. | 0 2 6 |
| George Yates, Mealhouse Brow .. | 1 1 0 |
| William North, Tiviot Dale .. | 0 10 0 |
| William Garlick, Wellington-inn .. | 1 1 0 |
| George Mitchell, Manchester-road .. | 0 10 0 |
| John Mitchell, do .. | 1 1 0 |
| An Elector, Spring-gardens .. | 0 5 0 |
| John Newton, York-street, Portwood .. | 0 5 0 |
| Jeremiah Turner, do .. | 0 5 0 |
| James Bostock, Ratcliffe-street .. | 0 5 0 |
| Huddersfield, 16th Remit. { J. Hawksworth, Hoyland Swaine, near .. | 0 10 0 |
| { Wm. Greenwood, engraver .. | 0 5 0 |
| { T. Hirst, woolstapler, Market-street .. | 1 1 0 |
| { J. Firth, Crookland Moor, near .. | 10 0 0 |
| { John Smithies, King's-road .. | 4 0 0 |
| { Wm. Crookland, Paddock, near .. | 10 0 0 |
| { John Wormald, saddler, King-street .. | 0 5 0 |
| Liverpool, Eighteenth Remittance. { Wm. Fawcett, York-street .. | 100 0 0 |
| { R. C. and J. H. Rawlins, Cotton-court, .. | 5 0 0 |
| { Sweeting-street .. | 5 0 0 |
| { J. D. Taylor, 28, Whitechapel .. | 1 0 0 |
| { Henry Cowell, Little Woolton-street .. | 0 5 0 |
| { James Ellis, Woodside .. | 0 2 0 |
| { Stephen Winder, Peter-street .. | 0 1 0 |
| { Joseph Chaddock, Carpenter's-row .. | 0 1 0 |
| { Abraham Patterson, Tarleton-street .. | 0 1 0 |
| { Z., per J. Finch, jun., Sir Thomas's-buildings .. | 10 0 0 |
| { Rowland Rowcaw, 4, Sweeting-street .. | 10 0 0 |
| { Francis Mill, 2, India-buildings .. | 2 0 0 |

ERRATA.

In LEAGUE, No. 24, for "R. B. Cox, King-street, Sunderland, £5 ss." read "R. B. Cay."
In LEAGUE, No. 28, for "William Durtain, Messrs. Wre-
ford and Co.'s, Aldermanbury, £5," read "William Durtain."
And in the same number for "Thomas and P. Higgins, Tran-
mere, Cheshire, £2 2s." read "Thomas Higgins."

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

Great Houghton, near Barnesley, April 3.

MR. EDITOR,—I think the enclosed might be useful if printed in the LEAGUE. You, perhaps, will think otherwise; and, if so, of course you will not print it. I approve of the tactics of the League generally; but if oil smooths water, firetames aquafortis; and the milk-and-water cautery in a good cause wastes time: it may prevent something, but it does nothing. There is all the difference in the world between falsehood calling a spade a picklock, and truth calling a picklock a picklock. But I do not wish the League to answer for the extreme opinions which I have expressed. You may print this prose with my rhyme if you please. I am, Sir, your obliged friend,
EBENEZER ELLIOTT.

SNIVEL, SNAP, PUNCH, AND CO.

BY EBENEZER ELLIOTT.

Snivel! ask yon little toiler,
Who makes laws to starve her sire?
Seeth her master in his boiler,
O'er the engine fire!
Pity her—the Snivels need her;
Ye are conscientious men.
Twelve hours' labour will not feed her,
Let the child try ten.

Snap and Snivel! deadly triflers!
Hawking pity! taxing food!
Turning workers into nifters,
All for England's good!
When ye dog from sheds and bushes
Victims of your righteous way,
Name the colour of your blushes,
Be it blue or grey.

Crime-creators, ruin nursing!
Rear'd to keep despair alive!
Are ye, thirty thousand, cursing
Millions twenty-five?
Till blind men instruct blind leaders,
Till oppressors cease to crush,
Till the kept respect their feeders,
Blush! if brass can blush.

Breeding rogues for exportation,
Weep, for happier slaves than they;
Raising brutes to sink a nation,
Throw your men away!
Stealing kingdoms, shipping Bibles,
Scourge mankind in every clime;
Building churches, preaching libels,
Manufacture crime!

Victim-rogues who slich old pillions
Die, or cross the briny lake;
Why should they who murder millions
Judge the crime they make?
Petty ruffians, taught by greatness,
Dangle from the hangman's tape;
Why should rascalries completest,—
Why should you escape?

One among you cares a tester
Whether labour sink or swim;
God be thank'd for ruin's jester!
We can laugh at him!
Let no prying wretch uncivil
Pray his pendent jig to see;
Who would hang Saint Humbug's devil?
No, let Punch go free.

For though Half-face seems to flout him
Sometimes, when your dupes are nigh,
Brass-face cannot do without him,
Mountebank knows why:
Devil's dust may blind suspicion,—
While Sangrado gilds a pill,
Monkey, calling truth, sedition,
Robs the list'ners' till.

But when rascal-famish'd bound yells,
"Rich Big-begger is a knave,"
"Vulgar villain!" cry you scoundrels,
"Jail him for the grave."
You're not vulgar, not quite honest,
And ye call the honest knaves!
Be it so. The stars shine lonest
Over good men's graves.

Lone they rest: nor Snap, nor Snivel
Robs or pities virtue's dust!
Marble insults, Cant and Drivel
Build not o'er the just:
Them, in thought, the honest only
Visit, while they toil as slaves:
Oh, 'tis true! the stars shine lonely
Over good men's graves,

All in silence, not in sorrow,
Reading on the hallowed sod,
"Great deeds ended, teach to-morrow"—
These are words of God,
Read in heav'n with tears of gladness,
To be read from pole to pole,
Till each living clod of sadness
Rise, a living soul.

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—Allow me to draw your attention to the following hard case (and if you should deem it worth recording in the LEAGUE, I should be pleased) which appeared in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* of Friday last, April 5.

"Dunmow (Essex) Petty Sessions, April 1. Present—J. M. Wilson, Esq., the Rev. George Leapingwell, the Rev. J. P. H. Cheshire, the Rev. H. L. Majendie, and the Rev. C. Clarke, J. M. Wilson, Esq., in the chair.

"David Patient, of Great Easton (near Dunmow), was charged with wilfully damaging underwood growing in Dow Wood, on Bigod's estates in that parish, on the 20th ult. It was proved by Poulton Trubshaw, that he had seen him committing the offence; but as the prisoner pleaded having a large family, he was fined only 10s. 6d., including costs, to be paid within a month."

As I happen to know the situation of the house, and the circumstances of the said David Patient, I will endeavour to vindicate (but not encourage) him in his transgression, and respectfully ask his accuser, were he placed in circumstances similar, if he would not, in all probability, commit as heinous an offence?

The man, David Patient, is a poor agricultural labouring man, working from morning until night for 8s. per week; has a wife now ill in confinement with her sixth child, all living, the oldest of which is only eleven years of age. That child of eleven earns 1s. a week by keeping sheep, &c.; so that the family have just 9s. a week coming in, and no more, to support eight in number.

The wife was taken ill (in labour) on Wednesday the 20th ult., in which state, poor creature, she remained until the following Monday morning, when she gave birth to her now surviving sixth child.

The husband, in the evening of the 20th, on getting home from his labour, finding his wife in the state described, being unprepared for the event, not having any wood or coal to make a fire for the nurse who was to sit up, started off to a wood, which is contiguous to his home, to cut a little to bring home to make a fire with. He is there seen by a man, more cruel than forgiving, who, to gain a trifling reward and the commendation of the owner of the wood, lodges an information, takes out a summons, and gets the man fined as reported.

I wish this were the only case of the sort that I am acquainted with. Is the occurrence surprising? Ought we to wonder that agricultural labourers are not, as a body, honest in their dealings when we take into consideration how badly they are paid for their toil? Here is a family (and many such others I know of,) of eight in number who live, or rather exist, upon 9s. a week, and who pay a rent of 1s. to 1s. 6d. a week out of that sum; of course the house and the household exhibit no other appearance than that of wretchedness; have but little furniture, and that very common; children in rags, idle and ignorant, the parents not having the means of sending them to school; windows broken; the ceiling and sides of the house once plastered, the plaster much off; an empty pigsty; and the father is scarcely able to plant his little plot of ground with potatoes for the use of the family.

It does appear to me, Sir, that we English people are strangely charitable. We subscribe annually immense sums of money for various foreign charitable purposes, institutions, and operations, but neglect too much the work of charity at home. Why not look at home first, if we would avoid the charge of inconsistency, and improve the condition of the labouring community by paying them better, that they may be happy in their labour, and with their families, and be enabled to bring up their children as they would do, and that with pleasure too, by giving them what they cannot give them now, owing to their poverty, a little education.

Yours, &c.,

April 8, 1844.

A READER OF THE LEAGUE.

REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS, AND THE CULTIVATION OF LAND.

There has now existed for a considerable time, as our readers are well aware, an important controversy on the probable effect of repealing the Corn Laws in forcing land out of cultivation. One party contends that the fall of prices consequent on such a repeal would make many farmers give up cultivation, and throw many labourers out of employment. Another party, on the contrary, says that no land would drop out of cultivation from any fall of price which is likely to ensue from repealing the Corn Laws. We remind our readers of this controversy, to

quote, in favour of the Repealers, the unexceptionable testimony of a Pro-Corn-Law journal. The length of time which this controversy has been carried on has familiarised it to the mind of every writer. The bearings of every opinion on the subject must have been weighed; and, under these circumstances, at this time, therefore, the following testimony in the recent number of the "Quarterly Review" is extremely important.

In the article on agriculture the writer says:—
"As prices have decreased, the spirit and energy of the British farmer have been forced into fuller activity to devise new expedients to meet and conquer the discouragement of low prices by increased productiveness; and the country has been, and is still, in the main part supplied with food from its own resources."

We must, also, on this opportunity, quote a similar testimony in another Pro-Corn-Law journal. In the fourth volume of the "Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society," published at the close of last year, in an article on the "Past and Present State of Agriculture in Ireland," written by Mr. Blacker, another Pro-Corn-Law and protectionist writer, is this passage:—

"The fall, therefore, in prices of agricultural produce, and the reluctance of tenants to give up their holdings, when no better prospect appeared elsewhere, had the natural effect of turning the attention of farmers to increase the produce of their farms, as the only means of meeting the change of circumstances that had taken place."—Page 440.

In the same journal a practical illustration of this "natural effect" is given by Mr. Pusey in his admirable article on the agricultural improvements of Lincolnshire. Speaking of some warrens which, in the time of Arthur Young, were let for 2s. to 3s. 6d. per acre, he says:—"This very land was enclosed by the present Mr. Chaplin, as lately as the year 1823, a year of the lowest depression for agricultural prices and spirits, so that his undertaking was spoken of as an act of absurdity; but Mr. Chaplin was not disturbed nor discouraged." He was rather stimulated by the low prices, and he seems to have been amply rewarded; for the farm is now, and has been for many years, occupied by a respectable tenant, who farms it, Mr. Pusey says, in an admirable manner, and no doubt pays his landlord an adequate rent. In these instances we have a practical proof that depression of prices, so far from forcing land out of cultivation, forces farmers and landowners to cultivate more extensively; and we have also the theory of the practice brought distinctly before us. The necessity of making head against falling prices, when men can by no other means better their condition, rouses the spirit and energy of the farmers, and "naturally" makes them, as Mr. Blacker and the "Quarterly Review" assure us, increase the produce of their farms to meet the change of circumstances.

This is no new discovery of Mr. Pusey, Mr. Blacker, or the "Quarterly Review"; it has been repeatedly stated before the committees which have sat at different times to inquire into agricultural distress; and the increased production, which was the result of the exertions of the farmers, was recognised as adding to their difficulties till the market had expanded to a level with their increased produce. That the truth is old, though apparently it has been lost sight of by the Pro-Corn-Law party, does not detract from its value now that they have again found it and displayed it to such advantage.

We are not acquainted with a single fact which tends to justify the assertion that land would go out of cultivation from prices falling, except the solitary fact that some land which was overburdened with poor-rates in Berkshire was given up after wheat had fallen from 150s. the quarter to 45s. The assertion, therefore, is altogether born of the apprehensions of the landowners, or it is used as a pretext, and is not warranted either by any rational theory, or by the practices of the agriculturists.

The latter part of the paragraph we have copied from the "Quarterly Review" suggests a very striking illustration of the important fact stated in the first part of it:—"The country, we are told, has been, and still is, in the main supplied with food from its own resources." But the vastly increased supply required by our increasing population has been brought forward in the face of a continual decline of prices. Since the peace, the price of wheat has sunk successively from 150s. to 112s., to 80s., to 60s., to 56s., to 50s. per quarter; and instead of the continual reduction in price having led to withdrawing land from cultivation, according to the assertion, there is at this moment more land under the plough, and sown with wheat, in England than ever there was before. No more idle and silly terror, therefore, ever entered the heads of unthinking men than the terror, real or pretended, that land will go out of cultivation, and labourers want employment, from a fall of price, so long as manufactures and trade raise up a population requiring to be fed, and supply them with something to give in exchange for food.—*Morning Chronicle*.

PROPORTIONS OF THE PEOPLE ENGAGED IN MANUFACTURING AND AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS.

The public has been so long accustomed to hear of the great bulk of the people being engaged in agricultural occupations, and of the comparative handful employed in trade and manufactures, and, in the absence of statistical data, it has been so difficult to disprove an assertion as bold as it is unwarranted, that at length the public generally has come to believe what we must call this "false fact." In proportion to the extent and prevalence of such belief, should be the publication of the "facts and figures" which show it to be wholly unfounded; and, therefore, although we have already briefly stated the results and totals of the official returns for the census of 1841, as to the occupations of the people, so far as relates to 27 English counties out of 40,—the returns as to the other 13 not being yet completed,—we propose to go a little more into detail, that there may be no doubt left on this important subject. We find in the *Derby and Chesterfield Reporter* a table, entitled "An extract from the population returns of the census taken in the year 1841," which we have no doubt is authentic and faithful; but which, nevertheless, a presented in a somewhat inconvenient and unsatisfactory form, so that the most important facts which the table is capable of yielding are not to be obtained, without, for instance, adding two columns together, and deducting a third. The first column of figures exhibits the numbers of the population of each of the 27 counties engaged in "trades and other occupations," including farmers and agricultural labourers; the second column gives the numbers engaged in trades not specified; the tenth column

gives the total number of farmers, graziers, yeomen, and agricultural labourers in each county. We have therefore (without knowingly varying a single figure in the table) added the two first of these columns together to obtain the total amount of persons in each county engaged in occupations of all kinds, trading and agricultural, and then deducted from these amounts the total numbers of persons engaged as masters and labourers in agricultural pursuits; and thus we obtain the numbers engaged purely in trade and manufactures. The following table exhibits the results of this operation on the official returns of this portion of the census of 1841:—

| COUNTIES. | Farmers, Graziers, and Yeomen. | Agricultural Labourers. | Totals in agricultural occupations. | Trades and occupations not agricultural. | Persons engaged in trades and manufactures. |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| Bedford..... | 1,461 | 12,766 | 14,227 | 22,999 | 131,511 |
| Bucks..... | 2,471 | 18,697 | 21,168 | 33,604 | 131 |
| Berks..... | 1,880 | 18,469 | 20,349 | 36,757 | 124 |
| Cambridge.... | 3,343 | 18,743 | 22,086 | 30,466 | 136 |
| Chester..... | 7,464 | 18,345 | 25,809 | 39,713 | 62 |
| Cornwall..... | 8,213 | 17,907 | 26,120 | 89,434 | 72 |
| Cumberland.... | 5,258 | 9,936 | 15,194 | 47,963 | 84 |
| Derby..... | 6,995 | 11,621 | 18,616 | 85,716 | 62 |
| Devon..... | 12,103 | 40,892 | 52,995 | 138,376 | 92 |
| Dorset..... | 2,857 | 15,712 | 18,569 | 37,221 | 104 |
| Durham..... | 3,538 | 9,844 | 13,382 | 108,228 | 48 |
| Essex..... | 5,121 | 43,672 | 48,793 | 69,836 | 142 |
| Gloucester.... | 4,953 | 24,459 | 29,412 | 127,949 | 62 |
| Hereford..... | 3,515 | 12,716 | 16,231 | 27,037 | 14 |
| Hertford..... | 1,780 | 17,367 | 19,147 | 39,259 | 124 |
| Huntingdon.... | 1,120 | 7,012 | 8,131 | 10,952 | 134 |
| Kent..... | 5,473 | 39,058 | 44,531 | 39,517 | 84 |
| Leicester..... | 3,673 | 12,664 | 16,337 | 62,048 | 74 |
| Monmouth..... | 2,597 | 5,700 | 8,297 | 44,386 | 62 |
| Norfolk..... | 7,452 | 40,647 | 48,099 | 89,981 | 112 |
| Northampton.. | 3,315 | 21,452 | 24,767 | 44,175 | 124 |
| Northumberland. | 3,065 | 13,377 | 16,442 | 73,623 | 62 |
| Middlesex..... | 1,207 | 11,015 | 12,222 | 615,817 | 72 |
| Nottingham.... | 3,789 | 15,787 | 19,576 | 74,034 | 74 |
| Oxford..... | 2,365 | 17,737 | 20,092 | 33,357 | 124 |
| Rutland..... | 616 | 2,612 | 3,228 | 4,038 | 154 |
| Lincoln..... | 11,205 | 45,097 | 56,302 | 78,477 | 154 |
| Totals..... | 116,928 | 523,294 | 640,222 | 2,286,858 | 74 |

Now, to show the value of this table, it is only necessary to state that at the late monopolist and Anti-League meetings the speakers have dwelt much on the necessity of the agricultural interest having every encouragement and support from the Legislature, because, as they confidently assert, it is at once not only the most important interest in the country, but, numerically speaking, the largest; including, as some of these unscrupulous orators unblushingly allege, "almost seven-ninths of the entire population." Others state it rather lower; but all these monopolist advocates assert its great numerical majority over all that portion of the population employed in trade, commerce, and manufactures. When Mr. Brotherton, in his speech on the recent debate on Mr. Cobden's motion in the House of Commons, expressed his belief, that the agriculturists, instead of constituting, as had been asserted, seven-ninths of the population, did not form even one-tenth, he was met with "loud cries of 'oh, oh!'" and derisive cheers from the Ministerial benches. It appears, however, from the above table, which, in this respect, is strictly official, that instead of one-tenth, the agriculturists, so far as regards the 27 counties (most of them, be it remembered, purely agricultural, and excluding the great manufacturing counties of York, Lancaster, Warwick, and Stafford), really do not amount to quite eight per cent. of the whole population (including, of course, their own wives and children, as shown by the above table), whilst the persons engaged in other trades and occupations constitute 28½ per cent., or more than three times the number of those engaged in agricultural pursuits! This is the main fact evolved from this portion of the tables, and it shall not be our fault if it be lost sight of. But it is not the only important fact they contain; and we request a little attention to the last column of the above table, from which it will be seen that, even in Buckinghamshire, the agriculturists are only 13½ per cent. of the whole population of the county. In Bedfordshire they are little more than 13 per cent.; in Devon they are only 9½ per cent.; and in Dorset, 10½ per cent. In Middlesex, the agriculturists do not amount to one in a hundred of the entire population. The total number of the agriculturists in these 27 counties is not equal to the population of the Salford hundred; the farmers, graziers, yeomen, and agricultural labourers of all kinds in the 27 counties, numbering only 640,222, while the population of this hundred (having an area of little more than 210,000 acres), by the census of 1841, amounted to 704,654. But we pass on to the other classes of occupations amongst the population. These are the following:—

| COUNTIES. | Persons of independent means. | Alms people, beggars, and pensioners. | Other persons not described. | Residue of Population: Women and Children. | Total Population. |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|-------------------|
| Bedford..... | 1,720 | 1,117 | 235 | 67,638 | 107,936 |
| Bucks..... | 3,084 | 1,695 | 501 | 96,031 | 155,983 |
| Berks..... | 4,779 | 2,239 | 967 | 96,066 | 161,147 |
| Cambridge.... | 3,876 | 1,849 | 507 | 106,215 | 164,459 |
| Chester..... | 8,444 | 1,944 | 1,719 | 219,081 | 290,600 |
| Cornwall..... | 9,077 | 3,090 | 654 | 215,884 | 341,279 |
| Cumberland.... | 6,597 | 2,037 | 870 | 105,687 | 178,088 |
| Derby..... | 5,193 | 1,350 | 796 | 160,546 | 272,217 |
| Devon..... | 20,353 | 6,515 | 1,496 | 313,725 | 533,460 |
| Dorset..... | 5,589 | 2,067 | 405 | 111,182 | 175,043 |
| Durham..... | 8,231 | 1,527 | 692 | 208,220 | 324,284 |
| Essex..... | 7,403 | 3,470 | 1,461 | 214,016 | 341,979 |
| Gloucester.... | 16,002 | 3,877 | 2,061 | 252,082 | 431,360 |
| Hereford..... | 3,276 | 878 | 314 | 66,122 | 113,878 |
| Hertford..... | 3,696 | 1,684 | 607 | 92,614 | 157,207 |
| Huntingdon.... | 1,187 | 467 | 207 | 37,625 | 58,549 |
| Kent..... | 18,659 | 10,864 | 6,380 | 328,466 | 548,337 |
| Leicester..... | 4,377 | 1,781 | 427 | 130,897 | 215,867 |
| Monmouth..... | 3,622 | 594 | 304 | 78,152 | 134,355 |
| Norfolk..... | 10,666 | 4,246 | 875 | 259,153 | 412,664 |
| Northampton.. | 3,788 | 2,075 | 699 | 123,724 | 199,228 |
| Northumberland. | 6,875 | 1,581 | 874 | 150,885 | 260,378 |
| Middlesex..... | 76,369 | 18,681 | 8,578 | 844,974 | 1,576,694 |
| Nottingham.... | 4,818 | 1,516 | 736 | 149,230 | 249,910 |
| Oxford..... | 3,867 | 1,622 | 657 | 102,068 | 161,643 |
| Rutland..... | 416 | 246 | 110 | 13,364 | 21,302 |
| Lincoln..... | 9,099 | 3,884 | 1,842 | 218,998 | 362,592 |
| Totals..... | 249,633 | 81,578 | 34,619 | 4,755,402 | 8,048,314 |

It will be seen that the column headed "residue of the population" comprises more than half the population of the

counties; this arising, doubtless, from its including the females and children not classed under any of the foregoing occupations. The following gives the results of the two previous tables, in a popular and intelligible form:—

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Trades and other occupations, including farmers, &c., and agricultural labourers..... | 2,902,388 |
| Add—Trades not specified..... | 36,997 |
| Total in all occupations..... | 2,977,000 |
| Farmers, graziers, and yeomen..... | 116,928 |
| Agricultural labourers..... | 523,294 |
| Deduct—Total in agricultural occupations..... | 640,222 |
| Leaves total in trade and manufacturing occupations..... | 2,336,778 |
| Persons of independent means..... | 249,633 |
| Alms-people, beggars, and pensioners..... | 81,578 |
| Other persons not described..... | 34,619 |
| Residue of population (including women and children of no occupation)..... | 4,755,402 |
| Total population of the 27 counties..... | 8,048,314 |

To this we may add, what has already appeared in our columns, the decimal proportions of the different classes of occupations:—

| | |
|--|---------------|
| Farmers and agricultural labourers..... | 8 per cent. |
| Persons employed in trade and other occupations..... | 28.50 " |
| Persons of independent means..... | 3.14 " |
| Residue of population..... | 60.36 " |
| | 100 per cent. |

Here we must stop for the present; but we shall probably resume the consideration of the subject in an early number.—*Manchester Guardian*.

WEEKLY COST OF PROTECTION TO SUGAR AND WHEAT.

(From the *Economist* of the 6th inst.)
SUGAR.—Since last week the relative prices of Porto Rico and Jamaica Muscovado sugars have continued exactly the same; and therefore the difference of the cost of our weekly consumption of 77,792 cwt., above what the same would be on the Continent, and paying the same amount of duty to the State that our colonial sugar does, amounts to £70,003 for the whole country, and to £5833 for the Metropolis alone, to be added to the respective balances of last week.

| | |
|--|------------|
| FOR THE WHOLE KINGDOM. | |
| Balance from last week..... | £4,660,020 |
| Extra cost of sugar this week..... | 70,003 |
| Ditto of bread..... | 288,460 |
| Total extra cost from January 1st to this day..... | £5,018,483 |
| FOR THE METROPOLIS ALONE. | |
| Balance from last week..... | £888,332 |
| Extra cost of sugar this week..... | 5,833 |
| Ditto of bread..... | 24,038 |
| Total extra cost from January 1st to this day..... | £918,203 |

A FEW DAYS IN ESSEX.

BY ADAM BROWN.

Colchester, and round about it—The Farm-labourers and their domestic affairs.

I met a butcher at Parson's-heath, and entered into conversation with him. He lived in Colchester, and was out, he told me, looking at a fat pig which a woman, who lived in one of the cottages there, had ready to be killed. I asked him if he was going to buy it. He said, no; that the woman was then in Colchester, he believed, disposing of it in quarters or other quantities to some of her acquaintances there, and that he was to kill it for her when it was so bespoken. He had expected she was at home, else he would not have come at that time. He was also going somewhere else to inquire about pigs to kill. He seemed to be a jobber at such work.

I asked if the woman who was selling her fat pig was the wife of a farm-labourer, and if she had a family. He said her husband worked on a farm about a mile from Parson's-heath; that he had worked there more than twenty years. I afterwards found that he had been four-and-twenty years at work there; that he had been eleven years with the present tenant, and thirteen with the preceding tenant. And this I now state particularly, because it is indicative of a sober, steady workman, and I am about to detail his domestic circumstances. His wife was the mother of seven children, the butcher told me; and, to a remark I made, he replied, "Yes, it is a pity to see a family like that selling their pig instead of eating it; but, bless you! it is nothing uncommon. It is more to be wondered at that they should have a pig at all!"

I had heard before this that it was not common for the labourers to keep pigs; indeed, most of those who live on farms are not allowed. They are supposed to steal food for it, and straw for its bed; and this is no new opinion, for the late Sir John Tyrril (so a gentleman informed me who had been personally acquainted with the baronet,) gave it as his opinion that no labourer could be honest and keep a pig! The real meaning of which opinion is, that they were too poor to feed a pig thirty years ago, when wheat was at 80s., 90s., and 100s. a quarter. High prices being said to be accompanied with high wages, this is worth notice; and the more so that it applies to the people now working on the very soil which was cultivated, and on which labourers were kept and fed as they are now—fed without butcher's meat—when wheat was 4s. a quarter, and a sheep sold for 12d. to wit, in the reign of Edward I. (See the *League* of 6th April.)

I told the butcher that I would like to take that opportunity, if he were going to look at the pig, to go with him and make a few inquiries. "Well," said he, after walking some distance, "here is the house. We shall just step in, and ask the children if their mother has been home."

We went. It was a low thatched cottage, the outer walls about six feet high; the doorway and the ceiling inside so low that a man of ordinary height had to take off his hat and bend himself, if standing on his feet at all. It was altogether a very mean place for human beings to

live in. It was not better than the worst of the birds' houses in Scotland, and the best of them are mean enough. It was worse than the majority of the other houses at Parson's heath, but was cheaper. The common rent for a working family to pay at Parson's-heath is £5 a year. This house was £3 a year; and it was the difference of £2, and that only, which compelled this family to betake themselves to a place that had neither comfort nor convenience in its construction. A rent of £3 should afford a labourer a cottage of full and convenient size. There was no garden to this, or almost none. The little there was, including a path on a ditch bank, was only seven paces wide, and nineteen long. The house was about eleven feet wide outside, and thirty feet long. Yet I saw some worse and dearer dwellings in the neighbourhood.

We left it and proceeded towards Colchester; but, when about half way, we met the woman returning, and we returned to the cottage with her. She told the butcher she had disposed of all the pig save the offal; that she might have disposed of that too, but she was going to try to keep some small thing to eat; for it was a hard thing for her, so she expressed herself, after the toil and expense which the getting of the pig forward had cost her, to have to part with it all, and not taste a bit of it. In reply to a question from me, she said it was very seldom they had bacon, or butcher's meat of any kind. The last which they had in their house was on Christmas-day. This being the 12th of March, and no other butcher's meat being in prospect for them, save the offal of the pig, it cannot be alleged that they have enough of everything, as has been alleged of all the Essex labourers, unless, indeed, we consider butcher's meat unnecessary. This would give rise to some curious reflections. Where would prices be, and rents, if every family used as little as this family of an Essex labourer, who is but a specimen of his class?

As we approached the little house with our faces to the north, we had a hedge on our left hand just high enough to break, in a small degree, the strength of one of the most furious blasts of hail, rain, and wind which I ever felt, and which, but for its brevity, would have left many records of its fury. The cottage stood with its end outwards, fifteen or twenty yards from the road. I could see, while the hedgerow still screened us from the keen eyes that peeped forth from its door, that Daniel, who was keeping house in his mother's absence (a little boy wearing a pinafore and frock, aged six), and Robert and Mary, twins, aged five, and George, more endearingly, because he was the youngest, called "baby," aged three, were holding hard by the door that the wind might not blow them away, and looking out with their curly little heads in the pelting hail to see if any of the feet which they had just got a glimpse of through a thin part of the hedge, were mother's feet. We came full into their view round the corner. "There they are," exclaimed the mother; "thank God, I see them all safe!" At which moment they issued from the door to meet her, their little toes, which had no stockings to keep them warm, peeping through shoes that did not keep stockless feet dry; and their clothing, which, though clean and neatly mended, showing alike the mother's poverty and efforts to overcome it, made but poor covering for that day, and the winter which had lasted long and was not yet gone. "The only clothes I can afford to get for them, poor dears, is on them," she said to me afterwards. "I have no change of clothes for any of them; it is not but clothes is cheaper than they once was, but I have more of their little mouths to fill, poor dears, than I once had, and they must be filled with something, somehow, even if all our backs go bare."

We entered the house and found shelter from the hurricane. She gave the children each an apple which she had brought from Colchester, and said they should have stayed within doors on such a day as this, when the mud was so deep everywhere, the pools of water so many, and the wind so cold. To which it was replied, that "baby" would not stay in; that he would go out to see if mother was coming; that he went over the feet in the mud each time, and that the wind blew him down on his face, and he was nearly in the ditch; and, moreover, that he bit Robert's arm and made it bleed. To which the mother replied, taking him on her knee, taking off his wet shoes, and washing his feet, "You should not bite Robert, my darling, when I go out. There now; there is nice clean feet for you, and don't go out again; there is a nice little apple for yourself. Now, you won't bite Robert no more; no, my darling. I have always their feet to wash when I come home," she said, addressing the butcher and me, "for they will go out, poor things, and I cannot afford to get them shoes and stockings; I wish I could."

She then proceeded with the others in the same way, during which a conversation was continued, nearly as follows:—

"I have two other boys and a girl, Sir; seven altogether. I used to go out myself a good deal, but I had a long severe illness at the beginning of winter. I do a little washing for a young woman now that brings me in three shillings a month; and I am glad to get that, for everything helps. My husband has eleven shillings a week; it is not more than the men on the farms have just here; but they have less when you get away from this part; they have more just about Colchester than they have away from it. My husband has been eleven years with his present master; he was thirteen years with another, who had the farm before. He is in the barn. He goes away at half-past five just now, and comes home about seven."

"Now, Robert," addressing the child, "don't go out again in the wet. You know Henry is out in the wet all day, poor little fellow, and he would like to be at home; but he must stay out, and he cannot get his feet made warm and dry like yours."

"Is that your second boy you speak of?" asked the butcher.

"Yes, poor thing; he is out bird-keeping for Mr. ———. It is a long day for him to be out in such weather as this. He goes out at daylight, and is not home till dark; and he is only a child. But the eighteen-pence a week he gets for it is a help to get bread for him to eat; else I am sure I could not let him stay out in such weather as yesterday was. It poured with rain three parts of the day, and he out all the time, poor dear, wringing wet."

"Surely," said I, "there was no need for a boy to be out bird-keeping in such a rain as yesterday? The birds would not settle on the fields in such a rain. How old is your boy?"

"He is nine, Sir. His master is a very strict gentleman, and very severe. If he had missed him from the

field, even though there was no birds, he would have come after him and whipped him back again with a whip. We dared not for the life of us have kept the boy at home, unless we took him away altogether, and then we might lose all our work, and what would we do then?"

"Come, Mary, let me take the mud off you," she said, taking hold of the other twin, a girl five years old, with curly hair, lighter coloured than lint, though perhaps not exactly milk white; "let me make your little feet warm and clean; and your hands, and your face. Now, my darlings" (when she had done, and set them all on their diminutive stools and chairs round the diminutive fire—coals are dear at Colchester), "there you are, all with sweet little feet and hands and faces, all clean; even though you have no stockings nor shoes to keep out the wet and the cold, you have as clean little sweet feet as them that have."

"My eldest girl, Sir," she replied in answer to me, "is fourteen; her name is Susannah. She is in service. She only went last week. My eldest boy's name is John. He goes out with his father in the morning, and comes home with him at night. He is eleven and a half years old. He has two shillings a week. Henry is nine and a half, and has eighteen-pence a week. We eat a great deal of bread; they take bread with them in the mornings; they don't have anything else all day. We have potatoes ready for them when they come home in the evening. They have the potatoes oftener without, than with anything to them. I pay 8s. 8d. for bread, just now; and I have half a peck of flour for puddings. I pay 11d. for the flour. This is what I have every week. We use one-and-a-half, and from that to two bushels of potatoes a week. They cost us 1s. a bushel; they would cost more if we had them to buy now. We have forty rod of allotment land, on the heath, for 9s. 6d., and this gets us the potatoes cheaper. We could not get what we need but for the allotment, and we could not do without the potatoes. If the allotment were near us it would be much better. It is a good way off, and my husband has to walk home a mile, and get his supper before he can go to it to work. I do not know what we would do without it to get potatoes; and without the potatoes for ourselves, and to feed the pig, to help to pay the rent and to buy shoes, we would never get on at all."

"I get half-a-pound of sugar a week, half-a-pound of butter, and half-a-pound of cheese. I have about an ounce and a half of tea, or if I have coffee I have it instead of the tea. Bread is the main thing. I have the bread from the baker. I get in half-quarter loaves for the convenience of carrying out. I do not think I could bake it cheaper myself, nor yet so cheap: I am sure I could not. Firing is very dear. If we had enough of everything as we might require, meat and butter and all that, we might use less bread, and be less particular about it; but as it is, bread is the principal thing, and they like best to take a loaf with them. My husband takes half-a-quarter loaf with him to himself, and I cut two others to the boys—they have the half of a half-quarter and a piece each of them. John likes bottom crust best, and Henry the same; so, to make them equal, I cut two loaves, and gives each a bottom half; and then I cut a top half in two, and gives each half of that. They would eat as much as their father if I could afford to give it to them, and he could eat more than he gets. It is a long time for boys to be out from half-past five in the morning to half-past six in the evening. They eat a deal of bread in that time if they can get it. They come always home hungry. Their father should have a better dinner than he has for such hard work, but we cannot afford it. It seems to me that they as work least eat the best dinners; and they as work most get least to eat. Sir Henry Smith told the people that potatoes and red herrings made a very good dinner for working men; and he did not see what people had to complain of who had herrings and potatoes. He is one of the Colchester members of Parliament, and goes to London and lives; but for all the work ever I heard of members of Parliament doing potatoes and herrings would be better for them than for hard-working men. They carried a red-herring on a pole before him at his election; and some of the women threw potato skins at him; and if most of them had had their will they would have done more to him than that. But for my part, I don't agree with that; I think it is wrong to lift hands to anybody."

"When bread was dear the wages was just the same as now. I never saw wages rise and fall with the price of bread. I never heard of such a thing. When harvest comes, or any other time that there is more work to be done than usual, wages is highest. I do not know of any other cause that makes wages higher, unless it be in the parishes where they give married men more than single men; and they only do that because married men and their families cost more in the workhouse than single men. They pay the married men more to keep them out of the workhouse. I do not know of any way that we could help ourselves if bread were a shilling a quarter loaf instead of sixpence or sevenpence. We would have to eat less of it, and try to get more potatoes or go without both. I do not know any other way."

"I wish the pig were dead. The boys say every night when they come home, they wish the pig were dead. They mean by that they would like to have some of him to eat, and that we might save the victuals he eats. I think" (speaking to the butcher), "I should manage so as to keep the sticking piece." "You should keep the head," said the butcher. "I thought of trying," she replied, "but I have so many things to get, and a half year's rent to pay, which, please God I live to Saturday, I will pay. I could not send Daniel to school for want of shoes and pin-flores; but I got my washing money last week, and bought him a pair of shoes, and some yards of print for pin-flores. I would send all four of them to school if I could afford it. It is but a penny a week for each of them; yet that comes to half-a-quarter loaf. However, it is not what I have to pay so much as it is the want of clothes for them to go in. They have nothing, poor dears, of clothing kind but what you see them standing in now, and that is thin enough, as you may see."

"What do you pay for that cotton of which you make the pinafores and your own gown?"

"I paid fivepence-halfpenny a yard for it. It is not dear, not to them as has money to buy it. Nothing is dear of clothes kind in comparison with what I have known it to be. For instance, I get shirting for my boys at threepence a yard. I had some last harvest. I had intended to get more all winter; they are all much in want of it; but I could not; there are so many open mouths to fill. Yet shirting is cheap; if it were not so cheap as

it is I don't know what we would do; we should go without, I suppose; that is all."

We left this house after some more conversation to the same effect. I cannot help remarking on the household economy of the Essex labourers, that eleven shillings a week for the father and three shillings and sixpence for the children ought to secure more of comfortable warm diet than it seems to do. In Scotland there would be broth made in such a family as this; and though so much wheaten bread would not be eaten, there would be as much of substantial food; and certainly there would be more clothing. But there is no good purpose to be served in making comparisons. The people have been bred up in social customs different both in origin and practice. When Sir John Tyrrel took the piece of gingerbread from his pocket, and held it up to the people at the public meeting, asking if they would like to be reduced to the level of labourers on the Continent, to eat black rye bread like that, he elicited a cheer, and a shout of "No, no!" But had he taken a handful of Scotch oatmeal from his pocket, and asked if they would like to be reduced to the level of labourers in Scotland, to eat oatmeal porridge or brose, they would have given as loud a shout and as earnest a cry of "No, no!" And in the best cultivated districts of Scotland the ploughmen eat oatmeal once, and frequently twice a day.

It is but a silly manoeuvre to get up a prejudice about food; and it is silly and something more in those whose labourers have not enough of food of any kind, to appeal to them, and ask if they would like to be reduced to the level of those who eat rye bread. The truth is, that those Polish or German peasants and Russian serfs, who eat black bread, are better fed than the English labourers are, who do six times the amount of their labour. And when the land belonged to the Abbot of St. John's, upon which the man is working whose family circumstances I have just detailed, and rye bread was eaten in Essex, the labourer had his belly full. He has barely that now. He was meagrely clothed then. He is the same now. The classes above him, commencing with the skilled mechanic, and including the tradesmen, and all up to the owners of the soil, have advanced prodigiously since the days of the Abbot of St. John's (reign of Edward I.); but the farm-labourer is where he was. He got his belly filled then; he gets no more now.

I met a gentleman in Essex who had been in America for some years. He gave me some information as to the consumption of butcher's meat in the town of Wilmington when he was there, compared with what is now used in the town of Coggeshall in Essex. I believe it is twenty years since he was at Wilmington. The inhabitants at that time numbered 6000, and thirty bullocks were slaughtered for their consumption each week. There used to be about thirty cartloads of fish brought into the town each market day, to be eaten in addition to all that butcher's meat. But in the town of Coggeshall, with 4000 inhabitants, there are only three bullocks consumed in a week.

I notice this to show that we need have none of those fears which many indulge in about surplus produce in the event of a repeal of the Corn Law. Our population could consume, and would if they could buy, twice the quantity of flour now used, and at least six times the quantity of beef, mutton, bacon, and poultry.

Without going to a town in America to see what people eat when they can get it, we may be instructed by some of our own towns. I was lately in Brighton, and some gentlemen who had the means of ascertaining the quantity of meat killed or brought to Brighton, made out this return for me:—Beasts, in a year, 5258; calves, 3124; sheep, 51,635; and stags, 6500; besides eggs, poultry, game, and fish of all kinds, in great abundance. There are also received from London by railway, from Scotland and elsewhere, 6200 stones of meat in the carcass. But this may be subtracted from the consumption of Brighton, to balance the meat which is killed there and goes out of the town.

Now, if any one will write down the figures of the population of Brighton, 46,661, allot the butcher's meat consumed there to each individual of that number, and afterwards their individual shares to each of the inhabitants of the kingdom, or to each of the inhabitants of any other town or parish, it will be at once apparent that we have much to do before we have too much of anything. I was promised an estimate of the coals and flour used in Brighton, which are also consumed on a large scale, but by some mistake I did not get it. If each of the inhabitants of Brighton consumed butcher's meat at the same rate as the family of the labourer at Parson's-heath described in the preceding paragraphs, it would be a curious thing for rent payers and rent receivers; would it not? Or, if they consumed at the rate of any other Essex labourer or Sussex labourer, or any farm labourer whatever, it would make a singular difference for England; would it not? Suppose everybody, including Sir Henry Smith, M.P., were to follow his estimate of what constitutes a good dinner for a working-man, namely, potatoes and herrings, what a remarkable revolution there would be in agriculture! Land that grows wheat would then go out of cultivation; but it will not do so sooner. Abundance and cheapness on the part of the seller, with ability to buy on the part of the buyer, will bring land into cultivation; or, if already cultivated, into a higher state of fertility. It is dearth and poverty that throw land out of cultivation. Does the labourer's wife, with whom I have been talking, afford no proof of that? She cannot buy enough of clothing even when bread is moderate in price, because bread is too dear for her. She cannot buy clothes at all when bread is dear, nor get enough of bread itself. Of what benefit then is scarcity or dearthness to her and her family, and the millions of the population situated as she is? Is it said that prices artificially high are requisite to keep up her husband's wages? If so, he and his family are taxed for the maintenance of his wages at 11s. a week, which, after all, afford them only bread and potatoes. Is it said that the farm would go out of cultivation, and he would receive no wages at all? If so, why is it that land is coming rapidly into cultivation, in his neighbourhood, that never grew grain before? How is it that his master has a farm of 500 acres, upon which he does not employ more than the half of the men employed by Mr. Biggs, on a farm of 200 acres, adjoining? How is it that on the same kind of soil Mr. Biggs makes profit with this extra expense of labour, while his neighbour, who lets his land go out of cultivation, or who cultivates on the same principle as if he did, makes less profit?

I shall myself answer these queries; but for the present I come to a stop.

AGRICULTURE.

MONOPOLY NOT AT ALL TIMES PROFIT.

It is impossible to over-estimate the services which the "protection societies" have rendered to the cause of Free Trade and unfettered industry; for until the spectacle of lords and squires, land-agents, and tenant-at-will farmers assembled in public meetings to speak and pass resolutions in support of Monopoly had become common, the British public was only partially aware of the ignorance which prevails amongst the dominant landlord class. The Monopolist landlords, who form the vast majority of the two Houses of Parliament, had for some years past voted in silence to uphold their monopoly. They had with prudent forbearance declined to speak in its favour. Their most active personal opposition—barring their votes—to the lucid arguments of the Free-Traders in Parliament went no further than a dissentient shake of the head. They trusted for vocal defence of their Corn Laws to the vague generalities of a Peel, the plausible mystifications of a Gladstone, or the blunt appeals to ignorant prejudice of a Wellington.

The *Morning Post*, it is true, has long been written down to the standard of squirearchical ignorance and landowning bigotry; but who ever thought of looking at the *Post*? Who ever believed that the political economy of that journal was suited to any except ladies' maids? It is to the protection meetings that the intelligent classes of the kingdom owe the knowledge of the fact, that the laughable political economy of the *Post* is written to please the ladies' maids' masters. But the Monopolists, no longer satisfied with the makeshift and temporary advocacy of their own chosen Ministers—though, in fact, such advocacy was the only practical defence of the monopoly which could be made—determined to come bodily before the community, and to expose the arguments for restriction, which in private they deemed conclusive. We Free-Traders have no reason to regret that determination. It is no slight advantage to find a recognised organ of the Monopolists, whose nonsense is acknowledged to be their nonsense, and whose would-be arguments for restriction may be subjected to examination.

In the *Morning Post* of Wednesday last we find an article supposed to be written in all sober seriousness, which is a perfect reduction to absurdity of the landlord method of reasoning. After referring to an article in the *Chronicle*, which had quoted various admitted agricultural authorities to show that British husbandry has, for many years past, received its greatest impulses to improvement during periods and in consequence of low prices of agricultural products, the Monopolist organ says, "The result, in short, at which the *Chronicle* arrives, is, that low prices are a blessing." Now, however strange it may appear to the philosophers of the landlords' journal, the "blessings of plenty and peace," which imply cheapness, have been celebrated as beneficial to agriculture from the time of Old Tusser, ay, and for ages before. Having shown that some one has laid himself open to the horrible charge of assuming "that low prices are a blessing," the Monopolist writer enunciates this special specimen of landlord logic:—

"If low prices be a blessing, then, it would seem to follow that low profits in manufactures must be, equally, a national gain. If, again, low prices be a blessing, then, by necessary consequence, the prevalence of low wages is especially to be desired. But low wages, low profits, and low prices are equivalent to a state of national poverty. National poverty, then, if the *Chronicle's* postulate be conceded, is the greatest of blessings. So be it, if the *Chronicle* will; yet, somehow, the whole choir of Free Traders always appear to be chanting the praises of national wealth."

Now, had not the lords of the soil spoken at protection meetings, no one would have believed that such sentences could have been written to please sane men. If by accident such a passage had come under the notice of any person of ordinary capacity, he would have simply dismissed it with the exclamation, "Childish twaddle!" But the mischievous silliness assumes a new feature when it is known to embody the opinions (?) of the ruling class of the men of this great empire, of the men whose laws trammel the giant industry of the British nation. We may regard with pity a maudering idiot wandering about the homestead, but when we find him with a lighted match ready to burn our stacks, in obedience to his notions of right and wrong, we are bound to do more than pity; we must repress such mischievousness, idiotic and absurd though it be, with the strong hand. In the present instance little more is required than to hold up so silly and would-be-mischievous a passage to the view and reprobation of all rational persons.

So long ago as the year 1823, Mr. Huskisson said, in the course of some parliamentary discussion on the Corn Laws, "that monopoly was not at all times profit,—that restriction did not at all times amount to protection, and that that which was nominally for the benefit of the landed interest would not, in the alternations of prices in different years, be found to be consistent with their real advantage." Of the truth of those words what ample evidence has been

afforded by the events of the last twenty years! Unsatisfactory as it may be to monopolists, who have tried to base their own prosperity on the maintenance of high prices and artificial scarcity, there is no doubt that low prices of food, of corn, and other agricultural produce, when permanent and the result of abundance, do constitute the greatest blessing which this nation could enjoy. And so far from "low profits in manufactures," "low rates of wages," and "national poverty," being the results of low prices of food, the truth is directly the other way. The assertions to the contrary are simple falsehoods, contradicted by everyday experience.

It may be objected that, though this is true as regards every other business, it is not so with reference to the business of farming. But a little examination will show that the farming business forms no exception to the general rule, that cheapness produces prosperity. The uncertainties and fluctuations the Corn Laws have introduced into that business are the only clouds which obscure the perception of this truth. We have so frequently stated those causes of uncertainty, that we shall here only just refer to them. They are rents and other outgoings, calculated at an arbitrarily high rate, while actual prices are frequently, nay usually, below that rate; inordinate desire to grow grain; uncertain tenures, and unwillingness on the part of both tenants and landlords to enter into permanent engagements, under which alone can husbandry be pursued with any hope of a substantial profit: these are parts of the system created by monopoly and a desire for high prices, under which the agriculture of this country languishes. As matter of historical fact it is notorious that agricultural improvements have always been most generally adopted in periods of low prices; and to all who really understand the state of British husbandry it seems only natural that it should be so. The general practice of agriculture is far below the state to which the actual skill of the most ordinary farmer could carry it if he was not taught to rely on acts of Parliament and extravagant prices rather than his own exertions, and if he could be certain of profiting by his outlay without being subject to an advance of rent.

Let us look a little into the details of farming, and we shall see that low prices, assuming them to be permanently low, so that all the farmer's calculations shall square with such prices, would be far more advantageous to the farmer than high ones. The saleable produce of most farms consists of wheat, barley, and, in some districts, oats, and of wool, sheep, and cattle; and we believe the order in which we have named those is that of their value, their money-producing power to the cultivator. Now, the good farmer's first object will be to grow the largest quantity of wheat at the least possible expense. To do this he must have his land drained (and it is the heavy land on which improvement is most wanted) and subsoil-ploughed, which will effect an amelioration of the character of the soil perfectly surprising to those who have not witnessed it. He will then grow roots in place of "a long fallow," and be thus enabled to keep a large stock of both sheep and cattle; and he will have cheap foreign beans, lentils, and so forth, wherewith to keep his stock, and, through the stock, his land in high condition. With ordinary skill and attention he will make a good profit out of his stock, let the prices of meat be ever so low; he will have his wool, and by keeping an ample stock he will grow, on land which required to be, and has been properly, drained and subsoiled, 40 and 50 bushels of wheat to the acre, where hitherto he has had only 20 and 25 bushels. The rent, the tithes, the rates, and other outgoings would be fixed with reference to a lower scale of prices, and farming would become a business in which a man of ordinary skill and means might look for a reasonable profit. It is true this implies more skill and more capital than are applied by the generality of farmers who are yearly tenants, but the extra capital and additional skill required for such improved cultivation are by no means so great as monopolists would have believed; but it does presume a degree of security of tenure which comparatively few tenant-farmers in England possess. With low prices, however, the landlord's self-interest would soon induce him to grant longer leases, and thus the pecuniary condition and personal independence of the tenant-farmers would be rather promoted than otherwise by low prices. In spite then of the logic of the Monopolists, can it be doubted that permanent low prices of agricultural produce would be a national "blessing?"

REAL FARMERS' MEETINGS.

Our readers will remember that during the autumn scarcely a week passed in which we had not to record some sound practical speech by a farmer, which directly or indirectly, intentionally or accidentally, furnished forcible testimony as to the injury the protective system had inflicted upon agriculture. Of late these rational views, and the voices of the more sensible farmers, have been borne down or drowned in the temporary Pro-Corn-Law clamour, which the political and mortgaged landlords have excited amongst certain classes of the farmers. But this artificial feeling is passing away; and the effect of the Pro-Corn-Law noise will only help to mature the opinions of tenant-farmers, that protection is required from evils much nearer home than foreign competition.

The landlords have called their tenants to the rescue of monopoly, and they will find that the only terms upon which such aid can be given, must be destructive of all for which the landowners cling to their monopoly. At a meeting of the *Braintree and Bocking Farmers' Club*, which was held on the 28th of February last, we find that a party of Essex farmers and land-agents talked about the conditions necessary to good husbandry like rational men of business, though some of them had previously ranted at protection like children or landlords rather than men of business. The report read to the meeting stated that it was the fourth anniversary of the club, and urged upon the members

"The necessity and importance of a regular and punctual attendance at the monthly meetings, and of exerting themselves to maintain the usefulness and efficiency of the society."

It referred to

"The paramount duty of every cultivator of the soil to endeavour to become acquainted with the means of obtaining the greatest quantity of produce at the least possible expense; thus in future, the prosperity of the farmer will mainly and essentially depend upon his adopting the most improved systems of cultivation."

And then enumerated the most important topics which had formed the subjects of discussion at the monthly meetings of the club during the past year. Amongst others was "Wheat, its history, cultivation," &c., in reference to which one of the members, in the course of an elaborate paper, quoted from a writer (Gervase Markham, 1648-9) of the middle of the seventeenth century, a passage showing that at that period wheat was but little used in the bread eaten by the common classes of the people:—

"For bread for common use, take of barley two bushels, peas two pecks, wheat or rye one peck, and of malt one peck; these to be ground together and put through a meal sieve; a mixture consisting of, at the most, but one-twelfth part of wheat. Since which time it appears that that grain has been gradually superseding the others, until it has become the only one used for domestic purposes, excepting in a few places in the northern parts of England and in Scotland."

In fact it was not until the eighteenth century, when the commercial character of the national industry had been more decidedly developed; that wheat came into general use as the food of the people.

The following passage from the report upon hedge-row timber is so just, and sets forth so clearly and so moderately—indeed so much understates—the injury caused to farmers by landlords' timber, that, though long, we shall give it entire:—

"The last discussion to which your committee refers was—'On the disadvantages of small enclosures and hedge-row timber.'"

"This was briefly opened by a member, who stated that he considered it one which required the most careful and attentive consideration of the club; that it was one of great importance, not only to landowners and their tenants, but also to the community, inasmuch as 'small enclosures and hedge-row trees' rendered the farmers' crops much less productive than, with the same expenditure of labour and manure, they would otherwise be; hence increasing the cost of production, and enhancing the price to the consumer. The immediate interest of landowner and tenant might perhaps be adjusted by a diminution of money rent, but the injury to the public was still left unredressed. He thought that if it was fairly shown to landowners, by a careful statement of facts, that the profit which they derived from hedge-row timber was very trifling compared with the disadvantages to their tenants and the community, many would be induced to remove them. In many instances where, from various causes, landowners were prevented reducing their rents to meet altered circumstances and prices, they might very materially benefit their tenants by removing useless fences, &c., as well as improve their estates. He was not desirous of seeing the country entirely denuded of timber: there were mostly places on a farm where it might be raised, doing but little injury, but he preferred having a portion set apart and planted for that purpose."

"A member stated that he considered that where enclosures were small and the trees numerous, a crop of wheat or barley was deteriorated to the extent of eight bushels, or one quarter on ten acres, which, taking the wheat at 50s. per quarter, and the barley at 30s., made 80s. on the two crops, or, in other words, an additional rent of 2s. per acre. He, in calculating the value of a farm to hire, always made that difference. He believed that many landowners would, if the disadvantages of useless fences and hedge-row trees were fairly pointed out to them, consent to their being removed. He thought it might easily be shown that the additional rent which a tenant could afford to give was more than equal to the annual value of the growth of the timber. He considered the estimate he had made a fair one. He did not wish to state the injury done more than it really was. On estates where the enclosures were very small, and trees much encouraged, he was aware the injury was much greater. He should decline such farms altogether, at any rent."

"Several members considered 2s. per acre a very low estimate of the injury done by hedge-row timber on many estates."

"Small enclosures, it was stated, might be necessary previously to under-draining being so much practised, but were now very detrimental, not only to corn crops, but to stock, the hedges and trees attracting sheep and cattle by their shade in summer, and causing an accumulation of their droppings where they are not required, besides encouraging flies, &c. In open countries the fly or maggot in sheep was scarcely known. On fair sized heavy land farms fields ought not to be less than from eight to ten acres, and on the lighter lands from twelve to twenty acres. It was further observed that, in addition to the preceding disadvantages, in a low flat situation, with small enclosures surrounded by hedge-row trees, it was very difficult to get the corn dry in harvest; that corn was frequently injured from that cause, while those who farmed more open and exposed lands were enabled to carry their crops unharmed."

"The late Mr. Comyns Parker discouraged hedge-row trees, and recommended a portion of an estate to be set apart for the growth of wood and timber, if the proprietor was desirous of growing them. Woodland timber was of much superior value to hedge-row for all purposes."

The first speaker we shall notice was Mr. Low, who had figured at some of the Essex protection meetings, and he said:—

"When this society was organised a few years ago, I certainly did anticipate highly beneficial results from it, but I regret to find that as the novelty of the society ceased, the members became lax in their attendance and lax in their exertions in reference to it. This circumstance I particularly regret, because I am convinced of the importance and the real necessity of societies of this description. * * * * * If ever there was a moment when it became the duty of the farmer to awake from his lethargy, that moment has now arrived. (Cheers.) We find that knowledge has progressed largely in the world—we find that the manufacturer has resorted to every method that ingenuity and skill can devise to produce something that shall astonish the world—we find that the mechanic and others are doing the same in their respective callings—we find that the scientific man, too, is giving to the world the result of his interesting and important pursuits; and to the farmer to remain as a drone in the human state—to be to rest on his oars, while all other classes are doing everything they can to carry out in the best possible way their concerns, and occupations?"

Here we have a distinct admission, by one of the most

active, and certainly not the least able of the Pro-Corn-Law farmers, who, for reasons of their own, have submitted to become the landlord's out-paws in Essex, that while all other industrious capitalists have been as active as the bee, the farmer has "remained a drone," whilst in every other pursuit industry has crowded all sail, and has been rewarded with proportionate results, the farmer, and the farmer alone, has been "resting on his oars," and has not carried out his "concerns in the best possible way." Surely it might have occurred to Mr. Low that there must be some reason for this; some peculiar disability, some special burden pressing on the farmer! But we find that, instead of special burdens, he has, or is said to have, peculiar exemptions; he is "protected" by act of Parliament against foreign competition; yet see what one of his most ardent protectors states to have been the consequences!! Mr. Low truly says:—

"I am persuaded that the perfection of agricultural art is not yet nearly found out. I am not sure that nature in her all-wise arrangements ever intended that a large proportion of our land should be exposed for a whole year under the influence of the burning sun, the wind, and the weather without realising anything to the farmer—I am not aware whether by scientific research and practical application we may not arrive at that period when what is called a 'long fallow' will be altogether unknown. To effect this is an important object; and we must pay special attention to our system of cultivation, to our drainage, to our manures, especial attention to our ploughing, and this must be followed up by manual labour in the tillage of our land, under the secure tenure of a lease."

After all, Mr. Low is only half a protectionist, for if English farmers generally had leases they would cease to think about Corn Laws, seeing that they would undersell most other grain growers, and landlords, by losing their power over the independence of the tenant, would have lost much of that for which they desire to maintain their monopoly. One of Mr. Low's observations called up Mr. Hutley, well known as one of the best and most successful farmers in Essex. He said:—

"Feeling as I do on the Corn Laws, I must at once state that I should prefer a fixed duty to a sliding scale. I am satisfied that the present system presses heavily upon the agriculturist who is obliged to sell his corn just after harvest, while it gives a great advantage to the man of capital, who can keep his till Christmas; the man who is obliged to sell gets a small price, while the man who can keep his crop longer makes a good price of it. This is one disadvantage of the sliding scale; therefore I think, looking to all the circumstances of the case, it would be better to arrive at a certainty than to continue in an uncertainty. I should like to see every class in the community doing well, and my desire is to see all going hand-in-hand, so that we have not rival parties springing up in the country every day. At present a man cannot without fear and uncertainty invest money in agriculture, and therefore I should like the question to be settled whether we are to have a fixed duty of 10s. or 12s., or whether we are to have a sliding scale, so that a man may know how he is going on; and, entertaining this view, I have abstained from uniting myself with the protection society on that account. I think our plan ought to be to consider the good of the whole, and not to benefit by an augmentation of the cost price to those who are struggling in trades and other callings to get a living by their labour."

The last sentence bespeaks what Mr. Hutley is known to be, a man of sense and high integrity.

Mr. H. Hobbs, in reference to the prospects of the society, said:—

"I hope gentlemen will not recede from these societies, but will endeavour to increase their support; for I know in some societies individuals have withdrawn their names, and the answer to the question why they did so has been to the effect that they think they are selling the country and the landlords too much. That is an idea I scout, and which ought to be scouted. Who is the man to do business with? Is it the man who knows and understands business, or is it the novice?"

Now, though Mr. Hobbs may scout such an idea, we know that it is becoming a very common opinion amongst farmers, that these agricultural societies give the landowners an exaggerated opinion of the profits of cultivation, and induce them to apply the screw of competition with greater severity; and we are by no means sure that, under actual circumstances, they are altogether wrong. Mr. Beadel, a land-agent, in giving "liberal landlords and prosperous tenants," made the following judicious remarks:—

"I think that liberal landlords make prosperous tenants; but I have some peculiar notions on the subject of liberality, and I do not consider that, strictly speaking, to be true liberality that gives everything to the tenants. I call that a judicious liberality that will only let the land to a tenant who will well farm it, and, reduce from it all that it is capable of growing by a fair investment of capital. That would be my definition of a liberal landlord; and when I travel about this country, and sometimes find land so bedevilled as it is, I must say, if you have liberal landlords they are not men of that liberality which is calculated to benefit the country. An old friend and neighbour of ours used to say that the only way to make a man a good farmer was to make him pay a high rent. That is sharp practice; but if you would not farm well with a low rent, I would put a large one on. (Hear.) We owe it to all classes—because we are only a portion of the community—to cultivate the land well, and if we do this, our objects are attained, for does it not afford employment for the labourers? Does it not strip the poorhouses of their inmates, and will probably give you a profitable return for your capital?"

(Of one of the common causes of bad farming, taking a farm too large for the occupier's capital, he said:—

"I have a great dislike to the apology which is sometimes made for bad farming, that the party has not sufficient capital to farm well. We must be prepared to meet the truth in the face. I ask, would it be any excuse for a shopkeeper to tell us that he failed because he overtraded? (Cheers.) And why is the exception to be made in favour of the farmer in difficulties? If the landlord has been too ready to take the highest bidder and get the highest rent for his land, the tenant on his part has been too ready to take 200 acres when he had only capital sufficient for the cultivation of 100. (Hear.) And this is a mistaken course, because I contend that the proper amount of capital judiciously applied to the requisite number of acres will yield a better profit to the farmer than when spread over a larger quantity of land."

This is strictly true, and it is applicable far more extensively amongst farmers than is usually believed. In allusion to what had been said as to the state of the society, he observed:—

"The object in view is to secure benefits for ourselves and others. That is an object which ought to be attended with prosperity. We ought not to find people leaving us when the object is to benefit others as well as ourselves. The means we adopt to attain that object is to meet once a month to carry out our views by imparting and acquiring information that will be useful to us in our calling. Therefore, it cannot be our object or the means we adopt to carry it out that have produced the effect to which Mr. Low alluded, but I am afraid it arises from our apathy as a class, and I am fearful we are not sufficiently alive to our own interests; we are alive to political and exciting interests, but not to those means which, steady in their operation, are certain in their result."

Now, the notion that farmers are not sufficiently alive to their own interest may do over the dinner table though not elsewhere; but, in truth, most farmers feel, whatever may be their wishes, that their business has been rendered too uncertain, and they and their capital are too much in the landlords' power to render them very solicitous about improvement in agricultural knowledge. Indeed, not one farmer in twenty acts up to his own knowledge of what is requisite to far better husbandry than circumstances permit him to practise.

Mr. Baines, the chairman, said, in reference to security of tenure:—

"I know there are many anomalies in the tenure of land and in other things connected with farming that require alteration; but without good feeling between the landlord and tenant no good can be done. I wish to express my opinion on this point openly and fairly, for I consider that an enterprising tenant makes a good and improving landlord; on the other hand, an improving and liberal landlord makes a good and skilful tenant; and if they do not go hand in hand together, agriculture cannot succeed. There are many things that the landlord can do for the tenant. It is not exactly the money rent that the landlord can benefit the farmer by considering; there are many other things that come into the calculation; and the man who keeps a great number of hedge-fences and trees upon his estate is deteriorating the crop of the tenant, and indirectly taking a large rent. In other instances the tenant is not able to do that justice to the land that he ought to do. It is admitted, that unless stock be well sheltered it cannot be profitably grazed; and therefore, unless there be a good understanding between the landlord and tenant, and they work together, this accommodation cannot be attained. Yet it may be managed in a very simple way. A few rough poles from the hedge-rows would serve to make shade, and we know that good shade for cattle will make a heavy rent lightly felt. I agree that it is the duty of the landlord to give facilities to the tenant for growing the largest quantity of corn, and producing the largest amount of stock; it is the duty of the tenant to endeavour to give effect to the liberal ideas and wishes of his landlord; and I repeat that they must go hand in hand together, or agriculture cannot prosper."

In short, what is necessary to good husbandry is a rational lease. Mr. Fisher Hobbs, the next year's president, after alluding to a suggestion of Mr. Beadel's, to have some popular lectures, and intimating his wish to carry it into effect, said:—

"I think there are many subjects that if fairly discussed and made public would be of great benefit; and I believe if the landlords were aware of the feeling of the tenants they would come forward and assist them more. There was one thing brought forward at the last meeting which cannot be made too public—that is the disadvantage of small hedge-rows and of hedge-row timber. I think the landlords are not aware of the great loss sustained in this way by the tenants and the public at large; and if there was a good practical man to come between the landlord and his tenants, and do what was right, they would be in a better state. (Cheers.) Unhappily we have often seen that men in London have the management of estates who know nothing of land, and thus it frequently happens that the landlord is censured when it ought to be laid on the agent. I know a person in that situation who has the management of a landed estate, not fifty miles from here, who lets it on leases of four years; and I ask you if the tenant can properly cultivate land on so short a term? At the end of every four years there is some alteration, by which the tenant is put to the expense of £10 or £15, merely by a slight alteration in the lease. I think these are matters we might do good by discussing, and if laid before the public they will do good to the community at large."

How a man who so obviously understands some of the real wants of agriculture as Mr. F. Hobbs can have his own better judgment so warped as to become a co-clamourer for high prices and low produce with Mr. Baker passes our comprehension. The allotted toasts having apparently run out—

"Mr. Foster said much had been said of leases, and as Mr. Wm. Hutley had been effecting great improvements on a farm he had taken by stubbing up the small hedge-rows, and by deep draining, he thought that gentleman could give some information on the subject."

Thus called on—

"Mr. Hutley said he was an advocate for long leases, and he had had them on all the farms he occupied; he took this ground, that he never would occupy unless he had a long lease, and it behaved every one to make that stand, for then the landlords would comply. Not perhaps all, for some fancied the tenants must be slaves to them; but where a man had capital he advised him not to deal with such men, for if they went on without a good tenure it was like devouring them by piecemeal. (Cheers.) He had a feeling of independence that no man should ever subvert—he never cringed to any man; and he was sure if the farmers made a respectable stand the landlords, if they had any feeling, would make terms with them. He had followed men that had had tyrannical leases, but he found he was able to obtain liberal leases afterwards. When he lately took a farm he said, 'I will give you a good rent, but I must get rid of those nuisances, the small hedge-rows and bedgerow timber;' this was agreed to, and he had been getting rid of it, for he could assure them that 2s. per acre was not equivalent to the additional rent which they indirectly paid by the continuance of these things. It would, in the whole, make a considerably larger sum, and he was sure if this was fairly made known to the landlord he would give way. They grew timber in the hedge-rows, and what was the use of it? For the elm they could only make 1s. a foot; they could buy Melmel timber if required for repairs at 6d., and if they did not want it for repairs they could make only 1s. of the elm in the market."

But farmers must meet the landlords fairly. Mr. Hutley said:—

"In order to break this system up they must begin with the landlords by making liberal proposals to them, for they could not afford to give the tenants everything; and if they could give the landlord a better rent he would do away with the timber."

The remainder of the evening was passed in practical statements of the utility of deep draining, and the comparative merits of different roots for feeding sheep. Altogether, we do not remember to have met in any one farmers' meeting with a more rational evening's discussion, or one which more completely proves that "protection" has been the curse of the tenant-farmers of England.

MORE FARMERS' EVIDENCE.

Farmers are beginning to think and to express their thoughts upon their own business, and, like most men who speak upon that which they understand, they usually take a just and practical view of the subject; that is, always presuming they are not under the immediate pressure of landlord influence. Thus, in the last *Mark-lane Express*, a correspondent, who writes under the signature of "A HAMPSHIRE FARMER," tells a few home truths not altogether pleasing to landlord ears. The farmer commences with the following criticism on Mr. Cobden's statement, made on the authority of a Hampshire miller:—

"That wheat is 15s. a quarter dearer in July and August than it is in September, October, and November."

He says:—

"Now, I do not wish to question the truth of that statement, but I think the inference drawn from it by Mr. Cobden is not quite satisfactory. The substance of his speech is that, if the Corn Laws were abolished, we should not have those fluctuations. I am willing to admit that we should not have them to that extent, but still they must be almost as great as he has stated them to be—as there are other causes at work, besides the Corn Laws, that produce these excessive and hurtful fluctuations; and one principal cause is the poverty of the farmer, his inability to keep corn till the summer months."

This is a practical confirmation of Mr. Cobden's position, for he has distinctly stated that the Corn Laws have been mainly instrumental in impoverishing the tenant-farmer. They have done so in various ways—by inducing him to take land in expectation of higher prices than he actually obtains; by causing him to grow an undue proportion of grain, and to rely too exclusively on grain crops for profit; by leading him to undertake a farm too large for his capital; and, perhaps more than all, by occasioning a system of yearly tenancies under which no farmer can hope for pecuniary profit, or personal or political independence. This writer afterwards says:—

"It is no use for a man to know that a commodity will fetch so much money in July if he is obliged to sell it in October; and what I wish to impress on Mr. Cobden's mind is, that the destruction of the Corn Laws, without he can cure the excessive competition for land, will avail but little."

There is nothing so likely to cure the present unhealthy competition for land as a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. We say unhealthy competition, because it is not based upon any sober or accurate calculation. Tenants without capital, or with half capitals, seek, on any terms, to get into a farm, while landlords, relying on their power of distress, take little pains in selecting competent and skilful tenants. In the end neither party benefits by this unwise and not very honest system. Nor are the landlords altogether to blame, for they have generally bad advisers in their land-agents. Hear what the "Hampshire Farmer" says on this point:—

"I have observed that the most active men in getting up the Anti-League meetings are land-surveyors and land-stewards. These gentlemen state it is impossible that land can be cultivated with lower prices than at present; but, the moment they have a farm to let, they put on from 10 to 20 per cent. on the rent—thus belying by their actions what they are constantly inculcating to the tenantry. The truth is, that the principal cause of agricultural distress arises from the great ignorance of those who engage in land, and in those who let it. The land-values are constantly mistaking competition for value; they find, when they have a farm to let, there are a great many competitors for it, and it is difficult to put a rent in which some one man of capital is not willing to give. I do not mean to say that the tenantry have not a right to complain, and I do not admire the Anti-Corn-Law League; but I am fully persuaded the abolition of the Corn Laws will disappoint those who are advocates for prices, unless the competition for land could be cured."

The Corn Laws have imported into the business of husbandry innumerable causes of fluctuation and unsteadiness, beyond and besides those which arise from the nature of the business; let those unnatural causes be removed, and most of the existing unsteadiness will be cured.

Upon the law of distress, this practical farmer properly says:—

"Why should a landowner have preference, if his tenants get into difficulties? Why should he be secure in his twelve months' rent, and the grocer, baker, butcher, or other tradesman, be obliged to take 5s. or 10s. in the pound, and that too, perhaps, because he has for some time paid such excessive rent? If any person went without his money, it should be the landlord, for introducing such a man into the neighbourhood; at all events, he ought not to fare better than others."

There is no man of common sense—not being a landlord—who can dissent from those remarks.

We always said that the shallow, unmeaning, and unmeasured abuse of the League by the monopolist landlords would speedily bring their Pro-Corn-Law movement into contempt with the farmers themselves. Thus the writer says:—

"Sir, though I am not an Anti-Corn-Law League man, I am sorry to think there is no sincerity or honesty in the landed gentry. RENT IS THEIR ONLY THOUGHT; they do not care how much they delude or mislead their tenantry, and are constantly imputing that to the League that they are guilty of themselves. What has the League to do with the price of corn? It was 48s. a quarter in November, 1842; it was 64s. a quarter in July, 1843; it was 48s. a quarter in November, 1843; it was 64s. a quarter in July, 1844. The League agitated in November, and they agitated in July, clearly showing it is not the League that regulates the price, but the inability of the farmer to keep his corn."

Let the admirers of "mutual-confidence" tenures ponder on the following passage:—

"I really believe, from the observations I have made, that if a farmer had an old wheat-rick left at harvest he would stand a good chance of having his rent raised 20 per cent. It seems to be the business of the land-agents to hunt out for a cause to raise the rent. These people are too much trusted, and too much thought of. Who should be the parties to keep corn? Where does it keep best, in straw or in store? After the landed gentry are satisfied by the proportion they should receive in the shape of rent, every encouragement should be given to keep wheat in straw."

And let farmers observe what one of their own body says on the existing Corn Law:—

"The farmers are constantly finding fault with the law of 1842. But the only difference in the law of 1842 and 1828 is that wheat under the law of 1828 occasionally reached 70s., and under the law of 1842, 64s.; but still these parties who complain sell their wheat at 48s. to 50s., and contract to pay rent after the rate of 65s. It is no use to disguise the fact; every change that takes place must end in disappointment to all parties, because parties are constantly mistaking one thing for another. Is it a small evil that people look to Leagues, instead of the House of Commons? The day is not far distant when the landed gentry will be left by themselves, both as it regards church and state."

EVIDENCE AGAINST MONOPOLY.

One of the useful effects of the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, which has of late been going on in the rural districts, has been to bring out from tenant-farmers of all degrees, and in every part of the country, abundant testimony of the ruinous effects of monopoly rents. The following somewhat quaint epistle will find an echo in the breasts of hundreds of farmers:—

"To the Editor of the LEAGUE."

"MR. EDITOR,—Not three hundred miles from the fayed well at Oundle is an estate remarkable for ruining tenant-farmers. It was enclosed in the time of the last French war. This ruin-tenant estate was raised from 9s. per acre in the open field state to 36s. per acre. When enclosed, the common rights of large pastures for cows were taken away. The old tenant, wealthy, homely tenants were scared from this estate by high

rents, and fresh tenants came. One, being a superior farmer, tried about 300 acres for a short time, losing his money fast; he gave notice to quit the farm. The steward is a blow-hot-and-cold gentleman. To get at him you must read him backwards, for when he said 'yes' he meant 'no,' he was also a remarkable man for taking care of himself. Occasionally his master promised to allow the honest farmer a fair price for some moveables which he was to leave upon the farm. The steward dallied the farmer on, with forced smiles and a smooth tongue, until after Lady Day; then he began to throw off his disguise, and bade the straightforward tenant a defiance; and told him, if he moved a single thing that he had left upon the premises, he would bring an action against him. The farmer, rather than go to law, gave up £120's worth of property, which he had left upon the farm, trusting to the steward's honour; but he never received a single shilling for them. I should be glad to know in whose pockets did this £120 go, whether into the steward's or landlord's—most probably the former. The remaining tenants got away as well as they could, some robbed and ruined, some sold up, and no account rendered of the proceeds of the sales, the lawyer being no honest man than the steward, and the landlord being deceived by them both. His lordship then procured a bailiff from the west country to farm the land for him. New brooms generally sweep clean; and this Mr. Westcountry, it was thought, was a-going to do wonders, having been a school-fellow of his lordship's. At it he went—nothing venture nothing have; and, as he took the liberty of dipping his hand into his lordship's pocket when he pleased, he farmed the land by strength of purse; he bought hundreds of pounds' worth of manure, all of which produced great crops; stubble strong, stackyard full, barns crowded, turnips large, sheep all fat, fed without stint upon oilcake, pigs fat, plenty of men kept working, and women weeding, all of which astonished the natives; until the year 1817, when wheat averaged 97s. 8d. per quarter, when his lordship let all his high-farmed land at an extravagant rent. He had no sooner let his land than the provident bailiff's wine and brandy merchants sent in their bills to his lordship, which had been standing two, three, and four years, for they knew that the money was safe, and were, therefore, in no hurry in sending in their bills. After my lord had paid the bills of his school-fellow and bailiff, and other outlays, he found himself only £2 10s. per acre out of pocket, besides losing all the rent of the estate. The tenants were all ruined in 1821, when wheat made 38s. per quarter; the seed, when they entered upon the land, cost upwards of 97s. per quarter. Another set of tenants came, and they were all ruined save one, who lived at a lodge near a wood upon a farm of 300 acres. This he cross-cropped, and had two green crops in a year, thrashed all his corn out, and put the whole of his live and dead stock into Cannis Park; he bolted, however, and bilked his landlord by a moonshine flit, and a journey to America. There were, therefore, three sets of tenants ruined, save this one, from 1817 to 1831. One tenant sank £5000, another £4000, one £3000, and others more; some of their neighbours were so simple as to think and say that the unlucky lordship was under an evil eye or bewitched. My lord again farmed the principal part of the estate himself, when he lost £1 per acre, besides the rent. He at last became surfeited with his country lawyer, steward, bailiff, and co., nay, and farming. His lordship let the land at half what it had been rented at. Since that time there have been no ruined farmers, and the evil eye and witchcraft have disappeared, having been proved when inquired into to be no other than high rents. The horse-shoes which were nailed at the stable-doors to prevent the witches coming in have been taken off. And the only evils upon the estate now are the rabbits and game. By giving the above, Mr. Editor, you will oblige, "Your humble servant," S. A. FORESTER."

THE GAME-LAW GRIEVANCE.

The following letter, from a tenant-farmer near Barnard Castle, is so just, and so completely corroborates much we have frequently had occasion to state in connexion with the game laws, that we give it without further comment:—

To the Editor of the LEAGUE.

"SIR,—Seeing a handbill, stating that a public meeting would be held, to know if it would be advisable to abolish the Corn Laws, I quite agree they should be abolished; but there are other laws more oppressive than the Corn Laws, bad as they are, to farmers and labourers—viz. the game laws, which are a disgrace to the country. If you only travel a mile from here you will find more hares in the fields than sheep; and I need not tell you who keep them, or who get the profit. Would the farmer stock his farm with hares if he were allowed the privilege to kill and sell them? Would he not rather keep sheep than hares? Is the country benefited by them? No, only the landlords; for, would you believe it, they have sold as far as three tons a week during the winter to the gamekeepers in this town; they have carried on such a wholesale trade that the market has been completely glutted with them; and, whilst mutton has sold at 5d. per lb., hares have been selling as low as 3d. per lb. Now, let us see if we can make out the loss the country sustains by them:—It is no uncommon sight to see twenty hares together; I, myself, have seen as many as twenty-four in a four-acre field. Now, if we take one hare as an average for every four acres, which is a low calculation, this will make twenty-five for every hundred acres; and allow five to consume the produce of an acre will be five acres totally waste, excepting what the landlords get by selling them. Now, let us see what is the farmer's loss:—He not only pays rent for this land, but all rates besides, and finds seed and labour, which will amount to ten pounds' loss to him for every hundred acres of land! Well may the manufacturers call us clay-headed, for we suffer all this without a murmur; well would it be for us, too, if we could stop here; but there are such men called poachers, who are detested by the landlords, for, being nearly of a trade, they cannot agree; but the farmer calls them his friends. It mostly happens when people have stock they have some one to look after them; so it is with the landlords; they have what they call watchers, who, if they meet with a poacher, take him before the magistrates, who know well what to do with him; for, being gamblers themselves, they cannot abide to have rivals; so they impose a heavy fine, which the poacher being unable to pay, he is sent to the House of Correction, and there kept at the expense of the county; his family, should he have any, are sent to the workhouse, and are maintained out of the poor rates. I was glad to see in the *York Herald* the other week what compassion the landlords had towards us. One of them pitied us because we would have to pay more county rates, which were increasing; he did not, however, tell us the reason; but I know they must increase as game increases. Now, if the League have the good of the country at heart, they will take the Game and the Corn Laws together; if they do this they will not find a tenant-farmer in the country but who will give them his support. I dare not mention my name, as my landlord being a very tender-hearted man, it might break his heart to know he had such a renegade of a

"TENANT."

HINTS TO LANDLORDS.

THE BUBBLE HAS BURST.—It is amusing to see to what a state—a natural state—of insignificance the Pro-Corn-Law agitation has of late been reduced, even in the estimation of those at whose instigation it originated. Thus, in the *Dorset County Chronicle*—Mr. George Bankes' own organ,—wherein, three months ago, column after column of squirearchical ignorance and rural nonsense was reported whenever a protection meeting was held in the south-west, we find the following modest announcement of the establishment of a "protection society," with an earl in the chair:—

"AGRICULTURAL PROTECTION.—The tenant-farmers of the large district of Yeovil, in South Devon, have established a protection society, and adopted a petition to Parliament

against the League. There was a large and respectable attendance at their first meeting, and the Earl of Morley, who attended to support the yeomanry, delivered a most excellent speech on the occasion against the Free-Trade doctrine, and the unconstitutional practices of the League."

Verily, these societies will soon attract as little attention in the agricultural districts as the prosecution of a poacher or the dispossession of an independent-minded tenant-farmer.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"A Farmer and Landowner of Northallerton."—We shall avail ourselves of his valuable information. His letter will not bear abridgment, and is too long to be published in *extenso*.

"A Subscriber in Leeds."—We, too, are grieved that he has such just cause of complaint; but we deem private remonstrance more likely to be efficacious than public exposure.

"J. H."—We shall look for the full report of the committee.

"R. B."—The tricks played in procuring signatures to monopoly petitions are so numerous and varied, that the letters we have received on the subject would fill our paper for several weeks.

"W. J. C."—The League feels an interest in the subject, but the prudence of advocacy is questionable.

"Perthenels" is thanked, but the verses are not quite suitable.

"J. F. M."—We shall procure the information for him.

A Farmer from the New Forest, in Hampshire, sends the following sketch of talk at the market dinners of some west-country farmers:—

"In travelling through the counties of Somerset and Devon, I purposely dined with a company of west-country farmers, whose conversation seemed to be entirely about the Anti-Corn-Law League. One said the League were trying hard to bring all the farmers and their families to the workhouse; 'For,' said he, 'look at the fires since they began their conspiracy.' Another said, 'Look at Wales and the Rebecca-ites.' 'Ah,' said a fine-looking old farmer, about 30 stone weight, 'see how they are disturbed in Ireland; our squire says they are at the bottom of all that; as a proof, O'Connell joined them as soon as he came over after his trial.' Another said, 'What does Lord Sondes say in Norfolk? Why, that they were the most dangerous association ever formed, for they were engaged in a conspiracy to ruin their fellow-subjects.' 'Ah,' said another double-cunning fellow, 'they are trying to set us farmers against our landlords; and, as the old proverb says, when a house is divided against itself, it cannot stand; and Scripture says, cursed is he that parteth man and wife, and it is the same with landlord and tenant.' After hearing all their ridiculous remarks and jargon about the League, I said, 'Gentlemen, I, as a farmer, beg to say, that you remind me of the Spartan boy, who hid the fox that was tearing out his entrails. Nay, I may compare the tenant-farmers of England to tame beasts of burden or to the milch kine, for they bear all that is laid upon them, and give all that is demanded of them. As a proof of their gullibility, from 1815 to 1828 the farmers' rents were fixed upon a calculation of 80s. a quarter for wheat, and the same price in proportion for other grain. And what were the prices you farmers actually did receive during those 13 years of gullibility? In 1820, 54s. per quarter; in 1821, 61s.; in 1822, 42s.; and in December of the same only 38s. per quarter! In 1827 wheat made 47s. per quarter. In 1828 the farmers were cajoled by the oily, shuffling, slippery, treacherous allying-scale, which was to secure to them a price of about 70s. per quarter for wheat. In 1829 the wheat was 55s. per quarter; in 1832, a little over 53s. per quarter; in 1834, 40s. 6d.; and in December, 1835, the average was as low as 38s. per quarter. Where was your farmers' Corn-Law protection in the years which I have mentioned? Have I not fairly proved the Corn Laws a delusion—a mere bottle of smoke? I am surprised that farmers should be gulled by the moonshine-tales of their landlords. I never heard yet of Lord Sondes being taken for a mathematician, philosopher, poet, or statesman.' Some of them, after scratching their heads, and others stroking down their hair, admitted that what I had said about the prices of wheat, &c. &c., was very correct (for the oldest farmer had been out of the room, and found it so in his old corn-book). 'Our landlords,' they continued, 'tell us a very different tale, but do not give us the proofs that you do.' 'Gentlemen,' I replied, 'the Anti-Corn-Law League are proving to farmers how they are deluded by the Corn Laws; injured by their crops being devoured by game and rabbits; cajoled by growing timber in hedgerows for the landlord, for every foot of which the farmer pays rent; decoyed by stewards to sign absurd covenants and yearly agreements, contrary to common sense and reason, such being utter bars to good husbandry. The parties, your landlords, who pretend to be your friends, are your enemies; and the very party whom you take to be your enemies are your friends, because they inform you how you are imposed upon. Gentlemen, have I not proved it so before you all, as a farmer?' "N. P."—The verses are not up to the mark.

"Silent from Necessity."—All personal anecdotes should be authenticated by a real signature.

"A Somersetshire Man."—The epigrams would only be intelligible in the locality where the parties are known.

"H. M. H." is thanked, but *Civis*' letter is too unimportant to call for any particular notice in our columns.

Our friend "O." of Salisbury, improves in every new effort; this week he sends us the following spirited lines:—

"Hereditary bondsmen! know ye not
Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?"
Childs Harold.

Ocean! boundless, wild, and free,
Ever proudly, widely rolling;
Mighty in thy liberty,
Fast the power of man's controlling;
Marks and bounds are not for thee,
Chains and fetters cannot bind thee;
And must man for ever be
Thus unlike thee, thus behind thee?
He can bend thy power to bear
Fleets to every land and nation;
But he may not freely share
In the fruits of his creation;
For though hunger wild demands
Unax'd bread from other lands,
Law denies with stern commands
Trade is not free!

Stars look on thee, mighty ocean,
From their high cerulean dwelling;
Moonbeams smile on thy commotion,
List'ning to the tale thou'rt telling.
Thy hoarse voice on every shore,
Kings to the slave be free—be free!
Listen, brothers, hear his roar,
Speaks he not the same to ye?
Tells he not of glorious climes,
Plenty's fav'rite seats for ever?
Brothers, ye hear the ocean-chimes,
Rouse ye—rouse ye—now or never!
Would ye, Britons, longer lie,
Starving in hopeless slavery?
Speak the word—and it shall be,
Trade shall be free!

We shall conclude with two pieces of poetry, a "Repeal Hymn," by a *Ferrarsshire Weaver*, and the "Bread Cry," by *January Beadle*; the latter has sent his real name, but has so blotted it that we cannot make it out.

REPEAL HYMN.
God made the heaven—the stars—the earth,—
And man created. At his birth

The harp of liberty was strung,
And thus Nature's charter sung:
"Hail! welcome to the new domain!
Thine is its wealth—herb, fruit, and grain.
Hear and obey the law of Heaven—
Earth, as a mutual farm, is given
To thee, first workman, and thy heirs for ever;
Be good, be grateful to the gracious Giver."

Who are the grateful and the good?
These most who earn their daily food,
And almost all their pleasure—*lo!*
Who are the heirs of the first man?
The friends of Nature's primal plan;
Who peaceful live, and live to see
Their tolling brethren happy, free.
Lo! Heaven proclaims it in its sunlit dome;
Earth echoes—"I'm their birthright and their home."

Ours is a rich inheritance,
Which Heaven's kind seasons still enhance.
Yet what were this great globe of earth
Without strong labour's horny hand?
The cheerless sun would shed his rays
On mourning man, and desert ways,
And *thenceless* kings would be.—Why then,
Look they not to the rights of men,
Whose labour is the very prop of kings,
And to their crowns the star-bright diamond brings?

And who, from autumn's loaded wain,
The wheaten sheaf and oaten grain,
First should be served? Reason says—He,
The noble son of Industry!
It is the law of Nature's heart
To guerdon well the sons of art,
To cheer, when stormy winter comes,
With corn and oil their rustic homes.
But there are great lords in the land. What then?
We are the nation's strength—her working men.

And shall the lordly traitors still
Thus tax and starve us—as they will?
And shall the famine-laws still be
To paralyse our industry?
No! we anon shall know the worth
Of life, of labour; and go forth
Free, to the sunny summer fields,
And taste the joy which nature yields;
While the free winds of heaven the soul shall fan,
And each to each shall be a patriot man.

THE BREAD CRY.

BY JANUARY BEADLE.

"Oh God of Mercy, hear our prayer,
We cry to thee for bread!
We cry in anguish and despair,
In agony too deep to bear:
For here, oh God—starved, starved, and dead,
Our eldest-born has bowed his head—
Dead, dead."

"Oh often in the sleepless night
We heard his broken groans!
His mother wept with all her might,
And o'er him sobbed 'till morning light;
And I, too, felt his dying moans—
His cry for bread—in bitter tones—
In bitter tones."

"I felt, O God! how deeply felt,
The cry I could not heed;
But nature in me would not melt,
E'en whilst on bended knees I knelt;
But, Oh, my heart with thorns did bleed,
And fiery thoughts my brain did feed—
My brain did feed."

"We had no bread—for many a day
We all had clammed and pined,
And as our precious darling lay,
We knew what drove his life away—
And we were mad, and we were blind
With hopeless and distracted mind—
Mad and blind."

"He died! my poor, poor murdered boy,
Murder'd, alas! by me!
By me? ah no!—he was my joy—
Oh I could save, but not destroy—
He was the Corn-Law victim—he
Was murder'd by Monopoly—
Monopoly."

"Ah, hideous name!—Ah, monster soul!
That eatest up the poor,
Down, down, to hell, and writhe and roll
For ever there;—be thy control
Far from the weary labourer's door—
Far from his home, his child, his store—
Far from his door."

"How long, oh God! how long to thee
Shall broken-hearted men,
And childless fathers pray to be
Snatch'd from their foodless misery?
Another corpse, this night again,
Have traitor lords and tyrants slain—
This night again."

"Oh, God of mercy, hear our prayer,
We cry to thee for bread;
We cry in anguish and despair,
In agony too deep to bear:
For here, oh God! starved, starved, and dead,
Our eldest-born has bowed his head—
Dead, dead."

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE WEEKLY MEETINGS of the LEAGUE in COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE will be RECOMMENDED ON WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, the 17th inst. RICHARD COBDEN, Esq., M.P., will take the Chair precisely at Seven o'clock.

The meeting will be addressed by H. G. Ward, Esq., M.P. for Sheffield, and other gentlemen.

Cards of admission may be had on application at the Offices of the League, on Monday and Tuesday, between the hours of eleven and four o'clock.

Applications for Private Boxes to be made personally or by letter on Monday.

The cards of registered Members will admit, as heretofore, to Pit and Galleries.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, April 13, 1844.

The holidays are over; Parliament will resume its labours next week, and there is not an individual within the seas of Britain who expects any good result from its deliberations. If a conspiracy had been formed to bring the Legislature into contempt, the plotters could not have contrived any measures more efficacious for the purpose than the course of conduct that has been pursued by the masters of her Majesty's Ministers. The dual dictators publicly issued their edicts to the Cabinet, and Sir Robert Peel's func-

tions were at once reduced to procuring their registration. Debates were consequently mere farces, acted for the most part without spirit or energy, as the performers were aware that the catastrophe had been anticipated, and that the issue was a foregone conclusion. The legislators talked a great deal, but they have done nothing; they felt that they were placed in St. Stephen's to preserve absurdities and perpetuate abuses; that their first and last duty was the maintenance of monopoly, and that if they dared to listen to the dictates of justice and common sense, their bonds would be drawn tighter by their inexorable masters, and a double lock turned on their fetters by the unyielding lord of Goodwood. Instead of taking the course of independent action befitting the Prime Minister of a great people, Sir Robert Peel has been driven to enact the part of a squirrel in a cage, whirling round and round the same unvarying wheel of plausibilities, but never advancing an inch though almost continually in motion. Parliament is now about to resume, and no one seems to know, and very few care to inquire, what it is likely to do after its sittings are resumed. Never was there a period of our history when the Legislature occupied so small a share of public attention; it is universally regarded as bound by the oligarchy to prevent good, and as too weak in public opinion to perpetrate evil. All thinking men look to the people outside the walls of Parliament, and scarcely bestow a glance on what passes within. Can such a state of things continue? Is it likely that the English people will endure recognised and acknowledged grievances to be perpetuated at the behest of an oligarchy, which has established an unconstitutional power behind and above the Cabinet, and which holds the Throne in the same thrall as the people? It is pitiable to witness the trickery and shuffling by which Ministers are forced to hide their enslaved condition as much as possible from the eyes of the world. Their emancipation would be as much an act of mercy as was that of the negroes in the West Indies.

It would be a saving of time and of trouble to set aside Parliament altogether, to proclaim the Duke of Richmond dictator, and assign him over the Ministers as his copying clerks; they could not, under any circumstances, be more subservient than they are at present. But while under the leaden rule of the "incapables" who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing, all improvement is forbidden and all redress refused; the nation is doomed to see its industry paralysed, its labourers pauperised, and its capital rapidly sinking into decay. It has been justly remarked by the *Morning Advertiser*—

"That the several interests of the country are pressed in such narrow confines, that there is no room for enterprise—none for the suitable expansion of talent or activity. Thus, for the first time in the history of the world, industry, so far from being a *sine qua non* of national prosperity, is just the very reverse—is considered a grievance of the first nature. This it is to rest upon fallacious principles. England is doing this to the extent of subverting the whole fabric of effect and cause—to that of turning topsy-turvy the whole theory of our moral motives. The best citizen, with commerce hampered as it is, is the man who is entirely idle; the man who sits with his arms folded and consents to rot to death. Sir Robert Peel should establish an order of Do-nothings; bestowing the Grand Cross of the fraternity upon him who made it his rule to work least. Thus the country would become regenerated; thus there would be no more cotton manufactured than would find backs to accept it, and as little wheat grown as there were mouths ready to receive it. Thus we should recede to primeval epochs of scanty population and simplicity."

But ere this return to barbarism could be effected, there are some millions of workers and feeders to be removed by summary process. The oligarchy would have to try the Irish experiment of ejectment and clearance on a large and perilous scale. They will not venture it; but they will persevere in holding the Ministry to the "do-nothing" policy, as if the whole world would stand still when the English Parliament pleased to set the example of inactivity. It is a perilous experiment; when nothing is done at a time when much ought to be done and much may be done, we may be assured that the period is not far distant when much *must* be done.

REVIEW.

Ireland, Historical and Statistical. By G. L. Smith, Esq. London: Whittaker.

Ireland and its Rulers since 1829. London: Newby.

The Irish State Trials. Edited by T. Mac Nevin, Esq. *The Songs of the Nation—The Spirit of the Nation—The Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation—Curran's Speeches.* Dublin: Duffy.

Among the many strange arguments that have been put forth in defence of monopoly, there is none more absurd in its principles or more injurious in its consequences than that on which the *Morning Post* has been ringing the changes for the last three months—the supposed duty of a Government to interfere with all the relations of industry, to fix the conditions of employment, and to regulate the rewards of labour. Hitherto it has been received as an axiom that every interference of the

Legislature with the concerns of trade is in itself an evil; that commerce is regulated by demand and supply, which balance themselves when left to their natural course; and that the price of labour, like that of any other commodity, must ultimately be determined by the state of the world's market. A wise ruling power has been termed a paternal Government, "because," says an old author, "a father interfereth only to check evil;" the species of ruling power advocated by the *Morning Post* might be termed a "maternal government," for that incomprehensible journal declares that the sovereign power should imitate the conduct of a foolish mother, petting one child, bribing another, artificially stimulating all, and leaving no development of mind or body to the healthy operations of nature. But this experiment of a meddling, interfering, and "protecting" Government has been tried; the history of Ireland for nearly seven centuries is a mere record of attempts to make people grow up to a pattern predetermined by a Legislature, and the result has been that Ireland is a perplexity to the statesman, a puzzle to the philosopher, a grief to the philanthropist, a disgrace and a peril to England.

The number of new publications on the subject of Ireland which crowd our table may be taken as a proof of the anxiety of the English people to obtain correct information respecting the social condition of that country, probably combined with a suspicion that some gross deception has been practised to hide the real state of that country from English eyes; and we rejoice at this circumstance, because on no subject has there been so much of wilful falsehood and deliberate misrepresentation printed and published as on the history and social condition of Ireland.

Knowledge exhibits itself in few and simple laws; ignorance revels in multifarious legislation; and of this truth the statutes relating to Ireland afford melancholy demonstration. Nothing was too solemn or too trivial, nothing too great or too small, for the perversity of legislative interference in that unhappy country. The State attempted to regulate the condition of the soul, and the dress of the body; there were laws fixing how the infant should be nursed, the youth trained, the maiden married, and the dead laid in their graves; the cut of the beard, the trim of the hair, and the shape of the garment were prescribed by act of Parliament; the Legislature ordained the mode of saddling the horse for a journey, harnessing him to the plough, and feeding him after his toil; it gave rules for sowing, threshing, and reaping; it even entered into the question of amusements, and declared what songs should be sung, what instruments played, and what musicians permitted to entertain a company. This was realizing the *Post's* theory of "maternal" government with a vengeance! Unfortunately, it was found that every such interference was productive of unmixed evil, and led to the necessity of some other interference still more mischievous than its predecessor.

Whatever may have been the condition of Ireland at an earlier period, there is no doubt that during the century preceding the English conquest it was reduced to a state of distraction and barbarism arising from the Danish invasions and the savage conflicts of its petty kings, which had scarcely a parallel in Europe. In the twelfth century the Church was the great element of civilization; papal power was the only counterpoise to military despotism and feudal tyranny, and but for the perfection to which ecclesiastical organization had been brought by the Roman pontiffs, Europe would, probably, have sunk to the melancholy condition of Asia. We are of those who hold that the overruling providence of God is as perceptible in the moral as in the physical world, and that the evidences of design can be traced in the history of our race as clearly as in the material world. The storms and tempests which spread temporary desolation over a land, purify the atmosphere and clear the way for a new growth of life and beauty; the systems permitted to be devised by selfishness and ambition root up old evils, destroy antiquated institutions which had lost all their efficacy for good, and leave the way clear for the development of future elements of civilization. Even thus the exorbitant ambition of ecclesiastics, with all its evils and all its errors, maintained the power of knowledge as an antagonist to the empire of brute force; but for the popes, England would have been another Turkey under the Plantagenets.

The Irish prelates saw the distraction of their country, but had not sufficient political influence to apply a remedy. They sought to strengthen their power by placing themselves in connexion with the Romish court; and it is unjust to say that by so doing they sacrificed the independence of their national church, for that independence was worthless which lay at the mercy of chieftains, one of whose most sanguinary wars originated in a dispute about a goose-egg. The Romish see had brought England under subjection to the Vatican by sanctioning the Norman Conquest; and it was naturally supposed that similar means would be equally efficacious in Ireland. Under these circumstances Pope Adrian issued his celebrated bull, granting Ireland

as a fief of the Holy See to Henry II.; and the prelates of Ireland took measures to give efficacy to this edict many years before an English soldier had landed in their country. The repeated rebellions of his sons and continental wars prevented Henry from taking possession of the lordship thus conferred upon him; but a war between two petty kings brought a body of Anglo-Normans to Ireland as auxiliaries to the weaker party. Strongbow's handful of men gained so many victories, and acquired such extensive domains in so short a time, that Henry feared Ireland might become the kingdom of his vassal; he hastened thither, made such arrangements as time admitted, and, through the influence of the clergy, was recognised, not as king, but as lord of Ireland, with a tacit reservation of the sovereignty to the pope.

Although seven hundred years have nearly elapsed since this transaction, yet every one of its attendant circumstances has continued to influence the destinies of Ireland up to the present day; and close attention to them is requisite for understanding not only the history but the present condition of Ireland. As the Plantagenets possessed not a kingdom, but a lordship, they could not unite England with Ireland; had they made the attempt they would assuredly have been prevented by the popes; they, therefore, felt that they could only claim from the Irish an imperfect and delegated allegiance, and that their only proper subjects were the Anglo-Normans, who had settled in Ireland. Thus, at the very starting, there was a different relation to government between the native Irish and the English settlers in Ireland: the former were the vassals of the English monarch, but they were the subjects of the pope; the latter gave whole and undivided allegiance to the sovereigns of England. Now, though it is perfectly true that these arrangements and distinctions were made with the common consent of all parties, and that divided allegiance and subinfeudation of sovereignty were common at the time throughout Europe; it is equally clear that not one of the parties would fulfil the conditions of such complicated arrangements. Let us first view the condition of the king: Henry was "king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine and Normandy, and earl of Anjou;" for Ireland he owed homage to the pope, for Normandy, &c., to the King of France. The complication of allegiance in the French provinces led to sanguinary wars, in which the real point at issue was, whether the Capets or the Plantagenets should be kings of France; and the divided allegiance of Ireland ultimately raised the question, whether the popes or the English monarchs should have the undivided sovereignty of Ireland.

Were the destinies of nations to be decided by legal technicalities, the claims of the popes would have been indisputable; Henry accepted the lordship of Ireland as a papal grant, bound himself to all the conditions of the grant, and of course assented to the penalties of forfeiture if he failed to fulfil these conditions. He could not deny the pope's right to make that grant, because he had recognised it by acceptance, and because such a denial would have involved a recognition of the invalidity of his own claim to any authority in Ireland whatever. In point of fact, from the first invasion down to the Reformation, the papal grant was set forth in successive statutes as the *only* ground of right for English sovereignty, and this awkward acknowledgment was only got rid of when the Irish Parliament changed the title of sovereignty, and proclaimed Henry VIII. king of Ireland.

The Anglo-Norman settlers were only a garrison in Ireland; they had, to all intents and purposes, a different monarch from the people amid whom they dwelt, and thus the distinction of races was perpetuated by a difference of government. Two nations, as distinct as the Turks and the Greeks, were thus planted on the Irish soil, and the whole course of law was directed to prevent their amalgamation. Holding the country by so uncertain a tenure as a conditional grant, it was clearly the policy of the English Government to cherish and maintain an "English interest in Ireland;" but the obvious result of such policy was to make the settlers and their descendants an ascendancy similar to that of the Turks, which the government had to maintain against the natives at all hazards. To such an extent was this felt, that the Irish natives, with the exception of five families, were wholly excluded from the protection of the law, and could recover no damages, and receive no redress from any legal tribunal. Of course the only limit to the tyranny of the Anglo-Normans was the amount of power which they had to accomplish whatever tempted their cruelty or their rapacity.

The Irish prelates were not long in discovering that they had made a very bad bargain. To be sure the Anglo-Normans were as devoted slaves to the superstitions of the age as could be found within the limits of Europe, and their benefactions to the Church in their capricious fits of generosity were even more lavish than those of their brethren in England; they erected splendid cathedrals, built monasteries and richly endowed them, never had

heard the name of Wicliffe, and, so far from doubting any point of faith sanctioned by the Church, they very willingly conceded to the priests the power of believing and thinking for them. But the men of the sword would not consent to share political power with the men of the book; *cedant arma togæ* formed no part of their creed; on the contrary, the gown and rochet were constantly postponed to "helm, hauberk, and twisted mail." No better illustration of the mutual relations between the barons and the prelates can be found than the anecdote quoted in a former number of the LEAGUE—an Earl of Kildare excused himself for burning a church on the plea that he thought the archbishop had been in it.

As in England, so in Ireland, the Anglo-Normans were induced by obvious policy to bestow the best sees, abbacies, and benefices on foreigners connected with their race, and to exclude the native Irish as they had excluded the Anglo-Saxons. In Ireland, as in England, there was a virtual distinction between the Established Church and the National church;—a distinction which, from peculiar circumstances, led to Puritanism in England, while it brought Ireland into closer connexion with the Church of Rome. The latter result was the consequence of the divided allegiance to which we have already directed attention; when the native Irish felt oppressed by English rule, they appealed to the pope as their superior lord; *their complaints were heard*, and, though no efficacious steps were taken to redress their grievances, remonstrances were addressed from Rome to the English monarch, and sometimes in a tone approaching to menace. So far, then, as the papacy interfered in the government of Ireland, it appeared as an agent of redress, interposing its shield between the feudal aristocracy supported by the English Government and the suffering people.

The native Irish were naturally discontented with the anomalous position in which they were placed, and they sought to remedy it by the most sensible course that could be adopted; they petitioned to be received as English subjects, and to be admitted within the pale of English law. Edward III. was too enlightened a monarch not to discover the great advantage which his empire would derive from accepting such an offer; but, like William III. at a later period, he found that the "English interest in Ireland" derived too great a profit from exclusive loyalty to listen to such a proposal as a fusion of races under a common government with common rights. They were as averse to it as the Turks would be to an amalgamation with Rayahs, the Orangemen to an equality with Catholics, or a monopolist oligarchy of land to a participation of equal rights with merchants and manufacturers. The golden opportunity of uniting the two nations that divided Ireland was lost, and the wars of the Roses prevented the project from being renewed under the Plantagenets. During those wars a fusion of a different kind occurred; many of the Norman barons were gradually assimilated to Irish chieftains, and encouraged by the weakness of the Government to establish a kind of barbarous independence.

The battle of Bosworth Field gave the crown of England to the Tudors; but the Irish, gratefully attached to the House of York, whose progenitor Duke Richard had been the best of their governors, showed great unwillingness to submit to a change of dynasty. They supported the two impostors, Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, and it is a singular proof of the strength of popular attachment that the White Rose of York has ever since continued to be the favourite cognizance of the Irish in every struggle against the ruling powers. It was the settled policy of the Tudors to break down the old Norman aristocracy in England and in Ireland. Here they raised up a new nobility, for which the ranks of country gentlemen afforded them materials, and for whom the forfeiture of monastic lands supplied estates. A new nobility and a new proprietary, more closely identified with the body of the English nation than the old feudal oligarchy, facilitated the progress of the Reformation in England, and rendered the change not less beneficial as a political than as a religious revolution. Nothing like this was possible in Ireland; there was no middle class, no intelligent, educated gentlemen ready to start up as rivals to the Geraldines, the Burkes, and the Butlers; no lower class alienated from a church combined with a system of hereditary oppression; all the materials for the Reformation in Ireland had to be imported from England, and to be established on an alien shore in the midst of social confusion. The native Irish and the Anglo-Norman barons equally looked upon these newly-imported settlers as intruders; while the ruling powers regarded them with peculiar favour as being the persons most likely to establish and promote "an English interest in Ireland." This political motive was wholly independent of the religious considerations with which it has been studiously blended. It was as much the object of Mary as it was of Elizabeth, to give Irish lands to English settlers, in order to obtain a hold over Ireland; it was under Mary that the lauds of Leix and O'Fally (now the King's and Queen's county) were forfeited, and the Lord Deputy permitted to grant

leases of them on such rents as he might deem expedient. The Act of Settlement itself, not unjustly described as the Magna Charta of the Protestants of Ireland, was passed by Charles II., whose secret attachment to Romanism is now notorious; and under that act James II. accepted a large share of those estates which had been forfeited for loyalty to his father.

Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. laboured with equal zeal to establish "an English and Protestant interest in Ireland;" on this project they expended a vast amount of blood and treasure; but the accomplishment of this object was reserved for Cromwell, and he was enabled to effect it by a combination of circumstances unparalleled in the history of nations, and for that among other reasons more studiously and flagrantly misrepresented than any series of events in the world's annals. But without a careful examination of the Cromwellian crisis in Irish history, it is utterly impossible to comprehend the subsequent events of two centuries, or to understand the complicated difficulties which still beset the English administration in Ireland. The importance of the subject need scarcely be pleaded as an excuse for resuming it an early opportunity, and we shall endeavour to discuss it without exciting angry passions and party animosities. There is probably no country but Ireland whose present condition cannot be appreciated without referring to the darkest eras of past generations; its social state is too complicated to derive much elucidation from the flippant personalities which form the staple of the flashy volumes called "Ireland and its Rulers," or the querulous vanity of the author's worthy compeer, Sir Jonah Barrington.

The Buccaneer, and other Poems. By R. H. Dana. London: H. G. Clarke and Co.

In our review of Longfellow's poems we expressed a wish for the republication of Dana's poetry in this country, and in a few weeks we were gratified by the sight of the neat and cheap edition before us. We wished Dana to be known in England because there is an originality in his conceptions, a fulness in his thought, and a depth in his reflections such as could scarcely be expected from the citizen of a young republic, where private and public life equally enjoin incessant activity, and where practical philosophy must necessarily triumph over the speculative and the ideal. Dana belongs essentially to the class of reflective poets: even his narratives give more of the poetry of thought and feeling than of incident and action. Its suggestive power is precisely similar to that of ocean scenery, when the billowing boundlessness of the calm waters leads the mind to thoughts of immensity and eternity, interrupted sometimes by the soothing sound of waves gently rippling on the beach, and sometimes by the war and dash of the breakers against the rocks, which seem to place life and its varieties in contrast with the limitless and unchanging world of waters. The circumstances of his early life rendered Dana familiar with the scenery of a rock-bound coast, such as New England possesses of unequalled sublimity and beauty. The following description of an American island is one of the best examples of writing a landscape with which we are acquainted:—

"The island lies nine leagues away;
Along its solitary shore,
Of craggy rock and sandy bay,
No sound but ocean's roar,
Save, where the bold, wild sea-bird makes her home,
Her shrill cry coming through the sparkling foam."

"But when the light winds lie at rest,
And on the glassy, heaving sea
The black duck, with her glossy breast,
Sits swinging silently;
How beautiful! no ripples break the reach,
And silvery waves go noiseless up the beach."

The lines we have quoted are the opening of "The Buccaneer," a singularly wild and powerful legend, which in some of its effects recals the memory of the impressions produced by the first reading of Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner." Matthew Lee, the buccaneer, has been guilty of a fearful murder on the high sea; a lady whose husband had fallen in defence of his country's independence seeks to escape in exile the misery of witnessing the ruin of that cause for which her lord had bled. Accompanied by a faithful attendant, and taking with her the white horse which had been the last gift of the deceased, she embarked with her treasure on board Lee's ship. No sooner had they got out to sea than the pirates resolve to make the treasure their own; the servant is murdered at once and the ruffians rush to the lady's cabin, and the catastrophe is thus powerfully told—

"A crash! They've forced the door,—and then
One long, long shrill, and piercing scream
Comes thrilling through the growl of men.
'Tis her's!—O God, redeem
From worse than death thy suffering, helpless child!
That dreadful shriek again—sharp, sharp, and wild!"

"It ceased,—with speed o' th' lightning's flash,
A loose-robed form, with streaming hair,
Shoots by,—a leap—a quick, short splash!
'Tis gone!—There's nothing there!
The waves have swept away the bubbling tide.
Bright-crested waves, how calmly on they ride!"

"She's sleeping in her silent cave,
Nor hears the stern, loud roar above,
Nor strife of man on land or wave.
Young thing! her home of love
She soon has reached!—Fair, unpolluted thing!
They harmed her not!—Was dying suffering?"

"O, no!—To live when joy was dead:
To go with one, lone, pining thought—
To mournful love her being wed—
Feeling what death had wrought;
To live the child of woe, yet shed no tear,
Bear kindness, and yet share no joy nor fear!"

"To look on man, and deem it strange
That he on things of earth should brood,
When all its thronged and busied range
To her was solitude—
O, this was bitterness! Death came and pressed
Her wearied lids, and brought her sick heart rest."

In mere wantonness of mischief Lee orders the horse to be thrown overboard:—

"Such sound to mortal ear ne'er came
As rang far o'er the waters wide.
It shook with fear the stoutest frame:
The horse is on the tide!
As the waves leave, or lift him up, his cry
Comes lower now, and now 'tis near and high."

"And through the swift wave's yesty crown
His scared eyes shoot a fiendish light,
And fear seems wrath. He now sinks down,
Now heaves again to sight.
Then drifts away; and through the night they hear
Far off that dreadful cry.—But morn is near."

"O had'st thou known what deeds were done,
When thou wast shining far away,
Would'st thou let fall, calm-coming sun,
Thy warm and silent ray?
The good are in their graves; thou canst not cheer
Their dark cold mansions: Sin alone is here."

The legend then declares how Lee was continually haunted by the spectral horse; and his horrors are portrayed with an intensity which renders it impossible to read the description without shuddering. We turn from this wild tale to a simple narrative of every-day life—"The Changes of Home." It relates the affection of two young persons in humble life, whose marriage is deferred until the lover shall have procured the means of subsistence. The following passage describes the growth of early love:—

"She and that fair boy
Shared with each other childhood's griefs and joy.
Their studies one. Then, as they homeward went
With busy looks, on little schemes intent,
Their earnest, happy voices might be heard
Along the lane where sang the evening bird.
—Why should I speak of what you know so well?
What chanced when you had left us let me tell."

"Time changes innocence to virtue strong,
Or mars the man with passions foul and wrong.
To warm and new emotions time gives life,
Fluttering the heart in strange yet pleasing strife,
Filling the quickened mind with visions fair—
Hues like bright clouds, that rest, like clouds on air,
Deepening each feeling of the impassioned soul,
Round one loved object gathering then the whole.
So deepened, strengthened, formed, the love that grew
From childhood up, and bound in one the two.
So opened their fresh hearts, as to the sun
The young buds open: life was just begun.
For this it is to live—the stir to feel
Of hopes, fears, wishes, sadness, joy—the zeal
Which binds us one in life, death, woe, and weal
And life it is, when a soft, inward sense
Pervades our being, when we draw from hence
Delights unutterable, thoughts that throw
Unearthly brightness round this world below;
Making each common day, each common thing,
Something peculiar to our spirit bring."

The lover dies, and the fair maiden withers away, the victim of that "fatal remembrance, to which life nothing darker nor brighter can bring":—

"A grief there is of deeper, withering power,
That feels death lurking in the springing flower—
That stands beneath the sun, yet circled round
By a strange darkness—stands amid the sound
Of happy things, and yet in silence bound;—
Moves in a fearful void amid the throng,
And deems that happy nature does it wrong;
Thinks joy unkind; feels it must walk alone,
That not on earth is one to hear its moan,
Or bring assuaging sympathies, or bind
A broken heart, or cheer a desert mind.
—And thus she walks in silent loneliness.
Sounds come, and lovely sights around her press;
Yet all in vain! She something sees and hears,
But feels not—dead to pangs, to joys, to fears;
Nor wishes aught. The mind, all waste and worn,
Lives but to faintly know itself forlorn;
Remembrance of past joys well-nigh forgot,
As if one changeless gloom had been her lot;
And, sure, had thought it strange that there should be
Blessings in store for one so poor as she."

"Factitious Life" is a series of reflections on the relations between the material and the spiritual universe. We shall only take one passage from it, describing the thoughts suggested by the contemplation of the ocean:—

"Now stretch your eye off shore, o'er waters made
To cleanse the air and bear the world's great trade,
To rise, and wet the mountains near the sun,
Then back into themselves in rivers run,
Fulfilling mighty uses far and wide,
Through earth, in air, or here, as ocean-tide."

"Ho! how the giant heaves himself, and strains
And flings to break his strong and viewless chains;
Foams in his wrath; and at his prison doors,
Hark! hear him! bow he beats and tugs and roars
As if he would break forth again and sweep
Each living thing within his lowest deep."

"Type of the Infinite! I look away
Over thy billows, and I cannot stay
My thought upon a resting place, or make
A shore beyond my vision, where they break;
But on my spirit stretches, till it's pain
To think; then rests, and then puts forth again.
Thou hold'st me by a spell; and on thy beach
I feel all soul; and thoughts unmeasured reach
Far back beyond all date. And, O! how old
Thou art to me. For countless years thou hast rolled.
Before an ear did hear thee, thou did'st mourn;
Prophet of sorrows, o'er a race unborn;
Waiting, thou mighty minister of death,
Lonely thy work, ere man had drawn his breath.
At last thou did'st it well! The dread command
Came, and thou swept'st to death the breathing land;
And then, once more, unto the silent heaven
Thy lone and melancholy voice was given.

"And though the land is thronged again, O Sea!
Strange sadness touches all that goes with thee.
The small bird's plaintive note, the wild, sharp call,
Share thy own spirit: it is sadness all!
How dark and stern upon thy waves looks down
Yonder tall cliff—he with the iron crown.
And see! those sable pines along the steep
Are come to join the requiem, gloomy deep!
Like stoled monks they stand and chant the dirge
Over the dead, with thy low beating surge."

The religious sentiments which give spiritual life to this magnificent survey of inanimate nature are reproduced with great power in a simple poem called "The Husband's and Wife's Grave." The passage is the Christianized expression of "the pleasing hope and fond desire, the longing after immortality," which philosophy recognised, but failed to realize in such a form as to satisfy the anxious cravings of the soul. Dana's reasoning is as close as that of Doctor Young in his well-known lines on the subject in the "Night Thoughts," but are far superior in poetic vigour:—

"O, listen, man!

A voice within us speaks the startling word,
'Man, thou shalt never die!' Celestial voices
Hymn it around our souls: according harps,
By angel fingers touched when the mild stars
Of morning sang together, sound forth still
The song of our great immortality:
Thick clustering orbs, and this our fair domain,
The tall, dark mountains, and the deep-toned seas,
Join in this solemn, universal song.
—O, listen, ye, our spirits; drink it in
From all the air! 'Tis in the gentle moonlight;
'Tis floating in day's setting glories; Night,
Wrapt in her sable robe, with silent step
Comes to our bed and breathes it in our ears:
Night, and the dawn, bright day, and thoughtful eve,
All time, all bounds, the limitless expanse,
As one vast mystic instrument, are touched
By an unseen, living Hand, and conscious chords
Quiver with joy in this great jubilee:
—The dying hear it: and, as sounds of earth
Grow dull and distant, wake their passing souls
To mingle in this heavenly harmony."

The specimens we have quoted are amply sufficient to justify Dana's claims to admission into every standard collection of English poetry. It is interesting to find that our American brethren have not forgotten their intellectual descent from the Elizabethan age, and that the models chosen by the transatlantic bards are principally those in which the spirit of piety is united in glowing harmony with the spirit of poetry.

THE LOZENGUE TRADE.—The committee of the lozenge manufacturers and confectioners of London have presented an important memorial to the President of the Board of Trade, setting forth the anomalous condition in which they are placed by the operation of the duties levied on colonial produce. It appears large quantities of lozenges have been imported from Halifax and other British settlements at a duty of 9s. 10d. per cwt., and that the cost to the importers is 73s. 10d. per cwt.

| | Per cwt. |
|--|----------|
| Refined sugar in bond | 27 0 |
| Freight to and from Halifax | 4 0 |
| Duty on importation at Halifax | 8 0 |
| Ditto, at home | 9 10 |
| Commission, insurance, and incidental expenses | 5 0 |
| Cost of sugar | 53 10 |
| Cost of manufacture | 20 0 |
| | 73 10 |

whilst the cost of refined sugar to British manufacturers is 80s. per cwt. on the average; so that it is impossible to compete with the foreigner, even if the Halifax legislature should not grant the prayer of a petition, presented to it by the manufacturers, for a drawback on exportation equal to the duty levied on its importation into that colony. It further appears, that succade and elecampane can be imported and refined at a profit.

| Made from the Succade. | Per cwt. |
|--|----------|
| Foreign raw sugar | 19 0 |
| Freight to Halifax and England | 5 0 |
| Duty at Halifax | 8 0 |
| Ditto, at home | 9 10 |
| Commission, insurance, and incidental expenses | 5 0 |
| Expense and labour in forming the succade, refining in England, loss, &c. | 15 0 |
| Add one-third as water, having paid the duty of 9s. 10d. on importation into England | 3 4 |
| | 58 2 |

| Made from the Elecampane. | Per cwt. |
|---|----------|
| Foreign raw sugar | 12 0 |
| Freight to Halifax and England | 5 0 |
| Duty on importation at Halifax | 8 0 |
| Ditto, at home | 9 10 |
| Commission, insurance, and incidental expenses | 5 0 |
| Expense of labour in forming into elecampane, and refining in England, with loss, &c. | 15 0 |
| | 54 10 |

These statements show not only the critical condition of

the British confectioners, but the incongruities of the British tariff, which it has been our lot to point out—sometimes with effect, and sometimes without. To one remarkable thing we wish to advert. The price of refined sugar in bond is stated at 27s., refined sugar duty paid 80s., difference 53s., duty paid by the British consumer 26s. 6d., to colonial planters 26s. 6d. per cwt., being a robbery of nearly 3d. a pound; and it is a fact beyond dispute or denial, that the colonial planters have an effective protective duty on sugar of their production of one hundred and twenty per cent. How long this state of things is to be submitted to we cannot tell; but it is sufficient to cause a rebellion, and we have no doubt will ultimately have the effect of breaking up all political parties, if a remedy be not soon applied.—*Commercial Daily List.*

THE TWO LEAGUES.—The League is powerful because it repeats and spreads the ideas of Adam Smith. Ninety years ago a young professor in the moral philosophy chair of Glasgow stated the principle now enforced from the Ministerial benches by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, and from the stage of Covent Garden by the eloquence of Richard Cobden, Milner Gibson, John Bright, and W. J. Fox; principles which now fill all newspapers, and crowd all meetings. The old story in Hierocles of the reflection of the fox on seeing the mask—"What a pity that such a pretty face has no brains!" is applicable to every Anti-League Society. What a pity that presidents, and secretaries, and speechifiers, and pamphleteers, and journalists, should have got no ideas to disseminate! The Anti-League Societies are farther from being efficient opponents of the Anti-Corn Law Associations than the bishop in the story was from having shirts. "Please, my lord, your shirts are worn out," was the announcement of the servant to his master. "Very well," the Bishop replied, "tell them to go and sow flax." The Anti-Leaguers should begin by educating their philosophers. Until a genius shall arise, who shall prove it to be injurious to produce goods, corn, wine, cloth, or hardware, in the spots nature has pointed out for them, the most fertile fields, the sunniest valleys, the most convenient and neighbouring mines of iron and coal, the lecturers of the Anti-League Societies must remain preachers without a doctrine. Had there not been an Adam Smith, there never could have been a Richard Cobden. About the end of the last century a book was published, entitled "The Wealth of Nations," but for that book there could not have been this League.—*Westminster Review.*

CHINA TRADE.—BRITISH MANUFACTURES.—To show the extent of trade now opening up between this country and China, we have been favoured by a Liverpool correspondent with details of one export entry at the Custom-house, viz.:—On the 16th instant, per ship Patna, for Hong-Kong, shipped by Richard Allison, cotton cloth, 3,012,147 yards, value £45,000; the raw material of this shipment would be under £5000. Here, then, are £40,000 of wages and profit secured to Britain, not one shilling's worth of which said manufacture would have been exported if tea could be grown in any of the British colonies;—a strong proof in favour of Free Trade, either in manufactures or grain.—*Scotsman.*

THE FUNDS.

| | Nov. Apr. 6 | Nov. Apr. 8 | Nov. Apr. 9 | Nov. Apr. 10 | Nov. Apr. 11 | Nov. Apr. 12 |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Bank Stock for ac. | 201 1/2 | 202 | — | 203 1/2 | — | — |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Gov. Ann. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Gov. Ann. | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 |
| Long An. Ex. 1880 | 12 7 1/2 | 12 7 1/2 | 12 7 1/2 | 12 7 1/2 | 12 7 1/2 | 12 7 1/2 |
| Cons. for Acc. | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 |
| Exc. Bille, p.m. | 72 7 1/2 | 72 7 1/2 | 72 7 1/2 | 72 7 1/2 | 72 7 1/2 | 72 7 1/2 |
| Ind. Bille, and 1000 | 87 | 87 | 87 | 87 | 87 | 87 |
| India Stock for ac. | 204 | 204 1/2 | 204 1/2 | 204 1/2 | 204 1/2 | 204 1/2 |
| Belgian | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 | 104 1/2 |
| Brassilian | 81 | 80 | — | 81 | 80 1/2 | — |
| Chilian | 104 | 104 | — | 104 | 104 | — |
| Colomb. ex. Venes. | 15 1/2 | 15 1/2 | 15 1/2 | 15 1/2 | 15 1/2 | 15 1/2 |
| Danish | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 | 87 1/2 |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 |
| Dutch 3 1/2 per Ct. | 61 1/2 | 60 1/2 | 60 1/2 | 61 | 61 | 61 1/2 |
| Mexican, 1857 | 37 | 36 | 36 1/2 | 36 | 36 1/2 | 36 1/2 |
| Portuguese, conv. | 47 | 46 1/2 | — | 46 1/2 | 47 | 47 |
| Buenos Ayres | 38 | 38 | — | 38 | 38 | — |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 26 1/2 | 26 1/2 | 26 1/2 | 26 1/2 | 26 1/2 | 26 1/2 |
| Do. 3 per Ct. | 36 1/2 | 36 1/2 | 36 1/2 | 36 1/2 | 36 1/2 | 36 1/2 |
| Peruvian | 31 1/2 | 31 1/2 | 30 1/2 | 31 | 31 | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, April 8.—The supply of Wheat from Essex and Kent to this morning's market was short; yet the millers exhibited no eagerness to purchase, and we cannot report any improvement on the prices of last week. The demand for Free Foreign Wheat is very limited, and in one or two instances where sales were forced, rather lower terms were accepted. Notwithstanding a short supply of Barley, the trade for that article was dull, and last week's prices were with difficulty supported. There was a short supply of Beans and Peas, but there is no alteration to notice in the value of either. The return shows a very short arrival of Oats during the week; a few Scotch and English vessels arrived in time for this morning's market; though the demand was not brisk, former prices were well supported. S. H. Lucas and Son.

BRITISH.

| | Per Imperial Quarter. |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Wheat Essex, Kent, & Suffolk | Red 55 to 60 White 58 to 64 |
| Lincolnshire & Yorkshire | — 54 — 58 — 57 — 60 |
| Scotch | — 52 — 56 — 54 — 60 |
| Irish | — 50 — 52 — 52 — 55 |
| Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire | Feed 19 — 21 |
| Ditto | Short 21 — 23 Polands 21 — 24 |
| Scotch | Feed 21 — 23 Potato 24 — 27 |
| Limerick | — 19 — 20 Short 20 — 23 |
| Cork | — 10 — 20 — 20 — 21 |
| Waterford, Youghal, & Cork | Black 16 0 — 20 |
| Sligo | — 19 — 21 |
| Galway | — 17 — 19 |
| Barley, Grinding | 28 to 30 Distilling 29 — 32 |
| Malt | 33 — 35 Irish 26 — 30 |
| Beans, Maragan | — 27 — Tick 28 — 30 |
| Harrow | 31 — 33 Small 31 — 34 |
| Old Tick | — 35 — 36 |
| Peas, White | 31 to 34 Boilers 35 — 36 |
| Maple and Grey | — 27 — 30 |
| Flour, Best Town-made | per sack of 280 lbs. 48 — 50 |
| Norfolk and Suffolk | — 42 — 44 |

FOREIGN.

| | Per Imperial Quarter. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Wheat, Dantz, high mixed | 56 to 63 42 to 45 |
| Rostock | 51 — 53 42 — 45 |
| Stettin | 48 — 50 40 — 43 |
| Hamburg | 46 — 48 38 — 41 |
| Odena Polish | 45 — 47 36 — 39 |

| | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Wheat, Barletta | soft | 45 — 56 38 — 41 |
| Russian | — | 46 — 54 — — |
| Ditto | hard | 46 — 50 — — |
| Spanish | Red | 49 — 55 — — |
| Ditto | White | 54 — 60 — — |
| Barley, Grinding | — | 28 — 30 — — |
| Distilling | — | 30 — 32 — — |
| Oats, Archangel | — | 20 — 21 18 — 19 |
| Swedish | — | 21 — 22 14 — 15 |
| Dutch Polands | — | — — 19 — 20 |
| Beans, Egyptian | — | 27 — 28 17 — 18 |
| Peas, White | — | 26 — 27 — — |
| Ditto Boilers | — | 32 — 34 — — |
| Flour, Canada | per barrel of 196 lbs | 29 — 31 — — |
| United States | — | 30 — 32 22 — 24 |
| Dantz | — | 28 — 30 — — |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 8th to the 12th of April, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 4310 | 3670 | 4020 | — | — |
| Scotch | — | — | 7830 | — | — |
| Irish | 800 | — | 2110 | — | — |
| Foreign | 2010 | 6730 | — | — | — |

Flour, 3830 sacks.

FRIDAY, April 12.—The supply of English Wheat since Monday is moderate; the trade is slow, but Monday's prices are fully supported. There was a little business doing in free foreign at former rates. Several cargoes of foreign Barley have arrived during the week; the trade was, in consequence, exceedingly dull, and secondary qualities 1s. per quarter cheaper. The supply of Oats was moderate; there was a fair sale at fully as good terms as Monday. No alteration in Beans and Peas. The duty on Oats fell to 6s. yesterday.

S. H. Lucas and Son.

A WEEKLY REPORT of the NUMBER of QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE of CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED APRIL 6, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. |
| Weekly Averages | 78,537 | 55 5 53,246 | 32 10 39,912 | 20 1 8835 |
| Aggregate Averages | .. 56 1 | 33 2 | 20 0 | 31 0 |
| Duty | .. 16 0 | 5 0 | 6 0 | 10 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, APRIL 5.

BANKRUPTS.

- P. PHILLIPS, Southampton-street, Covent-garden, printer. [Foord, Pinner's-hall, Broad-street.]
F. J. PEGLER, Reading, woollen draper. [Wood and Fraser, Dean-street, Soho.]
J. KING, jun., Budge-row, wholesale tea-dealer. [Dawes and Sons, Angel-court, Throgmorton-street.]
W. G. CLIFT, Chapel-yard, Cross-lane, High Holborn, coach broker. [Jones, Mark-lane.]
N. BEARD, Beech-street, Barbican, leather seller. [Stenning, Staple's-lane.]
A. J. SAGE, High-street, Whitechapel, chemist. [Rawlings, Crosby-hall Chambers, Bishopsgate-street Within, and Romford, Essex.]
G. H. D. LAWRENCE, Hornsey, merchant. [Blunt and Co., Lothbury.]
J. BRIGINSHAW, Bell Inn, Wandsworth. [James, Basinghall-street.]
T. C. HODGSON, Leominster, Herefordshire, linendraper. [Lloyd, Milk-street, Cheapside; Bartlett, Birmingham.]
M. DEVINE, Liverpool, grocer. [Cornthwaite and Adams, Dean's-court, Doctors'-commons: Cornthwaite, Liverpool.]
J. BROWN, Weymouth, tea-dealer. [Hill and Mathews, Bury-court, St. Mary-axe; Terrell, Exeter.]

DIVIDENDS.

April 26. H. Gouger and D. Hunter, Great Winchester-street, merchant—April 26. T. H. Wood, Penton-street, Pentonville, draper—April 26. F. Barry, Rye, Sussex, miller—April 26. J. Overington, Arundel, Sussex, plumber—April 26. W. Judd, Romsey, Southampton, mealman—April 26. J. Turner, Hoxton, cabinet maker—April 30. J. Wilson, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, linen manufacturer—May 2. J. Leech, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, ironmonger—April 27. S. W., and J. Butler, Birmingham, ironfounder—April 30. J. Harford and W. W. Davies, Bristol, iron masters—May 1. W. Fletcher, Birmingham, oilman.

CERTIFICATES.

April 26. E. Minister, Argyll-place, Regent-street, tailor—April 26. R. L. Sturtevant, Church-street, Bethnal-green, soap manufacturer—April 29. J. J., and W. Forster, Carlisle, bankers—April 29. J. Wilson, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, linen manufacturer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

J. SCARTH, Aberdeen, commission agent—W. DICKSON, Jedburgh, millwright—J. MURRAY, Dunfermline, ship master—D. MOWBRAY, Edinburgh, jeweller—W. PURSELL, Dunbar, cabinet maker and shipowner.

TUESDAY, APRIL 9.

DECLARATION OF INSOLVENCY.

R. MARKS, Union-street, Southwark, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

- J. POWELL, jun., Quadrant, lodging house keeper. [Smith, Bedford-row.]
T. and J. WALKER, York-road, Lambeth, upholsterers. [Rush, Austinfriars.]
N. PROCTER, Meanwood, Leeds, Yorkshire, tanner and leather seller. [Bond, Leeds.]
T. PEARCE, Meaford, Stone, Staffordshire, miller. [Wood, Burslem.]

DIVIDENDS.

May 2. E. Hardley, Exeter, china dealer—May 9. T. Westrop, Brushford, Devonshire, maltster—April 30. H. T. August, H. Maunde, and J. Tilson, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, bankers—April 30. J. Dows, Thatcham, Berkshire, miller—April 30. N. T. Smith, jun., Lime-street, City, shipowner—May 1. Flint, Lewes, Surrey, linendraper—April 30. T. Wooster, and T. Wooster, jun., Coal Exchange, City, coal factors—May 2. Danks, Wednesbury, Staffordshire, screw manufacturer—May 4. J. Darwin and F. Frith, Chappeltown, Yorkshire, ironfounders—May 3. E. Hancock, Shemeld, hackneyman.

CERTIFICATES.

May 2. J. Faulkner, Danvers-street, Chelsea, builder—April 30. R. Pettit, Exning, Suffolk—May 1. W. H. Chaplin, London, worth, Essex, bricklayer—May 2. F. Shaw, London, builder—May 1. J. G. West, High-street, Wandsworth, carpenter—May 2. W. Lewis, Bristol, carpenter—May 2. J. Leech, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, ironmonger—May 2. W. Bearup, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, joiner.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

R. G. MACDONALD, Clarendon, Eccles, Berwickshire, late help manufacturer in South Ulster—R. DUGLAS, Dundee, draw's, blacksmith—R. MILLER, jun., Dundee—W. SON, Dundee, merchant—J. SLIGHT and Co., engineers—R. and W. FYFE, Glasgow, ship chandlers.

London: Printed (at the office of Palmer and Clayton, Old Bailey) by A. W. PEARSON, of Barton-on-Irwell, Lancashire, printer; and published by him at Ten LANCET OFFICE, 10, LANCET OFFICE, Saturday, April 13, 1844.

[illegible]

THE LEAGUE.

No. 30.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1844.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 87, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

THE FIRST "PROTECTION SOCIETY" TRACT.

The mountain has brought forth its first-born mouse. With the voice of E. S. Cayley, Esq., M.P., the mouse squeaks, on authority, in a shilling pamphlet, the "reasons for the formation of the Agricultural Protection Society," and addresses them "to the industrious classes of the United Kingdom." More industrious must they be than the famous individual who actually picked out two grains of corn from a bushel of chaff, if they detect as many reasons in the twenty-four pages of words which constitute this first protection tract. For ourselves we confess to having gone through it repeatedly without being able to retain a single definite impression of what the writer would be at, in the way of argument. This blank result may be in part owing to such a confusion of style, if style it can be called, as is rarely allowed to achieve its passage through the press. An extract in Mr. Cobden's speech at Bristol, reported in our last number, has perhaps given the reader some notion of the mode in which Mr. Cayley heaps, not Pelion upon Ossa, but the optative mood upon the potential, and both upon the subjunctive; building a possibility upon a contingency, and resting the contingency upon a hypothetical prophecy. We cannot grapple with what Mr. Cayley has said, but only with what he would have said if he could have said it as he should say it, and might have said it if brains and language had been propitious.

If—for we must speak with becoming hesitation—we can fix on any one semblance of an argument as the leading thought of this tract, it is that from alleged experience:—"It is impossible to deny that British agriculture, manufactures, and commerce have been gradually growing up to their present height, for many centuries, under protective laws." (P. 12.) Something to the same effect is, to use a favourite phrase of Mr. Cayley's, and of Tony Lampton's, "more or less" distinctly, repeated in almost every page. We guess, therefore, that Mr. Cayley thinks he thought so, and that Duke Chair and Duke Deputy Chair sanctioned the hallucination. The argument would be as good for the old Game Laws, under which, as a county member once told the House of Commons, we put down Napoleon Buonaparte and perfected our glorious constitution; or for capital punishments; or for the laws against betting on racehorses. What is the illustration immediately subjoined by Mr. Cayley? "When by tyranny and intolerance the artisans of other nations were driven from their own lands, they were received with open arms and protected in this." Indeed, Mr. Cayley: and were they not pelted, and hunted, and harried by the protectionists of native industry? So says the history. Fortunately, they were not entirely squashed, although they were foreigners, and imported their foreign

skill and labour; and so it happened that, in opposition to the protective system and spirit, "the result is, that great bodies of the people are now engaged, and a large amount of capital is invested, in producing their respective fabrics." The instance is a pregnant refutation of the purpose which it was adduced to support.

Nor is it the fact that the growth of manufactures, or of agriculture, has been the "gradual" result or accompaniment, through centuries, of what are called protective laws. It has been a comparatively recent and rapid development. It chiefly dates from after the middle of the last century. Steam and mechanical invention made our manufactures, and they have aggrandised agriculture. If "protection" did not act as preventive and limitative, still its powerlessness as a cause had been previously exhibited. The "many centuries" had only brought us to the threshold of that age of invention. At the commencement of the reign of George III., a very large majority of the population never tasted wheaten bread. Agricultural produce was not more than one-third of its present amount. And although Mr. Cayley affirms that the British grower "has been protected, more or less, for the last two centuries, up to 48s.," from 1771 to the French war, he did not make 48s. two years out of three. From 1716 to 1755, the average was under 46s. And we were then an exporting country, with a bounty. Then followed increased manufactures, importation of grain, and higher prices for home-grown produce than "protection" had ever given.

But Mr. Cayley and the Anti-League, which makes itself responsible for his production, are by no means particular as to facts. He says, "it was the unprofitable price of wheat for four or five years together which, causing the farmers to turn off their labourers, produced the agricultural labourers' disturbances in 1830. Their distress arose from cheap bread, which they could not buy." (P. 19.) We turn to Sparkman, and find the average price of wheat from 1824 to 1830 inclusive, to have been 63s. 11d.; 68s. 6d.; 58s. 8d.; 58s. 6d.; 60s. 5d.; 66s. 3d.; 64s. 3d. So much for the "cheap bread which they could not buy." False facts for years assort well with a false history for centuries.

Both are matched with false quotations; always false in spirit, and generally garbled in the letter. It is rare to meet with literary dishonesty so glaring as that of Mr. Cayley in his professed quotations from Adam Smith. Nor is the dishonesty that of an opponent, who, in the eagerness of discussion, perverts the arguments he would demolish. It is of deeper die. The "Wealth of Nations" is many times quoted that Mr. Cayley's conclusions may be "confirmed by the authority of a writer in whom all parties place greater confidence than in any other." The charge of unfaithfulness in these quotations is a grave one. We shall prove it; and if Mr. Cayley had favoured his readers with references, we know enough of Adam Smith to be quite sure the proof might be extended.

Smith's opinion of the Navigation Law is thus introduced:—

"Of this law, although not favourable to restrictions in theory, yet never for a moment, throughout his great work, contemplating the displacement of labour engaged in the agriculture of this country, Dr. Adam Smith says, 'as defence is of much more importance than opulence, the Act of Navigation is, perhaps, the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England.'" (Pp. 21, 22.)

Had the word "however" ("as defence is, however, &c.") not been omitted from this citation, the reader might have guessed, what now he will see no trace of, that Adam Smith condemns commercial regulations as generally unwise; and considers this, in particular, as a double tax on the country, enhancing the price we pay for foreign commodities, and reducing that which we obtain for our own. The praise bestowed on the act has exclusive regard to the training of seamen for manning the navy, and thus defending the country from invasion. The "displacement of labour engaged in the agriculture of this country" is not amongst the evils from which Adam Smith looked for "defence" to the Navigation Act. That is an economical consideration; and economically, Adam Smith most distinctly condemns, and assigns his reasons for condemning, the tendency of the act. His language refers, not to working men, but to fighting men; not to labourers, but to sailors. Instead of the act putting the "working classes" in a "happier or more comfortable" condition, which is Mr. Cayley's argument, Adam Smith's is, that a naval school may be worth paying for, though it is costly to the entire population. Whether Adam Smith was right or wrong herein is a question into which we need not enter. That has nothing to do with the perversion

of the passage. This very misrepresentation, which was started by Mr. Baring, has been exposed before. But

"Destroy his web of sophistry—in vain,
The creature's at his dirty work again."

At pp. 7-8 Mr. Cayley speaks of the national debt as a burden upon the industry of the country. That it falls, or that taxation for its payment is levied, exclusively or disproportionately upon agriculture he does not affirm. But the falsehood which in his own person he avoids (except by inuendo) he endeavours to put into the mouth of Adam Smith, whom he cites as saying "it will be generally advantageous to lay some burden upon foreign for the protection of domestic industry, when some tax is imposed at home on the produce of the latter."

Now, mark here:—

1. The word *protection* is not Adam Smith's, but Mr. Cayley's. "Encouragement" is in the text, but the substitution of "protection" strengthens the case, and it is substituted very unwarrantably.

2. Adam Smith does not assert the *general* advantage of the process; his words are, "the second case, in which it will generally be advantageous," &c.; the two cases being merely *exceptions* to the *real generality* as contemplated by Adam Smith. Mr. Cayley has foisted the excepted case into the place of the general rule.

3. The context demonstrates that Adam Smith intends, not the taxation which the National Debt requires upon all classes of the population, but a specific tax upon some commodity, such as would be an excise duty upon home-grown wheat. This is the very instance sometimes mentioned by Mr. Cobden; a tax at the mill on all corn ground into flour, whether British or foreign; from which he allows that the latter should not, in that case, be exempt. What Adam Smith would have thought of Mr. Cayley's gross perversion of his meaning is clear from a passage which speedily follows, upon the very same point of argument.

"Taxes upon the necessaries of life have nearly the same effect upon the circumstances of the people as a poor soil and a bad climate. Provisions are thereby rendered dearer in the same manner as if it required extraordinary labour and expense to raise them. As in the natural scarcity arising from soil and climate it would be absurd to direct the people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals and industry, so is it likewise in the artificial scarcity arising from such taxes. To be left to accommodate, as well as they could, their industry to their situation, and to find out those employments in which, notwithstanding their unfavourable circumstances, they might have some advantage either in the home or in the foreign market, is what, in both cases, would evidently be most for their advantage. To lay a new tax upon them, because they are already overburdened with taxes, and because they already pay too dear for the necessaries of life, to make them likewise pay too dear for the greater part of other commodities, is certainly a most absurd way of making amends."—Book iv., c. 2.

In p. 6, Mr. Cayley gives the following as "the words of an authority much quoted on this subject, Dr. Adam Smith." The passage is printed consecutively, without any breaks, as if it so stood in the original.

"That the whole annual produce of the land and labour of every country divides itself into three parts, and constitutes a revenue to three different orders of people: to those who live by rent, to those who live by wages, and to those who live by the profits of stock. The interest of the first of these great orders, those who live by rent, is strictly and inseparably connected with the general interest of the society. Whatever either promotes or obstructs the one, necessarily promotes or obstructs the other. The interest of the second order, that of those who live by wages, is as strictly connected with the interest of the society as that of the first. The interest of the third order has not the same connexion with the general interest of the society as that of the other two; master manufacturers and merchants are of this order."

The falsifications and omissions are here so manifold, that we must give up an undue portion of our space for the best mode of showing them; that of reprinting the entire passage from which Mr. Cayley has, with a purpose worthy of the process, picked, culled, and arranged what suited his object. We begin where he does, and end with the last sentence from which he has selected.

* "The whole annual produce of the land and labour of every country [or, what comes to the same thing, the whole price of that annual produce naturally] divides itself [it has already been observed] into three parts: the rent of land, the wages of labour, and the profits of stock; and constitutes a revenue to three different orders of people: to those who live by rent, to those who live by wages, and to those who live by profit (*the profits of stock*). [These are the three great, original, and constituent orders of every civilized society, from whose revenue that of every other order is ultimately derived]."

* We put Mr. Cayley's omissions [in brackets] and his insertions (*in italics*).

"The interest of the first of those three great orders (those who live by rent), it appears from what has been just now said, is strictly and inseparably connected with the general interest of the society. Whatever either promotes or obstructs the one, necessarily promotes or obstructs the other. [When the public deliberates concerning any regulation of commerce or police, the proprietors of land never can mislead it, with a view to promote the interest of their own particular order; at least, if they have any tolerable knowledge of that interest. They are indeed too often defective in this tolerable knowledge. They are the only one of the three orders whose revenue costs them neither labour nor care, but comes to them, as it were, of its own accord, and independent of any plan or project of their own. That indolence, which is the natural effect of the ease and security of their situation, renders them too often not only ignorant, but incapable of that application of mind which is necessary in order to foresee and understand the consequences of any public regulation.]

"The interest of the second order, that of those who live by wages, is as strictly connected with the interest of the society as that of the first. [The wages of the labourer, it has already been shown, are never so high as when the demand for labour is continually rising, or when the quantity employed is every year increasing considerably. When this real wealth of the society becomes stationary, his wages are soon reduced to what is barely enough to enable him to bring up a family, or to continue the race of labourers: when the society declines, they fall even below this. The order of proprietors may, perhaps, gain more by the prosperity of the society than that of labourers; but there is no order that suffers so cruelly from its decline. But though the interest of the labourer is strictly connected with that of the society, he is incapable either of comprehending that interest, or of understanding its connexion with his own. His condition leaves him no time to receive the necessary information, and his education and habits are commonly such as to render him unfit to judge, even though he was fully informed. In the public deliberations, therefore, his voice is little heard and less regarded, except upon some particular occasions, when his clamour is animated, set on, and supported by his employers, not for him, but their own particular purposes.]

"[His employers constitute the third order, that of those who live by profit. It is the stock that is employed for the sake of profit which puts into motion the greater part of the useful labour of every society. The plans and projects of the employers of stock regulate and direct all the most important operations of labour, and profit is the end proposed by all those plans and projects. But the rate of profit does not, like rent and wages, rise with the prosperity, and fall with the declension of the society. On the contrary, it is naturally low in rich, and high in poor countries; and it is always highest in the countries which are going fastest to ruin.] The interest of this third order, [therefore], has not the same connexion with the general interest of society as that of the other two. Merchants and master manufacturers are in (of) this order [the two classes of people who commonly employ the largest capitals, and who by their wealth draw to themselves the greatest share of the public consideration. As during their whole lives they are engaged in plans and projects, they have frequently more acuteness of understanding than the greater part of country gentlemen]."—Book I., c. 2.

The conclusion of the passage is a censure upon merchants and master manufacturers for their attempts to narrow competition, and so create an artificial profit to the damage of the community; i.e., for their then aiming at the very thing which many of them now oppose in the landlords. They are rebuked by Adam Smith as Protectionists and would-be Monopolists; and, on that account, they are said to have a distinct interest from the society. *A fortiori*, the landlords, if the Corn Laws be their interest, as they imagine, have a separate interest from society.

The first deception attempted by Mr. Cayley in his garbled version of the foregoing extract is, that Adam Smith regarded the landlord interest as identified with that of the community when it aims at artificial profits by narrowing competition; the very point on which turns his condemnation of the mercantile classes.

The second deception is, that the cultivators of the soil—the tenant-farmers—the real agriculturists, belong to either the first or second class, whereas Adam Smith obviously includes them in the third class, which, in his arrangement, comprises all the employers of labour.

A third deception is, that Adam Smith selected merchants and master manufacturers, as distinguished from others who live by the profits of stock, for specially insisting on the inferior connexion of their interest with that of the society under any other circumstances than that of their striving for some kind of monopoly analogous to the Corn Laws.

Some comments appended in the pamphlet prove, either that the concoctor of this tract took his extracts at second hand without ever consulting the original at all, or that he has the weakest and most confused head that ever ennobled the imitation of a brain; or that a more arrant knave never put pen to paper.

The frauds we have exposed are "published by the Society," "the Agricultural Protection Society," "President, the Duke of Richmond; Vice-President, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos; Trustees, the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Cleveland, the Earl of Yarborough;" and with twenty M.P.'s on its Committee. The public has a right to hold them all responsible so long as their sanction continues to this publication. They may regard such perversions, in support of a false claim to the high authority of Adam Smith, for that by which they profit, as fair play

in the game of discussion. Society will not take the matter quite so easily. The days are gone when the condescension of dukes in quoting a philosopher, might have palliated deceptive quotations. They are in the arena of discussion, and must fight it out fairly, or endure the disgraceful consequences. Very valuable must the reputation of Adam Smith be to lords and gentlemen who can allow themselves to be parties to its temporary purchase at the expense of their own.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Tenth Week, ending Saturday, April 20.

Parliament re-assembled, after the Easter recess, the House of Lords on Tuesday, and the House of Commons on Monday last. With the exception of the very brief discussion which took place on Thursday evening, nothing of importance has occurred in relation to FREE TRADE, or, in fact, in relation to anything, except the voting of the supplies.

Lord Ashley has announced the course which he will adopt on the Factories Bill. He will wait till the third reading, as the stage at which he supposes he can, with most effect, bring forward his propositions; and then he will move the insertion of new clauses, the purport of which will be, that factory labour should be restricted to ELEVEN Hours for two years, commencing with October next; and that the TEN Hours should commence on and after the 1st of October, 1847.

By postponing any proceedings till the third reading of the bill, Lord Ashley gives Ministers a most decided advantage. One debate and one vote will settle the whole matter. If Ministers triumph the bill will pass, and be carried up to the House of Lords; and thus the agitation for the Ten Hours will be settled, so far as the Legislature is concerned. Should, however, Lord Ashley maintain his majority (which is not anticipated), then events of the greatest importance will ensue. Ministers will positively resign; and their resignation will be the result of that great struggle which is now going on in this country between CAPITAL and LABOUR, and which will continue to embarrass every Administration, and to distract the Legislature, until the gates are thrown open, and both capital and labour are permitted the full freedom and wide scope which active industry demands.

In the meantime, every constituency should put itself in a course of normal training for a new general election. It may come more suddenly than the country anticipates. So far as the Anti-Corn-Law League is concerned, it is to it a matter of perfect indifference what Government holds the reins of power; and it will certainly lend itself to nothing which partakes of a party character. Its banner is PRINCIPLE; its course of action is straightforward; and it will take Free Trade as readily from Sir Robert Peel as from Lord John Russell. And even if the country should be thrown into a state of confusion by the sudden resignation of the present Administration, whatever advantage or whatever damage might thereby result to mere partisans, nothing but good can arise to the question of Free Trade. Wrapped up in this "question of questions" is everything dear to an industrious and a civilized community. Beginning with the lowest consideration, we may ascend to the highest. Cheapness disengaging capital; disengaged capital stimulating industry; stimulated industry bringing profit to the capitalist, and comfort to the labourer; the labourer, more in demand and better paid, improving his own condition, regulating his own hours, laying up a store for old age, and holding up his head to his employer in all the honest dignity of manhood; the active and industrious trader, put into heart by increased gains, employing more men, paying better wages, and freely sparing his subscription to the hospital, his subscription to the school, his subscription to the missionary society, buying more books, encouraging literature, art, and science, thus, out of Free Trade, alleviating natural calamities, exalting the tendencies of human nature, and carrying civilization and religion to the remotest quarters of the globe. All this is worth overthrowing any Ministry for; and the citizen who, however strong his partisan feelings may be, cannot sacrifice Whig and Tory to FREE TRADE, is incapable of comprehending that which constitutes the very soul and life of humanity.

On Thursday, Mr. Milner Gibson brought forward the following motion:—

"That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, representing that, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable to obtain authentic information upon all matters connected with the agriculture of the United Kingdom; that this information is altogether deficient, so that at this time even the extent of land under cultivation, and the amount of its produce, are subjects only of vague conjecture; that the total absence of all statistical knowledge in reference to this important subject has at various times proved detrimental to the public interests; and praying her Majesty to devise measures for supplying to Parliament, from time to time, statements of the breadth of land under cultivation for each species of produce respectively, and the amount of produce derived from the same; together with such other information as will exhibit, as far as practicable, a perfect view of the agricultural capability and production of the United Kingdom."

The way in which this motion was received marks a very considerable improvement within the House of Commons. A year or two ago, its announcement would have set every agricultural owl and bat hooting and flapping his wings; and awful danger to Church, State, and the country would have been apprehended to be lurking under it. Now, it was listened to with respectful interest; and even Mr. Christopher (who, with Lord Worsley, represents the "Parts of Lindsey"), who had seated himself on the front Ministerial benches, and looked the very picture of grim watchfulness, was compelled to admit that the motion did not menace the agricultural interest with positive peril. It is such a great thing to get even an approach to common sense on the subject of corn in the House of Commons, that we have some reason to be thankful for "sma' mercies."

Mr. Milner Gibson treated his subject exceedingly well. He protested against his motion being viewed as an oblique insinuation that we grew too little corn for

our own consumption. Free Trade, he pithily observed, was a sort of *quid pro quo*, which could not be affected if we grew ten times more corn than we did. He placed his motion on its own independent grounds, that of its practicability, its importance, and its necessity to the advancement of that portion of statistical science connected with national progress. All statistical writers deplored the absence of the information which he sought, and pointed out the evils which this omission in the machinery of the Executive led to. McCulloch, Porter, Tooke, the author of "The History of Prices," the Speaker himself, in a pamphlet which he had published, and other authorities, had pointed out the advantages which would ensue from the collection of agricultural statistics by some department of the Government. It would solve the interesting problem of the relation between food and population; would enable us regularly to trace the connexion between produce and price; would put an end to the controversies arising out of conflicting statements, based on conjectural estimates; while the farmers, if it were properly explained to them, and backed by legislative authority, would have no rational objection to the returns from which the information would be derived. For excuse reasons, we required returns from the growers of hops, and also of the sales of grain, and, therefore, he hoped that the Government would not oppose his motion.

Mr. Gladstone, who had listened with considerable attention to Mr. M. Gibson's speech, admitted the importance and the desirableness of the objects contemplated by the motion. Perhaps, of all parties, the grower of corn would be the one most benefited by a good system of agricultural statistics; and the Government had the subject much at heart, and were actually engaged in ascertaining to what extent it was practicable to carry it into effect. It would, therefore, be imprudent in the House to pledge itself to the motion before they had really ascertained how and in what manner it could be best carried out. He hoped, therefore, that Mr. Gibson would rest satisfied with these assurances, and withdraw his motion.

Mr. Christopher, as we have said, was sitting on the front Ministerial benches, and watching, like the dragon guarding the Hesperides of agriculture, anything which might seem to threaten cornish security. Finding that the Government had sense enough to declare their intention to carry out the objects contemplated by the motion, he got up and said he was assured that it would be a very desirable thing if the farmer could know authoritatively the actual quantity of produce grown in this country, as it would tend still farther to promote steadiness of price. He, for one, as the representative of a purely agricultural district, had no objection to the motion, but he thought that it would be best left in the hands of the Government.

Mr. Brotherton recommended Mr. M. Gibson not to press his motion.

Mr. Gibson consented to its withdrawal, and the House immediately afterwards adjourned.

MEETINGS.

GREAT MEETING AT COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.

The usual weekly meeting of the members and friends of the Anti-Corn-Law League was resumed on Wednesday evening, at Covent-garden Theatre. The house was crowded in every part, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, the announcement made by the honourable member for Stockport of the proposed bazaar to be held in the theatre being greeted with loud and continued cheering by the audience.

At seven o'clock Mr. Richard Cobden, M.P. for Stockport, took the chair, at which time we observed the following gentlemen on the platform:—

The Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P.; Thomas Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; H. G. Ward, Esq., M.P.; George Thompson, Esq.; Colonel T. Perronet Thompson; Colonel Tucker; Dr. Cooke Taylor; W. A. Wilkinson, Esq.; P. A. Taylor, Esq.; the Rev. Mr. Clark; Dr. Girdwood; Norman Wilkinson, Esq.; S. Kennedy, Esq.; W. Harvey, Esq.; H. L. Keeling, Esq.; John Moir Ware, Esq.; J. B. Kingdon, Esq.; Peter Martineau, Esq.; R. Ireland, Esq.; R. Southall, Esq.; John Lator, Esq.; Major Red Revel; William Lockett, Esq.; Manchester; Charles A. Amber, Esq.; Charles Clifford, Esq.; R. W. Cole, Esq.; Henry Lloyd Morgan, Esq.; General Wyatt; Robert Bagshaw, Esq.; C. Jones, Esq.; J. B. Donkin, Esq.; B. D. Donkin, Esq.; John Macartney, Esq.; Manchester; John Semple, Esq.; Glasgow; John Hanning, Esq.; Stratford-on-Avon; George Peile, Esq.; Whitehaven; C. Dixon, Esq.; Wellington, Shropshire; W. Thornborrow, Esq.; L. Wiltshire, Esq.; James Bailey, Esq.; Wm. Edith, Esq.; Rev. H. Richards; George Ridout, Esq.; J. Towne, Esq.; Hugh Shield, Esq.; William Hepple, Esq.; Bishop Auckland, Durham; James Anderson, Esq.; Dr. King; W. Gresing, Esq., &c. &c.

The Secretary having read the minutes of the last meeting, on the motion of Mr. BRIGHT, M.P., seconded by Mr. VILLIERS, M.P., they were unanimously confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN then came forward, and was greeted with the most vociferous cheering from all parts of the Theatre, which having subsided he spoke as follows:—Ladies and gentlemen, during the short cessation of our meetings in this theatre we have been attending a few meetings in the country, and it may be interesting to you to learn the spirit and enthusiasm which prevail elsewhere. (Cheers.) I have had the honour of attending a meeting since we last met in Bristol, and I must say that a more influential meeting, one of higher moral tone or calculated to effect greater good in that important borough, I never attended anywhere. In that meeting upwards of £600 were subscribed in the room towards our League fund. (Loud cheers.) Subsequently I attended a meeting where I had the honour of meeting Mr. Villiers, at Wolverhampton. Now, I need not tell you what the spirit of Wolverhampton is when you know that it returns Mr. Villiers and Mr. Thornely to Parliament to represent it. (Loud cheers.) No room was large enough to hold the Free-Traders who wished there to congregate; so we had a pavilion built, and there they assembled to the number of 2000 or 3000 to greet their members, and they did not separate till they had subscribed £820 to the League Fund. (Renewed cheers.) Then I had the honour of attending a meeting in the Amphitheatre at Liverpool, and there we were joined by a distinguished friend from the north, Mr. Fox Maule (cheers)—one who, unless common fame misrepresents him, is heir to some thing like 60,000 good acres under the plough; yet he came there to bear his testimony to the merits of the

Liverpool, that free trade in corn was as desirable for agriculturists as it was for manufacturers or traders. (Loud and continued cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, since we last met there have been changes in political life, owing to a certain death, which will involve elections in several boroughs. But I must say I think the chapter of accidents is not very favourable to us; for if we had the choice of a battle-field with the monopolists we should not go to Horsham, or to Huntingdon, or to Woodstock. ("Hear," and cheers.) I believe that in every instance where a vacancy occurs a contest will be fought if a Free Trader can be found who will be put up by the voters, even if that candidate can only poll 20 votes. (Renewed applause.) Now, we have been charged with dictating to constituencies. (Gentlemen, we only proffer to "co-operate" with constituencies (cheers)—we go to boroughs to offer our co-operation to the local members of the League resident in those boroughs to which we go; and if you hear in any case of a contest passing over without a League candidate being proposed, you may conclude that it was because the League Council did not choose to dictate to the local Free-Traders, but deferred to their feelings, not at present to contest the borough, but to leave it for future organization. (Cheers.) In the case of Exeter there will be a contest. (Cheers.) I am happy to say that General Briggs, an officer connected with the Honourable East India Company's service, distinguished for his philanthropy, his public spirit, and his love of freedom in every form, is put in nomination as a candidate for the borough of Exeter (loud cheers); and whatever may be the result of the contest at Exeter, I am satisfied that, with a borough of 30,000 inhabitants, if we fight one battle and lose it upon League principles, we are certain to fight the next battle and win. (Renewed applause.) Now, I am anxious that our friends here and elsewhere should never feel disappointed, notwithstanding the kind advice that is given to us by some of our newspaper friends, at one repulse—for I will not call it a defeat, but simply a repulse—at an election contest. Bear in mind that a League candidate stands for the purpose of educating constituencies. (Cheers.) We go into a borough, and we merely transfer our lectures and packet of tracts to that borough, at a time when the inhabitants are all alive for politics (cheers); and it is, in fact, simply availing ourselves of that opportunity to get hearers which the excitement of an election always ensures; for we are convinced, whatever the issue of one contest may be, that we can do as much to educate a borough in one week during the excitement of an election, as we can do in a month under other circumstances. (Loud cheers.) It is like a recruiting party going into a town with drums and colours flying—it is, in fact, a recruiting party entering a town in fair time. (Renewed cheers.) And do not let us have an impression, or let the public have an impression, that the League is spending money in boroughmongering, bribery, or anything of that sort. No! We go to prevent other people spending money in bribery in boroughs. (Immense cheers.) Why, you are accustomed, from what you read of elections, to think that a contest in a borough involves an expense of something like a thousand or twelve hundred pounds. I venture to say that in a borough like Woodstock, or Huntingdon, or Horsham, if any body spend more than £100 in an election contest, he has not spent it legally. (Loud cheers.) And if we do nothing else in our visits to these boroughs, we are at least accomplishing a great good in preventing other parties pursuing that system of demoralization which makes an election contest little more or less than a trial of the length of the candidates' purses. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, I have an announcement to make to you before I resume my seat. Many applications have been made to the Council of the League, requesting that they will have a bazaar in this theatre before the close of the season. (Hear, hear, hear.) Many ladies in London, and in the country also, have intimated that they are already at work to supply materials to the bazaar, in order that they may by that means—not knowing any other—assist the cause of the League by contributing in that pleasant manner to its fund. (Loud and continued cheers.) The Council have determined to adopt the suggestion of our fair friends, and I mention it now in order that all those who may feel disposed to aid in furnishing articles to the bazaar may be giving diligent attention to that object. (Renewed cheers.) I will venture to make one suggestion, as coming from me—it is as part of the exhibition for this bazaar. (Cheers and laughter.) I don't mean to exhibit myself. (Renewed laughter.) I am anxious that we should have a collection of specimens of every species of manufacture in the kingdom brought to a focus in this bazaar. (Cheers.) We will have everything made of metal, from a steam engine down to a needle. We'll have specimens of everything that can be made in silk, from the most magnificent embroidered garment down to the coarsest and narrowest ribbon; and we'll have everything that cotton can produce, and everything that the linen weaver can make; and we'll bring everything of every sort that manufactures can produce for exhibition in this theatre. (Loud cheers.) And when we have brought these materials together we'll invite the monopolists (loud cheers)—we'll invite the restrictionists to see this collection; we'll point to it as a proof of what the ingenuity, the unaided and unprotected skill of manufactures can do without the Duke of Richmond or the Duke of Buckingham to help them. (Loud cheers.) And having brought them to view this exhibition, we'll put the question to them, and this only, "Do you think that the hands which made these beautiful and ingenious articles ought to be hanging idly by the sides of men who are pining for want of bread?" (Great cheering.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour of introducing to you, in the first place, a distinguished friend of our cause, who has often rendered good service in another way, where he has few to match him in debate, though it be the first time he has appeared upon these boards,—my honourable friend Mr. Ward, the member for Sheffield. (Great cheering.)

Mr. WARD, who came forward amidst loud cheering, then addressed the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I can assure you with perfect truth that I appear to-night, as my honourable friend the chairman has said, for the first time upon these boards with some little reluctance and a great many doubts; and I tell you honestly that these feelings have been increased instead of lessened—however ungrateful at first the expression may seem by the manner in which you have been pressed to receive the announcement of my name from the chair. I cannot but be too sensible that your kind reception of me bespeaks an impression which the next ten minutes will inevitably destroy. (Cries of "No, no.")

That is the sense in which I use the word "reluctance," because you must all feel that I should not come if I had any doubts or misgiving as to the principles which we meet here to support: on the contrary, to the fullest extent in which words can express approval, I do concur most unreservedly and unhesitatingly with my honourable friends around me in their advocacy of the principles of Free Trade (cheers)—Free Trade in everything (renewed cheers); but, if you will let me finish the sentence, above all and before all, for it is the keystone to the whole position of our opponents, *free trade in corn*. (Cheers.) If I feel any reluctance or doubt, if I may use the word, in presenting myself before you, it is because I know the men and the minds so well who have advocated this great national cause—for it is a "national cause"—up to the present point with a perseverance and a determination to overcome all obstacles, and an ability which are the surest pledge of its ultimate success, not to feel pretty sure that they have not left to those who come after them—the labourers at the eleventh hour, like myself—the shadow of novelty, either in argument or in facts, to avail themselves of in addressing you. Now, gentlemen, I tell you fairly I have always regarded these weekly meetings,—the constant attendance, the flattering attention which is paid by all of you to the discussion of a subject which the House of Commons esteems so dry and so exhausted that we can hardly get 60 members to sit out an Anti-Corn Law debate,—I have always regarded that as one of the most remarkable phenomena of our times. I know the pleasure which it gives to men of intellect like yourselves to watch the way in which my honourable friend the member for Wolverhampton, for instance, puts an idea into the crucible of his mind, if I may use the expression, and turns it out again, stripped of all its alloy, naked, as it ought to stand, before you, just for what it is worth; and though the subject is always the same, and discussed pretty much by the same men, still I can appreciate in common with yourselves the endless varieties which my hon. friend the chairman contrives to cast into all the details of the subjects to which he applies his powerful mind. The constant recurrence of these meetings, and the marvellous way in which I see this house now filled in spite of the thousand attractions which London presents to all of us elsewhere, are proofs of no common interest in no common cause. (Hear.) And you are right, gentlemen, you are perfectly right, to encourage by these flattering marks of your concurrence and sympathy those who are fighting your battles. I recollect the time when it was not so; when the apathy of London was constantly cast in our teeth, and we were told to look at the 300 delegates coming up here and crowding the lobbies of the House of Commons and the avenues to Downing-street, with petitions from Manchester, Glasgow, Sheffield, and all the great manufacturing towns; and to mark the way in which the Londoners stood aloof; that there was not the slightest proof of sympathy or congeniality of feeling: we were told that this was perfectly natural, that it was inevitable; that London had a separate interest in the matter; that Free Trade was a very good thing for Lancashire, but a very bad thing for Westminster or Marylebone; that you Londoners knew better what you were about than to join in a movement for cheap bread; and that a well-regulated principle of self-interest, as Sir Robert Peel told us the other night, being the moving spring, the "vivifying principle," I think he called it, of every thing in this world, my honourable friend and the whole Council of the League might waste their eloquence in London in vain; their speeches could never alter your facts. Then we were told, "This is not merely the case at the West end; look at the East. At all events you will allow that the merchants of the city of London ought to know something about commercial affairs; they are hard-headed practical men, not likely to run away with any foolish notions—not disposed to give a bird in the hand for one in the bush; and yet look how the City representation stands! Why, out of four seats you have barely got one, and that one was a sort of modified edition of Free Trade, for if Lord John Russell had held precisely the same opinions as Mr. Cobden, there is not the least doubt that he would have been thrown out at the last election." Such was the language held to us about three years ago. I do not think those people talk quite so glibly about the City election now. ("Hear," and laughter.) Somehow or other you have managed to alter the feeling on that subject. Upon the last occasion the Pro-Corn-Law party confessed they had the best candidate they could possibly have, so good that they have sent him down to Huntingdon now. (Laughter.) He was a gentleman of the highest commercial respectability, as fluent as Mr. Gladstone, and—I was going to use a very bold expression—almost as plausible as Sir Robert Peel (renewed laughter); and yet, somehow or other, things did not turn out as they anticipated; Mr. Baring was not returned for the City, but my friend Mr. Pattison was elected. Now, the difference was an enormous one. I do not mean any personal allusion to Mr. Pattison in using that word. (Renewed laughter.) Really, coupled with the constancy of your attendance here, it does bespeak a change of feeling from which I for one venture to anticipate the most gratifying results. But I was quite sure that a change of feeling would come. I know that a fallacy is sometimes the most obstinate thing in existence to deal with if it is cleverly put, because there are so few men in this world who think; they all like to follow one another, like sheep over a gap. If you apply your words properly there is nothing they will not swallow. I found an expression the other day—you will wonder at the great authority I am going to quote, but one seldom reads a book without getting something out of it—I happened to be reading a work of an exceedingly intelligent man whom you all know as "the American Clock-maker, Sam Slick." (Laughter.) There can be nothing very alarming in quoting Sam Slick. He says that there is a sort of frenzy in this country for swallowing fallacies of every kind, "that we are perfect turkeys;" and then he goes on to explain the phrase—for I did not know what he meant before—he says "they are a considerable large print, the Bull family, you can read them by moonlight; they swallow a falsehood, them fellows, as fast as a turkey does a grasshopper, taking it right down whole without winking, and then ask for more." (Loud laughter.) However, there are some falsehoods so very large that they really cannot help sticking, and I always thought the assertion that London had a separate interest in the Corn Laws was one of those things that could not be gulped for any length of time. But it was gulped at one period; the whole town swallowed it three years ago. I hold in my

hand a pamphlet which almost turned the west end topsy turvey in 1841. I went into the shop this morning where it was published; some time ago I was there and they told me they had sold 42,000; to-day they said they had disposed of 50,000. It is "an Appeal to London Tradesmen, by one of themselves" (laughter); and in that appeal the whole gist and pith of the argument of the writer is to prove that London's interest in the Corn Laws is perfectly distinct from that of the country at large; that you all share in the plunder of the landowners; that they fleece others in order to enrich you. (Laughter.) When that most respectable individual, Sir Edward Knatchbull (renewed laughter), tells us from the Treasury bench that he cannot do without the Corn Laws, that he should be very willing to part with them if he knew how to provide jointures for his daughters or a dowry for his wife without them, it is quite clear that the London tradesmen must have an equal interest in these Corn Laws, because they alone enable Sir Edward Knatchbull to pay for his liveries, or for the painting of his family coach. The west-end tradesmen quite believed at that time, and, for aught I know, imagine so at the present day, that high rents in Kent meant high rents in St. James's, and that the whole existence of the London tradesmen depends on the residence of the aristocracy here; for whatever might be their gain by cheap bread, this pamphlet says a man might save £20 in the course of the year by it, but he would lose £1000 in the way of trade: that one dull season would of itself do him more harm than forty years of cheap bread would do him good. Now, that is what I venture to call a falsehood which could not be swallowed long; it was one of those fallacies that was so transparent and self-evident, that nothing but time was required to make you all aware of its monstrosity, and ashamed of its absurdity too; because the gain of a tradesman by the repeal of the Corn Laws is not to be measured by his individual savings in his own household, his advantage consists in the aggregate savings of every body else. (Cheers.) Money saved, recollect, is money spent. If a man saves money, it is spent in another sense; and if he does not mispend his money by paying too dear for his bread, he has so much more money to spend in clothes or goods. To tell me that London—which has no manufactures of her own, whose business it is to dispense and circulate everything which the industry of other people creates, that such a city as this has a separate interest in the Corn Laws from the rest of the country, and could thrive amidst its universal decay—why, it is reversing the homely fable of the Belly and the Members, and supposing that the former was conspiring against the extremities, the hands, the feet, the eyes, and the teeth, which supplied its wants. (Cheers.) Now, just let me ask you, to what is it that London owes her real greatness and prosperity? Does any sane man believe that it is to the residence of the few thousand landowning families in our streets and squares, which they leave deserted during eight months in the year? (Cries of "No, no," and cheers.) Why, if every duke was a Cæsar, and each squire a *millionaire*, and all the younger brothers came up with a Fortunatus's purse in their pockets, instead of an inexhaustible capacity for exhausting the purses of other people (laughter), even then how would their united efforts create such a community as this? Just let me ask, what London is? Why, in the first place it is the greatest commercial city in the world—it is the capital of the greatest empire on the face of the earth—an empire which even realizes the Spanish boast, that in the Queen's dominions the sun never sets. It is the point of inter-communication between colonies which stretch almost from the North Pole—from Canada to the Cape of Good Hope—and which bring the indigo of India, and the wool of Australia from the antipodes, to enrich the manufacturers of Leeds. It is the seat of a commerce that would seem fabulous to the merchants of Venice, Tyre, and Carthage in the olden times! Who, then, will persuade me that the landowning aristocracy has anything to do with the creation of such a community as this? You don't do yourselves justice even to imagine such an absurdity. (Hear, hear.) I don't want to weary you with description, still less with detail; but if you would allow me upon this one point just to remind you a little of what London is, then I think the 50,000 copies of this pamphlet will go afterwards for pretty much what they are worth. You have a population which has doubled since 1801; it was then 888,000 souls, it is now, by the census of 1841, 1,832,000. You have a town which is five miles and a half long, take it where you will, but if you measure it from Blackwall to Chelsea it is 7½ miles. It reaches from north to south 3½ miles; it is a perfect German principality—a Coburg if you please, or a Hesse Homburg in brick. You have a river which, from the days of the Romans, has pointed this city out as the principal seat of a great trade; and bridged over in every part. You have spent five millions sterling on your bridges alone. You have docks to hold all the ships of the world. The London Docks alone cover 100 acres of ground, and the vaults hold 65,000 pipes of wine. The West India Docks cover 295 acres, and can hold 500 large merchantmen with ease. The Commercial Dock covers 49 acres, and is, I believe, exclusively confined to the Baltic trade. There are 2950 ships belonging to the port of London alone, of 581,000 tons total burden, and manned by 32,000 seamen. The vessels engaged in the colonial, Irish, and coasting trades, including the colliers, and also 360 British vessels, were 2335. The tonnage of the foreign vessels which entered this port in 1840 from Russia, Sweden, Germany, France, the Mediterranean, China, and the United States amounted to 4,167,164 tons. Upon an average of the last ten years London alone has paid £11,000,000 in custom duties out of the £23,500,000 which the whole revenue of that department amounts to. (Loud cries of "Hear.") The value of the produce which enters and leaves her port every year is reckoned roughly at £80,000,000. There are 2000 merchants and brokers within half a mile of the Exchange. You have 100,000 houses of business, probably half of which have shops attached to them. All the details connected with London are upon the same gigantic scale. The water companies supply 237,000,000 hogsheads every year; and the gas companies furnish 10,000,000 cubic feet of gas every 24 hours. In Smithfield Market there were 180,780 head of cattle, and 1,500,000 of sheep, in round numbers, sold in the year 1839. Your very paving and sewer rates amount to £630,000 a year. The London newspapers consume 30,000,000 of stamps annually. The steamboats carry

10,000 passengers every day. There are 1000 miles of railway stretching from London into every part of the kingdom, and bringing its population into contact with all the great cities of the country, completed at an expense of nearly £50,000,000 sterling. There are 59 canals, which cost £15,000,000. The monthly business conducted by the London bankers alone averages £75,000,000, and has amounted to £87,000,000 in one month. (The recital of these statistics produced a marked sensation in the meeting.) I have gone into these details, because I do not like to use any hyperbolic language in general descriptions, which, in a case of this sort, never convey a precise idea of the truth. (Hear, hear, hear.) You must look at all the industry employed in this metropolis—the great science, capital, and intelligence which are brought together in this single spot, in order to give facilities to trade; you must observe all this in detail in order to have a conception of what the position of London really is. (Hear.) When you have done so, I ask you what a drop of water in the ocean is not the custom of the aristocracy, however rich and numerous they may be, compared with the movement resulting from such a trade as this (loud cheers)? and what a singular delusion—I will not say it is, but was—to suppose that these gentlemen, very amiable and respectable in their position in life, have created the greatness which they came to share! (Cheers.) It is evident it is you that draw them here; it is London that attracts the landowners, and not the landowners who make London what it is. (Cheers.) This is explained on a principle perfectly simple, and as old, I believe, as the days of Rome; for Mr. McCulloch has spoken of London in this respect as *Seneca* once described ancient Rome. He says, "The very magnitude of London is a sufficient cause of her continual increase; the greater a city becomes, the greater is the scope she affords for the exercise of every talent, the gratification of every taste, and the more powerful consequently, the motives by which she attracts individuals, whether aspiring or idle, virtuous or profligate, grave or gay." Now, that holds good with respect to London as well as Rome; and that is the reason why you have these flocks of birds of paradise coming up every spring. Their golden plumage helps to adorn your streets and parks; but I repeat, it is the greatness of London which attracts them, and not they who make London what it is. (Cheers.) You must recollect you have to deal, not with landowners in general universally, but with landowners possessed of more than £3000 or £4000 a year, because those who have smaller incomes do not venture upon a house in town. Just look at the small amount that they constitute of the landed property of the kingdom; mark the numberless deductions that you must make from the money which landowners circulate here, for all those who choose to spend at Paris, Naples, Venice, Vienna, Russia, Rome, or in the Holy Land, money which they had much better spend at home. I really put it to every person—even to those people to whom this pamphlet is addressed—the tradesmen at the west end, or the east end—to ask themselves if the pickings and cabbagings on the Duke of Northumberland's liveries, or the wax-candles burnt at Devonshire House, are to be compared for one moment with the price that you pay for them in the shape of a toll upon your bread? Because you must recollect that to all others except landowners of more than £3000 a year the gain that would result from the repeal of the Corn Laws is perfectly clear. Take your merchants, bankers, fundholders—among whom £28,000,000 are distributed annually—the public annuitants, and every kind of people interested in insurance companies; professional men, lawyers, medical men, artists, bankers' clerks, every man who has a fixed income to live upon—the whole of those individuals, who, after an adventurous career, during their early life abroad, return to London to spend the fruits of it, and to pass their old age in peace and quietness at home; to every one of those, letting alone your operatives, because I will speak of those by-and-by, the gain that would result from a repeal of the Corn Laws would be immediate and immense. (Cries of "Hear.") And only consider how many thousand families of those who fill your streets and squares are comprehended in this class. Now, I hope I shall not tire you (cries of "No, no," "Go on, go on"), but I am about to quote one more passage from my old friend Sam Slick. I always like having something lighter than Mr. McCulloch or those heavy political economical writers to quote from. Now, Sam Slick has written a work lately, in which he describes his impression as an American, on coming to England. He says nothing in the world struck him so much as an evidence of the enormous and incalculable wealth of London as the continuous line of carriages that started from the metropolis upon an Ascot race day; that, however, was before the Great Western Railway came into play. He says, that it was of all things the circumstance which most amazed him,—the vast number of carriages which were seen on that day; not merely because they were well turned out, for that might have been the case anywhere, though they are seldom so well turned out as here, but because the sight of them suggested the reflection to him,—Where could they all come from—what supported them—what made London able to produce such a magnificent display of wealth? Why, he says in this passage, supposing the coaches to speak—"Calcutta keeps me; China keeps me; Botany Bay keeps me (a laugh); Canada keeps me; Nova Scotia keeps me; the white bears keep me; and the whales keep me (laughter); everything on the earth and under the earth keeps me." (Laughter.) And one of them said, "In short, the world keeps me, for all the world is tributary, in some shape or other, to British skill and British enterprise." (Cheers.) And yet there are some wisacres who, within three years of the present time, really thought of nothing but the custom of these landowners of more than £3000 a year, quite forgetting the price they paid for it, and the additional dearth of their bread. Now, I will not give you my own opinion upon that subject, but I will put a most unexceptionable witness into the box, to show you what the additional price on bread is. It is the testimony of a man whose eulogy has come repeatedly from the lips of Sir Robert Peel in Parliament—I mean Mr. Deacon Hume—as one of the soberest and most trustworthy calculators; not a person like my honourable friends the members for Durham and Stockport, who might be supposed to be bitten with a peculiar view of particular subjects, but a sober, quiet, public servant of 30 years' standing, whose word Sir Robert Peel says may be taken for gospel, except when it happens to contradict his own views. (Cheers and laughter.) But what I am going

to quote to you is very trite; you have heard it many times I dare say, but still it is a part of my case; so just bear with me while I read it. He says:—"It is generally calculated that each person, upon an average, consumes a quarter of wheat a year. Assuming, then, the amount of duty that this wheat paid, or the price enhanced by protection, to be ten shillings, it would be that amount upon the whole population. Then you can hardly say less than, perhaps, double that for butcher's meat and other matters; so that, if we were to say that corn is enhanced by ten shillings a quarter, there would be that ten shillings, and twenty shillings more, as the increase of the price of meat and other agricultural productions, including hay and oats for horses, barley for beer, as well as butter and cheese. That would be thirty-six millions a year; and the public are, in fact, paying that as effectually out of their pockets as if it did go to the revenue in direct taxes." (Hear, hear.) Now, there is a friend of yours and mine, a gentleman who has given us lately the benefit of his long experience upon those economical subjects in the shape of an admirable paper called the *Economist* (hear) who has followed out this calculation in what to the advocates of protection must be an extremely inconvenient shape; for he has added up and compared every week the price of Continental wheat with that of English wheat, and also contrasted the price of sugar in bond with the cost of sugar that you alone may avail yourselves of, because you cannot touch that which is in bond. This calculation is from the beginning of the present year, with the balance as against the public generally, and against you Londoners in particular. He gives first that result for the whole kingdom:—

| FOR THE WHOLE KINGDOM. | |
|--|------------|
| Balance from last week for sugar and corn | £4,301,557 |
| That is pretty well for the 30th of March. | |
| £4,500,000 that you have actually thrown into the sea. (Hear.) | |
| Extra cost of sugar this week | 70,003 |
| Ditto of bread | 288,460 |
| Total extra cost from Jan. 1 to this day | £4,660,020 |
| FOR THE METROPOLIS ALONE. | |
| Balance from last week | £858,461 |
| Extra cost of sugar this week | 5,883 |
| Ditto of bread | 24,038 |
| Total extra cost from Jan. 1 to this day | £888,332 |

Now, gentlemen, I have argued this subject hitherto entirely as a London question; let me look at it now as a matter affecting land. I am interested so far in land myself that, although my property is not large, it is the only thing that I and my children have to look to hereafter. (Hear.) I have every possible inducement which a man can have to wish to arrive at a right conclusion on this subject. Your very large proprietors can afford to part with something out of their superfluities; but that is not the case with me. If I miscalculate, I do so to the serious detriment of my own interest and that of those who may come after me; and I tell you fairly I do not mean to do any such thing. (Hear.) I have the more right to speak on this question, because I acknowledge to you honestly that I at a distant time, before I began my own education, shared, to a certain extent, the errors and prejudices of my class: at that period I believed we could not farm in England without protection, and that there would be great injustice in doing away with it: but I happened to do what people in my class are not usually very fond of doing—I brought my mind to the consideration of this question; I wished to take a fair and impartial view, and therefore gave my time and attention to it. And really the clue that I tied me right, was no exceedingly simple—having happened to pass a great part of my life abroad—that I hope others may take the same clue in hand, for I believe they would thereby arrive at the same result. I asked myself this question, "What is it which causes the difference in the position of an English squire, and a German prince, or a Spanish grandee?" for I had seen both those characters in their primitive state. (A laugh.) It gave me double the interest in this question. I wanted to know what made the position of the English squire superior to that of the other two foreign landowners; and I never could for the life of me discover that there was any other source whatsoever for the superior value of his property except the fact that chance or Providence—as you may choose to call it—had thrown his acres into the midst of a community so ingenious, skilful, industrious, and rich in manufacturing science and capital, that it can, as Sam Slick says, make all mankind tributary to its industry, and consequently afford to pay a higher price than the rest of the world for everything that it wants. (Cheers.) Now, there is no other reason whatever which can be assigned for the difference. You may argue upon this matter for ever, but there is no other cause that can explain why 1000 acres of land in England should be worth more than 5000 in Hungary, or 2000 in France, where the population is quite as dense. Since I got hold of this clue I have always considered—looking at the thing on the most narrow and selfish grounds—because I do not profess any extraordinary patriotism in the matter, I look to my own interest as well as everybody else—I never could understand what could be the policy of the English landowners in drying up the sources of their own wealth. In 1815 their course was perfectly clear; we had got the start of the rest of the world and had only to keep it. If instead of Corn Laws we had opened a commercial intercourse with every country that had anything to give or take from us, I am convinced that the position of the English landowner would have been infinitely better at the present day than it now is. (Cheers.) Now, I used the words, "we had got the start;" we had it, we did not choose to keep it. (Hear.) We chose to force foreign industry into unnatural channels; we determined to make manufacturers abroad, because we refused to supply their wants; and now we have those manufacturers meeting us in the neutral markets of the world. And you are acting on the same false principle up to the present day. What you have done in Germany, you have been repeating in the United States. If, when the German agricultural interest was all-powerful, you had chosen to trade with them by receiving what they had to give in exchange for what we could supply, you would never have heard of the German Zollverein or the American tariff. All the mischief which has arisen from the false policy in which we embarked in 1815 might have been averted, if the English landowners, who then—for the misfortune of the country—possessed the monopoly of political and legislative power, had understood their own interests aright; because their prosperity is linked with that of every other class, and not only so, but no other class in England can prosper without paying some toll, in some way or other, to the owners of the soil; and the greater the prosperity, the greater

the variety of enterprise, and profit, and gain, to every class and species of industry in England, the more certain is the gain of the landowners themselves. Mr. Ashworth made an estimate, some time ago, of the value of land in South Lancashire: he has shown that land which in 1692 was valued at £169, by the land-tax returns is now worth £293,916 annually by its present assessment to the county rate. I think that is an increase in value of about £54,388 per cent. (Hear, hear, hear.) To what was that owing? It was the fruit of a science, capital, industry, and skill, with which the landowner of Lancashire had nothing at all to do; is has been done for him; he had merely to stand with his hands crossed, and to give the enterprise and industry of the country fair play. (Cheers.) And if the landowners in 1815 had used their power rightly I repeat my conviction that, not only would they have been a wealthier class, but the community would have gained incalculably, morally and physically,—gained, not in mere wealth, but in everything that constitutes domestic comfort—in time, leisure, and relaxation—in opportunities for education, and for the performance of their social duties—in all those things that make a blessing and not a curse of life; the people of this country would have gained to an extent which it is impossible to calculate at the present time. Now, what we see around us to-day is the result of a bad system; and upon what miserable pleas is it defended? The landowners never talk to you of *rent*. I really believe they never heard the word until it was obtruded upon them somewhat uncourtously by my hon. friend in the chair. (Laughter.) They seem to have no such thing as a personal interest of their own in this matter; they were the most perfectly disinterested class of people that God ever created, for you never heard anything but the tenant-farmers' and "the labourers' interests" pass their lips. Now, you have had some of the tenant-farmers here lately. You had Mr. Lattimore. I have the pleasure of belonging to the same county as that gentleman; I know him as a very trustworthy and thoroughly respectable man. What did he tell you about the tenant-farmers' interest in this matter? Why, that the Corn Laws had made farming a lottery, in which all the prizes were for the landlords and all the blanks for the tenants. (Cheers.) I must say that my experience completely confirms his testimony; for the tenant has taken his land on a factitious and fictitious basis, if you will allow me to use the phrase. He takes his land upon the faith of prices which the law promises, but which his own industry, capital, and skill, make it impossible for him ever to realize. His task is, like that of Sisyphus, to be perpetually rolling a stone up a hill, and to see it come down upon him with redoubled force just as he seems to have got it to the top. He has no security whatever: the more his money, time, and labour are sunk on his land, the more certain is he that every body else is doing the same thing with the same hope; and their joint efforts will produce them exactly the opposite result from that which they have been led to anticipate by the law. (Hear, hear.) I do not mean to go much into detail upon this point. I will merely remind you that farmers had 80s. promised by the act of 1815, and in August, 1822, wheat was 42s. The law of 1828 promised 70s.; but in 1834 wheat was at 36s. The last Corn Law promised 56s.; but wheat is now below 50s., and has, since its enactment, been as low as 46s. (Hear, hear.) Some how or another you always see the errors of former Corn Laws admitted as soon as the country has forced upon the Government the necessity of a change. In 1827, when the sliding-scale law was introduced, I remember an answer given to Lord Clive when he was urging the common plea that agriculturists were doing well, and that Government ought to let well alone, and not interfere with vested interests and established rights in the Corn Laws. The Chancellor of the Exchequer of that day told his lordship and the other agricultural gentlemen who talked of the Corn Law of 1815, and hugged it to their bosoms with all the fatuity of misplaced affection, "One would think that in this law were locked up all the good things that farmers could desire, yet prices had fluctuated under it from 112s. to 38s." (Hear, hear, hear.) Then we come to the condition of the labourer. Two hundred years ago, in the time of Judge Hale, it was that learned individual's opinion that if an agricultural labourer, with a couple of children, could not earn more than 10s. a week, he must make his living up by begging or stealing. (Hear, hear.) There are whole counties now in England, as my hon. friend in the chair proved the other night in the House of Commons, in which the highest point of agricultural wages is 9s., and in which 7s. is the pittance to which they are much more commonly reduced. If the advocates of the Corn Laws, or rather the friends of the tenant-farmers and agricultural labourers, had a leg to stand upon, do you think that they would not have gladly accepted the challenge of Mr. Cobden to vindicate themselves from the unjust suspicion which he threw upon them? What did he ask them to do? "To appoint a select committee to inquire into the effect of the protective duty upon imports on the interests of the tenant-farmers and farm labourers of the country." Now, how was that motion met? Mr. Gladstone told him that the question was a very proper one; one that the Government would very gladly have entertained if it had not come from such a suspicious quarter; but in spite of its justice, and the perfect propriety of the terms in which it was couched, the admirable ability with which the case was argued, for I had the pleasure of hearing that speech—in spite of all these considerations, Government was so impressed with the delicate susceptibility of agricultural nerves, so afraid of frightening its supporters, so alarmed at being supposed to impinge in any way upon the unalterable compact which it has made with the Duke of Richmond and his friends, that it could not by any possibility, with any decency, however much it desired, assent to my honourable friend's motion. Upon just the same ground as this—a nervous complaint among agriculturists, which is becoming shockingly common—upon just the same ground Lord Stanley the other night refused a most just and equitable motion made by Mr. Hutt. Mr. Gladstone used in reply to Mr. Cobden a word against which we must all enter our protest. He talked of a *compact*. Now, there never was a compact on the subject of the Corn Law. When it was introduced, it was a despicable measure in the opinion of the country and the House, and one against which every body protested—those who thought it did too little, and

those who contended that it did too much. It was a measure pre-eminently founded on false pretences, as I think, I contributed to prove; because you recollect the ground upon which that Corn Law may be said to rest. You remember Sir Robert Peel's Tamworth speech, in which he talked of the Peculiar Burdens of land, and told us it was overtaxed in this country—that landowners were kept as a sort of milch cow in the stall to be milked whenever the country needed it; that none of the other classes of the community bore anything like a fair proportion of the burdens; but they were, in point of fact, all heaped upon the unfortunate landowner, who had, therefore, upon that account a strict right to ask for protection for everything he produced. Now, I doubted that; I ventured very humbly to challenge Sir Robert Peel to the proof; I begged him to give me a committee on this very question of peculiar burdens. (Hear.) I told him I did not care of whom the committee was composed; he might have a majority in it; Colonel Sibthorp in the chair, if he pleased (laughter); it was all the same to us whether he tried to prove his own case, or we tried to disprove it; if he would give me my hon. friends the members for Wolverhampton and Stockport, we were perfectly content to take that committee, work it out, and abide the result. But no; he would not accept my challenge; he recollected that old line of Shakspeare which says,—


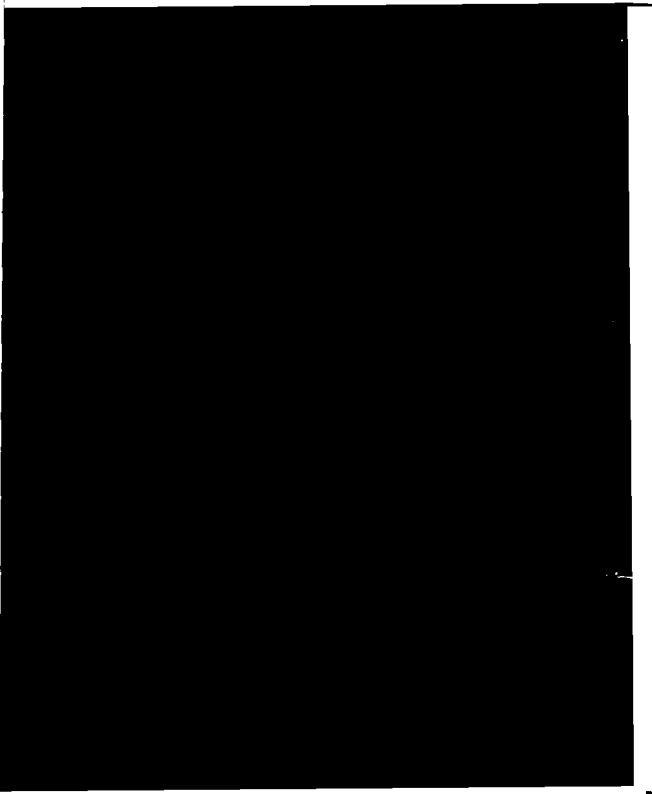
"A rotten case abides no handling"—(cheers)—

and he very much preferred the comfortable security of a vote, upon which of course he beat me. But what is the inference? Why, that the Corn Laws were brought in by a class for the benefit of a class, against the principles laid down by the Government which supports them, and upon grounds so prejudicial to the interest of the community, that they cannot bear the light of day. (Cheers.) Now, let me ask you what would be the consequences of their repeal? The first effect—and one in which you are most interested—would be, that it would make the Thames the granary of the world. (Renewed cheers.) I suppose you will all admit that this would give a great impetus to trade. There would be an increase of business in every department; more ships and sailors would be wanting; additional wharfs would require to be built, and consequently a greater number of carpenters, bricklayers, and smiths would be employed. There would be an increase in the number of merchants, and, of necessity, of merchants' clerks. Every trade would be put in motion by the change. The mere threepence saved in every quarter loaf consumed in London would yield a million a year to spend among all the other tradesmen. (Cheers.) Then recollect that the repeal of the Corn Law would never stand alone. We attack that measure first, because it is the keystone of the arch of monopoly; break that down and you will see how the whole thing will come falling to the dust. (Hear, hear.) The very men who are now ricklers for protection, and calling on us to support their monopolies—I know them well—would be the very first to cry out for cheap tea, sugar, wine, coffee, and cheap ships also to carry them in and to insist upon good commercial treaties with every country in the world which could contribute to the supply of their wants. Now, that is what I want to bring them to; for who can estimate the effect of such a change as this upon a city like London, which may defy commercial rivalry with the establishments which already exist, and with the enormous capitals which are seeking employment at the present day? Who, above all, can estimate the effects of such a change as this upon the operative classes of the kingdom, upon the whole working population of the land? I care more for them, infinitely, than I do for all the capitalists or merchants (loud cheers), because Free Trade involves the fate of those who live by their labour, and who have nothing to spare from what it produces. What would be the influence of the change upon them? Why, everybody must feel that the condition of the working population of this country can only be permanently improved by relaxing the pressure upon the organs of industry, and by making the conditions of life, if I may use the term, less hard than they are now. God knows they are hard enough just now for all of us. It is not merely the artisan; it is the mind as well as the hand that is overtaxed in order to meet others successfully in the struggle for bread. (Cheers.) Take any trade, I don't care which or what, I give you your choice of all those which our honourable chairman hopes to unite in this theatre on the occasion of the proposed Anti-Corn-Law Bazaar—take the most delicate fabrics of your manufacturing industry, go down from them to the rude labourers that raise the coal which sets the machinery in motion by which those marvels are wrought, and you will find everywhere the same grievance, and the same complaints; you will find in all directions that people in this country are called to labour too early and forced to labour too long—that in all our manufacturing population complaints are made—that childhood is blighted by premature exertion—that youths are growing up in ignorance—that adults are not half informed, and are often debauched in consequence of the want of information—and that there is no time for the performance of social duties and the proper enjoyment and relaxation of life, that old age is too often condemned to wretchedness and want, and that no prudence, no exertion can avert those evils in many cases. Why, in Sheffield alone I have seen the savings of twenty years swept away in the last five years; and all that, mind, is not the fault of the individuals, but of the system which our legislators persist in supporting. What is the cause of this *over work* (that is the fashionable phrase now-a-days)? Why, simply that the whole country is underfed—that you are less food every year to divide amongst more people—and that you have less employment, because you refuse to take even the food that you want from other nations upon such terms as will form the basis of a regular trade. And what is the remedy? Why, not as some short-sighted philanthropists would have us do—to permit the excess of labour, to which nothing but necessity could drive a whole people; but to deal with the cause that creates the necessity if you can. (Vehement cheers.) And I say it is in your power to do it: it is my conviction that you can do it; not by following ignorant and spurious humanity—for nothing is cheaper than a philanthropy which is exercised at other people's expense (renewed cheering)—calling upon you and us to do the evil which their own legislation creates—we must not do that—we must go to the root of the evil; we must grapple with the disease

and not with its symptoms; we must assert the right—the natural and inalienable right—of the English working man to exchange his labour for the necessities and comforts of life, wherever he can get them cheapest and best. Why, your Corn Laws make a serf of him without the privilege of a serf; for it is the poor privilege of a Russian serf, at all events, to be well clad and abundantly fed. But no one can say that such is the state of our working population. Unshackle the fetters of labour, and then you may safely let it find its own level and seek its own reward. (Cheers.) Now, my conviction is, gentlemen, that we can serve the working man in no other way. Never mind the jargon of the new philosophers, the gentlemen who talk to us about new social duties arising out of a new state of society, and tell us that we must put the world in leading-strings, because it does not know how to govern itself. I believe you will find Parliament a very bad substitute for your own discretion in these matters. I have a foolish faith, I confess, in preference to these new lights, for Adam Smith. I think that writer has told us pretty plainly that the only way of increasing the wages of labour is by increasing the demand for it; and the only way to increase the demand is by augmenting the fund out of which those wages are paid; and that fund in this country, more especially, from the peculiar constitution of our social state, depends upon the permanent expansion of our foreign trade. But then comes the great bugbear, that if you have this foreign trade, and deal with countries abroad upon their own terms—if, above all, you receive from them an abundant supply of foreign corn, wages must fall—and that, it is said, is the object of all these gentlemen around me. It is said that they are selfish speculators; they are called money-mongers, men who look to Mammon and not to mercy, people who grind up children with their calicoes. (Laughter.) My honourable friend the member for Durham was recently told by a facetious acquaintance in the House of Commons that the manufacturers actually came into the House their teeth dripping with infants' blood. (Renewed laughter.) Now, I don't believe in all this—it is a gulf-mathias that I do not understand. I look at practical things and positive facts. I see that bread was very cheap in 1835, yet wages were high, and the whole population of the country was employed. I see that bread was very dear in 1842, and that Lancashire was in a state of suffering and depression such as we have hitherto believed existed only where there has been a famine or some great natural calamity. (Hear.) I read the other day in a work, which I dare say many of you know—it is from the pen of a very distinguished man—Dr. Cooke Taylor, who visited Lancashire during the period of its greatest distress—I read a description of that distress, which went so much to my heart, that, if you have not seen it, I will try if it will not go to your hearts also. He says, as the result of his observations:—"I have seen misery in many forms; I have been in the huts and hovels of Ireland, when my native land was visited with the fearful scourge of cholera; I have visited the cellars of Liverpool, where existence assumes an aspect which ceases to be human; I have penetrated into the wynds and vennels of Glasgow, localities which would try to the uttermost the hardest of hearts and the strongest of stomachs;—but nowhere have I seen misery which so agonized my very soul as that which I have witnessed in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire. And why? Because the extreme of wretchedness was there, and there only, combined with a high tone of moral dignity, a marked sense of propriety, a decency, cleanliness, and order, the elements which produced the vast wealth I have described, and which do not merit the intense suffering I have witnessed. I was beholding the gradual immolation of the noblest and most valuable population that ever existed in this country or in any other under heaven. We are not stocks and stones: I am as firmly persuaded as I am of my own existence that, if the noble and wealthy had witnessed the scenes which I have gone through, they would fling all prejudices and selfish interests to the winds—they would stretch forth eager hands to raise the sufferers, pour oil and wine into the wounds they have inflicted, and devote the whole of their energies, heart and soul, to prevent the recurrence of such misery." (Loud cheers.) Now, gentlemen, I must ask you just to consider whence comes this anomaly, the effects of which Dr. Taylor has been describing:—dear bread and high prices, which are said to secure domestic prosperity and starving industry in the most industrious country in the world? Why, it is explained upon a principle which we can all understand, by a writer whose light, I ventured before to say, I preferred to all the crude theories of the modern philanthropists of our day,—I mean Adam Smith. It is a very short passage, and I will read it. He says, "When every year furnishes an increased demand for labour, the scarcity of hands occasions competition among masters, who bid against one another in order to get workmen. When there is a scarcity of employ, labourers bid against one another for work. Men who have been bred in superior classes are glad to seek employment in lower classes; while the lowest class of all, being now fairly overstocked with the overflowings of all other classes, the competition for employment becomes so great in it as to reduce the wages of labour to the most miserable pittance upon which life can be sustained." Now, I ask you whether those are not truths which your own every-day experience as practical men of business confirms? (Hear.) I recollect the time when so much sympathy was excited about the fate of the unfortunate women who were wasting their existence in the service of the milliners of the Court, and the slopsellers of the City. I also recollect the time when some benevolent gentleman connected with the Mansion-house—I forget his name—suggested the formation of a society by whom these poor women should be employed, but who were not to be allowed to earn more than 15s. a week. (Laughter.) But now what has become of that society? (Hear.) Why, it did not last three weeks. It is impossible anything can last in this world of manufacturing, and commercial, enterprise which does not pay. (Hear.) It is quite clear that project did not pay. However, we may sympathize with these unfortunate beings, whose fate you cannot hear of without the deepest sympathy; still you cannot relieve them by any such means as that. (Hear.) The cause of their suffering is just what Adam Smith describes. The slopselling business in which these women are employed, and hand-loom weaving in the north, are the common sewers of the unemployed, into which everything passes, and you never can raise them except by giving increased employment to feed the augmenting population. (Hear.)

But set against these plain practical principles all the rodomontade which we have heard from the gentlemen who profess to be the exclusive advocates of humanity at the present period—the short-time men, who usurp our proper rights, because we are really entitled to the appellation of short-time men more than they—(hear)—we who, by giving more abundant food to the people would enable them to work short time—(cheers)—I say, just contrast these plain principles of Adam Smith with all the unintelligible theories about a better state of things which is to grow out of the chaos, of which God knows who shall see the end, if they ever see the beginning. (Cheers.) Lord Ashley's speech the other night, full of kind feeling and humanity—spurious as I think, founded on most superficial and narrow views of the facts—was really directed against the commercial system of this country altogether, and not against any abuse that had grown up under that system—it was a speech against manufactures and trade. (Hear.) I am sorry to be compelled to say precisely the same of a friend of my own, Mr. Charles Buller, who following Lord Ashley, in a similar strain. I am not saying anything here, behind their backs, which I do not tell them when I meet them elsewhere. (Cheers.) Yet now there is a most curious combination—an organization of political men disagreeing upon every other point, and concurring most marvellously upon this. I looked at the *Morning Post* of this day, and found it full of eulogies of Mr. Oastler's "homely truths." Now, that individual I have always taken for a very well-intentioned firebrand—a sort of man who will set your haystack on fire without the slightest idea of what he is about. (Loud laughter.) This speech, of which the *Morning Post* speaks, bears out my view of the case, that there never was an unintentionally-mischievous a being as this man. He is talking of the working classes of the north; and he says it is "the demon of competition that produced that ugly monster cheapness." (Loud laughter.) But I should like to know who have an interest in cheapness equal to the working class? They are the great consumers, and you cannot make anything dear without its coming home to them at once. But Mr. Oastler calls this the ugly monster cheapness; and then he says, "Why covet a trade with China, after ruining Hindostan? Whilst starving the Chinese to death, we should be working and starving our own operatives too. Why not make clothing for ourselves, and enable our own population to wear the clothes they made, instead of stretching out our desires, with a population clothed in rags, to sell our cheap goods in China, and thus destroy both countries?" (Laughter.) Now, I always believed that a trade between two countries, in order to last, must be beneficial to both; but here we are informed that it is a mutual cutting of one another's throats; it is an act of suicide upon our part, and direct murder on that of the Chinese. The *Morning Post* speaks of these as "broad facts." It calls upon you "to see whether we may not, by new arrangements, give to British subjects the means of purchasing those manufactures which are now sent to rot in foreign warehouses?" (Loud laughter.) I really thought, when I read this, that the gentlemen around me here had gained a very bad character it seems for common sense; for I take it that, if they sent one cargo of goods to a foreign warehouse without receiving any produce in return, they would not send a second; it is one of those evils that very soon cure themselves. Mr. Oastler may leave it to cure itself; and as to foreign trade starving and working out our own labouring population, why it is by this foreign trade they live. Mr. Gladstone told us it was the reduction of one fifteenth on the exports of the country two years ago which produced all that climax of calamities in Lancashire which Dr. Taylor describes. It is to the foreign trade that we are indebted for the degree of comfort we possess. While trade exists on fair and equal terms, it places at the command of the wife and daughter of the Lancashire spinners articles of clothing and furniture which would have been luxuries to a Plantagenet princess, and such as were never heard of even in the days of Queen Elizabeth herself. (Cheers.) Then I told you we had a curious coalition of opponents to deal with; for we have another very great authority, the *Northern Star*. I have quoted the *Morning Post*; now let us see what the Chartists say to this matter. They assert that Lord Ashley's measure is only second in importance to the people's charter. "Not," says Mr. O'Connor, "that the ten hours bill is a proper limit of labour, or that, approving of Lord Ashley's course up to a certain point, I give an acquiescence in any such principles: far from it, for although the ten hours is a comparative improvement upon the Government scheme of fourteen hours' labour, yet I hold the imposition inflicted by Lord Ashley's amendment, though comparatively humane, is yet positively cruel and murderous. No full-grown man of any age, or any profession, can, by possibility, devote twelve hours of each day to his profession, while all require lengthened holidays for entire cessation from labour." Now, I do not want to trifle with sentiments such as these. None of us like labour; I dare say you like ten hours better than twelve, and eight better than ten; I am sure I do; but I do not know how to arrive at that: if one has got a certain amount of business to do in the world we must do it; one must work to live in this country. There is no doubt that the condition of life is harder in this country than you find it in many other countries in the world. But trace the evil to the root; do not believe you can alter it by legislative enactments; look how the thing works. Now, we will suppose for a moment that these views could be carried out. Mr. O'Connor proceeds to say that what he cordially supports in Lord Ashley's bill is "the principle of restriction;" you are to restrict everything, and to regulate all by act of Parliament; to put your whole existence into the hands of the landowning majority in the House of Commons: I think you have had enough of that. (Cheers.) He says the ten hours bill "strikes the largest rivet out of labour's fetters. It is the recognition (he says) of the great principle of restriction, which, even with the franchise, to-morrow, would, in my mind, constitute one of the principal elements of social and political economy; for, unless the labourer has the protection of restriction, he cannot successfully compete against the masters, who have the protection arising from competition in the competitive labour market."—But this only shows how one may use words in such a way that no human being can understand them. I have the most earnest desire to see the whole operative community in this country enabled to earn their livelihood on easier terms. I don't believe a greater blessing could come to them or to us, and all those around me, I am sure,

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share most sincerely and cordially with me in the wish; but this sort of dabbling interference with all the concerns of every-day life, I believe to be the crudest impossibility that ever passed through man's brain. Look at the effects; just work it out. We are dealing now with labour employed in factories alone. You profess to protect that; that is to say, you restrict the labour to ten hours. It is admitted that wages must fall twenty-five per cent., or else, according to the view taken by some other working men—I am happy to say not generally—there will be a greater competition for a smaller amount of goods, people will pay more for them, and consequently the masters will be able to give the same wages as they give now. (A person in the pit, "No, no!") I see you shake your head; you know that is not true, but everybody has not come to the same conclusion; I am sorry to say there are large masses of the people who most entirely believe this theory to be true. But look at the effect of it; you consider this great boon to the persons employed in factory labour—there are about a million and a half in all I believe. This must, of course, cause a rise in the price of clothing to all other working men: those other working men come to Parliament, and demand of it to confer the same benefit on them which it has given their fellow-operatives. Why, if we can do these things by act of Parliament—and I have been ten years in the House of Commons and never suspected it till now—if we can give by act of Parliament greater leisure, invigorated health, and improved morality, in God's name let us make the blessing co-extensive with the whole country at least. (Cheers.) You must do this in equity, if you do it at all. Therefore the effect would be nothing more than to make that scarce and dear which is now cheap and abundant, and, because it is cheap and abundant, consumed largely by the working men (cheers), you must have less of everything and pay more for it. And when you have constructed this new scheme, I ask you who would be the better for it at the end? I do entreat you, gentlemen, not to be misled by these vague and foolish theories, which no man of common sense ever attempted to work out in practice; I beg you not to be misled by any such experiments, which can only lead to the most fearful results. I believe to-night I may almost say that we stand at the point of a critical period, which the Germans call the *Schicksal-punkt*, or the dividing point—the ridge that separates the water that runs into two different seas. You must now choose between the evil and the good. You must either take that course which we recommend, and which I believe is the only one which can conduce to the benefit of the working-classes of this country; or you must embark in a system of constant interference between capital and labour, which will land you at last in a sort of chaos like that produced by the Maximum Bill in France. I will state the effect of that measure to you very briefly. The wages of labour were reduced in that country by the Government measures, which had the same effect that the Corn Law has here, by a large issue of paper money, called *assignats*. The working man, who was paid in paper, when he went to exchange his one or two francs for goods, was told by the shopkeeper that a franc in silver was worth six or twelve in paper, and he accordingly required as many for the same amount of food which the man formerly obtained for one franc. The Convention, which was all-powerful in those days, anxious and very shortsighted, like Lord Ashley, wanted to help the working man; and what did they do? "Why," said they, "we must make a tariff, and fix the price of every article that the working man consumes. We will take bread first, and go afterwards to leather, and wine, and coffee, and sugar, and all the other things that he may require; we will establish a tariff of prices which no body shall exceed, and we will keep the guillotine at work for all those who venture to transgress this rule." What was the consequence? All the retail shops in Paris were speedily shut up; in six weeks there was not a man who could venture to sell; the capital embarked in their trade was exhausted and absorbed, and within twelve months after the law was abrogated by common consent. Now, gentlemen, I feel very much obliged to you for the indulgence which you have extended to me to-night; I only entreat you not to be misled by any fallacious theories when you have got such a perfectly plain and simple course before you, as I believe you have. I am as desirous as any man here present can be to arrive at those blessings which we all appreciate, increased leisure, time for education, opportunity for social enjoyment, and to see these things extended to every class; and as one mode of arriving at them, I call upon you to-night to enter your protest against the new-tangled doctrines that have been circulated amongst us, and to proclaim your conviction that there is nothing in this country that can permanently improve, ennobler, or ease the condition of the working man but to enable him to exchange his labour upon fair and equitable terms in the markets of the world. (Cheers.) If I knew any more effective recipe than that, I would give it my firm and hearty support; not knowing one more, I am content to take the principles which I see laid down clearly upon the subject, instead of embarking in a route of which, I believe, if you choose to take it, you will never see the end. (The honourable gentleman sat down amid loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: I have now the pleasure of introducing to you one of the oldest friends of the good cause—one to whom we owe much more, I think, than probably many of us are aware of—I mean Colonel Thompson. (Loud and long-continued cheers.)

Colonel THOMPSON, on advancing to the table, was received with enthusiastic approbation. He said:—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, it will be known to many of you that I am come "from wandering to and fro on the earth" (laughter), and examining into the feelings and till-uses which beset different portions of our community; and when I arrived here I found that during my absence you have got a new flight of grasshoppers, or locusts, let loose upon you (laughter), and I feel desirous to discuss at least one of them which has been laid before you this evening. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Now, I surmise that I see before me an assembly of which 9-10ths would not shrink from avowing the honourable name of British tradesmen. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) You have been told that you have the custom of the rogues. (Laughter.) Don't hum me for it; it was not I that said it, it was they. Upon this I have one searching question to ask of the tradesmen here: "Would not the custom of the honest men do for you as well?" (Cheers.) It is not many years since you had a race of other splendid knaves displaying themselves upon your high roads—cavalry they were for the most part—sup-

ported by a corps on foot of a less elegant appearance. (Laughter.) These men robbed, and what they robbed they spent; many a good bottle of claret, doubtless, did they purchase from the innkeepers along the roadside, but I never heard that the citizens of London proclaimed them to be sources of wealth. On the contrary, when they caught them,—they hanged them. (Laughter and cheers.) That was your civic gratitude. (Renewed laughter.) I hope I shall meet with no more gratitude on the occasion which now presents itself. (Hear, hear.) Oh! you are a bearing people, you London citizens. You have an opportunity to an extent greater than any other part of the country, of meeting together, of obtaining knowledge, of discussing each other's wants, and yet there is no fraud thrown out before you that, at all events, you do not bear patiently. O, patience is a virtue! It has not always its reward in this world; let us hope that it may in the next. (Laughter and cheers.) We of the popular side, if I may take the liberty so to express myself, are often taunted with the misdoings of some of our prototypes in antiquity when they got the upper hand—I allude to one John Cade (laughter), a name often thrown in our teeth. (Cheers.) Look at our legislative Jack Cades of the present day; look at the Jack Cade who legislates for you, or helps to do it, by virtue of sitting for East Kent. (Hear, hear.) What says he? "There shall not a maid be married, but she shall pay to me her marriage-portion ere they have it." Thank God for one word altered in that speech in three centuries! We bow with all humility—"on our hearts' knees we do agnise" the mercy of the landed aristocracy which has indulged us with that change. It is our daughters' marriage-portions they want now, and we must be thankful. Now, does not this come home to the heart of every man among you? How many here are fathers? Nine-tenths of those I see beneath me, are so. If some of the chances and changes to which trade is always liable, should fall upon you, and you should die and leave your families scantily provided for,—see what is to come of it. This man and his fellows avow having taken the fruits of your industry to make marriage-portions for their daughters. And so the child of your affections—she that stood up before you as if it were an angel from heaven, and the eye that saw her bless'd her—

"While you, oppress'd with everlasting sleep,
Shall neither hear her sigh, nor see her weep,"—

that girl, shall be sent forth into a coarse, hard world, to gain her thankless bread by striving to instil some portion of her own virtues into crabbed scions of the aristocracy (hear, hear);—perhaps for some rich libertine to gloat upon. (Cheers.) Does not it make the grave feel colder? (Great cheering.) The patience that will bear that, and not now or hereafter put an end to it, is a patience beyond toleration or belief. Is there any secret about the thing? Is it not avowed? Let me, standing here—not in that other house, but in yours and mine—put the right hon. member to the test. Is there any mistake? Has he not proclaimed "the intent of robbery avow'd"? Did he not utter it with his own lips; has he not told us so expressly? Our forefathers struggled against great evils, and have left us a name that we should bless and hallow for the energies they displayed. (Cheers.) But they left something for their children to do also; it was not entirely a feather bed they left us: they have given us the chance to show that we are worthy of the descent from which we have sprung. (Hear, hear.) But it is not there only that we have these Cades present themselves. There be more of us who have read out of the said John's book. What do you think the working class, or some of them at least in the north of England, are looking after? They are offering the men who oppress them, and who cut down the recompense of their labour, to allow that oppression, if they will give them shorter hours of suffering under it—shorter hours per day, they mean; they don't say shorter hours during the whole of their short lives, for they are willing to contract for a whole life of suffering. (Hear, hear, hear.) Let me put before you a comparison which strikes me; if some of you have heard it from me before, forgive me. There was a Turkish frigate which sailed on a three weeks' voyage with only one week's water on board for 600 prisoners. The captain of the ship—like a Turk as he was—sold the water to those prisoners. Think you not the unhappy men employed themselves by day and also by night, in any species of manufacture—cutting tobacco-stoppers for instance—which they might sell to their oppressors for the drops of water that were to save their lives? (Hear, hear, hear.) Just then a Mufti (laughter) went round the decks, and said, "We pity you—we'll shorten the hours of your labour; ten hours are enough for any man to cut tobacco-stoppers, and you shall do no more." Did not these unfortunate men, think you, call out to them—"If you love us, take us under a pump!" (Laughter and cheers.) That, however, was the one thing the commander never meant to do. Now I, for my single part, will maintain neither peace nor truce with this foul hypocrisy. I pretend not to limit either the energy of vice, or the imbecility of virtue (hear, hear), nor undertake to state all the degrees of hybridization which may be exhibited between those two animals, the knave and fool. (Laughter.) I do not believe the promoters of that bill dishonest, because I have not the proof before me, and when I have, I will. (Laughter and cheers.) My mind is in the condition of a sheet of white paper on that subject, except that in one corner I find written, that in 99 similar cases out of 100, dishonesty has been the rule. (Laughter.) They must not be angry with me, but I cannot submit to begin

"With bated breath and in a bondsman's key,"

to avow my faith in the honesty and integrity of those who bring forward this proposal, because, in the name of Heaven before which I stand, I do not believe it. (Hear, hear.) Do not demand of me to break through my integrity. If I thought I could do the thing honestly I would, but till I can I must express my doubts—my strong suspicions—my almost certainty—bating that little chance of refuge which I mentioned, that ignorance and folly may be the excuse of those who do it. (Cheers.) See in our manufacturing districts one consequence of their laws already. Boys go about begging. Do you like begging?—No! Do you like working?—Yes, it is a great deal easier. Why do you beg then?—Because we are under the age when act of Parliament allows us to work. There is a result for you; and by

such miserable quackeries are we governed, and bled to be. (Cheers.) I told you this was Jack Cade legislation, and so it is. The complaint is, that the potatoes are thin; men do not get such wholesome and heartening drink as they could desire. And what says the other Jack Cade, the right hon. member for Dorsetshire? Says he, "I will make it felony to drink small beer." And that, he thinks—if he be honest—a cure and remedy for the evil he has confessed. The noble member positively believes, that the way to make men drink strong beer, is to make it felony to drink small beer. (Laughter.) Now, what can you do with such men when they are thrown up to the top of the Legislature of the country? Oh, if it should happen that the Corn Law abolition should not wear a spencer (laughter), but should have some flaps behind (laughter) by which the abolition of other abuses besides, should afterwards climb up to heaven,—it would not be I that had deferred the removal of one abuse so long, as to bring down the others with it by the run. (Hear, hear.) Others besides Mr. Cade have been abused and vilified. The noble member have come in for their share: poor Mr. Robert Peel, benevolent as any man who ever lived on earth, having the common mark to shoot at; and where is the difference? What has he said, that these new lights have not avowed? They will put down as false and wrong the old rules of commerce which the world has lived by, and will have some four-sided invention of their own, which we may be made a great deal better off than we were before. Let us, at all events, have an even measure for all. If one side be put down, let not the other be triumphant without example. You are the jury, and must judge of all these things. Grasshoppers called ye them? The turkey-cock could swallow these, would eat a crocodile. (Laughter and cheering.) They give you in the measure of their opinion of your intellects. I think it will not be long ere we shall hear a verification of what has already been whispered in the provinces, that London will be quite up to the neck in any other place in the country, and a little beyond. (Cheers.) Where was London in the time of our forefathers, when mighty questions were fought and settled? Was it not always paying for the liber of posterity with its best blood and best exertion? Is now, when blood is not called for, when exertion is that is wanted, will London play the laggard, and let there any longer be excuse for saying the blood shall flow from the extremities to the great heart, instead of flowing from you who are the heart of all Britain, to the furthest extremity within your land? (Cries of "No, no," and applause.) You'll take your place. Look at your countenances that you are determined to press yourselves forward to advance this great cause, and—no more grasshoppers. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Receive them you must send them to the tradesmen. Sixty thousand copies! I wonder who took them. Suppose they did so as being something of the sort. (Laughter.) When they have read them, they judge, and your judgment, and your announcement be it, be that if they send millions more, you are to return the echo of your good voices, whenever they shall be called upon to make the proclamation. I hon. gentleman was loudly cheered on resuming his seat.

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said:—My friend whom I am about to announce is difficult to find at this time of the evening. I think there is plenty of time (cheers); and I have the pleasure of introducing to you now a gentleman, one of the most accomplished of the day, who has given ample proof of his being in the cause of humanity, second, I think, only to those which we are engaged. He mainly contributed to equipate the coloured population of our West India islands; and I never saw any difference between white men and compelling them to labour, and so the fruits of their labour. I have the pleasure of introducing to you as an ally Mr. George Thompson. (Tremendous applause.)

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, after soliciting the indulgence of his hearers on the plea of ill health, and with the honourable and gallant officer who spoke, said that this question of Free Trade, and the abolition of the Corn Law as the most important branch of the subject, is certainly equal in magnitude, in the social and political aspects, as it respects also the comfort and happiness of the human race, and much more, as it respects the ability as well as the honour of the British empire, to that question the discussion of which I had the pleasure of endeavouring to promote in times past. Before that man should be free, I ask now the free world to be free. (Cheers.) God meant all men to be free. I believe, too, that God meant all men to be fed. (Cheers.) I believe it to be a crime to deprive man of his food. I believe it to be equally a crime to raise the price of food, to deteriorate the quality, or to diminish the quantity of food. (Cheers.) And if I find that this Corn Law increases the supply of labour above the demand, and throws tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of employ; that it gives to those who are fortunate enough to obtain some work but half the remuneration which they obtain for it under other circumstances, and sends them into the food market to pay a price for food which would pay without the law, that the Corn Law stands before me as a stupendous crime. (Cheers.) And an abrogation of that charter which gave to man—that of the fruits of the earth—freely eat; that seed-time and harvest-time, and winter, never should cease; that no man should be out the means, so far as the fertility of the soil is concerned, of procuring the food which the earth has the power of yielding for man and for beast. (Cheers.) This is the great master principle of that system of economy which we are assembled to seek the aid of our countrymen in disseminating for the benefit of their nation, and the world? This is the doctrine which the League is a great travelling army to teach and to preach—that every class of the community should be left to its own free agency in the management of its commercial transactions, while the actions are in themselves honest and honourable. There should be no legislative interference, still less legislative control, and, least of all, any legislative pulsion in matters of labour, trade, and commerce. (Hear, hear.) We have confidence in the soundness of this doctrine. But we do not advocate it merely as an abstract. We do not put it forth as one that may be up and laid down at pleasure. We regard it as a practical and paramount importance to the nation.

country to the end of time. In its honest and impartial application, it sweeps away all those restrictions which have been so frequently exposed and denounced in this age. It opens the world to the labour of man; it releases from within the sphere and operation of British industry and skill with all nations and tribes of the earth and invites and welcomes to these shores the manly tribes of every region. Like Mercy it is twice blessed; it blesses him that gives, and him that takes. ("Hear," and cheers.) As Englishmen we cannot contemplate either the scenes that have passed before our eyes during the last two or three years, or the present circumstances and position of our country, without distress. (Hear.) When on the one side there is much to minister to our pride on the other there is far more to excite our compassion. Our greatness as a nation is undeniable. From the shores of this island we have embarked upon the wide ocean—we have spread the adventurous sail, and visited and explored the uttermost regions of the earth. We have done more; we have conquered and colonized the most beautiful and fertile tracts of every region. We have added to the number of those who owe and own allegiance to our gracious and beloved sovereign, men of every clime, and every creed, and every colour. (Cheers.) The prowess of our soldiers and sailors, by the skill of our naval and military commanders, by the enterprise of our merchants and mariners, and by the talents of our diplomatists at home and abroad, we have subdued many nations, formed alliances with all, carried the proofs of our unrivalled eminence as manufacturers to the habitations of men everywhere, and by the combined strength of our moral, our physical, and our political influence, have made the whole world tributary, and caused it to lay its varied and exhaustless treasures at our feet. (Prolonged cheering.) Our capital at this moment is superabundant, and much of it idle. Our ships are floating in all waters, and wait but the behests of this nation—the unfurling of the banner of free and unrestricted trade—to bring to our shores and pour into our laps the teeming riches of our universal mother earth. Mankind are our customers, and millions of them would pay us, in the first fruits of their civilization, for the useful, the costly, and the elaborate results of the last stage of ours. (Renewed cheering.) Here, our powers of production are immeasurable, and our facilities are commensurate with our resources. Beneath us are unfathomed beds of precious minerals, in such close neighbourhood, that metals more useful than gold may be prepared and smelted, and fashioned on the spot for the service of men in almost every country. Through our verdant valleys rush streams that will move ten thousand times ten thousand machines. Inhabiting this island is man—the lord of all—a diadem of glory o'er the whole—not barbarous, but now first in the race of civilization, though among the last to enter upon it; proving how vast was his natural capacity, and how much he has from Nature's pure beneficence derived; not ignorant of the value and the purposes of the materials at his command, but fully appreciating the worth and adaptation of all around him, with an eye for beauty, with an intellect for science, with a hand for labour, with a heart for patriotism, and with a soul for religion. (Cheering renewed.) Earth, air, and ocean, are to him familiar in all their aspects, changes, motions, uses, applications. Each to him pays tribute of the knowledge hid from uninquiring ignorance: each to him their gradual secrets, though with slow reserve, yet sure accumulation, all reveal. Here he stands the wonder of ignoble eyes, the awe of humbler mortals, the object of sublime ambition in the eyes of distant savages. On the steep eminence which he has scaled, to rise or fall are sole alternatives. He may not stand, and he declines to fall; innate magnificence of mind upholds, and buoyancy of genius bears him on. (Cheers.) These are some of the circumstances which were present to my mind when I said that, as Englishmen, we were liable to indulge in feelings of pride and national complacency. But, oh, how much there is to chasten such a feeling, and to convert it into one of deep humiliation; for, will it be believed, that England, so extensive in her sovereignty, so rich in her resources, so matchless in her armies and navies, so proud in her alliances, so unrivalled in the application of the mechanic arts to the production of almost everything the world wants—abounding in money, superabounding in labour and skill—boasting of her literature, drawn from the purest sources—of her morality, which breathes universal benevolence—of her religion, which is divine—that England cannot, and does not, feed her own children, but sees them roam in idleness and brood in despondency, and languish, and die of want, under the walls of her custom-houses, on the very steps of her palaces, and within the very porch and sanctuary of her temples. (Cheers.) Would it be believed by a stranger, it made acquainted only with the geographical position, the boundaries, and the natural riches of our vast empire—the genius, and industry, and commercial facilities of this the parent country—that here, at the head-quarters of Government—here, in the great factory of the world—here, in the emporium of trade—here, in the depository and laboratory of intellect, and skill, and wealth, there was more idleness, more poverty, more actual destitution, combined with more suffering of mind and body, than could be found in the same proportion to its population in any other country in the world. (Cheers.) Yet so, alas! it is with mighty England. Things may be better now than they were in some districts of England, and, if it be so, we thank God on behalf of the famishing poor. But even now you shall find multitudes of men standing all the day idle, while those who are at work are toiling on greatly diminished wages, and earning, after a long week of intense toil, a pittance scarcely sufficient to sustain life. You shall, if you will seek them, find thousands of houses that are desolate—where the fire has expired upon the hearth—where the cupboard is empty—where the bed clothing has been sold for food—where the mother has laid her children upon straw to cry themselves to sleep—where the father, who might, and would, if he were permitted, be an industrious, a skilful, and a cheerful artisan, is a wandering vagabond—a hungry, helpless, hopeless, desperate man—the head of a family, that when assembled in their nakedness, their filth, and their want, is a mere juxtaposition of wretched creatures, whose mutual sympathies have been destroyed by an involuntary infliction of ruin; where self-respect has been abandoned; where murmurs against God are mingled with maledictions on the heads of governors and lawmakers; where reverence for all statutes, human and divine, is almost of

quite extinguished; where plans of spoliation are plotted without compunction; where the outcast beings, believing themselves forsaken alike of God and man, to be the victims of bad laws, or, at all events, feeling that they have no refuge or protection within the pale of the laws, are prepared to set them at defiance, since no fate can befall them worse than that which they now endure. (Loud cheering.) And this is in England. I want you to feel, as I think we ought all of us to feel, that for such a state of things to exist here is proof of the existence of some pernicious laws, crippling the trade of the country, barring us out of the markets of the world, prohibiting the fruits of other lands from coming here for the supply of our wants. Such intense misery, such abject indigence, such helpless and irremediable suffering, exists nowhere else. Where land is abundant it is not so; where labour is scarce it is not so; where food is plentiful and cheap it is not so. Whatever despotism or superstition may do in other countries, they do not, as our laws do, starve an industrious, ingenious, and thrifty people, who have the means of exchanging the fruits of their labour for the food which they require. (Loud and repeated cheers.) I have travelled much, and I have seen ignorance the most profound, superstition the most gloomy and terrible, despotism un-mixed and rigorous, a priesthood tyrannous and proud, but human misery like that which I have seen here, and around us, I have not seen. (Cheers.) After some further eloquent declamation against the injustice and impolicy of prohibiting the free interchange of commodities between nations, Mr. Thompson proceeded to comment upon the conduct of the Government in refusing, as they did recently, to admit wheat from India, Australia, and other colonies, on the same footing as from Canada. He recapitulated and ridiculed the grounds of their refusal, and strongly condemned their policy in regard to the Corn Laws. He then proceeded to discuss the question of admitting Brazilian sugar. Having said so much (continued the honourable gentleman) of corn, let me say a word with regard to sugar. (Hear, hear.) No one will, I think, suspect me of any wish to uphold slavery. (Cheers.) Should any individual here do so, I have only to point to the history and actions of my past life, and to say—that is my answer. (Cheers.) It is my misfortune to differ with some who, from the purest motives, are honestly opposed to the carrying out of Free-Trade principles on the subject of sugar. I have looked at this question deliberately, and for years, and have endeavoured to arrive at a sound and righteous conclusion; and I would, with all affection and respect, combat the doctrine maintained by some of my friends, that the Government of this country should prohibit the importation of slave-grown sugar into the English market, for the consumption of the people of this country. We are agreed respecting slavery. We hold it in equal abomination. We believe that the stealing of men, the holding of such as have been stolen in bondage, and the coercion of human labour, keeping back at the same time the wages which are due for that labour, that these are crimes in the sight of God, and horrible outrages upon the natural and equal rights of men. We believe, too, that it is the duty of every enlightened and Christian man to lift up his voice against slavery in all its forms, and to use all moral and legitimate means to hasten the time when slavery should end, and with the end of slavery there shall be an end of the commerce in the human species. (Hear, hear, hear.) We come, then, to consider what are the rights of the people of this country; and, in close connexion with this subject, what are the means which may be properly called rightful and legitimate, being such as, while they aim at the establishment of the claims of men abroad, do not interfere with the free agency, the civil liberty, and the just prerogatives of men at home. I admit the truth of the proposition, that men are entitled to personal liberty—that they should enjoy and fully exercise their liberty in the choice of their masters, in the nature and scene of their employment, and in making the best possible bargain for themselves, when they carry their labour to market. But to my mind it appears equally clear, that the people of this and every other country should be free, as consumers (that is, free as regards the interference of any human law), to choose between the products of the different parts of the world brought into the common market. (Loud cheers.) I see not that they can with justice be prevented from buying the products of Brazil or Cuba, on the ground that the produce of those countries is the fruit of a slave system. I see not that they can with justice be compelled, by legislative enactments, to buy the produce of the British West Indies—or be driven to the alternative of going without that which they want. (Cheers.) I admit that it is a right, and a duty, to denounce slave holding, and to disseminate information among all classes respecting the sinfulness of the system. It is a right, and a duty, to exhibit in the clearest light, the obligation of withholding all encouragement from those who commit the crime of keeping men in bondage. In every case in which, by the use of argument, persuasion, and entreaty, a man is led to act voluntarily in this matter, it may be said, in the language of Scripture, "Thou hast gained thy brother;" and so much is done, in the most legitimate manner, towards the conversion of men from an evil practice, and the extinction of the system which we alike abhor. But, legislative prohibition is coercion, not argument; it is force, not reason; it is tyranny, not persuasion. Such acts are a perversion and abuse of legislative power. There is no warrant for such an exercise of authority. It is making Parliament the usurper of power over the consciences of men, in a matter on which they have a clear right to judge for themselves, and act as moral and accountable agents. Such an act as that which I am now speaking of, and which at this moment is in full force in this country, cannot be the act of the people, or in obedience to the voice of the people; for if it were so, the act itself would be unnecessary, and the produce now prohibited, though landed upon our shores and exposed for sale, would lack purchasers, and would be abandoned in consequence of the moral pollution attaching to it. Even, as the act of a few men in Parliament, the present prohibition is manifestly insincere: for the same men allow it to be landed—they allow it to be refined here—they encourage its exportation in British vessels—they sanction our merchants in the trade which they drive in this article with other countries—they know that it is consumed abroad in a refined state, with all charges upon it, at less cost than raw sugar in our own island—they encourage the trade until it approximates the point at which it affects their own monopoly, and then

they prohibit its consumption, on the plea that it is produced by slavery. Yet, during this time, they are giving all the necessary encouragement to men to purchase and consume it, excepting only the poor, the burdened, and the hungry population of our own country, whose custom they wish to retain on their own terms for themselves. (Hear, hear, hear.) Unhappily for the sincerity and consistency of these men, they were the very persons who were most eloquent in the defence of slavery in days gone by. (Hear, hear, hear.) In the Blue Book, which records the names of those who received compensation out of the twenty millions paid for the abolition of slavery, I find that they were among the largest receivers of what they would now call the wages of unrighteousness. I turn to their votes in Parliament, and I find them steadily relating, year after year, every attempt to mitigate the horrors of negro captivity, and even voting against the abolition of the practice of flogging females. (Hear.) I find that they were the very men who imposed such monstrous duties on the free-grown produce of British India, that they effectually prevented its consumption in this country save by a small number, who were willing to give a higher price for an inferior article. I find the same men giving millions annually, in the shape of drawbacks, bounties, and protections, to the slave-holding planters of the West Indies, and their supporters and copartners here. Why? They were themselves the growers of sugar then, they are the growers of sugar now. They were the growers of corn then, they are the growers of corn now. Show them an article they do not grow, and though saturated with the tears and the blood of helpless slaves, they will allow it to be imported and consumed. (Cheers.) But show them an article in which they deal, which could be imported and consumed at less than their own monopoly price, and they exclude it, no matter whether it be the corn of Ohio or India, or the sugar of Brazil or Cuba. (Hear, hear, hear.) Can this be honest humanity? (Hear, hear, hear.) Every man of right feeling must, I think, experience the sickness of unutterable disgust when he hears such men talking in Parliament, like the Elishas of the abolition cause, and sees them weeping tears of affected compassion over the miseries of field-labourers in Brazil. (Hear, hear, hear.) These are the men, too, who denied your right and power to interfere with them when they were slaveholders. They opposed us at every step when we desired to destroy, by law, that which had been created by law. (Hear, hear, hear.) They defended to the last hour the assumed rights of planters and colonial assemblies, and they refused to let the negro go free until the largest sum of money ever voted for purposes of humanity was paid down and shared among them. (Hear, hear, hear.) Nay, they even then continued slavery under another name, and overthrew the Administration for bringing in a bill to suspend the charter of Jamaica, during the cruelties of negro apprenticeship. (Hear, hear, hear.) They spoke then, as they speak now, as the organs of the monopolists, and as men deeply interested in the maintenance of restrictions. The sense of the nation was against them then; the sense of the nation is against them now. They could not be sincere, then, unless they are practising a deception now. They cannot be conscientious now, unless they are prepared to say that they were speaking and voting against their consciences before. (Hear, hear, hear.) These are the men, too, who have more recently revived the system in India of exporting men to the island of Mauritius—a system of which I shall say no more on this occasion than that it is one of semi-slavery—fraught with misrepresentation and delusion in India, and ending, in the vast majority of cases, in disappointment and suffering on the island. We occupy the same ground to-day as we did fourteen years ago. We say slaveholding is sin—and to rebuke it, and to try by all right means to abolish it, is the duty of individuals and nations. (Hear, hear, hear.) To petition for the abolition of our national system of slavery was right. For the Legislature, in obedience to the voice of the country, to abolish it by act of Parliament was right. But, to compel thirty millions of freemen to pay millions of money against their will in the shape of an extra price upon a commodity of prime necessity—to diminish the supply of that commodity one-half by sheer force—to rob men of their right of buying what is offered in the market, because in the process of its production a wrong has been committed in another and a foreign country—this is not right—it is robbery. (Loud cheers.) And to do this on the plea that it is to promote the cause of freedom and humanity, when we know (as far as it is possible to have such knowledge) that that plea is hollow, false, and hypocritical, is to add mental fraud to legislative tyranny, and to commit an act of dissimulation in the sight of God, as well as an act of injustice towards the people of this country. (Applause.) There would be a far greater show of honesty in this matter if the principle were applied impartially, but it is not. The duty on sugar grown in Brazil and elsewhere is all but prohibitory. Why is there not an increase of the duty on tobacco, until the same effect is produced upon the consumption of that article as is now produced upon the consumption of the other, which is infinitely more useful and necessary? It is because these men do not grow tobacco, and, therefore, have no personal interest in it. Why not apply their doctrine to slave-grown cotton, and bring the article from those extended plains, which I have recently traversed? We take the cotton of America, but refuse the corn. O! and inconsistency. If they allow our merchants to import slave-grown cotton, our brokers to sell it, our capitalists to erect mills to spin it, and our men, women, and children to prepare it for the consumption of the population, from the Queen upon the throne to the beggar in the streets, why, when our industrious fellow-subjects have earned a scanty pittance by a week of toil, do they deny them the right of spending a trifle on Saturday night in the purchase of cheap sugar? Why, because they do not grow cotton, and they do grow sugar; and there is no other reason. For thirty years we have been asserting and attempting to prove that free labour is cheaper than slave labour, and that the peaceful and effectual method of putting down slavery is to allow of, and encourage, a competition between the one and the other. We have circulated the writings of Fearon, and Hodgson, and Cropper, and Jeremie, and Conder, and Dickson, and others. Shall we now give a practical refutation to all that we have uttered on this subject, and call for legislative prohibitions—which are injurious to free labour itself, and an arbitrary interference with the right of private judgment, and the free agency of men? I have read with much pleasure an emphatic and official declaration on

the part of some leading abolitionists, of their conviction that it is futile, expensive, dangerous, and sinful to attempt to abolish the slave trade by armed intervention. I believe it to be so. Arithmetic and history will prove the truth of the one part of the proposition, and common sense and Christianity will support the other. But is there no resemblance between armed intervention and an act of Parliament which would be nugatory if not sustained and enforced by pains and penalties—a coast blockade and a standing army? What gives such a law (framed in opposition to the rights and feelings of the people) its powers? Is it not the overwhelming physical force of the Government? What would be the consequence of disobedience? We all know that very few respect the law which compels the people of this country to see refined Brazilian sugar shipped from our ports for sale in other countries for 4d. a pound, while good raw sugar here is 8d.; but all fear to infract the law, because of the tremendous consequences that would follow. Hence, it is not the statements of the Monopoliist party that are believed; but the custom-house officer, and the Exchequer-court, and the fine, and the dungeon, that are dreaded. (Cheers.) And is it that that men are to be made abolitionists? Is it thus that the slave is to be set free? Are the maxims of our former political economy thrown overboard? Is it impossible to effect the object in view by the combined agency of free labour abroad, and honest appeals to the consciences of men at home? Is it not enough that we have the sugar-growing Antilles, the vast plains of India, and the islands of Mauritius, and Ceylon, and Pulo-Penang, all our own; and Java and Manila to trade with; but we must add to all our other means and resources a legislative enactment that is abhorrent to the feelings and an invasion of the rights of the people of this country? (Hear, hear.) I will admit that, as an exhibition of consistent principle and a means of putting down slavery, men who profess to abhor slavery should refrain from the use of the produce of slavery; but I utterly deny the right of the Legislature (unopposed by the voice of the people,) to force me or any other man to abstain from the use of it. To me I confess it appears a glaring inconsistency, to seek to maintain one principle by the violation of another—to defend the rights of men in one direction, and to invade them and utterly destroy them in another. (Hear, hear.) How much more noble would it be to say, our ports are open—to the produce of every clime, that our people may buy that which is the cheapest and the best. We will interfere with no man's conscience. We will force no man to buy this, or to abstain from that. (Hear, hear.) We will say to other countries that continue slavery—we will not fight with you, for that would be doing evil that good may come. We will not levy prohibitory duties, for that would be a violation of the principle of Free Trade, and a coercive measure in reference to the population of this country. But we will not cease to hold up your slave systems to censure and execration. We will remonstrate as individuals, as societies, and as a nation. (Cheers.) We will encourage in every quarter your free-labour competitors. We will, as a government, do justice to our own magnificent dependencies. Instead of impeding the progress of native industry in India, we will stimulate and reward it. We will welcome the sugar, the rice, the cotton, and the tobacco of the lands where the sigh of the slave mingles not with the whispers of the breeze, but where the friendly voices of willing labourers are heard in uncursed fields and free and happy homes. Sell your sugar and your coffee while you can; but while you do so, we will train the consciences of men until they shall voluntarily reject that which you grow, and everything which bears the taint of slavery about it. (Cheers.) Yes, and we will attack your consciences, too. We will let you have no rest. Our cannon shall be spiked, and left to rust, but we will open our moral batteries, and fire shots which break no bones, and spill no blood; but which, reaching the hearts of men, shall lead them to yield the claims of justice, and teach them that honesty is the best policy. ("Hear," and cheers.) Our country shall not protest against prohibitory laws, and have reason to say that, even here there is a system which, if it robs not men of their persons, robs them at least of much of the fruits of their industry; there shall be no prohibitory laws. We have faith in the universal principles of a sound and honest political economy. We have faith in the power of example, unimpaired by coercion and restriction. We have faith in the productiveness of those regions to which slavery has not extended its blight and its curse, or where it has been extirpated. We have faith in the doctrine that an object which is good, needs not the agency of means that are bad. We have faith to believe that while we are providing for the wants, and jealously guarding the rights of our toiling children, and setting an example to the world by opening our own house of bondage, and widening our ports to the produce of all climes, that the hungry may be fed, and the idle employed—and that, while we are preferring that which is the fruit of freedom to that which is grown by slaves, God will grant his own blessing, and make our nation the instrument of leading other lands from crooked and wicked ways into the straight paths of justice and commercial freedom. (Cheers.) Should our opponents tell us of the consequences of a Free Trade, we are willing to meet them. We have faith in the soundness of our principles. We have faith in the Word of God. We have faith in the fertility of the soil, and in the growing, continued, and ever-increasing wants of the world's population. We have faith in the reciprocal interests of nations—in the enterprise and skill of the people. We have faith to believe that that system which is most simple, most equitable and just, and most conformable to the known condition of the world—is the system which will confer the richest blessings upon our country. (Cheers.) Let us put us every feeling of doubt or despondency respecting the issue of our enterprise. A rapid and unparalleled progress has been made. Already mountain difficulties have been overcome, and all around us are the presages of speedy success. Centuries of darkness and error—long ages of legislative blundering, and gross mistakes as to the effect of protective laws, have passed away. Our pernicious example has, it is true, led other nations, by false induction, to adopt many of our self-destructive theories; partial interests have had a protracted reign, and when assailed have frantically defended their vested rights in systems of injustice and error. The whole machinery of party strife and the weight of Government influence has been engaged to uphold the cause of monopoly. But the day has dawned. Truths, hidden for ages, have been brought to light; the world, through all

the beautiful and unending varieties of soil, climate, productions, wants, and interests, has been viewed through the medium of common sense, and a reverential desire to read the will of God, as revealed in the works of his hand, and the dispensations of his providence. The profoundest maxims of political economy have been found to harmonise with the noblest plans of a religious and peace-breathing philanthropy. Nor this alone. There have appeared those who may with justice be designated the apostles of Free Trade. (Hear, hear, hear.) They have taken the truths discovered by the philosopher in his closet, or derived by men of the world from an enlightened observation of the situation, peculiarities, and mutual dependence of men and nations, and they have gone abroad to proclaim them through the length and breadth of the land. The living voice of the preacher of these truths has fallen upon the ear of millions of our countrymen. The pulpit, the exchange, the market-place, the crowded hall, the farmers' dining-room, the ladies' drawing-room, the county meeting, the open field, the highways and byways of the country—all have been made the scenes and theatres of an animated and instructive discussion of these doctrines. (Loud cheers.) No part of our population has been forgotten, or overlooked, or neglected. The Free-Trade Almanac is on the wall of the cottage, and he who could not read letters has been taught by speaking pictures. The Free-Trade tract is on the table of the humblest citizen, and he has studied and understood the philosophy of labour, and wages, and supply, and demand. Light has been carried where it was most needed—into the Senate. A political economist has appeared, who has clothed these truths in language the most convincing, arranged his arguments with a degree of simplicity and perspicuity never witnessed before, has expounded great principles in the hour of violent party strife, with a temper and spirit that has extorted the admiration of his opponents, who would have rushed to his banner but for the fetters of mortgages and jointures about their limbs, or an unconquerable love of high rents. That man has demanded and enforced audience of the upholders of monopoly in their loftiest seats, and they have sat mute while he spoke, and have remained mute when he sat down; because, alas for them! they knew not how to meet him, and were afraid to yield. (Loud cheers.) Be of good courage, then. Fling away the trammels of party and expediency. Let principles have their due weight, and consideration, and influence. When the hour of trial comes, be just and fear not. Duty is ours—consequences are God's. He who follows the dictates of conscience, the laws of nature, and the commands of Heaven, may safely leave the rest, and, dying, be satisfied with this verdict—returned by his own mind upon a review of his actions—I saw my duty, and I did it. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. COBURN then announced that the next meeting of the League would be held on Wednesday next; and the assemblage separated.

WINCHESTER.—A meeting of the Winchester Free-Trade Association, and of the friends of Free Trade generally, in that city, was held at the St. John's Rooms, on Monday evening, the 8th inst., for the purpose of hearing an address from W. J. Fox, Esq., of London. Mr. Childell, a tenant-farmer, took the chair, and made some observations in which he strongly condemned the Corn Laws and advocated freedom of trade.—The Rev. W. Thorn said they were most of them aware that an association, designated the "Winchester Free-Trade Association," had been established, and that the present meeting was called by the association. Its object was to enlighten their minds on the subject of Free Trade, and to induce as many of their fellow-townsmen as they could to enrol themselves as members. A great many persons had already joined; the rules were printed, and there was a very appropriate engraved card for the members, the subscription being 1s. or upwards for the year.—Mr. Frampton said that the Anti-Corn-Law League recommended as one of the means by which to obtain the speedy repeal of the Corn Laws, that the non-electors in every borough should get up a requisition to the electors, to request their representatives to support the motion of the Hon. C. P. Villiers, for a total repeal. He approved of that mode of proceeding, for it paid homage to the principle of which he was the humble but devoted advocate, viz., the right of every man to a voice in making the laws which all were bound to obey. He begged to move, "That it is the opinion of this meeting that the non-electors of Winchester should present a memorial to the parliamentary electors, requesting them to use their best efforts with the representatives of the borough to induce them to support the motion of the Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, to be submitted to the House of Commons during the present session in favour of the total repeal of the Corn Laws."—Mr. Johnson seconded the motion.—The Chairman then introduced to the meeting W. J. Fox, Esq., who, on rising, was received with loud applause. He proceeded to address the meeting, and in an able speech gave a lucid exposition of Free-Trade principles, defending the League from the charges of its opponents, while he exposed and refuted their fallacies, and concluded with an eloquent appeal to the meeting to unite with the League. (Mr. Fox resumed his seat amidst loud cheers.)—W. Bird, Esq., proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Fox, which was seconded by Mr. H. Moody, and carried by acclamation; and with three cheers for Free Trade, the proceedings terminated.—*Abridged from the Hampshire Independent.*

WHITEHAVEN.—On Wednesday the 10th instant, the first of a series of lectures to the Young Men's Free-Trade Association was delivered by Thomas Ainsworth, Esq., of Floss, in the Temperance Hall, Whitehaven. The chair was occupied by J. P. Ley, Esq., who made a brief introductory speech. Mr. Ainsworth presented himself amidst loud cheers, and proceeded with his lecture, in which he undertook to prove, 1st. That labour is lightened by the introduction of machinery. 2nd. That by the introduction of machinery the demand for labour has been considerably increased. 3rd. That the cost of all materials in which machinery is employed have been reduced in value, and thus through cheapness benefited the community at large. Mr. Ainsworth supported these propositions by a copious array of facts, and many conclusive arguments. He concluded amidst loud applause. Messrs. Barker and Nelson assisted at the meeting. The unanimous vote of the meeting was given in favour of Free Trade; after which a vote of thanks was presented to the chairman, and the meeting dispersed.—*Whitehaven Herald.*

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, April 17, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | |
|---|---------|
| Weston, Dignam, and Co., 8, Watling-street | £10 0 0 |
| George Pole, Borough | 10 10 0 |
| John Fisher, 17, Walbrook-place, Hoxton | 3 0 0 |
| B. H., by Mr. Fisher | 0 5 0 |
| John Ponsford, 14, King-street, Cheapside | 2 0 0 |
| R. Southall, do. | 2 0 0 |
| W. Cross, keeper of the Temperance Hall, Ipswich | 2 6 |
| An Association of Operatives, Clerkenwell (second subscription) | 6 0 |
| John Keeley, 4, Sugar Loaf-court, Leadenhall-street | 0 0 |
| Archibald Campbell, Leigh, near Tunbridge | 10 0 |
| Henry Dodson, Jun., Borough | 10 6 |
| J. S. | 0 0 |
| H. Wood, 15, Cowley-road, North Brixton | 0 0 |
| Edward Levy, 37, Upper Gower-street | 10 0 |
| James Handford, 1, Alexander-place, Brompton | 0 6 |
| J. T., Kennington | 1 0 |
| Eastington Association, near Stroud, Gloucestershire, per W. Clarke | 5 10 |
| Thomas Nisbet, currier, Kilmarnock | 1 0 |
| Frederick Rouse, Friends' School, Park-lane, Croydon | 0 0 |
| William Calder, 8, Bridge-street | 0 2 6 |
| James Mirk and fellow workmen, M'Neill's-place, Leith-walk, Edinburgh | 1 6 0 |
| Robert Samuel | 0 5 |
| A. B. C. | 1 1 |
| John Ronaldson, M'Neill's-place, Leith-walk, Edinburgh | 0 2 6 |
| George Campbell, Orchardfield-place, Leith-walk, Edinburgh | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Johnston, do., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| George Pratt, do., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Latham, Shire (second subscription) | 0 6 0 |
| William Laing, agent | 1 0 0 |
| R. J. Bendall, near the Canal, Old Kent-road, per J. A. Lyon | 1 1 0 |
| Small subscriptions, per do. | 0 4 0 |
| A Suffolk Free Trader | 0 5 0 |
| April and May subscriptions from the frequenters of Prosser's Barley Mow Brewery, King's-place, Commercial-road East, per Mr. Prosser | 1 0 0 |
| City-road Anti-Corn-Law Association, per Mr. Const (second subscription) | 1 0 0 |
| Messrs. Oswald, Savage, and Donalds, first monthly subscription, per Mr. Const | 0 3 0 |
| Captain Baker, Blechingley, Surrey | 1 0 0 |
| Miss Elizabeth Tapp, 3, Monmouth-street, Broad-street, St. Giles's | 0 5 0 |
| A Well-wisher, Maidstone | 1 1 0 |
| J. Y. Rood, Maiden-lane, Battle-bridge | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Stephen Brown, Lucas-street, St. George's in the East | 0 2 6 |
| A Free Trader | 0 1 0 |
| Thomas Lea, Kidderminster, per Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P. | 50 0 0 |
| Dr. Epps, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, further subscription | 1 0 0 |
| The Workmen of A. Cooke, Paper Mills, Richmond, per Wm. Pearson | 1 1 0 |
| Richard Tibbot, Llanfyllin, near Oswestry | 0 5 0 |
| John Jones, do. | 0 2 6 |
| C. Jones, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Robt. Evans, do. | 0 2 0 |
| Thos. Hyner, do. | 0 1 0 |
| David Morgan, do. | 0 4 6 |
| Rev. Andrew Marshall, Kirkintilloch, N.B. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. M'Nabb, Cow-lane, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Jas. Downie, Union-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Jenkins, Queen-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Handey, High-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 19 9 |
| Archibald Coupar, Townhead, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Andrew Reid, do. | 1 1 0 |
| John Clarke, do. | 0 5 0 |
| David Chapman, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Goodwin, do. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend, per Thos. Steel, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Andrew Sinclair, Cowgate, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thos. Steel, High-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Findlay, Cowgate, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Findlay, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Kinross, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Thos. Alexander, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Arch. Gilchrist, do. | 0 10 0 |
| John Smith, Broadcroft, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Robert Craigie, Cowgate, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Jas. Allan, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John How, Beverley Lodge, additional to 5s. paid before | 0 15 0 |
| A. Z. | 0 2 6 |
| J. W. | 0 2 6 |
| J. J. | 0 2 6 |
| W. C. | 0 2 6 |
| W. Binyans, of London | 0 2 6 |
| J. H. | 0 5 0 |
| J. C. | 0 2 6 |
| J. B. H. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Shimwell, 22, High-street, Manchester | 2 0 0 |
| George Cheetham and Sons, Staleybridge | 300 0 0 |
| Thos. Whitehead and Brothers, Holly Mount, Rawtenstall | 300 0 0 |
| Thomas Bolton, Sankey-street, Warrington | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Edmunds, High-street, High Wycombe | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Lucas, Rye Mill, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Richd. Higgs, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 5 0 |
| R. Lucas, do. | 1 0 0 |
| George Church, Queen-square, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Abbott, Paul's-row, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thos. Phillips, fur cutter, do. | 0 2 6 |
| K. Webb, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 4 0 |
| J. F. G. Spicer, paper maker, Glory Mills, Heaconsfield, Bucks | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Morgan, 4, Freeland-place, Clifton, Bristol | 1 0 0 |
| G. C. | 0 2 6 |
| G. L. Jun., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Rev. Geo. Armstrong (balance of Anchor ticket, Colston dinner) | 0 13 6 |
| P. H. A. | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Acland, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Brettat, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Lang, do. | 0 5 0 |
| C. J. Thomas, do. | 0 5 0 |
| B. Lang, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Jenkins, 5, Serjeant-st., Bedminster, near do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 16 6 |
| Simpson, Rostron, and Co., Manchester | 100 0 0 |
| John Hutchinson, Sunderland-street, Sunderland | 5 0 0 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Joseph Oxen, New Orleans, per Leech, Harrison, and Co., Liverpool | 5 0 0 |
| Mr. Petitpierre, Pooley's-buildings, Princess-street, Manchester | 5 5 0 |
| Benjamin Eyre, 7, Stock-street, Cheetham, do. | 1 0 0 |

Thomas Haigh, 50, Market-street, Manchester £1 0 0
 Saml. D. Dewhurst and Co., Adelphi, Salford, do. 2 0 0
 L. B. Delaney, Blackley, near do. 2 0 0
 James Wyatt and Friends, New Mills, near Stockport 1 0 0
 Chas. Tomlinson, 44, Arlington, Salford, Manchester 1 1 6

Samuel and Joseph Ratcliffe, Groek-street .. 4 0 0
 Mrs. S. Ratcliffe, do. .. 1 1 0
 Joseph Whiteley, Jolly Coachman .. 0 10 0
 Samuel Hootock, Heston-lane .. 1 0 0
 Henry Champion, Churchgate .. 0 10 0
 James Gaskell, Chesapeake .. 1 0 0
 Robert Wright, Lancashire Hill .. 9 2 6
 Thomas Barratt, Three Boars' Heads .. 1 0 0
 Thomas Hooley, Shaw-heath .. 0 5 0
 W. H. Potter .. 5 0 0
 James Rennie .. 2 4 0
 James Nightingale .. 2 2 0
 A Friend, per George Wood .. 2 0 0
 John Cockran .. 1 1 0
 John Tolly .. 0 15 0
 Richard Paddy .. 0 10 0
 John S. Barlow .. 0 10 0
 John Burton .. 0 10 0
 Mark Partington .. 0 10 0
 Joseph Gamble .. 0 10 0
 Robert Ratcliff .. 0 10 0
 James Bromley .. 0 10 0
 Peter Nightingale .. 0 10 0
 John Openshaw .. 0 10 0
 John Manchester .. 0 10 0
 Thomas Fogg .. 0 10 0
 Dennis Taylor .. 0 10 0
 James Norris .. 0 10 0
 Thomas Shepley .. 0 10 0
 James Burgess .. 0 5 0
 James Allinson .. 0 5 0
 William Bardeley .. 0 5 0
 Samuel Haughton .. 0 5 0
 John Hurst .. 0 5 0
 A Friend .. 0 5 0
 John Bromley .. 0 5 0
 William Ridgway .. 0 5 0
 Joseph Hyde .. 0 5 0
 Richard Warburton .. 0 5 0
 William Gorse .. 0 5 0
 James Heawood .. 0 5 0
 James Heys .. 0 5 0
 Thomas Nightingale .. 0 5 0
 Wm. Gorton .. 0 5 0
 Joseph Smith .. 0 5 0
 Thomas Rothwell .. 0 5 0
 James Nutter .. 0 5 0
 John Pollitt .. 0 5 0
 John Boulton .. 0 5 0
 James Lomax .. 0 5 0
 William Rostron .. 0 5 0
 James Southey .. 0 5 0
 Wm. Turner .. 0 5 0
 Abram Jackson .. 0 5 0
 Nicholas Astley .. 0 5 0
 Edward Dewhurst .. 0 5 0
 William Carr .. 0 5 0
 William Chapman .. 0 5 0
 Ralph Leoney .. 0 5 0
 Jerry Parkinson .. 0 5 0
 William Wood .. 0 5 0
 John Gordon .. 0 5 0
 Joseph Grimshaw .. 0 5 0
 Ralph Hyde .. 0 5 0
 Andrew Barlow .. 0 5 0
 James Ainsworth .. 0 5 0
 James Hayman .. 0 5 0
 William Croukshaw .. 0 3 6
 Jervis Roscoe .. 0 5 0
 Robert Taylor .. 0 5 0
 Joseph Nightingale .. 0 5 0
 John Hargreaves .. 0 5 0
 George Wood .. 0 5 0
 William Welch .. 0 5 0
 Jacob Gail .. 0 5 0
 Joseph Allin .. 0 5 0
 Joseph Lee .. 0 5 0
 James Higson .. 0 5 0
 John Boulton .. 0 2 6
 John Corbushley .. 0 2 6
 Joseph Heywood .. 0 2 6
 Patrick Keane .. 0 2 6
 George Cook .. 0 2 6
 William Jones .. 0 2 6
 Andrew Fleming .. 0 2 6
 George Bardsley .. 0 2 6
 Thomas Holt .. 0 2 6
 William Sheppard .. 0 2 6
 William Hurst .. 0 2 6
 Henry May .. 0 2 6
 David Richardson .. 0 2 6
 John Allinson .. 0 2 6
 Robert Bleasdale .. 0 2 6
 Samuel Pearson .. 0 2 6
 William Davies .. 0 2 6
 Joseph Howard .. 0 2 6
 Edward Speddy .. 0 2 6
 Thomas Williams .. 0 2 6
 William Whitaker .. 0 2 6
 Joseph Hurst .. 0 2 6
 James Platt .. 0 2 6
 Levi Smith .. 0 2 6
 John Kirk .. 0 2 6
 Charles Marsden .. 0 2 6
 John Porritt .. 0 2 6
 Joseph Rowbottom .. 0 2 6
 John Fitton, Jun. .. 0 2 6
 Joshua Sykes .. 0 2 6
 Samuel Ashbourne .. 0 2 6
 John Lees .. 0 2 6
 Henry M'Laren .. 0 2 6
 William Hindle .. 0 2 6
 A Friend .. 0 2 6
 Joseph Fitton .. 0 2 6
 Roger Bradshaw .. 0 2 6
 Henry Fielding .. 0 2 6
 James Sheldermine .. 0 2 6
 Contributions of a less amount than 2s. 6d. each .. 3 17 10

SWANSEA, (Christopher James .. 3 0 0
 2nd Remit. Richard Aubrey .. 1 1 0
 Small Welsh Farmers .. 0 2 6

Thomas Hyland .. 5 0 0
 John F. Amber .. 2 0 0
 Mrs. Reddish .. 2 0 0
 James Atty .. 1 0 0
 William Hindle .. 1 0 0
 Thomas Holt .. 1 0 0
 Joseph B. Bennett .. 1 0 0
 James Farnworth .. 1 0 0
 William Hargreaves .. 1 0 0
 Thomas Pearson .. 1 0 0
 Peter Hargreaves .. 0 10 0
 John Dewhurst .. 0 5 0
 Thomas Pilkington .. 0 2 6
 John Hayton .. 0 2 6
 Thomas Cooke .. 0 2 6
 James Layland .. 0 2 6
 Joseph Parkinson .. 0 2 6
 Peter Bolger .. 0 2 6
 Thomas Anderton .. 0 2 6
 Charles Shaw .. 0 2 6
 Printers on Croese Hall Works .. 4 17 8

Thomas Miller .. £500 0 0
 Henry Miller .. 100 0 0
 Thomas and Wm. M'Guffey, cotton spinners .. 20 0 0
 John Heaton, Charles-street .. 20 0 0
 J. Evans, Chipping, near .. 10 0 0
 Ainsworth and Co., cotton spinners .. 100 0 0
 Mr. Goodier, manufacturer .. 10 0 0
 Rochdale, { Mrs. Charles Haigh, Broadley, near .. 10 10 0
 12th Remit. { Thomas Hoop, Ogden Mill .. 1 1 0
 Kendal, { John Somerville .. 7 0 0
 3rd Remit. { Rev. J. Guthrie .. 1 0 0
 { Edward Irving .. 0 10 0
 { Thomas Askew .. 1 0 0
 Hebden Bridge, { John Edmondson, Mytholmroyd .. 1 0 0
 near Rochdale, { Wm. Barker .. 2 0 0
 4th Remittance. { John Moorhouse .. 1 1 0
 { W. B. Honth .. 1 1 0
 { Thomas Patchett .. 2 0 0
 { Henry Clayton .. 0 5 0
 { John Wilcock .. 0 10 0
 { A Friend .. 0 2 0
 James Browning, 35, Stockwell .. 0 3 0
 James Scott, 55, do. .. 0 2 6
 Workers in Campbell's silk factory, John-street, Bridgeton .. 0 10 4
 John O'Neill, 86, Saltmarket .. 1 1 0
 Archibald Gardner, 110, do. .. 0 10 0
 John Sculler, do. .. 0 5 0
 Michael Jeffrey, do. .. 0 10 0
 John Milne, 24, Stockwell .. 0 2 6
 Robert Macnair, 48, do. .. 0 2 6
 William Spence, 98, do. .. 0 2 0
 James Steel, 158, Cowcaddens .. 1 1 0
 Anthony Turnbull and Co., 28, Exchange-sqr. .. 5 0 0
 Arthur Balbirnie, 25, Stockwell .. 0 5 0
 James Melvin, 24, Washington-street .. 0 5 0
 Anti-Monopolist .. 1 0 0
 Daniel Wright, 222, Castle-street .. 1 0 0
 George Miller, 25, Stockwell .. 0 5 0
 A Friend .. 0 2 6
 Workmen of Hugh Aitken and Co., dyers, Camlachie .. 0 14 0
 J. Campbell, Dalchurn-park, Renton, Dum-bartonshire .. 1 0 0
 George Gatheral, 74, Buchanan-street .. 0 5 0
 A Friend .. 0 5 0
 Workers of South Woodside factory, per John Taylor .. 3 0 0
 John Robertson, Springfield-court .. 1 1 0
 Wm. Boyd, 14, Buchanan-street .. 0 5 0
 A Hater of Monopoly .. 0 2 6
 John M'Dougall, dyer, Macalpine-street .. 1 0 0
 Workers of do. .. 0 4 0
 James Macnee, 107, Buchanan-street .. 0 2 6
 William Anderson, 1, Claremont-place .. 1 0 0
 William Notman, 33, Buchanan-street .. 0 10 0
 David Muir, Kilwinning, Avonshire .. 1 0 0
 Dr. Andrew Buchanan, 13, Moore-place .. 1 1 0
 James Grandison, 2, Edwin-place .. 1 0 0
 James M. Kerr, 40, St. Vincent-street .. 1 1 0
 George Gordon, North Exchange-court .. 1 0 0
 P. and E. Seville .. 50 0 0
 James Elliott .. 2 2 0
 A Friend .. 5 0 0
 Isaac Seville .. 3 0 0
 Wm. and John Nicholson .. 2 0 0
 T. and H. Atherton .. 3 0 0
 Samuel Seville .. 2 0 0
 John Booth .. 1 0 0

THE PENDING ELECTIONS.

The state of Horsham at the present moment, as explained in the annexed resolution, is a type of the electoral condition of many of the small rural boroughs. Mr. Hurst, formerly the Whig member, who was considered the Liberal leader of the borough, in which he owns a large amount of property, having conciliated the Duke of Richmond by a subscription to the Anti-League Fund, is brought forward upon the joint support of Whig and Tory Monopolists; and the few earnest Free-Traders in the place suddenly find themselves without organization or leaders. Under these circumstances they declined the offer of the Council of the League to furnish them with a candidate, preferring to organize themselves for a future effort. We have been requested to publish the following:—

At a public meeting of the electors and other inhabitants of the borough of Horsham, held at the Assembly Room of the Richmond Arms this 18th day of April, 1844, it was proposed, on the motion of Mr. Robert Ashdown, seconded by Mr. John Browne, and unanimously resolved—

"That, by a coalition betwixt both political parties of the landed proprietary of this neighbourhood in support of monopoly, and the personal possession of large property in this parish, Mr. Robert Henry Hurst has been enabled temporarily to secure the representation of this borough, while many of the Free-Trade electors have incautiously precluded themselves by premature pledges from the present exercise of a free choice.

"That the inhabitants of this borough repudiate the representation of Mr. Hurst as being virtually that only of his and his landed supporters' interests, whose exercise of political power controls, for the present, our freedom of election.

"And that, to prevent all mistake on the subject of our real opinions, this meeting denounces all taxes on human food, and restrictions on the exercise of industry; and we hereby declare our readiness at any future election to record our votes in favour of that candidate who will support the total and immediate repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws."

The foregoing resolution having been unanimously carried by the meeting, I hereby certify the same on behalf thereof.

JAMES AGATE, Chairman.

Huntingdon is another illustration of the way in which the League agitation is testing the character and exposing the objects of self-styled liberal politicians. One of the noisiest and most unscrupulous tools of the aristocratic Monopolists of that county is a person who was formerly considered a Liberal of the first water, and the champion of religious freedom! Parties and leaders are in a state of confusion there, which precludes the possibility of a Free-Trader being at present returned. An application has been made to Mr. Downes Martin (chairman at Mr. Acland's triumphant discussion), who has hitherto resisted the pressing invitation of his friends to allow himself to be

put in nomination. Although, from his high character in the neighbourhood, he would certainly poll more than any other League candidate, still we hope, if he declines, that the Free-Trade electors will allow the Council of the League to redeem its pledge by finding a candidate to oppose Mr. Thomas Baring. There is no mode of reconstructing parties so effectual as that of a vigorous election contest upon League principles.

Woodstock is another beautiful illustration of our electoral system. Mr. Thesiger, who sat for that pocket-borough as the nominee of the Duke of Marlborough, having resigned (according to the constitutional rule) upon receiving the appointment to the office of Solicitor-General, expecting, no doubt, to be re-elected as a matter of course, finds the Marquis of Blandford, the duke's eldest son, in the field before him. This is a second edition of the Durham squabble. Our readers will recollect that the candidate is son-in-law of the Marquis of Londonderry, and was intended by him for the representation of that city. Should there be a similar rupture between the Government party and the Marlborough men, there will be a Leaguer ready to carry off the prize.

Our accounts from Exeter represent the steam as rising. The Free-Traders are fortunate in having for their candidate so excellent a man, one so unexceptionable in every respect, as General Briggs; and aided by the eloquence of his friends, Mr. Geo. Thompson and Mr. Moore, who are daily addressing the electors of that city, we feel confident that such an impression will be made as will eventually, if not immediately, rescue its representation from the hands of the Monopolists.

Let our friends everywhere be on the alert, so as to prevent their being taken by surprise. Above all things let them watch the registration, and trust to nothing but the battle of the registration courts.

LIVERPOOL.

THE GREAT FREE-TRADE BANQUET.

The Great Free Trade Banquet at the Amphitheatre took place on Friday, the 12th inst., Thomas Thornely, Esq., M.P. for Wolverhampton, in the chair. Placards had some days before been posted, announcing that the Right Hon. the Earl of Ducie; the Right Hon. Fox Maule, M.P.; the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; William Ewart, Esq., M.P.; Colonel Perronet Thompson; Henry Ashworth, Esq.; W. J. Fox, Esq.; Robert R. Moore, Esq.; George Thompson, Esq.; and George Wilson, Esq., of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and several other distinguished advocates of Free Trade, would attend.

The meeting was most animated throughout, and the enthusiasm which the principles of Free Trade, as enunciated by the eloquent speakers, excited, showed how strong is the hold which they have taken upon the public of Liverpool.

The orchestra was placed on an elevation at the extreme end of the stage, and Mr. Parker's band played during the evening a number of appropriate tunes, in a style which reflected credit on the talent of their leader and the capacity of his musicians. Beneath the orchestra were four lights, reflected through pink shades, with gilt edges, which had a pleasing and harmonious effect, bearing flags underneath, on each of which, in pink and green, was inscribed the name of some popular leader of the Free-Trade movement—"Thompson," "Cobden," "Bright," "Villiers." The gallery beneath the president's chair bore a series of inscriptions, such as the following:—"The Corn Law is a bread law;" "For God's sake don't tax the bread of the people;" "A protected trade is a useless trade." The chandelier in the centre of the building was gaily decorated for the occasion. It was enveloped in a covering of variegated colours—crimson, white, purple, and pink,—and the effect was extremely pleasing. Over the stage boxes there were magnificent circular transparencies, upon one of which was "London," and upon the other "Durham," in allusion to the great victories achieved by the patriotic energy of the League over obstinate monopolist confederacies. To the right of the chair, along the upper gallery, were a series of beautiful transparencies, on which were inscribed the following appropriate mottoes:—"The Corn Law increases the price of bread; the Corn Law keeps up the price of food, but not of wages;" "Free Trade! shoulder to shoulder!" "Commerce is barter." On the opposite side, in similar devices, were the following:—"A tax on bread is a poll tax;" "If one man receives protection, another pays for it;" "Your device is to create artificial scarcity;" "Free-Traders are of no party." In the gallery, fronting the president's chair, was a magnificent flag, upon which, most beautifully worked, was an allegorical representation of Britannia weeping over the Corn Laws; on one side of this flag were inscribed, in coloured letters, the words, "The Corn Laws are opposed to the will of God and the happiness of man;" and, on the other side, from Mr. Huskisson's speech in the House of Commons, on the 26th of March, 1832, "It is my decided conviction that we cannot uphold the Corn Laws now in existence, together with our present taxation, and at the same time increase our national prosperity, and preserve public credit." Beneath every box on the lower tier, the gas-lights were encircled by elegantly-framed devices, in the shape of shells, tastefully ornamented and gilded, supported on either side by flags of various colours. The *tout ensemble* was very picturesque. The tables, about ten in number, were ranged in parallel lines across the stage and pit, down to the boxes. The boxes were appropriated to the use of the ladies, who were elegantly dressed, and took a warm interest in the proceedings. They were well filled, except in one or two of the centre boxes; and during the evening the fair occupants were supplied with jellies, iced creams, and other delicacies by the stewards, the refreshments being provided by Mr. Lynn, of the Waterloo Hotel, whose talents as a caterer are familiar to such of our readers as have been in the habit of attending public banquets in this town. The dinner was excellent in quality, and abundant in quantity; the waiting was everything which the most fastidious could desire; and on the present, as on former occasions, we have to record our obligations to the worthy caterer, Mr. Lynn, for his attention and politeness, not less to ourselves than to all who were partakers of the evening's festivities. There were present several strangers and a large number of the most influential, commercial, and professional men of Liverpool.

THOS. THORNEY, Esq., M.P., the chairman, having proposed in succession the usual preliminary toasts,

—“her Majesty the Queen,” “the Queen Dowager, Prince Albert, and the rest of the royal family,” which were drunk with loud cheers,—rose and said, that the meeting was not upon any particular occasion, but that it had been thought desirable that occasional meetings should be held by the Free Traders of Liverpool, from which great good would be the inevitable result. He felt great pleasure at witnessing the attendance of so many strangers, because he wished them to know that, although the voice of Liverpool as now expressed in Parliament was exercised on the side of monopoly, yet in this community there was a body of enlightened intelligence which earnestly sought the extension of commerce, and desired to enforce on Parliament the principles of Free Trade. The chairman then congratulated the meeting on the great extension of those principles, referring for proof to the appointment of the Import Duties Committee, upon which he and Mr. Ewart had served, which had shown what a deal of embarrassment the commerce of the country laboured under from its being restricted, and which had enlightened the public mind on the subject of such restriction; and also referring to the labours of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, the mention of whose names elicited loud cheers. Having read a letter from Earl Ducie expressing his inability to attend, he said that the toast he was about to give had been intended to be given in the presence of that noble earl, but, as he was not present, he would take the liberty of introducing the name of another distinguished nobleman, the Marquis of Westminster. (Loud cheers.) The chairman then gave “the Marquis of Westminster, the Earl Ducie, and those peers who support the principles of commercial freedom, seeking no advantage for their order at the expense of the community at large.” (Great cheering.) The chairman also read a letter of apology from Mr. Villiers, expressing his regret that, owing to indisposition, he was unable to be present. He begged to introduce to the meeting their respected friend Mr. Ewart. (Great cheering.) The chairman then gave the following toast:—“The Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P., and those members of the House of Commons who have recorded their votes in favour of Free Trade,” with three cheers for Mr. Villiers. (Three tremendous cheers were then given for that distinguished gentleman.)

WILLIAM EWART, Esq., M.P., rose, and was received with loud and long-continued cheering. Mr. Ewart began his address by referring to Mr. Villiers, upon whom he passed a warm eulogium. In responding to the toast on behalf of the other Free-Trade members of the House, he expressed his regret that they were not more numerous; but they were making progress in the country, and eventually the country would ensure a final and effectual triumph to the principles of Free Trade. He wanted words to express his sense of the services of some of those distinguished men, amongst whom was his friend the chairman, and those whom he might truly call the apostles of Free Trade—Messrs. Cobden and Bright. He saw around him some of the real representatives of Free Trade, but there were no latent or concealed representatives who ought by proxy to thank the meeting? Why, the Prime Minister, the Secretary for the Home Department, and the President of the Board of Trade, were “Free Traders in the abstract;” they only wanted moral courage to carry out their principles; and if they would come forward with some great and comprehensive measure, they would carry with them all the sympathy, as well as the support, of the present generation, while they would commend the gratitude of posterity. Mr. Ewart then referred to the state of the question in the House, where, he contended, the majority were one-sided advocates—one-eyed judges, who would never have their vision completely restored until purged by the invigorating influence of the public mind. The Anti-Corn-Law League, that unjustly derided, but justly popular body, had achieved a great triumph; it had broken down the false barrier which had so long separated the manufacturing and rural inhabitants of the country, and had shown that their interests were one. It had appealed to the tenant-farmers to be no longer serfs, but to demand that just protection which the law ought not to deny to any man; and it had not appealed in vain, for the farmers were now determined that they would have that protection of long leases which was given in Scotland, and which sound policy denied to no man. The League had gone further; it had shown that the agriculturists were worse off than the manufacturing population; and had asked the peasant whether it was not his interest to have cheap bread, cheap clothing, and other articles. Having again expressed his thanks at the great spread of Free-Trade principles, he said:—“This is a happy consummation; but I turn round, and ask, what effect has this advance in the principles of Free Trade produced within the town of Liverpool (hear, hear), the town which gave me birth—the birthplace of most of us—our mother town of Liverpool? (Cheers.) I lament to state, and I grieve to reflect, that this town—the Tyne of modern times—that this town, far surpassing in wealth and magnificence all that the most celebrated cities of ancient days could boast, still remains blind to those principles which Adam Smith in his writings inculcated, whose successor William Pitt followed, and which were taught and impressed upon its inhabitants by the late Mr. Huskisson (hear, hear), principles which first brought the town to its present eminence, and which give confidence of future greatness. (Hear, hear.) But what must be the feelings of the distinguished foreigner, when he visits our port, and finds her merchants hand-bound and manacled with the chains of commercial intolerance and despotic tyranny. (Loud cries of “Hear, hear.”) Gentlemen, we have had anything but the principles of Free Trade prevailing in this town for a long period. At one time we had the West India interest predominant—an interest which exercised what it was pleased to call the right of holding the bodies of their fellow-creatures in commercial thralldom; and we have long had an interest which unjustly employed its power and influence in upholding and binding together an unholy alliance against the principles of Free Trade. (Hear.) They for a long time have impressed the town with those principles of commercial turpitude which debased the population; but I trust a brighter period now awaits us—I trust an era is now about to dawn upon us, at least upon our younger population, which will dispel our apprehensions for the future. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Ewart concluded with an eloquent appeal to the meeting to give to the Free-Trade members of the House of Commons not only their approbation, but their determined and persevering support; and resumed his seat amidst loud and repeated cheers.

The CHAIRMAN, after a few introductory remarks, proposed “The Right Hon. Fox Maule, M.P., and those landowners who recognise the principle, that the interests of agriculture are best promoted by unrestricted trade.”

The Right Hon. Fox MAULE rose amidst loud plaudits, and having acknowledged the very flattering reception he had met with, said he cordially responded to the sentiment of the toast. With no other prospects to look to than those which emanated from land, he entirely concurred in the view that the interests of the position he might be called upon hereafter to occupy could only be promoted to their utmost extent by unrestricted commercial intercourse with all the world. He deserved no credit for uttering this sentiment, because, in adopting it, he was only seeking his own personal ends; and he felt surprised that those situated as he was did not view the matter in the same light. If they did inherit lands, what was that if, at the same time, they were viewed as an incubus in the country? As a body, they had always stood in the way of improvement to the commercial intercourse of the world, and of the habits and condition of their countrymen. He wished to be distinguished not by nobility of title, or the accident of birth, but by doing as much good to others as he could. He noticed the rapid spread of Free-Trade principles in Scotland, which he attributed to the greater independence of the tenant, arising from their possessing longer leases. Mr. Maule then referred to the system of corn rents, another advantage possessed by farmers in Scotland; and to the obstacles they had to encounter in a stern climate, which led them to study the utmost economy, by which they were enabled to pay the rents they did. He expressed the hope that Free-Trade principles would spread still more in Scotland, for he was quite sure that there was no system so bad as that which led the farmers to consider themselves as a distinct body from the rest of the community. After a warm eulogium on commerce, whose great advantages he pointed out, Mr. Maule said:—“When I landed upon these magnificent docks, and saw the flags of every different nation floating, and the mercantile marine upon them, I could not help saying to myself, ‘Is it possible that this great city, instead of being the beacon-light of Free Trade, should be one of the closest and restricted with respect to commerce of any city in the world?’ I look around and see little knots of monopolist interests in various quarters. I see the sugar frightened for its existence on the one hand, and I see the timber trembling on the other. (Laughter.) I see various interests all at work, and I see them uniting together to support in the main the most object of all monopolies—the monopoly of food. (Hear.) But I trust the day is coming when public opinion, which, as history tells us, must sooner or later prevail, will wipe away the stains which now exist upon our commercial statute book. It is truly impossible that those who are engaged in commerce in this community—those who are the owners of capital, and those who can command the wealth and resources of the land—it is truly impossible that they will sit quietly by, be their politics called by what name they please, and see market after market stolen and wrested from this country by our own foolish acts and wretched legislation. (Tremendous cheering.) I think I can trace—without pretending to see further than my neighbours—I think I can see a latent disposition in certain quarters—I think I can see certain signs of the times which convince me that the loss of foreign markets is coming somewhat home to the consideration of the powers that be. (Hear.) When we see our busy neighbour anxious—and I do not blame her for that—to take advantage of every opening for her infantile commerce—when we see that busy neighbour nibbling at the Brazils—a market which, if we were to lose (and we might retain it with the utmost ease)—a market which, if we were to lose, there are many in Liverpool would rue their obstinacy. (Tremendous applause.) When we see that busy neighbour at work, it behoves us to put all our energies to work, and it behoves the people of this country to ring—by agitation if you please—in the ears of the Government of the day, that such things will not be submitted to. (Cheers.) Mr. Maule having mentioned the names of several distinguished noblemen, landowners, holding Free-Trade principles, concluded by again expressing his thanks for the reception he had met with, and sat down amidst loud cheering and waving of handkerchiefs.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the next toast, “The Anti-Corn-Law League, and thanks to them for the zealous and persevering endeavours to liberate British industry from the bondage of monopoly,” said that the printed list stated that the toast would be responded to by George Wilson, Esq., but he was unfortunately absent in Manchester, labouring under indisposition. Having the honour of being their chairman, he might also consider himself a sort of stage manager; and it therefore behoved him to look about for some one to take the part. (Cheers and laughter.) He begged to propose as a substitute his respected friend, Richard Cobden, Esq. (Great cheering, the whole company rising.) He would only say, as the Speaker says, “The eyes have it.” (Cheers and laughter.) In connexion with the Anti-Corn-Law League, he begged to propose “The health of Richard Cobden, Esq.” (Great cheering, the company again rising.)

Mr. COBDEN, on rising to respond to the toast, was received with many rounds of most enthusiastic applause, which it seemed very difficult to restrain. Silence being obtained, the hon. gentleman, after two or three introductory remarks, said: I regret exceedingly that our friend, Mr. Wilson, is not here to return his thanks for the honour you have done him. In his absence I should be very sorry to let the occasion pass of joining in my humble tribute to his great worth and usefulness in this great cause. (Hear.) He is not much accustomed to public exhibitions, but to those who have been constantly and actively engaged in this cause for the last five years, like myself, Mr. Wilson’s merits are known and well appreciated. (Hear.) I have no hesitation in saying that without his calm and cool judgment, his clear sagacity, his great perseverance and his courage, which never knows what it is to be beaten—if we had not had his power of combination, his suggestive mind to have guided us in our operations, the League would not have been what it is at the present day. (Cheers.) For myself it may be said of Mr. Wilson, as applied to me, “Go, and he goeth; come, and he cometh:” for I am always perfectly safe when I am at his disposal, because I am sure, if he has made an engagement for me, it is always to do good to the cause. (Hear.) Mr. Cobden then addressed himself to the general question, in a speech of great length, which was loudly cheered throughout. The fol-

lowing just observations on the character of a considerable portion of our parliamentary representation are deserving of the notice of constituencies:—“If I find a borough degraded in its habits, drunken, profligate, I know the members come in upon the beer barrel—(cheers)—and when I see them in the House I am quite sure they will be as often in Bellamy’s, or at the club, as in the House giving their votes. (Hear.) If I come to a borough of larger dimensions, and I find there a community which runs to extremes in religion, I make up my mind that that borough, much as it may be celebrated for commerce, or however advantageous in other respects it may be, I am quite sure that borough will be likely to limit its own commerce, and restrict the prosperity of its population, by carrying narrow-mindedness and bigotry into political voting, and sending men to Parliament who will put fetters upon their own commerce. Mind, there is one saving clause to the theory I set up. There is also a transition state. There are some boroughs which have given examples of bad habits and morals, therefore we may expect their representatives to be the same; but there are others in a state of transition from bad to better. Now I firmly believe, whatever Liverpool has been in times past, Liverpool is in a process of change to something better. There may be discouraging men among you, but there is a young party in this town to which you owe much. I am glad that this cause of Free Trade has fallen mainly into the hands of the young men of this town. (Cheers.) They cannot be much known in your parish or municipal squabbles, and the less they are known the better. (Hear.) They cannot be much tainted with Whiggery or Toryism, and I am glad of it. I care nothing about Whig or Tory in the settlement of this question of Free Trade. The hon. gentleman concluded by expressing his conviction that the state of affairs in this borough would speedily be changed; and that the next time they met he should be able to say “Young Liverpool did it.” (Tremendous cheering.)

WM. RATHBONE, Esq., was received with loud and long-continued applause. When silence was restored, he said, he ventured to propose the health of the chairman. (Cheers.) He cheerfully paid that compliment to his much respected friend—a man who ought to have been their representative. (Loud applause.) Mr. Rathbone having made some observations on the causes which affected the representation of Liverpool, passed a warm eulogium on the chairman, who, by his consistency, freedom from crochets, and daily attendance in the House of Commons, had nobly done his duty. (The toast was drunk with three times three and continued cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN acknowledged the compliment, and concluded by proposing “The total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Law, and the abolition of all other commercial monopolies,” and by informing the meeting that John Bright, Esq., M.P., would respond to the toast. (The toast was drunk with three times three.)

JOHN BRIGHT, Esq., M.P. for Durham, rose, and was received with several rounds of applause. After the cheering had subsided, the hon. gentleman said that, with reference to what the chairman had stated as to his (Mr. Bright) being there upon that occasion, it would appear that he had understood his own importance—coming down to supply the place of some gentleman whose absence they all regretted. The exact truth was, that he (Mr. Bright) had come down to Liverpool without knowing that the gentleman would be absent, but with the full understanding that he was not to speak that night, but that he was to take part in a meeting to be held in that place to-morrow (Saturday) night. Having been there, however, he felt no objection to take such part in the proceedings as the committee of management had assigned to him. Mr. Bright then delivered an able address, and concluded amidst loud cheers.

The CHAIRMAN proposed “Speed the Plough! May British agriculture soon be relieved from the ‘peculiar burden’ of protection, and keep pace in the march of improvement with British manufactures.” He had great pleasure in introducing to them a gentleman who would respond to it—an old friend, whose exertions in the cause of Free Trade he should never forget—he meant Colonel Thompson. (Tremendous cheers.)

Colonel THOMPSON, on coming forward, was greeted with hearty plaudits. He delivered one of his usual happy speeches, which repeatedly drew forth loud laughter and applause.

Mr. COBDEN, after paying a handsome compliment to the exertions of the young gentlemen who managed the Anti-Monopoly Association, concluded by proposing “Success to that Institution.”

Mr. RAWLINS briefly responded to it amid loud cheers.

The Right Hon. Mr. F. MAULE proposed “The Lancashire Witches,” which was drunk with great enthusiasm.

The immense assemblage separated at a quarter-past eleven.—Abridged from the *Liverpool Chronicle*.

HUNTINGDON.

DISCUSSION BETWEEN DR. SLEIGH AND MR. ACLAND.

Saturday having been appointed for the grand discussion of the Corn Law, in the large room of the Huntingdon Literary Institution, the fame of which had been spread far and wide through the country, the town presented a very crowded and excited appearance. Although the discussion was announced not to take place until four o’clock, the door of the Institute was besieged by crowds as early as half-past two; and the streets adjacent were thronged with eager faces hastening to the point of attraction. At half-past three the doors were opened, and the large room, which is calculated to hold rather above 1000 persons, was soon densely thronged, every corner being made available that could hold a listener. On the platform were placed a table in the middle for the two chairmen, and a seat for the Mayor, Dennis Herbert, Esq., the umpire; on the chairman’s left was the table of Mr. Acland, and Dr. Sleigh was placed on the right; the remaining portion of the platform was occupied by gentlemen who were admitted by tickets. About five minutes before four o’clock Dr. Sleigh entered the room, and amidst much applause took his seat on the platform. He was followed immediately after by Mr. Acland, whose entrance was also greeted with loud and prolonged cheers. On reaching the platform Mr. Acland advanced to Dr. Sleigh, and cordially shook hands with him, that gentleman returning the salute with equal good nature. This action elicited vociferous applause. The disputants then returned to their seats, and at four o’clock

exactly the proceedings commenced. Throughout the discussion the behaviour of the audience was characterized by much courtesy and moderation, and a great desire was evident to learn the real merits of the question. It was composed of persons of all classes; farmers of every grade, from him of 1000 acres to the 50 acre man. Agricultural labourers showed their honest weather-exposed faces; and the soiled jacket and pale, but intelligent countenance of the artisan mixed in the group. All seemed deeply interested and attentive, sincerely desirous and hopeful that the coming discussion would elicit the real truth concerning this important question. The result, which was not anticipated, was a majority, to the best of the judgment of our reporters, of three to one in favour of Free Trade. We have no time for comment now; but no doubt this meeting and its result will be alluded to and quoted with exultation by the advocates of Free Trade for many a long day. Although we do not pretend to have reported every word that was spoken during a five hours' debate, still we have studied to be strictly impartial, and fairly to give the arguments of each speaker.

On the platform with the disputants were seated Geo. Thornhill, Esq., M.P.; Dennis Herbert, Esq., Mayor of Huntingdon and umpire; Downes Martin, Esq., chairman for Mr. Acland; David Vasey, Esq., chairman for Dr. Sleigh; George and James Rust, Esqrs.; M. Newton, Esq., of Alconbury; James Torkington, Esq.; R. H. Hussey, Esq., Ald. Ward; Rev. Messrs. Leven-thorpe, Haworth, and W. Wright; Charles Vasey, Esq.; — Hammond, Esq.; and — Hickin, Esq., secretary to the League; Mr. G. M. Fox, secretary to the Huntingdon Protection Association; Captain Duberley; P. Tildard, Esq.; Messrs. Garner, Barnes, Boyer, and Elgood.

The discussion was commenced at four o'clock, by Dr. Sleigh, who spoke for an hour; then Mr. Acland spoke for the same period. At six o'clock, the time allowed to each disputant, by the mutual arrangements which had been made, was limited to half an hour; and from eight to half-past eight, each had a quarter of an hour. In his closing speech, Mr. Acland said, that as the question of the Corn Laws had hardly been touched upon, he proposed to his honourable opponent to adjourn the same to Tuesday (the 16th inst.). Dr. Sleigh declined. Some discussion having taken place as to the propriety of an adjournment, D. Vasey, Esq., said that his honourable colleague and himself were both of opinion that a division should be come to.—Mr. Warsop, of Alconbury, here rose with a paper in his hand, and was about to address the assembly, but was prevented by the chairman.—Mr. D. Vasey read the printed programme of the proceedings, after which he called upon all those who were in favour of Dr. Sleigh's assertion to hold up both hands.—About one-third of the meeting signified their acquiescence with Dr. Sleigh.—Mr. Vasey then requested all those who were of opinion that Dr. Sleigh had failed to maintain his assertion, to hold up both hands.—In reply to this, a complete forest of hands was raised, constituting 3 to 1 in favour of Free Trade. As soon as the shouts which greeted this display had subsided, Mr. D. Martin advanced to the edge of the platform, and said, "I thank you, gentlemen; we have beaten them by 3 to 1."—Mr. Acland then came forward and proposed the thanks of the meeting, for the kind, able, and impartial conduct of the gentlemen who had presided over the proceedings.—Dr. Sleigh seconded the proposition, which was carried by acclamation, and the meeting separated at a quarter past nine.—(Abridged from a second edition of the *Cambridge Independent Press*.)

Speaking of the discussion, the *Morning Advertiser* says:—"Previous to its commencement, the great majority of the audience were in favour of the Corn Laws; but on a show of hands being taken at the close, 3 to 1 declared themselves in favour of Free Trade. So signal a triumph over the monopolists, and that, too, in one of their strongholds, needs no comment. The fact speaks for itself: it is pregnant with meaning, and is especially important when considered in its probable bearings on the forthcoming election."

ANTI-CORN-LAW LECTURES.—On Monday and Tuesday evenings, the 8th and 9th instant, Mr. Falvey delivered lectures against corn and other monopolies, and in favour of Free Trade, to attentive and respectable audiences, at the Temperance Hall, Ipswich. The lecture of Monday was of a more elementary character than that of Tuesday, but that portion of it which showed the value of machinery to extend trade, employ labour, and increase the comforts of man, excited the opposition of a stranger who gave his name Isaac Levy, and who attempted to engage in an argument. The adventurous knight, however, who had rushed into combat so unceremoniously, was soon unhorsed. On Tuesday evening, Mr. Falvey showed that although the farmers of the country were now loud in their outcries against the agitation going forward, yet they were, nevertheless, the parties who originated the movement, and even Free Trade itself had in 1817 been promulgated from the throne itself. Such being the case it was not altogether reasonable and consistent in them to return men to Parliament pledged to keep up monopoly both in corn and trade. After detailing all the evils falling on farmers, trade, manufacturers, and the nation generally, through the Corn Laws, he showed that a very different state of things would result from the adoption of Free-Trade principles—principles which, incontrovertible in their nature, must eventually prevail. At the close of the lecture, Mr. M'Pherson said, that though he was of course opposed to the continuance of Corn Laws, yet he disagreed with the lecturer if he contended that a remedy was to be found in a Parliament constituted as the present. The only remedy was universal suffrage. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") Mr. Falvey begged the speaker to understand, that if he supported the Corn Laws, he was ready to enter upon a discussion with respect to them, but on no other subject. The chairman (Rev. Mr. Middleditch) said, of course he should not allow the introduction of any subject apart from that of the evening. The meeting then separated, but not without much expression of dissatisfaction by the supporters of universal suffrage, that their champion was not allowed to state his views. Mr. Falvey's lectures were very effective efforts of reasoning, and the lecturer appeared fully acquainted with all the ramifications of his subject.—*Suffolk Chronicle*.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING, PONTEFRAC.—On Thursday evening, April 11, Colonel Thompson, Mr. Charles Morton, and Mr. T. Plint, attended as a deputa-

tion from the League, to address the inhabitants of Pontefract on the Corn Laws and Free Trade. In consequence of the refusal of the use of the Town Hall by the Council, the meeting was held in the British School. Francis Barker, Esq., filled the chair, and after making a few pertinent observations as to the object of the meeting, was about to introduce Colonel Thompson, when a Mr. Harper, of Minskip, near Boroughbridge, rose and requested an answer from the deputation to a request which he had that afternoon forwarded to them, viz., that discussion should be allowed, as he was prepared to prove that protective laws were beneficial generally, and especially so to farmers and farm-labourers.—He was greeted with a storm of hisses, and with repeated inquiries from all parts of the meeting, "Who are you?" "Who sent for you?" "What are you?" The Chairman interfered to procure order, and announced to Mr. Harper that the deputation would speak first, and then, if the meeting thought proper, he (Mr. Harper) should speak. Col. Thompson then spoke, and with more than his usual point and effect, and was warmly applauded. He was followed by Mr. Morton in an effective speech, replete with "facts for farmers," showing the delusive character of the protection promised, but not secured, to farmers and farm-labourers, by the Corn Laws. Mr. Plint was then heard, and directed his attention principally to the examination of several little tracts, extensively circulated during the past week by the Pro-Corn-Law party, which he clearly proved to be distortions of facts, and utterly dishonest and fallacious. This exposure was received with evident approval by the meeting, and the conclusion of his speech was followed by several rounds of cheering, waving of hats, &c. Mr. Harper again attempted to address the meeting, but met with anything but a flattering reception: he was even menaced with rough treatment, and finally made his exit under the protection of Mr. Plint.

GATEHEAD FREE-TRADE SOCIETY.—The committee met at the Grey Horse Inn on Wednesday, at eight o'clock (Mr. John Fawcett in the chair). It was resolved:—1. That public meetings be discontinued during the summer months. 2. That the sense of the electors on the Corn Laws be taken, by obtaining their signatures to a requisition to the member for the borough, expressing a hope that he will be in his place to support Mr. Villiers's motion for an inquiry into the Corn Laws, with a view to their total and immediate repeal. It was observed that this was not intended to imply any doubt of Mr. Hunt's voting for the motion, the honourable member having declared his intention of so doing, but simply as a test of the feeling of the electors.—*Gatehead Observer*.

COUNTY MEETING.—Active preparations, we hear, are making for the intended county meeting at Jedburgh. We trust the resolutions to be brought before it will be framed so as to secure the hearty support of all who are for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. Let the voice of the people be once fairly taken. Let the thing be done decidedly and unequivocally, and there can be no dread of the result. Nine-tenths of our population are in favour of Free Trade.—*Kelso Chronicle*.

PROTECTION TO AGRICULTURE.—Within the last few weeks, a petition has been handed about for signatures in the neighbourhood of North Berley, praying that Parliament would continue the protection to agriculture. Two canvassers were employed for this purpose, who frequently met with persons who not only refused to sign the petition, but who gave very good reasons for their refusal. On entering one house where two or three persons were assembled, the canvassers urged them to sign the petition, but they refused, and began to argue the propriety of an immediate and total repeal of the Corn Laws, and one of them having a copy of the *Leeds Mercury* in his pocket, read different extracts from the letter to Lord Harewood. The result was that the canvassers became convinced that they were in the wrong, and one of them proposed to burn the petition instantly. This the other refused to do, but very few signatures to it were obtained in that neighbourhood.—*Leeds Mercury*.

LORD DUNCANNON AND FREE TRADE.—At the fourth anniversary of the Derby Liberal Operatives' Association, held at the Athenaeum Rooms in that town, on Tuesday, the 9th instant, Lord Duncannon, M.P., presided, and in proposing the toast of "Free Trade and no Monopoly," said:—"The toast which he had now to propose would find a ready response in the heart of every person present.—'Free Trade and no Monopoly.' (Prolonged cheering.) He was one of those whose subsistence depended on land (hear, hear); and if, therefore, Free Trade would be followed by ruin to the landowner, and the frightful consequences which had been predicted by its opponents, he would have to bear his share of the loss. (Hear, hear.) But he did not believe in anything so absurd. He believed that the agricultural and manufacturing interests were so interwoven with each other, that depression to the one would be followed by similar consequences to the other, and that those who called themselves the farmers' friends little consulted their own interest in neglecting the cause of manufactures; for if either interest was in danger from the depression of the other, he was quite sure it was on the side of the agricultural interest, which was more dependent upon the prosperity of our manufacturing population than the manufacturing interest was dependent upon the home consumption of the agricultural districts. (Hear, hear.) He congratulated them on the bright prospect before them. When they looked back upon the history of this struggle, and observed with what rapid strides the cause of Free Trade had progressed, and was now progressing, he was sure it required no extraordinary sagacity to foresee its final triumph. (Cheers.) They were undoubtedly indebted for this ripening of the question to the exertions of a body of men who, he would say, had done good service to the people of this country—he meant the Anti-Corn-Law League (loud cheers); who had gone about the country diffusing information, and rousing the people to their true interests—who had not confined themselves to any particular class or district, but had gone even into the lion's mouth, into those counties where the advocates and their principles had been unscrupulously assailed. (Cheers.) Hitherto the privileged class had enjoyed all the benefits of legislation, while the poorer classes, having no voice, had received no consideration in legislative enactments. (Cheers.) He was sure that such a system of legislation was rapidly coming to an end, and that the time was approaching when class interests would not be fostered to the injury of the community at large. (Cheers.) Our aristocracy must not be an aristocracy of rank and power merely. It must be

an aristocracy of worth, setting a bright example in worth, in education, in all that should adorn a man. (Cheers.) Lord Duncannon, in subsequently returning thanks for his health, said he was a Free-Trader in the question of labour as well as of corn. (Cheers.) He did not believe that there was any disposition on the part of the manufacturers of this country to treat women and children with wanton cruelty, as had been alleged by some of Lord Ashley's supporters. (Hear, hear.) Nor did he feel that parents generally in the manufacturing districts were so utterly destitute of the best feelings of humanity—to say nothing of paternal solicitude—as, for the sake of a few pence, to turn their children into cripples. (Cheers.) He had opposed Lord Ashley's motion from a sincere conviction that, if carried into practice, injury instead of good would result from it, and because he considered that instead of interfering unnecessarily with the private arrangements between masters and men, they ought to legislate with a more enlarged philanthropy, and for more practical results, by giving free scope to commerce and to the industry of the people. (Loud cheers.)

THE BRISTOL ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING.—The account of the Bristol meeting in our last was taken, not from the *Bristol Mercury*, but from the *Bristol Gazette*. The report we gave was necessarily an abridged one, and we think it right to mention that the report in the *Gazette* (forming a second edition) occupied nearly six columns of that paper, and was published by daybreak on Thursday morning, although the proceedings did not terminate till eleven o'clock on Wednesday night: this is highly creditable to the enterprising proprietors.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter from an English gentleman residing in the United States to a leading member of the League.

New York, February 28, 1844.

SIR,—The only apology I can offer for this letter, and for thus trespassing on your already over-occupied time, must be my zeal for the cause in which it is addressed to you. During the last two or three years, and more especially since the extraordinary success attendant upon your and your fellow-leaguers' arduous exertions for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the general interests of mankind, I have been much, though quietly, engaged in inquiries and considerations as to the practicability of effecting something for the commonweal in this benighted land; and the conclusion to which I have been led is, that much, very much, may be done even here.

Of the people of the United States, if I may be allowed without irreverence to borrow the language of scripture, I would say, as indeed might have been said of the English two years ago, that "they are scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd. The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few." To show the apathy, ignorance, and prejudice which at present exist on this subject, throughout the far greater portion of the union, it would be enough to say, that the only presidential candidate in favour of Free Trade (Mr. Calhoun) is compelled to withdraw from the contest for want of support; whilst Mr. Van Buren and General Cass, though repeatedly urged by the advocates of that policy to declare themselves, have held back and equivocated on the subject, thinking, no doubt, to play in America the same game which Sir Robert Peel has so frequently practised on the credulity of England.

The people of this country, as far as the question of Free Trade is concerned, may be said to stand thus:—

I. **PRINCIPAL MERCHANTS**—some for, and others against it; but few of them (except, perhaps, such of the New Englanders as are connected with Lowell) exhibiting anything like zeal on either side. The majority, however, I hope, incline towards us.

II. **TRADESMEN AND SHOPKEEPERS**—better than the greater merchants, but little disposed to any sacrifice or exertion. Free Trade, they most of them admit, would be a very good thing for America, if it could be obtained, and yet scarcely any of them will do anything to obtain it.

III. **MANUFACTURERS**—incorrigible protectionists, and, in feelings, principles, and argument, the very counterparts of our Knatchbulls and Buckinghamss.

IV. **SUGAR-PLANTERS OF LOUISIANA**—resembling, in most respects, our Goulburns, Gladstones, and other West Indian monopolists.

V. **COTTON, RICE, AND TOBACCO GROWERS**—zealous Free-Traders, and kindly disposed towards England, except when stirred up by anything which they choose to call "an unwarranted interference," on our part, in regard to slavery.

VI. **FARMERS OR RAISERS OF CORN, CATTLE, &c.**—who may be said to constitute more than three-fourths of the population, and to whom, therefore, I wish to call your attention.

It is on these men that the question of Free or no-Free Trade ultimately depends. Could they be once roused to a sense of their own just interests, the present tariff would be soon either greatly modified or totally repealed. But their present ignorance on the question is perfectly astounding; and, yet, how should it be otherwise? They can learn little or nothing from the newspapers circulating around them, the far greater portion of which, whether *Loco-foco* or Whig, are in the hands of illiterate printers or half-educated lawyers,—many of them paid tools of the great manufacturers, and all of them, more or less, the slaves of some petty prejudice, party mania,

* The manufacturers may be called the aristocracy of the United States, and are as zealous attackers in support of their order as any landed gentry of Great Britain in support of his. Their chief friends and advocates may be found amongst the *Conservatives*, one of whom, on being asked how a man of his name could uphold anything so manifestly absurd and unjust as the protective system, admitted his opponent to be right "in theory!" but added, by way of excuse, that his object in so doing was to raise up an aristocracy of some kind or other. "We cannot," he said, "have a landed aristocracy; and, unless we have a manufacturing one, we shall have none at all, but be reduced to one common mob level." The gentleman who uttered these words was a man of independent fortune, of some literary attainments, and a highly influential member of Congress. But you may think, perhaps, that the *Loco-foco* or Radical party, who are the sworn enemies of everything akin to aristocracy, are more liberal and enlightened on the subject; and so some few of them certainly are. Not, however, the majority, who are a set of factious brawlers, vainglorious dupes, paters of England, and bearing a much nearer resemblance to Mr. Feargus O'Connor and his Chartist followers than to any members of the Anti-Corn-Law League in England.

local job, or imaginary self-interest. Nor are their orators in any respects better; the chief object with these men being either to forge political capital, or to get into wages of eight dollars a day as members of Congress (a comfortable maintenance for most of them); they take care, however opposed to each other, to contradict as rarely as possible the prejudices of the electors. *More flattery, or less truth, politically speaking, is not to be found in "the empire of the Czar" than in the republic of the United States!* Scarcely a candidate but begins his harangues by telling the audience that they are "the most enlightened and independent people in the world," or (as one great man went so far as to say), "the only truly enlightened and independent people in the world!" and many members reserve their oldest and shabbiest clothes, in order not to appear too aristocratical when amongst their constituents.* From such instructors, what knowledge or good is to be gleaned by the people?

I need not trouble you with statistical details of American produce, of the number and quantities of cattle, wheat, Indian corn, &c. &c. which are now raised, or the infinitely greater numbers and quantities which might be raised here, could adequate markets be found for the disposal of them. There is no class of persons in the whole world more directly interested in low tariffs and free exchanges with the inhabitants of other countries than the farmers of this. They stand scarcely less in need of cheap clothing than we do of cheap corn. Indeed, with nothing have I been more struck amongst the people of the western states than the glaring contrast which exists between their food and their dress: the superfluity and excellence of the one, and the extreme coarseness and poverty of the other. During my excursions in the West, I have met with proprietors of lands in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, many of them possessing hundreds, and some even thousands, of acres of fine corn and pasture soil, and yet clad in garments which many of our common English labourers would be almost ashamed to wear.† Their prairies were covered with oxen, sheep, and swine; their barns overflowed with grain; but money was scarce, and they were interdicted by stupid laws from exchanging their superabundance for the superabundance of other lands. And yet these very persons seemed altogether ignorant of the great cause of their poverty and privations; insisted on the necessity of protecting home industry, of rendering themselves independent of foreign nations, and of establishing (as a certain cure for all evils) fresh manufactures on the banks of the Wabash and Ohio. I had the satisfaction, however, of convincing many of them of their errors, and of making them view the subject in a very different light from what they had been taught to do by their local newspaper editors and politicians.

Perhaps there are no people more eager after their own interests, or more likely (when once put into the right way) to pursue them with effect, than the farmers here, whether of native, English, or German birth. Could any one bring clearly before their view the impolicy of their present course, and the advantages which would result to them from an opposite one, the present tariff would not be permitted to continue for another twelvemonth. Nor is such illumination at all impracticable. It might be effected by any one doing here what has been practised so successfully by yourself and a few others in England—by letting the people hear or read (which they have rarely or ever had an opportunity of doing) the TRUTH! Could some such tracts as you have been, and are still, diffusing in England be circulated in sufficient numbers here, I cannot doubt the result. No people are more open to receive, none more sharp-sighted or quick to hear, when it can be shown that *their own individual interests* are at stake, than the Americans. There, too, I may add, let the good seed but once take root and sprout forth, and the work is done. Thousands will spring forward to foster and sustain its growth; nay, the very men, the demagogues, the "Stump-orators," who, for their own selfish purposes, are now vociferating against Free Trade, will then, and for the same reasons, be found amongst its supporters, and prove themselves, possibly, as active for good as they are now only puissant for evil!

What, therefore, might be done, were there funds (and very trifling ones would suffice) for the purpose, is to reprint some of your best papers, and perhaps to compose and print a few others (on the same model, but more immediately and personally applicable to the American farmer, and written in plain Cobbet-like language), and diffuse them, as widely as possible, through the corn and cattle-raising districts of the union. With the co-operation of certain excellent friends of mine here (well known for their consistent zeal and other virtues to several members of the League), I think that I could get immense numbers of them circulated through various parts of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, through all the great western, and two or three of the southern states—in some gratuitously, and in others at a very moderate cost. A newspaper might also be found, here and there, to contribute its aid. But I have been sadly drawing upon your time and patience in thus propounding to you a scheme, against the realization of which there are so many obvious difficulties in operation. Free Trade, however, like Freemasonry, has a secret spell for attracting its brothers towards each other (I am sure that I have experienced the fact in this country), and, right or wrong in my project, I must, therefore, be excused for unfolding it to one whom I look up to as the Grand Master of our order.

I have had much conversation lately with persons connected and well acquainted with the Brazils, and believe, from all I hear and see, that unless something be done, and done quickly, we shall be ousted from our market, or from a considerable portion of it, in that country. For some time past have the manufacturers and merchants of the United States been anticipating our loss of it, and

* This I know to be a frequent fact. One member, with whom Lord Ashburton has been long and intimately acquainted—I mean Mr. —, the high tariff man and Loco loco representative of —, always visits his constituents in patched shoes, and rusty coat and pantaloons.

† I know a family in Illinois who have nearly 3000 acres of good land, and yet are indifferently clad, half-worked to death, and, in everything, except as far as food is concerned, may be called poor people.

‡ You know the abundance of Indian corn grown in the United States. Were the British Corn Laws abolished, it might, I am sure, be imported into England at a price so low as to enable the farmer there to give it to his cattle, as is done here. Could the American farmers be shown that Free Trade was likely to open to them a market only for that one product, almost all of them would become Free Traders.

taking measures to supply our place, which, if we continue our West Indian planters in their sugar monopoly, I fear they will succeed in doing. Mr. Wise (a Virginian slaveowner, and a bitter enemy of England,) has just been appointed Minister to that country, where he will do all in his power to prevent or render nugatory any commercial treaty with Great Britain. He will be playing there the same part which General Cass has played in France, and as Mr. Cushing (who is a deeper fellow than either of them,) would have played in China, had he not been frustrated by the 8th article of Sir Henry Pottinger's Supplementary Treaty. After all, however, and whatever be the result of Mr. Wise's mission, I must confess that I have little hopes from commercial or reciprocity treaties. The only true policy of England is to abandon, with as little delay as necessary, all retaliatory, protective, or differential duties, and, regardless of hostile tariffs, to admit the products of Brazil, as well as of every other country, at the lowest possible rate of duty consistent with purposes of revenue. Our example would be sure, sooner or later, of being followed, and we owe it, in some degree, to the world as a reparation for the mischief of our Corn Laws, which have served as a pretext or precedent for three parts of the mislegislation on commercial subjects, which continues to oppress and dishonour the 19th century. I have scarcely ever heard an illiberal or absurd measure of the kind defended, either in continental Europe or America, where its advocates had not recourse for argument in support of their views to the English Corn Laws. I was particularly struck with this in a conversation which I had with Mr. Clay on the subject two years ago.

You will have heard of the loss we are about to sustain in regard to the Cuba and other foreign copper ores. In consequence of the high duties imposed upon them by the late tariff a large company has been formed, and means taken, for smelting them in America, and, I believe, also in Belgium, as I know that cargoes of ore have been shipped at Cuba for Antwerp.

I have only to add that, if you or any of your friends should stand in need of statistical returns, or other information of any kind which it is in my power to supply or procure for you, I shall have sincere pleasure in doing so, and thus contributing my poor mite to the great cause in which you have so nobly engaged.

With truest respect and best wishes, I remain, Sir, your faithful, humble servant,

P.S.—The *Economist* and LEAGUE have been read both with profit and pleasure by some of my friends here. Were a few of their best numbers occasionally sent to me I would get them distributed among the leading politicians of this city and Washington.

ADAM BROWN TO THE EDITOR OF THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—I have received through you the letter of "An Essex Farmer," which my remarks on Essex farms and farming have drawn forth. I shall, as soon as possible, sit down and write replies to the several queries he puts to the advocates of Free Trade. I cannot do so this week in time for your current number, in consequence of other pressing employment. But I take this opportunity to say that, for myself, I am rejoiced to see a tenant-farmer come out with his pen in hand and freely invite us to a discussion on disputed topics. This is the course which should be taken by all who hold the opinions of "the Essex farmer," and which should be encouraged by all who are on our side. Let us enter upon a free, fair, friendly discussion, and the result must be a benefit to all concerned.

I invite the agricultural believers in the virtue of the Corn Laws to come forward and contend with us in the LEAGUE newspaper. I have your authority to say, that whatever they may write in shape of argument for the Corn Laws will be correctly printed, and fairly answered, to the best of our ability.

Erratum.—In the last number of the LEAGUE, in my letter in respect of the butcher's meat used in Brighton, the word *hogs* is by mistake printed *stags*.

AGRICULTURE.

THE CORN LAWS AND THE GAME LAWS.

From the numerous communications we receive, especially from the rural districts, upon the Game Laws, and the destruction of property, and the demoralization caused by game, we are often tempted to believe that some of our correspondents and their friends imagine that we are an Anti-Game-Law League. This is an error. Directly, we have nothing to do with the game. Individuals amongst us may have had opportunities of observing mischiefs arising out of those laws, and have denounced them accordingly; but in our public capacity we had originally no inclination to interfere with game preserves. As Free-Traders we care not whether the landowners prefer to stock their land with hares and pheasants, or with sheep and bullocks, provided always—and this proviso brings the game laws and game preserving within our cognizance—the keeping game does not interfere with the supply of the community's food.

In a natural state of things, the losses and annoyances caused by game would be matters to be settled between owners of land and their tenants, with which the public would have nothing to do. If farmers consented to pay rent and receive but scanty returns, to plough and sow that their landlords' game alone might reap, we should not interpose to ask protection for those who had so little sense as to be unwilling to protect themselves from such evils. But we are not in a natural state. We have a law made by our landlord legislators, which enacts that the British people shall be fed only by the grain which grows on British soil. Under that law, and in consequence of that law, we are occasionally, in years of average or deficient productiveness, compelled to endure famine prices before

a supply of grain is admitted from abroad. Our landowners tell us, that it is not consistent with their scale of expenditure and style of living that we should have natural prices of grain in this country; that an artificial scarcity is required to keep up their rents, to keep down the interest upon their mortgages, to provide portions and settlements for their children and their wives; and that, therefore, the British landlord and grain-grower must be protected from competition by the landlords and grain-growers of the rest of the world. To the narrow area of these islands the vast and growing population of the United Kingdom is by law confined for its supply of food, and therefore it is that we, who expose the injustice of such law, claim a right to inquire how the owners of land manage their property. They say, "You shall buy corn from none but us; we, the landowners, have a right to a monopoly of the British market;" and through their own power as lawmakers their will has become law. But this law imposes on the public the necessity of requiring that all possible quantities of grain shall be raised. To destroy corn, or to prevent corn from being grown within these narrow seas—whether it be actively, by preserving game, or passively, by permitting rushes and stagnant water to keep possession of the soil—becomes a public crime, and renders the offenders amenable to public opinion. This is one reason why we denounce the Game Laws and the system of game preserving. The landlord oligarchy choose, for its own peculiar profit, to put the nation on short allowance of food; and the nation has a right to demand an account of every blade of corn which the creatures kept for landlord amusements prevent from coming to maturity. And the same reason applies to every act of ignorance, folly, or negligence, whereby the owners of land in this country retard or prevent the improvement of husbandry and the development of the powers of the soil.

Then the monopolist landlords tell us that the British farmer cannot compete with the foreigner; that with the skill, the capital, the implements, the well-bred stock of this kingdom at his command, the British husbandman is no match for the serfs of Poland and Russia in the production of grain. Farmers stand by and hear such degrading imputations in silence, or they bellow a seeming acquiescence in the foul libel. This gives the public—a public subjected to monopoly by the landlords' law—a right to ask, is this so, and if so, why? We therefore recur to our rural recollections; we go amongst our agricultural neighbours, we examine the condition of their farms, and the mode in which they conduct their business; and we find that amongst many other causes which prevent good farming—which make sixteen bushels of wheat an acre no uncommon crop, where the same land properly cultivated would produce forty—the fondness of landlords for game preserving stands out prominently. This again renders the system obnoxious to our censure. Having thus placed before our readers the ground, and the only ground, upon which we denounce game preserves and the Game Laws, we shall from time to time draw attention to the evils thence arising, without deeming it necessary on every occasion to go through the process of formally stating the strict connexion which exists between scarcity produced by the Corn Laws, and scarcity increased by the Game Laws.

Before closing this article we must notice an instance of the large amount of crime which these Game Laws produce amongst a rural population, debased and impoverished by the Corn Laws. In the "Return of Crime in the county of Wilts" (a county assumed by the Monopolists to be largely benefited by the Corn Laws), "for the quarter ending the 8th of April," we find that there were no less than eighty-seven persons imprisoned for "offences against the Game Laws." And an examination of the parts of the county in which those "offences" are most prevalent marks in strong relief how fearfully the evils of game preserves are attached to the rural districts. Thus, in the Bradford, Malmesbury, and Chippenham divisions, which are yet the seats of some considerable cloth manufactures, the number of Game-Law "offences" are respectively three, one, and five; while in the purely agricultural divisions of Hindon, Warminster, Salisbury, Devizes, and Marlborough, the number of offenders against the Game Laws varied from twelve to twenty. But the most remarkable illustration of the incidence of the evils of the Game Laws on the rural districts, is the fact that in the Marlborough division, the most thinly peopled and the worst cultivated of the whole county, the number of Game-Law-made criminals during the last quarter were TWENTY, being four more than the highest number in any other district!! Perhaps some readers may have observed, in travelling down the Bath road, that a few miles after passing Hungerford—which stands partly in Berkshire and partly in Wiltshire—the scene becomes that of a wild and woodland tract, and for several miles little is seen on either hand but stunted oaks, thorns, and beech-wood, covering land in a state of nature, and growing nothing but fern and scanty herbage. That is Savernake Forest, the property of the Marquis

of Aylesbury, who, besides this forest of many thousand acres, which probably does not pay its expenses, owns nominally other lands adjoining, which produce a gross rental of £50,000 a year. We say the marquis owns this fine—or which, if cultivated, might be a fine—property nominally, because a few years ago it was, and we believe still is, in the hands of his creditors, who allowed him a comparatively small income of £9000 a year for his subsistence. Throughout this estate the game is rigidly preserved, so much so that we know many fields on which the tenants can never obtain a crop of grain, tares, or roots, everything green being devoured by the game as soon as it appears above the ground; the tenants all hold by yearly tenures only, and are subjected to the most degrading system of dependence and servility; and as necessary consequences the standard of cultivation and the rate of wages are lamentably low. If this estate, which may perhaps be roughly stated at about ten miles in length by eight in breadth, were really and completely cultivated; if the waste lands of Savernake Forest were brought into tillage, and all of it is what farmers would call "useful land," we do not hesitate to say that at least treble the quantities of grain and meat now produced there might be raised, with profit to the cultivator, advantage to the half-employed peasantry, and an improved rental to the landlord. But then to effect such a change men of capital and skill must be attracted as tenants, which implies the abandonment by the landlord of semi-feudal privileges and political domination; and we verily believe that the miserable monopolist who nominally owns the estate would rather endure his present condition—really nothing but splendid poverty—than render his property useful to himself and the community by rational and judicious improvement.

THE GRAZIER'S COMPLAINT.

A correspondent in the last number of the *Mark-lane Express*, who signs himself "A Leicestershire Grazier," quotes the following paragraph from the previous number of the same journal:—

"Wellington fair was exceedingly dull. The graziers do not come into the market with the spirit they used to do. Last year many of the Somersetshire men (the Marsh country graziers) sold their fat beasts at not more than 30s. each over what they cost as poor stock; there is not now above 40s. difference between a poor bullock and a fat one. This, with rents of four or five pounds an acre, which many of them have to pay, will tell tales at the year's end, and account for their want of speculation. Fat beef fetched 8s. to 8s. 6d. per score, the latter a top price, except for an extraordinary choice article, which might fetch 9s."

He then goes on to comment upon the condition of the grazing business in a way not a little instructive to those who suppose farmers have been benefited by restricted trade. He says that not only is the accuracy of the Somersetshire report confirmed by his experience in Leicestershire, but "that some of his late bought-in beasts did not make more than they cost when poor, and many did not leave above 10s. per head more than they cost when the Smithfield expenses are deducted;" and he adds:—

"How long is this delusion to last? When the grazier is paying three-fourths of his rent out of his capital, what protection has the grazier for his capital? And what has the tariff done for him? Instead, as promised him, of buying his lean foreign cattle in at a low rate, to leave him a remunerating sum to pay for his war-rented farm—instead of which there are no cheap foreign cattle for him to purchase; so that the deluded grazier is left like the fable of the goat in the well by the fox. Our graziers may well, one and all, say, *What has our great cry and little wool Parliament done for us?*"

Yet, probably, untaught by his former experience of political landlords, this grazier has been shouting with the loudest at protection meetings; and perhaps he has already begun to ask, "What has our 'great cry and little wool' agricultural protection society done for us?" Hitherto that mountain in labour has brought forth nothing but the tiny pamphlet of that small man Mr. Cayley, at which the genuine monopolists and their organ the *Morning Post* sneer, and the Free Traders laugh. But he, the grazier, again says:—

"We have been paying the same rents, tithes, and more taxes. How long will our property last, upon this two-faced rotten and ruinous system? For the men we deputed to get our grievances redressed, became, forthwith, our greatest grievance."

This is but a foretaste of the indignation which the deluded farmers will pour forth upon the heads of the monopolist landlords as soon as the delusions these high-rent gentry have put upon them shall be completely exposed. That the farmers are beginning to look upon the League as their best friend may be illustrated by the following observation of a farmer, who, up to a very recent period, never entertained a doubt of the utility of "protection," but who has recently begun to think and to doubt. He said to a member of the League, "You won't get the Corn Laws repealed just yet, but you are doing a world of good by bringing the landlords to their senses, and inducing them to grant more favourable terms to good tenants." Again, the grazier, like a man of sense, says, let us have a settlement of this vexed question, remarking:—

"What with the Anti-Corn-Law League and our landlords, the farmers and graziers are placed between two fires; whilst the two parties are wrangling about which is right and which is wrong, nineteen farmers and graziers out of twenty will be ruined; and then our landlords will say, 'Who could have thought it?' Instead of saying, 'Who could expect anything else?' The long and short of it is, are we to have a free trade for corn, and a less rental, or are we to have war-rents, with ruinous prices for bread and meat? Nothing can make the condition of the grazier worse than the present system."

Let such a feeling as is here expressed become general amongst farmers, and we know it is rapidly increasing, and the political landlords will find their monopoly slip from their grasp. Then he says:—

"The home consumption for our meat has decreased for want of means. The only thing we can sell fair is our wool. Where is that consumed? It is plain that it is of no use our

feeding great quantities of cattle unless you can find consumers when they are fed. The grazier's profit depends upon his rental and the price of lean cattle, which entirely rests upon the quantity that comes to market, which is short, whilst our fat markets are glutted for want of more consumption."

Here he goes plump into the bull's-eye.

When will the landowners understand that they really had better be honest even for their own immediate profit? But they must first shake themselves free from the leadership of such poor-rich men as the Dukes of Buckingham and Richmond. Yet, though such is said to be the state of the grazing trade, the following account of a sale of grazing land shows that, though all know that the days of monopoly are numbered, the value of such land is not impaired:—

"Messrs. Harvey and George sold three hundred acres of valuable marsh land, at the Auction Mart, London, on Thursday last, April 11th, at the following high prices:—

| | |
|--|--------|
| Lot 1. 132 acres, sold to Mr. Rowland, of Aylesbury..... | £29000 |
| 2. 40 acres, Mr. Wm. Eves, of Ockendon..... | 4000 |
| 3. 22 acres, Mr. John Philpott, of Ilford..... | 1975 |
| 4. 8 acres, Mr. John Philpott..... | 550 |
| 5. 4 acres, Mr. Wm. Eves..... | 400 |
| 6. 2 acres, Mr. J. Philpott..... | 105 |
| 7. 2 acres, Mr. J. Francis..... | 170 |
| 8. 2 acres, Mr. J. Philpott..... | 170 |
| 9. 5 acres, bought in at..... | 490 |
| 10. 13 acres, part to Mr. W. Eves, and part bought in..... | 890 |
| 11. 26 acres, Mr. Robinson, of Charter-house-square..... | 2300 |
| 12. 14 acres, Mr. Cox..... | 1160 |
| 13. 19 acres, Mr. John Cramp, of Whitechapel..... | 1650 |
| 14. 10 acres (lease for 48 years, at £97 per annum, and reversion), Messrs. Curtis and Sons, of Stratford..... | 2970 |
| 15. 6 acres, bought in at..... | 590 |
| 16. 5 acres..... | 450 |

26,830

Hayne's Farm, comprising 96 acres, situate at Horn-church, Mr. Stanley.....

3500

£30,330

The above property was principally sold to purchasers for occupation; and, from the high prices realised, we may fairly judge that graziers generally are regaining confidence, and that the ensuing season will prove better than any we have experienced during the last four or five years.—*Essex Mercury*. And if graziers are regaining confidence, is it not because there seems a hope that trade will revive? Is it not the prospect of "more consumption?"

MONOPOLIST READINGS OF HISTORY.

In Mr. Cayley's Pro-Corn-Law pamphlet—the firstborn of the "Central Protection Society"—we find the following instance of landlord "generosity" towards the manufacturing interests:—

"It was to establish manufactures in this country, and to secure to manufacturers a fair return for their industry, that protection, as a system, first began in the reign of Edward III., five hundred years ago. The coarser woollen manufacture was then protected from Flemish competition. In the reign of Elizabeth the finer manufacture of wool was still more protected; and, as one means of effecting this protection, the British farmer, from that period to 1825, was prohibited, by penalties, from exporting his wool to foreign countries, and for a long time was subjected to capital punishment if he exported it. By similar means, and at various times, were the other manufactures of this country fostered and matured; and as, in the legislature of those times, the influence of the owners of land for the most part predominated, these laws to protect our rising manufactures certainly betray no ungenerous desire on their part to discourage the growth of trade."

It is not inconsistent in the advocates of monopoly to draw their instances of the benefits of restricted commerce from rude ages and periods of imperfect civilization; but passing that, the "generosity" of the landlords of the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth was, in truth, no generosity at all. Then the owners of land, whose "influence predominated" no less than now, were growers of wool, as at this day they are growers of wheat; Flanders was the great outlet for their commodity, and it was after cloth manufactures had been established for some time in this country, and the landowners began to imagine they could secure a better price for their wool by "protecting" the clothiers, that the landed legislators became solicitous to favour trade. Let our readers follow Mr. Cayley's lead, and trace the history of manufactures from the time of Edward III. to 1825, and they will find that it is simply one continual struggle on the part of the landed oligarchy of this country to convert to its own use, through the engine of legislation, the industry of other people. Do the dukes, earls, lords, and squires of the "Central Protection Society" really believe that such twaddle will have any influence on the great economical questions of the day? Silly as their speeches would make them seem, they know better; but while really depending upon their hold over the Government for the maintenance of their monopoly, they think it necessary to publish something. Hence Mr. Cayley's inanity.

MONOPOLIST BUGBEARS.

About the most ready way of dissipating all the imaginary evils which lords and squires pretend at monopolist meetings will come upon the agricultural body from a repeal of the Corn Laws, is to take a quiet common-sense view of any of the details of farming. Thus we find Mr. Hillyard, of Northamptonshire, who at the "protection" meeting of that county, was very loud in his Anti-League assertions, in the last number of the *Mark-lane Express*, gives the following as his last year's feeding account, which is not so very discouraging:—

"By buying in lean store steers in Oct., to be kept all winter on straw, giving them as many turnips as can be spared—by purchasing half or three parts fat steers—by putting these into the stalls, and those beasts which did not get fat enough at grass for market—by these means all the dung used on my farm is made. My stall-feeding account, from Michaelmas, 1842, to May, 1843, like preceding accounts, did not turn out a source of profit. Between sixty and seventy beasts went into the stalls, some for a longer time than others. They sold out for £300 more than they cost, or were valued at, when put into the stalls; but they consumed food to the value of £302, charging the mangel at £6 and the swedes at £3 an acre, hay at £3 a ton, the barley at its value, and the amount paid for linseed and cake; so that the actual cost of the manure was the extra expense of labour in the attendance on the beasts."

Thus, in a season remarkable for the low price of fat cattle, from deficient consumption, Mr. Hillyard got all his manure, which ensures him ample grain crops, for the mere cost of attending on the cattle. Our readers will perhaps remember that in Lord Worsley's account he set the value of an acre of roots at £2 10s. per acre only, whereas in the present case they are admitted to be worth £5 and £6 an acre; and we know that even is too low. But at that price, at least, the farmer gets paid for his root crop through feeding stock, while in the more inferior system of hys-

bandry he will incur nearly as much expense per acre in a year's naked fallow as in growing an acre of roots.

SYMPTOMS OF PROGRESS.

Amongst the evidences which daily crowd upon us of the progress of Free-Trade opinions are the many ingenious devices by which monopolists strive to delay what they see to be inevitable. Thus in a monopolist journal we find a long proposal for the gradual introduction of Free Trade, in which is the following passage:—

"The plan upon which I think a free trade of reciprocity may be safely, conveniently, and advantageously opened, is as follows:—In every case of exportation of British produce or manufactures the party exporting should be at liberty to import or clear out of bond free of duty (at least free of all duty, excepting, perhaps, a moderate *ad valorem* duty for revenue only) an equivalent amount of foreign merchandise of any description, the existing duties being still chargeable in all other cases."

Now, what is this but Free Trade attempted to be confined to direct exchanges, and fettered by regulations impossible to be carried into practice? But when the advocates of "Protection to British Industry" have got so far on the road towards the only real protection—protection from restraint—as such a proposition as that we have quoted implies, there is little danger in predicting they must soon come the whole length of Free Trade.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

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NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE WEEKLY MEETING OF THE LEAGUE will be held in the THEATRE-ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN, on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, the 24th inst. GEORGE WILSON, Esq., will take the Chair at HALF-PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK.

The meeting will be addressed by W. Ewart, Esq., M.P., J. L. Ricardo, Esq., M.P., and R. R. Moore, Esq.

Cards of admission may be had on application at the Office of the League, on Monday and Tuesday, between the hours of eleven and four o'clock.

Applications for Private Boxes to be made personally or by letter on Monday.

The cards of registered Members will admit, as heretofore, to Pit and Galleries.—DOORS TO BE OPENED AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, April 20, 1844.

Our readers will see, by the report of Mr. Cobden's speech on Wednesday evening, that the Council of the League has determined on holding a bazaar in Covent-garden Theatre. If the spirit with which the scheme of a Free-Trade bazaar was entered into at Manchester, and the success with which it was attended, may be taken as a criterion, we may predict a large augmentation of the League funds from this source. But a further and more important purpose was intimated by Mr. Cobden, on which we are desirous of fixing the attention of the different classes of manufacturers throughout the kingdom. Let the exhibition of articles for sale be a display of the extent, the variety, the delicacy and grace, the skill and power, or, in one word, of the genius of British manufacturing industry. Let the workers in the finer textures unfurl their colours, and those in stouter substances be put upon their mettle. Show what the people are, and what they can produce, whom a mistaken and mischievous legislation cripples by its interference and impoverishes by its restriction. It is desirable that, in this bazaar, Industry and Invention should throw down the gauntlet to Idleness, and demand what artificial prices, by act of Parliament, can put in competition. According to Mr. Carlyle's "Philosophy of History," it is by their works that our Saxon race most truly and strongly speaks. They are what we have to show in justification of our existence. In the ample collection, the formation of which will, we trust, be forthwith commenced, literature and the finer arts will doubtless have their honourable share; but work will be the characteristic of the collection, so that we may point to it and say, "England, her mark."

We have known instances in which English visitants to Paris, &c., have been struck with the classical beauty of patterns, or with the ingenious and graceful construction of ornamental articles, and have purchased and brought them home as specimens of a taste yet to be desiderated in the useful but homely products of our countrymen; and it has been afterwards ascertained that these identical articles had been manufactured at Birmingham, Sheffield, or Manchester. The blunder is not beyond the reach even of many who make, or propound, laws for the regulation of processes with which they are profoundly unacquainted. The forthcoming exhibition should leave it without excuse, in any department whatever, of British manufacturing industry. From the needle to the sledgehammer, from the factory to the foundry, let every implement be made to do its best, with all the guidance of hand, and eye, and intelligence. Our bazaar must not be a trap for idle curiosity, a meaningless display, a miscellaneous catch-as-catch-can device, resting on "illustrious patronage" for its extraneous attractive-

ness. It should be the unquestionable qualification, which industry produces, for fair play and freedom. The spirit of Manufacture should be able to point to it and say, "There, I can do that; thus can I earn bread and wealth; how long is law to interpose and bar me from the world's market for the supposed benefit of the landlord class?"

Of every class of producers throughout the kingdom, we seek co-operation for this noble purpose. With them rests the fact of its realization. We ask them to contribute the choicest specimens of their skill and power to the common stock of their class's reputation. The moral effect of such a display will help on the cause of Free Trade far more than the pecuniary result. An impression will be produced never to be obliterated. Intelligent foreigners who now, as a matter of course, present themselves at Covent-garden Theatre to hear the speeches delivered there, and who on returning describe in glowing terms the popularity of our cause and the enthusiasm of assembled multitudes, will eagerly resort to this different and more novel scene, and tell of it admiringly in other lands. It will speak to the eye, unobstructed by difference of language, and stamp the character of our nation in the estimate of many nations. Is not the object one which it is worth while to accomplish? Is there not a glory and a good to be shared, such as was never won on battle-field? In this mode let us pursue our agitation against Monopoly. Our multifarious appeal has been made to mind, by reiterated arguments; to the heart, by the distress of multitudes; and we will appeal to the sight of all who have eyes to see, by one grand scene of the products of skill, taste, ingenuity, and enterprise. Covent-garden Theatre shall justify the change of a word in the proud epitaph by which St. Paul's Cathedral becomes the tomb of its architect; and to the sceptics of Free Trade we will say, "Si argumentum queris, circumspice!"

So appropriate an occasion has never before happened for bringing the infinitely varied products of all classes of our manufacturing and artisan population into one magnificent *coup d'œil*. It is due to them, and would be most honourable to them, apart from the circumstances by which it is called for. And they will create it, not for spontaneous display or in solicitation, but in the exercise of their liberality towards the League, and in the assertion of those commercial rights which the League is instituted to obtain. The untrammelled mind of our country long ago asserted its supremacy. The pinnacle of military glory has been gained repeatedly. The task now devolves on the manufacturers to show that she is foremost in the arts of peace as in the achievements of war or the splendours of genius. Such, at least, is the view which commends itself to our minds; and which we respectfully suggest to those by whom alone it can be realized. If it find in their eyes the favour which we think it deserves, they will make this exhibition worthy of themselves, of our country, and of the cause.

THE PROPOSED BAZAAR.

London, 18, 4th month, 1844.

ESTEEMED FRIEND, Being in town with one of my sons on business, we procured two tickets for the meeting last night; and I must say that I was truly delighted to see such an audience and such enthusiasm. R. Cobden gave out that it was intended soon to have a bazaar, consisting of part of all the manufactures of the country. Allow me to say that I will be most happy to contribute a handsome table-cloth. I should be most happy to learn the time when it will be received.

John Bright, Esq., M.P. R. MERCER,
of Dunfermline.

70, Strand, April 18, 1844.

SIR,—I was glad to hear you say what you did respecting British manufactures. I shall be glad to exhibit my ram for raising water, and pumps. Let me know, that I may prepare.—Your obedient servant,

To R. Cobden, Esq., M.P.

FREEMAN ROSE.

A PRAYER FOR LANDLORDS. The following beautiful prayer, applicable to all times, but to none more than the present, was one of the early productions of the Reformation, and continued in use till the accession of Mary:—"The earth is Thine, O Lord, and all that is contained therein, notwithstanding Thou hast given the possession thereof to the children of men, to pass over the time of their short pilgrimage in this vale of tears. We heartily pray Thee to send thy Holy Spirit into the hearts of them that possess the grounds, pastures, and dwelling-places of this earth; that they, remembering themselves to be thy tenants, may not rack and stretch out the rents of their houses and lands, nor yet take unreasonable fines and incomes, after the manner of covetous worldlings; but so to let them out to others, that the inhabitants thereof may be able both to pay the rents, and also honestly live to nourish their families, and to relieve the poor. Give them grace also to consider that they are but strangers and pilgrims in this world, have here no dwelling-place, but seeking one to come; that they, remembering the short continuance of their life, may be content with what is sufficient, and not join house to house, nor couple land to land, to the impoverishment of others; but so behave themselves in letting out their tenements, lands, and pastures, that after this life they may be received into everlasting dwelling-places, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."—*Manchester Times*.

REVIEW.

The Perils of the Nation: an Appeal to the Legislature, the Clergy, and the Higher and Middle Classes. Second Edition. Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley. London. 1843.

In a work with this title we would expect to find three things:—1st. Our dangers; 2nd. Their causes; 3rd. Their remedies; and any defeat in either of these three departments would diminish the practical value of the work. A knowledge of the existence and extent of our danger is necessary, in order to arouse our attention to the subject; and the causes of that danger must be pointed out before we are able to form a judgment on the efficacy of the proposed remedy.

The first of these is easy of execution. There always has been, and always will be, so much of evil intermixed with the constitution of every society that can be framed, inseparable as evil is from our condition here, that it is easy for any man of observation, taking his pen in hand, to delineate "the perils of a nation," to draw a picture far surpassing in gloom any which he conceived before he commenced the task. We confess, however, that we have no objection to seeing such pictures frequently presented to our view. We are naturally indifferent enough to the misery which a little observation would show us existed at our very door; and therefore, even when the picture is overdrawn, it is well for us to look at it, in order to stimulate our benevolence into active and immediate exertion. The only danger is, lest the evils may be represented to be so great as to make us inactive through the despair of being able to relieve them, or to lead us to be disgusted and discontented with a constitution of society which permits their existence. Such feelings may be silenced by a little calm reflection. We must not condemn a nation because pauperism is found within its borders, for we know from Scripture, that "the poor we shall always have with us;" and we can discern much of wisdom in the provision, affording, as it does, scope for the exercise of those feelings of love and sympathy, which it was designed we should exercise here, preparatory to their full development in another and better sphere of existence. We should also remember, that experience teaches us that there is no such wide difference between the degrees of happiness allotted to the various stations of life as at first sight we are apt to suppose. Let but a picture of the poor man's life be presented to the rich, and he will consider it to be a series of the greatest privations and the most bitter cares, because he sees an absence of all those things which habit has rendered necessary to his comfort. It is not, however, really so. The absence of what we never enjoyed rarely makes us miserable; and as to the positive ills, habit has exercised its influence there too, in rendering the man indifferent to their presence. Every schoolboy knows Pope's lines,

"Order is Heaven's first law, and this confest,
Some are, and must be, greater than the rest,
Some richer, wiser; who infers from thence
That such are happier, shocks all common sense."

There are few occupations pursued by the poorer classes which may not, without any departure from the truth, be made to appear in our eyes fraught with misery—some toilsome, some degrading, some disgusting, some unremunerating, some compounded of all these; and yet we will find that as much real happiness may be, and often is, enjoyed by those employed in them as falls to our own higher lot. Without, therefore, at all denying the truthfulness of the picture submitted to us in this work, we think it right to remind our readers of the large deduction that we must make on this score before we can form a true estimate of what the condition of the poor as experienced by themselves, not as imagined by us, is. To have no bed to lie on—nothing but the hard floor—is a miserable thing, and is brought before us as such in this very book; yet habit renders us indifferent to this. It is stated by the German tailor, in his travels, that he was quite unable to sleep in a bed because he had been so long unaccustomed to anything but the floor; the same may be said of other privations; but, in putting them in this light, we are far from saying that it is not our duty to endeavour to remove these evils, which are accidental only, and under our control, and to elevate the working classes to the enjoyment of as much comfort as it is in our power to bestow, or in theirs to possess.

Let us see, then, how the work under our notice deals with these three departments. With regard to the first, it certainly presents a very striking picture of the evils that attend the condition of the labouring classes; and, although we think that it is in some respects overdrawn,—that for some parts of the statement no authorities are quoted, and for others questionable ones, while the brighter side is not at all presented to our view,—yet, as it may with truth be said that it was not the author's object to point to more than the evils, and as there is no unfair design, for the dark colouring is made to spread equally over all the conditions of the labouring life which the author touches upon, we are satisfied, for

the purposes of this notice, to take his statements to be substantially true, and to admit, as we have already done, that, if there be any exaggeration, it may serve the useful object of arousing individual sympathy to afford its timely aid.

When we read the catalogue of evils, we were anxious to see what causes would be assigned for them,—causes, did we say, nay, but what cause,—evils so pervading, so universal, common alike to "the manufacturing poor, the mining poor, the workshop labourers, the commercial poor, and the agricultural poor;"—evils, in whatever condition of life exhibited, yet so closely resembling each other as infallibly to indicate a common parentage, must not such be capable of being traced to one great origin? To the niggardliness of Nature they cannot be ascribed; she has lavished all her choicest treasures around us with a liberal hand. To the natural slowness of our people to perceive and avail themselves of these advantages they cannot be ascribed; for never was there a people more quick of apprehension, more ready of invention, or more prompt in execution. To our idleness? No; the very work before us complains that we are too hardworking. To our want of benevolence and common humanity? Is there a country in the world where national and individual kindness and love are so fully developed and in such ceaseless, unremitting operation? Whence, then, is the deadly blight which crushes the tree even when it is white with blossoms, and mars our hopes of abundant fruit? The answer rises to our lips: our readers have anticipated it. We are not silly enough to suppose, or to ask our readers to believe, that the abolition of restrictions on industry would annihilate these evils, and that none would remain to call for private and individual assistance and support; but what we do firmly believe, and what this book has confirmed us in the belief of, is, that if industry were allowed to take its natural course, the condition of every nation would be proportionate to; and would correspond with, the natural advantages possessed by its inhabitants; that the condition of a people living under laws which made life and property secure, possessing a fertile soil, themselves naturally industrious and able to produce much by their labour, would be prosperous, and that they would possess an ample supply of the necessities and comforts of life; while, on the contrary, the condition of a people deprived of these advantages would be proportionably less prosperous; whereas we see, under the present system, that the very reverse is the case—a country possessing advantages such as none other ever possessed, is shown by this work to be in the ratio of its favourable circumstances the abode of poverty rather than of wealth; while countries possessing none of these advantages exhibit amongst their humbler classes comfort and abundance.

We complain, then, that in this work no sufficient cause is assigned for the existence of this pervading distress; and those which are suggested are so erroneous, that it was in consequence of our wish to point them out and refute them that we have brought this book under the notice of our readers.

The author appears to ascribe much of the evils of the labouring classes to "the increase of capital." Thus:—

"The false notion of the necessity of protecting capital and of favouring its accumulation must be abandoned, and we must learn that it is industry, not wealth, that needs protection; and that capital requires rather to be restrained from tyrannizing over industry, than encouraged in its arbitrary course. The whole course of modern science tends to make this restraint more and more needful. The vast and almost boundless improvements in machinery all give power to the capitalist, and render the workmen more and more helpless and dependent."—*Introduction*, pp. 29, 30.)

In this and many other passages the author puts forward the doctrine that the increase of capital, which he complains has been hitherto falsely represented as an advantage to the labourers (see *Introd.* p. 11), is in truth the cause of their misfortunes; that capital should not receive encouragement, on the contrary, that "it requires restraint" (p. 33, *Introd.*); that "it requires to be followed, watched, and threatened with penal consequences"!! (*Ibid.*) We would have thought that we perhaps misunderstood the import of some of these passages in the introduction, or that the author had not in the work itself insisted on a theory so absurd, did we not find the same idea repeated throughout, as when he speaks of the propriety of employing "means to check the aggressive progress of overbearing capital" (p. 250); and again, "Machinery, multiplying and improving on every side, daily encroaches further on human industry; and with this exasperating spectacle before his eyes, the poor man knows that his demand is less likely to be listened to as the proprietor becomes more independent of his services through the active operation of wheels and pulleys."—p. 381

Until we read these passages, we did not think that, at the present day, we would ever be called upon to fight over again the battle of machinery, we might say of civilization, which has been so often won.—What is capital? This author considers it as

synonymous with *wealth* (Introd., p. 33); we will take it so; and then the proposition contended for is, that to increase the supply of wealth is an evil to those who want some of that wealth. Strange, if this be so. The food, the clothing, which the labourer purchases, the dwelling he rents, all these are capital, and yet those who endeavour to increase the supply of them, and so cheapen them, are injuring the consumers of them! Our author will hardly maintain this, and he may say, that his theory applies only to fixed capital, or to that portion of our circulating capital which is not consumed by the labourer. With regard to the latter, we are unable to see how an increased facility of producing looking-glasses, *papier-maché* articles, and other luxuries, which are only used by the rich, can be anything else but a matter of indifference to the labourer, who does not use them: it will cause a change in the kind of luxuries that the rich will indulge in, but to the poor it is immaterial. But the former, "the increase of fixed capital," is the more important one to attend to, and was probably uppermost in the author's mind. Now, an increase of fixed capital, instead of being injurious to the labourer, is his very best security against any attempts to depress his wages. Fixed capital, or machinery, is used to assist the labourer, to render his labour more productive. Now, the *maximum* reward which the proprietor of fixed capital could exact from the labourer for its use, is the difference between the quantity he could produce by its aid and the quantity he could produce without it. Take the simplest machine, a spade. If a labourer, by his hands, without a spade, could, by tilling the ground, produce one quarter of wheat per acre in the year, and with the spade six quarters, the *maximum* reward for the use of the spade that under any circumstances would be paid, is five quarters; and that would not be paid unless there were a monopoly of spades, unless only a few individuals possessed them and entered into a combination to insist on this price for their use. Increase the number of spades and you break up the monopoly, for there now commences a competition among the spade manufacturers, and so the price is reduced, as we see it now, to the mere act of making the spade.

The same illustration applies to all machines, and the conclusion is inevitable that the more fixed capital increases, the greater is the competition amongst its proprietors and the lower do their profits become; and there is, therefore, no pretence for saying that the increase of capital arms it with the power of tyrannizing over industry. So obvious was this, that Dr. Chalmers (in the author's censure of whom along with the whole school of Malthus, we heartily concur) makes the absurd proposal to capitalists, to seek to raise their profits by turning their capital into revenue. The great mischief of all such statements is, that they represent the capitalist and the labourer in the attitude of enemies to each other, whose gain can only be secured by the other's loss. This opinion is, perhaps, mainly to be traced to Ricardo's doctrine of profits and wages, which we cannot now pause to refute; but how far from the truth it is to say, that the gain of the capitalist is the loss of the labourer, or *vice versa*, every practical man will at once tell you, for it is notorious that both prosper or sink together. The rate of profit is declining every day, and will continue to do so as long as our commercial restrictions are in existence; so that now an utter annihilation of all profit, and the addition of its amount to the wages of labour, while it would check all production, yet even as long as it lasted would make little difference to the labourer. Suppose the rate of profit in manufacturing employments to be now 8 per cent., this is so small a part of the cost of production, that the reduction of it to 4 per cent., and the increase of wages by that amount, would not confer one hundredth part of the benefit upon the labourer that the abolition of one commercial restriction would. How absurd, too, is it to speak of "machinery encroaching on human industry," and of "the proprietor becoming independent of the labourer through the operation of wheels and pulleys." The theory of machinery is, that it supersedes human labour; the result in practice has been, to call one hundred times more labour into action than was employed before its introduction into any department of industry; and the operation of wheels and pulleys is to render the capitalist more dependent upon the labourers, without the aid of a vast number of whom these wheels and pulleys cannot do the work; and if they are idle he is sustaining the loss of the profits upon a vast sum of money sunk for ever in the shape of fixed capital; whereas, if the use of fixed capital were limited, his wealth would exist in a shape in which he could easily render it available for other purposes, if he were deprived of the service of his labourers.

We would have much more to say upon the many subjects suggested by this book did space permit us, especially on the condition of the agricultural population, in many of the remarks on which we concur. We can now only say in conclusion, that, as pointing out the vastness of the field in which in-

dividual benevolence may work for the amelioration of men, this book is truly valuable.

Regard for the memory of Adam Smith compels us to hint to the author, that when he joins in censuring that great man for writing "on the wealth of nations, when their happiness would have been the wiser and more Christian topic of investigation" (Introduction, p. 14), the same argument would warrant an injunction to restrain men from studying medicine because theology is a wiser and more Christian topic of investigation, and from writing even on the temporal happiness of men at all, because their spiritual happiness is a more important topic of investigation.

Five Lectures on Political Economy, delivered before the University of Dublin. By James Anthony Lawson, LL.B. London, Parker; Dublin, Milliken.

We had prepared for this number continuations of our articles on the "History of Holland" and the "History of Ireland," but have set both aside to make room for a notice of the very important work before us, which, taken as a whole, is one of the most valuable additions that has been made to economic science in the present century. The Professorship of Political Economy in the University of Dublin was founded by the present Archbishop of Dublin, and endowed by his liberality. It has been held successively by Messrs. Longfield, Butt, and Lawson, each of whom has enlarged the limits of the science, and dissevered the discussion of its principles from the perturbing influences of party politics. It is to be regretted that the principles of political economy are too often mixed up with questions to which their relation is merely accidental; Professor Lawson justly observes:—

"As a friend of the sciences, I could wish that political economists had never lost sight of the distinction between their province and that of the politician; in that case, instead of being found ranged on different sides of contending factions, they would be in the situation of *neutrals*, to whom, as the proper tribunal, reference would be made to decide upon those questions which came within their province, and who, themselves taking no part in the combat, would be able to supply such weapons to the combatants as would generally be decisive of the issue; but so far is this from being the case, that we now see a battle waged about the *very principles* of political economy, which ought to be expressly admitted and recognised by all parties."

We shall not this week enter into any commentary on the principles enunciated by Professor Lawson, and the admirable reasoning by which they are supported; we shall best do justice to our own feelings, and best cater for the gratification of our readers, by extracting a few of those striking passages in which Mr. Lawson has either placed great truths in a new light, or exposed some of the most inveterate fallacies which still pass current with the prejudiced and the ignorant. The claims of political economy to be regarded as a science are thus ably stated:—

"There is no essential difference between the natural sciences, and a science like political economy; both are alike based upon the belief, that similar antecedents will produce similar consequents, whether that belief is to be attributed to some instinctive principle, or whether it be the result of our reason and experience. What then causes the great apparent difference that is said to exist between them? It is not that the uniformity of sequence is more doubtful in one than in the other, as I have shown; but it is, that the antecedents, or causes (to call them by the ordinary name), are more numerous, more complex, and more varying in this, than in most of the natural sciences; therefore, new circumstances are more likely to steal into the combination of causes, escaping our observation, and leading to a different result, without giving us the means of explaining how that difference arose. If any circumstance be introduced which impedes the operation of the natural laws of the universe, and leads to a result different from that hitherto experienced, it is for the most part in our power to detect the presence of that circumstance, and thus give a satisfactory explanation why the result was different. For instance, if gunpowder does not explode, the presence of damp, or the want of the due preparation of ingredients in manufacturing it, will be readily detected; but in subjects so complicated as those which political economy has to deal with, where the causes in operation are so numerous, so varied in time and place, and so remote from what is tangible and material, it is obvious that circumstances may be omitted, or new ones introduced, which may elude the most vigilant observation. Thus the causes vary, but the connexion between cause and effect is as certain and constant in the one as in the other."

The absurd cry of "dependence on foreigners" is met by the following line of philosophic argument, in which a depth of Christian feeling mingles with the logical acuteness, and furnishes food for reflection, at the same time that it enforces conviction:—

"It has been satisfactorily proved by Archbishop Whately, in his Fifth Lecture on 'Political Economy,' and more fully by the author* of the 'Natural History of Society,' who has developed this important truth, and supported it by a vast variety of proofs, that the savage state, which has been called the *natural* state of man, is a state most *un-natural* to him, for such a condition gives no room for the development of his higher faculties and instincts, affording full scope for those only which he has in common with the brute creation. It is, therefore, as complete an argument to say, that man is destined to move in society, because his faculties are suited to it, and to it alone, as it is to say that man is designed for acts of goodness and benevolence, because

* W. Cooke Taylor, LL.D., of Trinity College, Dublin.

he is endowed with a moral nature that approves them; or, as any other argument that rests on the agreement between the constitution of our own minds and that of the world around us, numbers of which are presented to us on every side; all of which are alike founded on the truth, which we will perceive the more clearly as our knowledge increases, that 'Nature never gravitates to nought;—that our Creator never designed any of those faculties with which He has endowed us, and which may be made available to promote our good, to lie wholly dormant here, although it is only hereafter that many of them will receive their full and mature development. It is not my design to pursue this argument here; you will derive greater profit and pleasure from a reference to the works I have mentioned; but I would ask, is not every argument which establishes that social and civilized life is the state natural to man, applicable, by the most exact and striking analogy, to show that the same is natural to nations and communities? If there were not this communion between the different regions of the earth, would not some of the bounties of our common mother remain for ever unenjoyed, whilst others would never reach those who could most highly appreciate them, because not born to their possession? If we had never been allowed to taste the tea, coffee, and sugar of eastern climes, of what innocent and healthful enjoyments were we for ever debarred; and shall we say that nature endowed a few corners of the globe with the power of supplying these in abundance to all the rest of the world, and yet designed that they should never be produced, or never leave the country of their growth? Was it the design of Providence, that the cotton should yearly grow, and yearly perish, on the banks of the Mississippi? Or, is it not more in accordance with His benevolence to suppose, that He meant it to be wafted to a distant land, where, by the matchless ingenuity of a civilized people, it should be converted into a fabric for the use and comfort of millions? I am persuaded, therefore, that the savage state, either of the *individual*, or the *community*, mars the gracious designs of Providence, and cuts us off from those social, intellectual, and material comforts which are spread for our use. It is true, indeed, that commerce was not coeval with civilization; it was not then needed, because mankind, few in numbers, and placed in the most fertile region of the world, were supplied with all that their condition then required; but, as He designed our increase and multiplication, and that we should replenish the earth, the barren as well as the fertile parts, is it not reasonable to suppose that He intended the fertile regions to be called in aid to supply, from their abundance, the deficiency of those less favoured; it being otherwise impossible that the design of replenishing the earth could be accomplished, without condemning some to an almost savage state—a state which the argument already referred to shows could never have been designed for man?

"A nation, therefore, which would thus voluntarily exclude itself from the commonwealth of the world, and from the benefits of that 'territorial division of labour' which commerce and navigation effect, and, through an alleged desire to preserve simplicity or *independence*, reject the means of increasing its power of production, could hardly be thought wiser than the man who would select the lot of the solitary savage, and resolve never to rise in the scale of social life, because he would thus be liable to fall—resolutely denying himself all present good, in order to exclude the possibility of future evil—in fact, secure himself against ever being worse, by making himself as bad as he could possibly be."

The cry of "over-production" is thus met:—

"Experience and knowledge of human nature tell us that the desires of men increase by the very food supplied to them, and that there never was, and never will be, a community where all the desires of all its members were fully gratified. To say, therefore, that there may be too much of *everything* produced, amounts to an absurdity; if we mis-calculate the desires of men, we may direct our energies to the production of what will not please them, or of what they already have in sufficient abundance, but that is the only sense in which over-production can take place. But even this is a circumstance of rare occurrence; and what is generally called over-production, and which meets our eye every day, is not in truth over-production, but, if I may coin a word, *under-production*. When goods remain on hands for want of buyers, it is not because all the community is already supplied with them in abundance, and would reject any addition, but because they have nothing to offer in exchange for them; and why is this? Because their production has been small—all the produce of their labour has been already devoted to supply the most pressing wants of nature, and they have nothing left for the procuring further comforts. And how ought we to wish this amended? Surely not by diminishing the productive power of the one class, but by increasing that of the other. The demand for the commodities that are unsold is in existence, and if you increase the productive power of those who have the demand, you furnish them with the means of satisfying that demand. The more abundant the produce of the farmer is, the greater quantity of manufactured articles can he command; and if he has an increasing *poter passu* in their productive energies, the supply of the products of each, at the disposal of the other, will be increased."

"I trust, therefore, you will now see that there is no evil to be apprehended from abundance, and that though particular articles may be produced in excess, yet a universal over-production never did, and never can exist. The answer to those who ask, 'If all be manufacturers and producers, where will be the consumers,' is, that a man does not cease to be a consumer because he is a producer,—that the producers will be the consumers also; for no one can be a consumer unless he has products to offer in exchange, and he can only consume to the extent of these products. If such a state of things as is here apprehended ever takes place, every nation will not produce every thing, and consume only its own productions, but the territorial division of labour will take place, assigning to each that department of production in which it is most fitted to excel; thus producing, on the whole, the greatest possible amount of wealth which the united energies of the world can furnish."

Let us next turn to the worthy concomitant of the "over-production" absurdity: we mean the cry of "over-population":—

"Experience shows us, that an increase of population in every country has been accompanied with more than

a proportionate increase of the means of subsistence; and the larger population has been ever better fed, clothed, and lodged, than the small population was. Thus, when Ireland was thinly peopled by a million of inhabitants, the supply of food was scanty and uncertain, and famines were of periodical recurrence; she is now, with a very dense population, in the position of raising more food than her population can consume; and it has been shown by Mr. Sharman Crawford, that her present agricultural population is not greater than would be required to cultivate her territory to anything like its capabilities.* Thus, too, the population of some parts of America has doubled itself in twenty-five years: but there is no reason to doubt that produce has been more than doubled there in the same period, for the increased population is supplied with all the necessities of life in profusion. The history of every civilized country supplies facts to confirm the truth of this position; but the mere circumstance, that with the advance of population the proportion which the agricultural class bears to the rest of the community has been found, not to increase, but to diminish, is conclusive upon the point: for if the difficulty of procuring subsistence increased with increasing numbers, the task of raising it would continually absorb more and more hands, and with every advance in population, less labour could be spared from agriculture to other occupations. I have already observed that the power of labour to produce more than would sustain the labourer, was the source of all civilization, and if this power in the most important of all kinds of labour were continually diminishing, there would be a check to the progress of civilization; the contrary has, however, been always found to be the case; and although it is quite true that there is that difference in the nature of the productiveness of agricultural and manufacturing labour that has been pointed out,†—there being a limit to the first, and none to the second,—yet the fact here referred to, that the agricultural class does not increase in a far greater proportion than the other classes in the progress of society (as we should expect if this difference were felt in practice to any extent), demonstrates that the difficulty in keeping up the productiveness of agricultural labour, when a greater quantity of it is called into requisition, has been hitherto at least, to a great extent, overcome by the introduction of improvements.

"As far, then, as experience goes, it shows that the fears entertained by the Malthusians—that population will outstrip the means of subsistence, and thus bring famine to thin our numbers—are groundless; that they have never been realized in any country, I have no hesitation in asserting, and that they are never likely to be realized for the world at large, a little consideration will satisfy us.

"It may be suggested as an objection to this statement,—Why then does England import corn for the use of her population? But the answer is, that she imports corn, not because she could not grow enough at home, if forced to do so, but because it is found that it can be had more easily, by sending abroad in exchange English manufactures, than by raising it from the soil at home; and any person who considers the quantity of ground that lies unproductive in England, to minister to the pleasures of its wealthy inhabitants, and the quantity of food that is consumed by horses and other animals, will conclude that the day is very far distant indeed, when she will be unable to grow food enough to sustain her inhabitants, although, if it were rendered necessary for her to do so, the effect would doubtless be, to deprive the rich of many of their present luxuries and lawful enjoyments, to diminish the comforts of the poor, and, by stinting the supply of the labour ministering to the higher wants of our nature, materially to obstruct the growth of civilization."

It is justly remarked that the error of those who describe over-population as a cause of poverty arises from their regarding men merely as consumers, forgetting that they are likewise producers.

Here we shall pause for this week; but though we shall return to the book in our next number, we cannot avoid noticing the triumphant refutation of the fallacies recently put forward by Colonel Torrens. It is gratifying to find that sound principles are everywhere making progress, and that men are beginning to discover the folly of allowing the petty prejudices of party to impede their perception of useful truths, and to prevent the adoption of such a sound commercial system as would render British resources and British industry truly available for their proper purposes—the promotion of the happiness of the British people. Professor Lawson adds one to the number of illustrious proofs that genuine philanthropy is identical with genuine philosophy, and that benevolence, in order to accomplish any good end, must be placed under the guidance of science.

PRINCIPLES AND DETAILS.—A man sure, and rightly sure, on certain main grounds, will often accommodate to them, almost any how, the practical details of a case. One and the same in his own mind, he will present different faces to different objects. We have an example in the arguments of the Free Traders as to the effect of repealing the Corn Laws. Some of them tell us that corn will be cheaper, others that it will not; some that rents will fall, others that they will rise; some that we shall import much more foreign corn, others that there is very little more foreign corn to import, and so on. We care little for these discordant predictions, and see a mean which reconciles them all. Commercial freedom is a high, a natural, and a safe principle, which does not require the aid of such calculations. Objectors, however, cavil, and so defenders come down to meet them, unnecessarily and dangerously.—*Times*.

* "Defence of Small Farmers," p. 32. A little work, to which let me, in passing, give my humblest of praise. It contains the soundest common sense, and the soundest political economy, and presents a happy contrast to the idle speculations of men who have written about our country, without knowing anything of the facts.

† *Euc. Met., Art. Political Economy, p. 162.*

WEEKLY COST OF PROTECTION TO SUGAR AND WHEAT.

(From the Economist of the 18th April.)

SUGAR.—Since last week the relative prices of Porto Rico and Jamaica Muscovado sugars have continued exactly the same; and therefore the difference of the cost of our weekly consumption of 77,792 cwt., above what the same would be on the Continent, and paying the same amount of duty to the State that our colonial sugar does, amounts to £70,003 for the whole country, and to £5833 for the Metropolis alone, to be added to the respective balances of last week.

WHEAT.—The price of English wheat is a shade lower this week; but that of foreign wheat is also somewhat cheaper, and the difference is not changed.

It follows, therefore, that the difference of the cost of bread consumed during the last week, compared with what the same would cost on the Continent, has been £289,460 more for the whole country, and £24,038 for the Metropolis, to be added to the respective balances of last week. The account will now stand thus:—

FOR THE WHOLE KINGDOM.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance from last week | £5,018,483 |
| Extra cost of sugar this week | 70,003 |
| Ditto of bread | 288,460 |

Total extra cost from January 1st to this day £6,076,946

FOR THE METROPOLIS ALONE.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| Balance from last week | £918,203 |
| Extra cost of sugar this week | 5,833 |
| Ditto of bread | 24,038 |

Total extra cost from January 1st to this day £948,074

INTIMATE CONNEXION OF AGRICULTURAL WITH MANUFACTURING AND COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY.—Manufacturers and merchants are to the body politic what the digestive powers are to the human body. We could not exist without food; but the largest supplies of food cannot lengthen our days when the machinery by which nature prepares and adapts it for our use, and incorporates it with our body, is vitiated and deranged. Nothing, therefore, can be more silly and childish than the estimates so frequently put forth of the comparative advantages of agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial industry. They are all intimately connected, and depend upon, and grow out of, each other. "Land and trade," to borrow the just and forcible expressions of Sir Josiah Child, "are twins, and have always, and ever will, wax and wane together. It cannot be ill with trade but lands will fall, nor ill with lands but trade will feel it." This reasoning cannot be controverted; and on its authority we are entitled to condemn every attempt to exalt one species of industry, by giving it factitious advantages at the expense of the rest, as being alike impolitic and pernicious. No preference can be given to agriculturists over manufacturers and merchants, nor to the latter over the former, without occasioning the most extensively ruinous consequences.—*Encyclopædia Britannica, new edition.*

THE FUNDS.

| | Mon. Apr. 13 | Tues. Apr. 15 | Wed. Apr. 16 | Thurs. Apr. 17 | Fr. Apr. 18 | Sat. Apr. 19 |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Bank Stock for ac. | 2014 | 2014 | 199 | 199 | 199 | — |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | — |
| 2 per Ct. Gov. Ann. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | — |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | — |
| 3 per Ct. Gov. Ann. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | — |
| Long An. R. 1860 | 12 7 16 | 12 7 16 | 12 7 16 | 12 11 16 | 12 7 16 | — |
| Cons. for Acc. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | — |
| Exc. Bils. p.m. | 74 6 | 74 6 | 74 6 | 74 6 | 74 6 | — |
| Ind. Bds. und. 1000 | — | 91 | 91 | — | 91 | — |
| India Stock | 293 5 | 293 5 | 291 4 | 291 2 | 291 | — |
| Belgian | 101 5 | 104 5 | 101 | 101 | 104 5 | — |
| Brazilian | 80 1 | 80 1 | 80 1 | 81 2 | 80 | — |
| Chilian | 102 4 | 104 5 | 102 4 | 102 4 | 102 4 | — |
| Columbian Vene. | 15 1 | 15 1 | 15 1 | 15 | 14 5 | — |
| Danish | 88 9 | — | 88 9 | 88 9 | 88 | — |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 100 1 | 100 1 | 100 1 | 100 1 | 100 1 | — |
| Dutch 2 1/2 per Ct. | 100 1 | 100 1 | 100 1 | 100 1 | 100 1 | — |
| Mexican 1857 | 30 5 | 30 5 | 30 5 | 30 5 | 30 5 | — |
| Portuguese, conv. | 46 7 | 46 7 | 46 7 | 46 7 | 46 7 | — |
| Buenos Ayres | 37 8 | 37 8 | 37 8 | 37 8 | 37 8 | — |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 37 8 | 37 8 | 37 8 | 37 8 | 37 8 | — |
| Do. 3 per Ct. | 37 8 | 37 8 | 37 8 | 37 8 | 37 8 | — |
| Peruvian | 31 | 31 | 31 | 30 1/2 | 30 1/2 | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, April 15.—There was a fair supply of English Wheat to this morning's market; the best samples were in request, but secondary qualities met a slow sale, and former rates were with difficulty supported. There was rather more inquiry for Free Foreign at last week's rates. In addition to a fair supply of English Barley, several cargoes of Foreign were offering, which had arrived during the week; all descriptions were in lower than last week. The supply of Beans and Peas was short, and in some cases rather improved prices were obtained. The arrivals of English, Scotch, and Irish Oats were all moderate; last week's prices were well maintained for all descriptions.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

BRITISH.

| | Per Imperial Quarter. |
|---|-----------------------|
| Wheat Essex, Kent, & Suffolk .. Red 55 to 60 White 58 to 64 | |
| — Lincolnshire & Yorkshire .. 54 — 58 — 57 — 60 | |
| — Scotch .. 52 — 56 — 54 — 60 | |
| — Irish .. 50 — 52 — 52 — 55 | |
| Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire .. Feed 19 — 21 | |
| — Ditto .. Ditto .. Short 21 — 23 Potatoes 21 — 24 | |
| — Scotch .. Feed 21 — 23 Potatoes 21 — 24 | |
| — Limerick .. 19 — 20 Short 20 — 23 | |
| — Cork .. 19 — 20 .. 20 — 21 | |
| — Waterford, Youghal, & Cork .. Black 18 6 — 20 | |
| — Sligo .. 17 — 19 | |
| — Galway .. 17 — 19 | |
| Barley, Grinding .. 28 to 30 .. Distilling .. 29 — 32 | |
| — Malt .. 33 — 35 .. Irish .. 26 — 30 | |
| Beans, Marrow .. 27 .. Tick .. 28 — 30 | |
| — Harrow .. 31 — 33 .. Small .. 31 — 34 | |
| — Old Tick .. 31 — 34 .. Boilers .. 35 — 36 | |
| Peas, White .. 31 to 34 .. 35 — 36 | |
| — Maple and Grey .. 27 — 30 | |
| Flour, Best Town-made .. per sack of 280 lbs. 46 — 48 | |
| — Norfolk and Suffolk .. 41 — 43 | |

FOREIGN.

| | FREE. IN BOND. |
|---|----------------|
| Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed .. 55 to 63 42 to 45 | |
| — Rostock .. 51 — 63 42 — 45 | |
| — Stettin .. 48 — 56 40 — 43 | |
| — Hamburg .. 48 — 56 39 — 42 | |
| — (Meas. Polish) .. 48 — 53 36 — 38 | |
| — Barletta .. 48 — 54 32 — 38 | |
| — Russian .. soft .. 48 — 52 — — | |
| — Ditto .. hard .. 45 — 50 — — | |
| — Spanish .. Red .. 49 — 55 — — | |
| — Ditto .. White .. 52 — 56 — — | |

| | |
|--|--|
| Barley, Grinding .. 28 — 30 — — | |
| — Distilling .. 30 — 32 — — | |
| Oats, Archangel .. 20 — 21 13 — 14 | |
| — Swedish .. 21 — 22 14 — 15 | |
| — Dutch Polands .. — — 19 — 20 | |
| Beans, Egyptian .. 27 — 28 17 — 18 | |
| Peas, White .. 30 — 31 — — | |
| — Ditto Boilers .. 32 — 35 — — | |
| Flour, Canada .. per barrel of 100 lbs 29 — 31 — — | |
| — United States .. 30 — 32 22 — 24 | |
| — Dantzic .. 28 — 30 — — | |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 15th to the 19th of April, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|-----------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English .. 5110 | 3580 | 4350 | — | — | — |
| Scotch .. — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Irish .. — | — | 20250 | — | — | — |
| Foreign .. 2100 | 10940 | — | — | — | — |

Flour, 3030 sacks.

| LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending April 9, 1844. | | | | | |
|--|-------|----------|-------------|------|-----------|
| | Qrs. | Price. | | Qrs. | Price. |
| Wheat.. .. | 2888 | 55s. 2d. | Rye | 58 | 51s. 10d. |
| Barley.. .. | 4925 | 34s. 5d. | Beans | 917 | 29s. 2d. |
| Oats | 24033 | 20s. 0d. | Peas | 423 | 31s. 5d. |

FRIDAY, April 19.—With a moderate supply of English Wheat since Monday, we have a slow trade at the rates of that day. As was anticipated the duty rose yesterday to 17s. The quantity on which the 16s. duty was paid was only 15,300 quarters. This has given rather more firmness to the holders of free foreign; and though there is no improvement in the demand, there is less disposition to press sales. The supply of English Barley is moderate, and large of foreign. The buyers are still cautious in expectation of larger arrivals, and it is with difficulty that sales can be effected at Monday's rates. We have good supplies of English and Irish Oats. Though the trade is far from brisk, Monday's prices are maintained. No alteration in Beans and Peas.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

A WEEKLY REPORT of the NUMBER of QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE of CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED APRIL 13, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Aver. price. | Qrs. sold. | Aver. price. |
| Weekly Averages .. | 66,300 | 55 1/2 | 130,523 | 33 1/4 |
| Aggregate Averages .. | 55 1/2 | 33 1/4 | 20 0 | 31 1/2 |
| Duty .. | 17 0 | 5 0 | 6 0 | 10 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, APRIL 12.

BANKRUPTS.

C. CLACK, Beech-street, Barbican, haberdasher. [James, Basinghall-street.
S. SAUNDERS Golden-square, lodging-housekeeper. [Cheere, King's-bench-walk, Temple.
F. W. PALMER, Mincing lane, colonial broker. [Shearman and Slater, Great Tower-street.

DIVIDENDS.

May 3. J. Piggott, jun., Richmond, cabinet maker—May 3. H. Bentall, Cecil-street, Strand, coal merchant—May 3. W. Tayler, Great Winchester-street, City, merchant—May 3. H. Prior, Size-lane, City, stationer—May 3. A. Jamieson, Isleworth, Middlesex, bookseller—May 3. I. Worthington, Manchester, draper—May 10. R. Heslewood and J. Skitt, Kingston-upon-Hull, white lead manufacturers.

CERTIFICATES.

May 3. Webb, Leamington, Warwickshire, hotel keeper—May 3. Carpenter, Southampton, stationer—May 3. Redshaw, Bournemouth, saddler—May 3. G. and H. Secombe, Tavistock, Devonshire, tailors—May 3. Rushton, jun., Nottingham, livery stablekeeper—May 3. Dyer, Colchester, Essex, plumber—May 3. Hancock, Canterbury, crutch smith—May 3. Megarey, Love-lane, Billingsgate, London, coal merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

P. SMYTH and CO., Tillicoultry, woollen manufacturers—G. THOMSON, Collyer, Perthshire, manufacturer.

TUESDAY, APRIL 16.

BANKRUPTS.

T. WATSON, Camomile-street, Bishopsgate-street, victualler. [Fry and Co., Cheap-side.
R. CROSS, Jermyn-street, St. James's, saddler. [Wells, George-street, Mansion-house.
H. THORPE, Kensington, linen draper. [Sole, Aldermanbury.
J. NALL, Chesterfield d. Derby, grocer. [Gillett, Chesterfield; Wilson, Manchester; Vickery, Lincoln's-inn-fields.
J. QUIN, Liverpool, painter. [Bridger and Blake, Finsbury-circus; Dodge and Hime, Liverpool.
J. METCALF, Liverpool, grocer. [Toulmin, Liverpool; Norris and Co., Bartlett's-buildings, Holborn.

DIVIDENDS.

May 7. J. Hardy, Newport, Isle of Wight, miller—May 7. E. Minister, Argyl-place, Regent-street, tailor—May 9. F. K. Powell and E. T. Crauford, Piccadilly, wine merchants—May 9. G. Mobbs, Newland, Northamptonshire, plumber—May 9. J. Lee, J. S. Martineau, and J. Wilkinson, Broad-street, City, factors—May 7. J. A. Stinton, Chandos-street, Covent-garden, grocer—May 7. H. Hughes and W. Hunter, St. Leonard-on-Sea, Sussex, builders—May 9. H. F. Turner, Myddelton-street, Clerkenwell, painted baize manufacturer—May 9. J. D. Loder, Bath, music-seller—May 8. J. R. Bunker, Dampney-street, Commercial-road East, chronometer—May 8. Z. Parkes and R. Henderson, Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, carpenters—May 7. E. Mountford and F. Mountford, Bath, drapers—May 7. J. P. Davis, Davies-street, Berkeley-square, apothecary—May 7. J. L. Heathorn, Abchurch-lane, City, shipowner—May 10. T. Smith, Gloucester, money scrivener—May 10. F. Shute and S. Shute, Crediton, Devonshire, woollen manufacturers—May 9. J. A. Ewan, Preston, Lancashire, linen draper—May 9. J. Coates, Manchester, merchant—May 10. C. Scott, Constantine, Cornwall, scrivener—May 21. W. Walker and J. Gray, Leeds, wool-staplers—May 21. S. Musgrave and B. Musgrave, Leeds, dyers—May 21. J. Knapton and W. M'Kay, Manningham, Yorkshire, stuff manufacturers—May 4. R. Potter, J. Potter, and J. Potter, Manchester, cotton spinners—May 7. W. Hoare, Altonfield, Staffordshire, apothecary.

CERTIFICATES.

May 9. F. J. Scott, St. Alban, Hertfordshire, apothecary—May 8. A. L. and W. Smith, St. Dunstan's-hill, London, merchants—May 7. S. Smith, Pump-row, Old-street-road, St. Luke's, timber merchant—May 10. H. Orbell, Romford, Essex, victualler—May 10. F. Tootell, Edgware, Middlesex, dealer in hay and corn—May 7. J. Sparham, Foston, Suffolk, miller—May 3. H. Wickham, Bristol, linen draper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

D. WRIGHT, Glasgow, provision merchant—W. GLENNY, Edinburgh, china merchant—A. PATON, Paisley—A. THOMSON, Dairy, horse dealer—R. M. WRIGHT, Auchinleck, Ayr—A. M'GREGOR, Edinburgh, coach hirer.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 31.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1844.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 87, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

THE ELECTIONS.

The League pledged itself to take the verdict of the constituencies on the question of Free Trade.

London and Kendal replied by polling a majority; Salisbury, Devizes, Hastings, and Exeter replied by polling a minority; Huntingdon, Horsham, and Woodstock replied by declining to go to a poll.

It is no task of ours either to magnify success or to varnish over defeat. We rest upon the justice of our cause and the progress of opinion. We can afford to be frank, for we are certain of our real strength. These are the facts. Let the foes of human rights and of human subsistence make the most they can of them. Our business is to "hold right on" till the hungry are fed with the food which Monopoly denies to those by whom it is earned.

We cannot go to the poll where the parties whose votes should make the poll protest against any such procedure. At Huntingdon, for instance, we received the following communication:—"At a meeting of the friends of the Liberal interest in the borough of Huntingdon on Friday evening, April 19, 1844, it was resolved unanimously that, in the opinion of this meeting, it is not advisable to contest the borough at this election." Had the phrase "Liberal interest" meant exclusively the Whig partisans amongst the electors, this notification would have been as little regarded at Huntingdon as similar hints, though less formally given, have been regarded elsewhere. But it was the resolution of the Free Traders. Of course it was final. And we found substantially the case to be the same at Horsham and Woodstock. Before such a declaration it becomes us to retire, and to "hide our time." We know that time will come. We only hope it may not come too late.

Let it not be forgotten that at Exeter the cause of Free Trade was injured, and at Horsham crushed, by party spirit. At the one place, the Whigs stood aloof; and at the other, Mr. Hurst was reckoned as their candidate,—a Richmondite Whig, a bread-tax Whig. For this account there were even professed friends of our cause who looked sweetly on his success. He is a Liberal, forsooth; a Pro-Corn-Law Liberal! How long are the electors to be cajoled by words? What is the Liberalism worth that taxes food and cripples commerce? What does such Liberalism mean? The lesson is being learned, but in some quarters, it seems, very slowly, that Liberalism and Whiggism are outworn things if they be not identified with commercial freedom. That is the one great popular right for which now the nation struggles. No substitute for it can be offered. Those who desire to give it are the people's friends, and those who deny it are the people's enemies. No other demarcation can be set up but what is more cogent. The borough that returns a Mono-

polist to Parliament has done its worst, whether he call himself a Whig or Tory." It might as well be a pocket borough; it is a borough for aristocratical pockets.

We know this may seem harsh in relation to many such boroughs as stud the south of England; and we do not forget the mode in which the electoral system works in those boroughs. The power of wealth and station is inwrought into that system. Nothing less than the sturdiest manliness, and a bold defiance of martyrdom, can break through its shackles. In most of these localities, the tradesmen are under the screw of the farmers, just as the farmers are under the screw of the landlords. The last thing the "Protectionists" tolerate is electoral protection. "Vote, or else —," is all the protection the Monopolists afford. The dirtiest tricks are played to injure the refractory. But the days of this sordid tyranny are numbered. The sword of exposure shall strike, where the shield of the ballot is denied. If electors fail of their duty, it shall be known why they fail.

Through storm and sunshine our agitation advances. The registration plan proceeds. We are gathering strength for a trial, the result of which must not be judged of by these single elections, under circumstances against which it would be a waste of energy to struggle more than by turning them to some account for the future. Of every occasion something has been made. Where electoral pledges could not be forfeited, it was yet practicable that electoral opinions should be rectified. There are numbers with whom party spirit has polled its last vote. And in the contest which soon may come, there will be a sense of strength, founded on previously-ascertained facts, from which these local mischances will not detract. Look everywhere to the registration: that is what we ask of the friends of our cause, electors or not; and give us efficient aid in that general supervision, which will be as the final review of an army for the day of battle.

Those who live away from such localities, and wish to have a distinct conception of the infamy of a landlord-borough, should read Mr. Hume's speech at the Woodstock nomination. The numerous cases of individual oppression, and the wholesale notices to cottage tenantry, of whom 140 families are to be turned into the streets unless they pay higher rents, are quite enough to justify the indignant exclamation of the speaker, "Good God Almighty! if there is any justice in heaven or on earth, if there is any right feeling between man and man, let us join in denouncing such conduct as this." And yet the victims have sent a beardless scion of that noble house of Blenheim to be their representative in Parliament, and the juvenile protector of the landed interest and the factory workpeople! It is impossible to read the *Times*' report of Mr. Hume's speech without one's gorge rising, even more at the forced servility that endures such treatment than at the sordidness and insolence by which it is inflicted. We confess these transactions do not augment the hopefulness of our appeal to the electoral body. If they made us despair, we should lose faith in humanity and Providence. Nations have been saved often, ere now, by an heroic spirit rising out of the very abyss of corruption and degradation. So we work on heartily. And thanks to the 529 brave men of Exeter who voted for General Briggs and Free Trade, caring neither for Whig nor Tory. They have done their duty manfully. Let those applaud them who dare to "Go, and do likewise."

FRUITS OF RESTRICTION.

It will be seen by a conversation which took place in the House of Commons on Tuesday night, between Sir Robert Peel and Dr. Bowring, that the bitter fruits of our restrictive and selfish commercial policy are beginning to exhibit themselves. It appears that the great German confederation, known by the name of the *Zoll-Verein*, and the United States of North America, have concluded, and by their representatives, on the 23rd of March, signed a treaty, by which each admits the produce of the other on terms far more favourable than if the importation took place from the United Kingdom. The duty on tobacco in the German States is now 5½ dollars, or 16s. 6d. per cwt. By the treaty just completed, tobacco from the United States is to be admitted at 4 dollars, or 12s. per cwt.—(hear this, ye British consumers, who are now paying £17 12s. 8d. for the same article, being thirty times the amount of duty which is to be levied in Germany!)—that the duty on rice shall not exceed two kreukers (a merely nominal duty), while, in Great Britain (do not forget this, ye overburdened

citizens!), 15s. per cwt. is taken by the Custom-house; and on cotton wool—(hear this in mind, manufacturers on both sides of the Tweed!)—on cotton wool from America it is stipulated that no duty whatever shall be levied.

And in return for these concessions the United States have agreed that linens and silks of German manufacture shall be imported at a duty not to exceed 15 per cent., while imported from England they are liable to a duty of 30 per cent.; that German woollen merinos shall also be admitted at 15 per cent., while British merinos are subjected to 40 per cent.; that German hosiery shall pay only 20 per cent., while 30 per cent. are exacted upon British; and that a variety of other German articles (including plate glass,) shall be imported at duties varying at from 10 to 15 per cent., being, in most cases, less than half the duties chargeable upon similar British productions.

Will facts like these, when they are known to the British people, produce any effect upon those who call themselves their representatives? Or will nothing awaken the Government from its sluggish indifference to the mortal blows which are being struck at our national prosperity?

A letter from Berlin says that the Prussian States, having lost all hopes of obtaining reciprocity or justice from England—having at last been painfully convinced that monopoly could not here be driven from its strongholds—being wearied with the lectures of our Government, which preached Free Trade and practised impediments and prohibitions—had turned its attention to other countries, where our obstinacy had left similar impressions, and having entered upon a path of alienation and opposition, would walk therein, farther and farther removing from amicable intercourse with us.

To the *Corn Laws* the correspondence points as the concentration of our selfishness and arrogance. While these remain it is idle to talk of our emancipation, or of our progress towards emancipation. It is really against Great Britain that America and Germany are turning their cruel (however unwise) reprisals. Short-sighted and self-inflictive, no doubt, is the system of differential duties. Its advocacy redounds little to the honour of statesmen on either side of the Atlantic; but it will be poor consolation for our sufferings to be told that they were inflicted not by the wisdom, but the folly, of rival nations. The grievance is, that we suffer; and what makes the suffering intolerable is, the thought that it need not have been.

We must begin a new career. We, who have given so many examples to encourage the *bad* principle, are now called upon to give energetic effect to the *good*. Let us reform our own tariffs. Let us prove that we, at least, understand what is meant by that which one Minister calls "the dictates of common sense" (Free Trade), and that we can give a practical application to the doctrine of another, that "men should buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market." The keystone of the arch of monopoly is the Corn Law. We demand its total, its immediate, its unconditional abolition.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Eleventh Week, ending Saturday, April 27.

Nothing directly in relation to Free Trade has occurred in Parliament during the past week, with the exception of some incidental matters. The Earl of Radnor, in the House of Lords, made some amusing comments on Mr. Cayley's Protection pamphlet, with its veracious citations from Adam Smith, which the Duke of Richmond, to whom they were addressed in the form of a question, evaded, by trying to laugh the matter off. There has been also some conversation in the House of Lords, on the occasion of the presentation of some petitions, respecting that now engrossing question—the limitation of the hours of labour.

Dr. Bowring, in the House of Commons, elicited from Sir Robert Peel that a favourable reciprocal treaty of commerce had been concluded between Prussia, acting on behalf of the Zollverein, or Germanic Customs Union, on the one part, and the United States on the other. The treaty, though actually signed, is not yet ratified, the assent of the Senate of the United States being required. Mr. Labouchere called Sir Robert Peel's attention to the fact that, by treaty, our manufactured goods should be admitted into the United States on the same terms as those accorded to the "most favoured nations." This jargon is the remnant of that diplomatic peddling which has hitherto characterised the commercial treaties and negotiations of enlightened

countries. Free Trade would blow it all to the winds, and allow every market to find its natural level, every article of natural produce and manufactured industry to be exchanged with the greatest advantage, and every individual to get the chance of the fullest value for his capital or his labour, without the interference of acts of Parliament, or impolitic customs regulations.

Sir Robert Peel admitted that there were such conditions in our treaty with the United States; but as the subject was under the consideration of the Government, and (as he left it to be inferred) matter of negotiation with the Executive of the United States, he would not say anything more at present. How easily could all these perplexities of statesmen be removed! Open ports for American grain would enable us to laugh at all treaties with German Customs Unions, or any other nation that adopts the principles of protection; and looking to the enormous capital in this country, our unrivalled manufacturing skill, our command of machinery, everything which gives commercial power, not a year would elapse, under an honest and complete system of FREE TRADE, without reading to every nation on the globe a great "moral lesson," which they would speedily learn, and promptly practise.

Talking of "moral lessons," it reminds us of that "curiosity of literature," Mr. Disraeli, and of his *protégé* the honourable member for Knaresborough, for whom he made a clever and amusing apology on Wednesday night. He said that the result of all this affair, half farce, half tragedy, or in the stock language, serio-comic scenes in the House of Commons, respecting the veracity of the noble, or, rather notorious, member for Knaresborough, would teach Mr. Ferrand a "great moral lesson." We do not know that it will; but the whole matter is calculated to teach other parties a very great "moral lesson;" and, at the hazard of some prolixity and repetition, we shall recount a few of the leading particulars in Mr. Ferrand's Parliamentary career, assuring our readers that nothing is stated which has not come under the personal observation of the writer.

August 19, 1841, was a noticeable day in recent political history. On that day the new Parliament assembled, which was destined to transfer power from one set of politicians to another, and to commit the destinies of this empire to the hands of men who, for many years, had been excluded from all direct share in the executive management of our national concerns. Amongst the new men in that new Parliament, appeared two, one of whom has since acquired a universal and lasting reputation; the other became temporarily notorious in a way certainly more peculiar than creditable. Richard Cobden and William Busfield Ferrand had each acquired provincial repute before entering the House of Commons; the one as an active citizen of Manchester, foremost amongst those of his intelligent fellow-townsmen in pressing on the community the necessity of the practical application of the principles of Free Trade; the other as an agitator of comparatively slender weight, who advocated what he called the "Rights of the Poor," on Conservative principles. Nothing could be more unlike than the appearance of the two men. The one looked the very picture of a thoughtful, quiet, unassuming man, trusting implicitly to the force of truth, when enunciated with intellectual clearness and earnestness of persuasion; the other was the very personification of a roystering swaggoner, ready to play at "single stick," try a bout at wrestling, separate two pet dogs when fighting, or lay a main in the cockpit. There was an essential difference in the matter of voice. Mr. Ferrand's, not so much sonorous as powerful, was the trumpet-like medium of a rattling vocabulary—the very sort of roar which Shakspeare had in his mind's eye when he wrote about "splitting the ears of the groundlings." And, after all, there is very much in a voice, even in the cry of the cuckoo; for when there is a thundering noise in the drum of your ear, you cannot but fancy that where there is so much of *sound* there must be something of *sense* entering. And so a man with a great roar may pass off very well for a time, until it is found out that the brain, like the body, cannot subsist upon *noise*.

In the short session of the autumn of 1841, after the expulsion of the Wags from office, William Busfield Ferrand took his *leave*. The Anti-Corn-Law League, though not so powerful as it has since become, made itself felt through the exertions of Messrs. Villiers, Cobden, &c.; and the idea entered Ferrand's mind that, mounted on his Rosinante, he would play the Quixote, and slay the giants that scared the repose of the monopolists. Standing up in the House, he roared out about the rich and the atrocious milowners of Lancashire, the horrid, abominable, vile, revolutionary Anti-Corn-Law League, &c. &c. &c.; and, being pressed for a bill of particulars, he, with a classifying genius worthy of Cuvier, separated the manufacturers into two species. Those who did *not* belong to the League were *human* in principle. Conservatives in politics, men who cared little for money but much for men; who were pure to heart, peaceful in demeanour, and very, very, very kind to the poor. But those who *did* belong to the Anti-Corn-Law League were indeed monsters of a new and unheard-of kind. Their hearts were mere lumps of Mammon; their bowels were of cast-iron; they treated immortal beings as if they were rotatory automata; they conspired with the Poor-Law Commissioners to import helpless agricultural peasants into their dreadful dens, and, horrible to relate, supped on them; and types of the species might be seen in the Comed-room of the League, where, like ogres, they glared upon one another, saying, "An ee, let us devour much flesh!"

The short session of 1841 cut short the career of the giant-killer. But in 1842 he reappeared in full blow. The fearful vision through which we had passed had made all men thoughtful, and Monopolists uneasy; and Ferrand was called into requisition. He ran full tilt against the League, raising a great cloud of "devil's dust," and much clatter about "truck." Loud cheers burst out from the crowded Ministerial benches. Peel cheered, Graham cheered, Stanley cheered, and all the little men cheered. The country gentlemen, in raptures, praised this canine English bulldog, which was to pin the League by the nose; and not a party at the "West end" could be complete unless Ferrand was paraded for the admiration of the ladies. In an evil hour he was advised to try his hand on Mr. Cobden; for, having the look of a dog fancier, it might be supposed that he had some skill in the natural history of the canine race, and might have remembered the story of the mastiff, which, after quietly enduring the yelping of a cur until it became intolerable, took it by the neck, and dropped it in the river. Had Ferrand kept to gene-

rels he might have blustered through a session with some effect, and remained a first-rate "lion" with political dowagers. But he had the vanity to try a fall with Mr. Cobden, and the misfortune to fall over him. All who witnessed it will remember it—for memorable it was. The loud-tongued imputations of the one, at once insolent and audacious; the quiet, dignified exposure by the other; the blundering bluster by which Ferrand tried to wriggle out of his gratuitous personal charges, as wanton as they were foul; and the pinning him down to matters of fact, from which there was no escape—all this left its impression on the House. Discreet Conservatives saw that their pet was dangerous; gentlemen were shocked at a mode of warfare so repugnant to the decencies of society; and even Ferrand felt the force of his fall through the triple brass which incased him.

Still, however, he was cheered; and one memorable night during the discussion of the tariff, when Sir Robert Peel was absent, he was encouraged by a few gentlemen in "white waistcoats and neckcloths," who had just dined, to get up a "scene." On that occasion Lord Stanley conspicuously patronised Ferrand, and by doing so got the House into a scene of confusion which stopped the progress of business.

Ferrand got into another scrape, which, on this occasion, was with Sir James Graham, who is not the man to permit any body to ride cock-a-hoop over him. This was all about the Keighley Union, the veracity of a Poor-Law Commissioner, and various matters of personal interest. Sir James Graham dared Ferrand to move for a select committee to inquire into the facts; he did not, or would not; Sir Charles Napier jumped up, and said he would; it was granted, and the inquiry did not particularly elevate the idea of dependence which might be reposed on Ferrand's assertions. Towards the end of that session he got completely into disgrace, was snubbed by every body, and fled into obscurity for a time.

It is needless to trace all his career. Reappearing during last recess, he returned,—"like the dog to his vomit,"—to his old tricks of unscrupulous assertion; and it having been determined on that no farther move was to be made in the direction of Free Trade, the Tory press thought that they had need of him once more. His stories about Mr. Alderman Brooks and others must be still fresh in the recollection of our readers; and how they were all eagerly copied, the *Standard* honouring the reckless traducer with the title of "a Christian gentleman." Emboldened by his success in his old line, he ventured, during the Easter recess, on those statements which got him into that scrape which has fairly fixed the character of this most "Christian gentleman," and left an impression respecting him in the public mind which restores him to the proper insignificance of his natural position.

On Monday night, after a speech from Mr. Ferrand in favour of the Ten Hours, Mr. Roebuck got up, and asked him if it were true that he had charged a Minister of the Crown with having used the powers of his office to get a false report from an assistant poor-law commissioner, in order to crush him—that is, Ferrand—in the House? He evaded a direct reply; blustered; said Roebuck should not school him, and that he was not a gentleman; but, being called to order by the SPEAKER, he was obliged to retract, and at last admitted, virtually, that he had made the charge. Mr. Hume again asked him if he had charged Mr. Hogg, the member for Berkeley, who was chairman of the Nottingham election committee which unseated Mr. Walter, the leading proprietor of the *Times*, with having been corruptly induced to make a false report, in order to aid the Home Secretary in getting rid of a man who might prove troublesome to him on the subject of the Poor Law? The result of it all was that Mr. Ferrand did not wholly deny or acknowledge the accuracy of his reported speeches; and Sir James Graham, who said (quoting Ferrand's own words) that there should be no "bigging or bagging" on the subject, proposed that he should be allowed till next day to prepare himself.

Tuesday came, and with it great expectation and a crowd of members. Mr. Ferrand was in his accustomed place, laughing, talking, and on one occasion cheering loudly at some trivial matter; putting on a forced hilarity, as the event showed. At last his turn arrived. The SPEAKER called "Mr. Ferrand!" and every face turned towards him as he rose. He began in a loud, confident way, admitting that the reports of his speeches were correct, and that he would neither deny nor retract what he had said. He claimed the sacred privilege of a free born Englishman; but if he had wounded the feelings of any one—

At this there arose a derisive cry of "Oh!" and at that sound Ferrand showed that he was a coward at heart. Like a certain biped, he showed the "white feather," defied the House, took his hat, and walked out! The amazement of the crowded House was beyond expression. Members looked after him; and, as they saw him going, sent after him a burst of derisive and scornful laughter, such as never greeted the ears of a member before. When the amazement, the scorn, the contempt, and the laughter abated, member after member arose to express their opinion of the honourable member for Knaresborough; and none were more terribly severe and bitter than the most conspicuous of those who had formerly cheered him in making his venomous statements respecting the Anti-Corn Law League and the manufacturers of the country. Sir Robert Peel compared Ferrand's disappearance with that of the conjuror, who, after gathering a great crowd by announcing that he would squeeze himself into a quart bottle, ran away. But Lord Stanley—he who had patronized Ferrand on the night of the tariff *roum*—now came down upon him with terrible effect. There was not a member of the House, he said, who not only believed Ferrand's statements to be false, but that Ferrand knew they were false when he made them! Alas, for the *Standard's* "Christian gentleman!" There he was, "deserted in his utmost need," by all who had enjoyed, in former times, the outpourings of his bountiful imagination.

But no, he was not utterly abandoned. The House, resolving to punish him according to form and precedent, adjourned the matter till the following day; and meantime "Young England," feeling that they could "better spare a better man," came to his rescue. Mr. D'Israeli made a clever and amusing speech in his behalf, and yet, after all, clever as was his speech, the sum of his defence consisted in this, that Ferrand was not worth rope enough to hang him, and therefore it would be beneath the dignity of the House to gibbet so insignificant a criminal! He is a rough-tongued blade, to be sure; and, when he uses his privilege of a "free-born Englishman," it is to

say things unworthy the notice of statesmen. Mr. D'Israeli, while he was advising the House to treat Ferrand in the same way that the disappointed public treated the battle conjuror, gave some hard hits to "honourable members." You hooted the poor loose-tongued fellow down; but did you hoot and howl down Sir Robert Peel when he accused Mr. Cobden of making speeches inciting to assassination? This was spoken immediately behind Sir Robert Peel, whose face twitched convulsively; and there is a strong probability that it was this particular question which led to the amicable termination and arrangement. It was felt that further discussion would only bring up disagreeable reminiscences, more especially when Captain Berkeley reminded the party that used to cheer Ferrand on to his unenviable notoriety that he was like the dog that broke his chain, and then worried his master! So the whole matter was wound up by Sir James Graham, who remarked that he had often said things which he wished to retract; and therefore, if Ferrand would attend in his place, and express his regret that he had uttered accusations which he could not sustain, all recollection of the offence would be effaced from his mind. The House adopted this forgiving suggestion, with which, probably, the matter will be adjusted.

So ends this story of a "cock and a bull;" and the "moral lesson" which it reads to the House of Commons and the public is—that you "cannot touch pitch without being defiled"—that you cannot keep company with a scavenger and keep your fine clothes clean—and that great principles advocated by earnest men will triumph over the foulest means used for their suppression, even though the poisoned arrows be directed by gentlemen, and the quiver held by rank and fashion.

MEETINGS.

WEEKLY METROPOLITAN AGGREGATE MEETING OF THE LEAGUE.

The second meeting of the League since the Easter recess was held at Covent-garden Theatre on Wednesday evening last, and, as on previous occasions, was most numerous attended. In consequence of the continued indisposition of Mr. G. Wilson, the chair was occupied by the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P. The meeting was addressed by W. Ewart, Esq., member for Dumfries; H. Elphinstone, Esq., D.C.L., member for Lewes; and R. R. Moore, Esq.

Among the distinguished individuals present were the following:—

The Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P., in the chair; Thomas Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; Benjamin Smith, Esq., M.P.; William Ewart, Esq., M.P.; Howard Elphinstone, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; Reginald Blewitt, Esq., M.P.; A. Collett, Esq., M.P.; R. R. Moore, Esq.; William Gordon Thomson, Esq.; Arthur Paterson, Esq.; D. Dewar, Esq.; W. A. Wilkinson, Esq.; E. Squire, Esq.; Cowden Clarke, Esq.; John Gosnell, Esq.; William Bowman, Esq.; Robert Skegg, Esq.; Norman Wilkinson, Esq.; Joseph Ivimey, Esq.; C. Bennett, Esq.; P. A. Taylor, Esq.; William Chambers, Esq.; Joseph Robinson, Esq.; Hexham, Northumberland; A. Thomson, Esq.; J. Coulthard, Esq.; Sir William Baynes, Bart.; W. Cooper, Esq.; F. Falvey, Esq.; John Chambers, Esq.; T. Pocock, Esq.; W. Shelgrave, Esq.; Thomas Hubbard, Esq.; David Parkes, Esq.; T. Macartney, Esq.; W. Kilvie, Esq.; Redruth, Cornwall; Jas. Davison, Esq., Truro; David Laurie, Esq.; T. N. Cathrall, Esq.; C. Bowring, Esq.; James Kenworthy, Esq.; W. Tweedale, Esq.; Ashton-under-Lyne; S. Fordham, Esq.; E. K. Fordham, Esq.; Charles Squarey, Esq.; Salisbury; John Somers, Esq., Bridgewater; W. Thornborough, Esq.; J. Samuda, Esq.; E. S. Robinson, Esq.; Tewkesbury; Jacob Nicuolis, Esq., Plymouth; Pres. Granger, Esq.; J. P. Burnard, Esq.; Samuel Ashton, Esq., Hyde; J. R. White, Esq., Manchester; J. Naylor, Esq., Manchester; T. Wilson, Esq., New York, &c.

The minutes of the previous evening having been read by Mr. E. J. Evans, upon the motion of Mr. BRIGHT, M.P., seconded by Mr. ARTHUR PATTISON, they were confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN then came forward amidst enthusiastic cheering, which having subsided, the hon. gentleman addressed the meeting as follows:—Ladies and gentlemen, I have been requested by our friends to take the chair in consequence, as I regret to learn, of your chairman being unable to attend. It was expected that he would have occupied it this evening. He is, however, still obliged from indisposition to be absent. (Hear.) Our friend Mr. Cobden is also absent, not idle, as you may suppose (hear, hear), but discussing the question with our neighbours at Greenwich. (Cheers.) The honour of occupying the chair was proposed to me somewhat late, and I have left my avocations in another House for the purpose. (Hear, hear.) I cannot say I had much scruple in doing so (a laugh), for I begin to think that there is more good to be done here than there ("Hear, hear, hear," and a laugh), though, perhaps, some may think that the proceedings there would sometimes find a fitter stage for their performance here. (A laugh.) However, if these meetings tend, by spreading the truth, to advance our cause, I think it is a duty on us all to give them every support (hear, hear), for sure I am that the importance of the cause for which you are associated is each day becoming more manifest. (Hear.) Its close connexion is seen with that question which, to the credit of the country, is at last become of universal interest, namely, how to meet the exigencies of an increasing population, and how to raise, and how to prevent from sinking lower, the condition of that mass of our fellow-subjects who live by labour. (Cheers.) That is now engaging the attention of philanthropists and statesmen, as well as of quacks and adventurers (hear); and I cannot but believe that, when the various projects now before the country have been submitted to the test of reason and discussion, and found to be inefficient, the good sense and good feeling which excite interest in the object will assent to the truth and justice of your views. (Cheers.) All agree that some steps must be taken—all admit that the system which has existed has not prevented the evils which are complained of. (Hear, hear.) The majorities in both Houses are in the position of admitting the evil, and are ready to adopt any remedy that would not require any great sacrifice on their part. ("Hear" and laughter.) Their benevolence, indeed, always reminds me of that ludicrous illustration which Mr. O'Connell once gave of it, in a debate on the subject, in the case of his friend who the ill-fed and over-worked horse. He saw his horse suffering, and had made every experiment to cure him but one. He had bled him and blistered him, he had dined and physicked him, but he had somehow or other always

forging. And deep save as to be fed do. who hear. to ga men long work hear. Parli wish. Thei wish some little that good will always want of the get fr tendence, who i a still jame (Lou below anoth this a work would this, am I, as it this c not c which recur think cured the pe the n is thai a vas' possib ing m afford them treat i tention their (Laug public unfort them know for op this ye I belie hear.) ceadin tral St. (Laug were d laugh has be from meani which where have n to the Co is no a world striking weeks stated had do they ha have th in answ of the and wil to say these : pose, w under failed t Laws c sire nov ration drawing ment o And lo at the t state ar jets be the que year th fore, re opinion House the di coming have be ter succ introdu Esq. (W. I crived He said sulted a interest dressin vitation Mr. Co to be ar such a

forgot the somewhat more expensive experiment of feeding him more and working him less. (Great laughter.) And so it is with our great men—they listen with the deepest interest to every remedy which any one suggests, save that which we venture to say applies to man as well as to beast—namely, that when he is hungry he should be fed, and when he is overworked he should have less to do. ("Hear" and laughter.) We have benevolent men who are shocked at all the misery they witness, and to hear that people in this country work so hard and so long to gain subsistence; and they propose an act of Parliament to declare that men should not work so hard or so long; but how they are to gain subsistence without working hard and working long they never tell us. (Hear, hear.) If they would make that clear, or if their act of Parliament would accomplish what they wish and we wish—who would not be with them? (Hear, hear.) Their faith is great in the omnipotence of Parliament. I wish we could persuade them of the virtue of repealing some acts of Parliament they have passed, and trust a little to leaving people free. (Cheers.) I do not deny that men propose and support such acts as those with good intentions; I am sure they do; but good intentions will not feed a hungry man. (Hear, hear, hear.) There always have been kind people in this country who have wanted to legislate for symptoms, and to leave the root of the evil untouched, but I never see any good the people get from it. (Hear.) Horace Walpole, alluding to the tendency that existed in his time for this sort of legislation, mentions an instance of a near relation of his own, who hearing that a distiller had been burnt by the head of a still flying off, strongly urged him to get an act of Parliament passed to prevent the heads of stills flying off. (Loud laughter.) We want these philanthropists to go below the surface. (Hear, hear, hear.) Emigration is another scheme proposed to cure the evil, and against this scheme I shall say nothing, for I feel that if I was a working man, and anybody would pay my passage, I would sooner go to any other country than remain in this, if the Corn Laws are to continue (hear); for certain am I, if those laws remain, and the population increases as it has done, that there is not a working man in this country, however well off he may be now, that will not deteriorate in his condition. (Cheers.) The evils which emigration would remove from sight would soon recur if these laws continue. (Hear, hear, hear.) Some think that the evil of overwork and little food is to be cured by public charity, and they would repeal or relax the poor law. But these men would appear to think that the natural condition of the working men in this country is that of paupers. (Cheers.) I look upon pauperism as a vast misfortune, which ought to be prevented if it is possible; and all our efforts should be to secure the working men an independence of such means of living, and afford them opportunity, by honest industry, to maintain themselves. (Cheers.) Again, there are those who would treat the people homoeopathically, and who say more protection is the cure; that is, having little now by means of their protective system, they would give them less. (Laughter.) This party do not depend upon the faith the public have in their prescription; they make the laws, unfortunately, and therefore they have protection for themselves. (Hear, hear.) They know, however, how far opinion goes with them; for they attempted, as you know, to establish what they called protection societies this year, of which we heard a great deal some time ago, but very little lately (laughter); they have proved to be, I believe, as I supposed they would, utter failures. (Hear, hear.) Meeting one who knew something of their proceedings the other day, I asked him what the Great Central Society was doing, and his answer was "nothing." (Laughter.) And I then asked what the branch societies were doing, and he said, "helping the central." (Great laughter.) All that they have done, that I have heard of, has been to publish a pamphlet, with copious extracts from Adam Smith, with the words expressive of the meaning of the author carefully left out—(laughter)—which is a convenient way of creating an authority where none exists. (Hear, hear, hear.) What they have not done, as far as I can learn, is to offer any reply to the charges which the League have brought against the Corn Laws; for abuse of the leaders of the League is no argument in favour of the Corn Laws, as all the world but themselves see clearly (hear); and what is striking, and what is much observed upon, is, that though weeks have elapsed since two farmers on these boards stated the farmers' case, declaring that the Corn Laws had done them, and could do them no good, but that they had done them much mischief, yet not one word have the British Farmers' Protection Societies put forth in answer or denial of what those two farmers, in the face of the world, have published on the subject (cheers); and will anybody believe that if there had been anything to say against these men, or against their statements, that these societies, with all their machinery for the purpose, would not have done so? (Loud cheering.) It is under these circumstances that the monopolists having failed to state anything to satisfy the people that the Corn Laws ought to exist, and that there is a universal desire now to discover the means of preventing the deterioration of the people, that I do hope that the time is drawing near when there will be a general acknowledgment of the truth and justice of our views. (Cheers.) And looking at the state of opinion now on the subject, at the better information possessed by all classes, of the state and wants of the population, and at the various projects before the country, I expect that the discussion of the question will take place with greater advantage this year than it has done hitherto (cheers); I do not, therefore, regret, though, perhaps, it was opposed to my own opinion, that the question has not been moved in the House before. (Hear.) It is now my intention to raise the discussion at the first convenient day during the coming month, and to submit the same motion that I have been accustomed to do, and, as I hope, with better success than before. (Loud cheering.) I beg now to introduce to your attention our friend William Ewart, Esq. (Loud cheering.)

W. EWART, Esq., M.P., on coming forward was received with loud plaudits from all parts of the theatre. He said: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, if I consulted my own inclination—perhaps I might say my own interest, for I do not feel very adequate to the task of addressing you this evening—I should have declined the invitation which my hon. friend Mr. Villiers and my friend Mr. Cobden have offered me; but, gentlemen, I do feel it to be an honour to be called upon to stand before you in such a cause. (Hear, hear.) With the tenor of my hon.

friend's (Mr. Villiers) observations, as with his recorded votes, I have long agreed; so also do I agree with his principles and opinions as expressed this evening, and, perhaps, with none more so than with those with which he commenced his speech. He truly said that we might be better employed in certain other scenic exhibitions than such as those that are celebrated in the political theatre, which are sometimes of a theatrical and dramatic character—in our own House of Commons (hear, hear)—a place where it might be said we see everything now and then which partakes of the dramatic art, from the super-tragic to the subcolloquial (laughter)—where we are occasionally enlightened by a scene of the most instructive pantomime, or by a no less tragic demonstration, worthy of one of the acts of *Bombastes Furioso*. (Renewed laughter and applause.) Pardon me, gentlemen: I mean not in the slightest degree to insinuate that these scenic representations are taking place at this moment in some other place. Heaven forefend that I should make so impossible an allusion; but it is within the range at least of imagination, if not within the reach of memory—a fact, I believe, which may be attested by many of my honourable friends who now sit around me, and who, if they are absent this evening from the House of Commons, are perhaps more tranquilly engaged, more usefully, more beneficially for the interests of the country engaged in advocating the great cause of the repeal of the Corn Laws, which have so long oppressed the people of this country—which have diminished the food of the population—which have impeded our manufactures—which have fettered our commerce—than they might be in some personal dispute, and in uttering violent expressions, which I could wish, for the sake of the House and the country, that the country and the House had alike been spared. (Cheers.) Since last myself and Mr. Elphinstone had the honour of addressing you on this important subject, a great change has come over the spirit of this country, at least in its external circumstances. We addressed you then in a moment of depression, and in the hour of severe adversity. The country was then suffering under one of those tempestuous shocks which sometimes seem to shake it to its commercial centre, and to move it, as it were, for a moment from its basis. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, to the storm which then assailed our manufacturing and our commercial interests has succeeded at last the semblance of a calm. We are indeed, at the present moment, in a state of apparent and of temporary prosperity. How long is that apparent, that temporary prosperity to last? As one of our poets has beautifully said:—

"In painted pomp the gilded vessel goes,
Unmindful of the whirlwind's stormy way,
Which hushed in grim repose expects its evening prey."

(Applause.) Gentlemen, believe not that this temporary calm is permanent; believe not that you can trust to the perfidious stillness of the atmosphere which now surrounds you. It is true that we are for a time more prosperous—but who knows whether times such as we have lately witnessed may not return, or how soon that tranquillity which at present pervades our political and commercial atmosphere may be changed into one of those sudden and violent shocks and alternations which sometimes surprise us in the calmest and apparently most silent seasons? (Cheers.) Depend on it, this country can know no real tranquillity, no permanent prosperity, until you establish laws which will permit its people to be fed, which will invigorate its commerce, and establish its manufactures upon a secure and permanent foundation. (Applause.) So long as the Corn Laws—so long as the sugar laws—so long as the laws which prohibit the larger importation of articles of household use exist—so long, in fact, as all laws which at once fetter our commerce and prevent the labouring man from cheaply obtaining all articles of subsistence, from corn down to sugar, and tea, and coffee—until these laws are altered, depend upon it, neither the security of our commerce nor the subsistence of our people stand on any foundation upon which they can permanently and enduringly rest. (Cheers.) And, therefore, I say the present calm is a perfidious calm, the present silence is a delusive silence; it is a silence which often precedes the storm—it is a silence which is oftentimes the herald of the whirlwind. (Hear, hear.) We have been accused, indeed, of somewhat adding to that storm during the late evils which have beset the country. We have been accused, at least some of my hon. friends—men whose conduct I not only vindicate but revere—my hon. friends Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and others. (Cheers.) These gentlemen, I say, have been accused of traversing the country, and of making it the scene of almost universal agitation. But my friends have done the greatest possible good they could to their country. (Cheers.) What is the agitation that they have produced? It is a wholesome agitation of the atmosphere—it is an agitation which prevents the people from being lulled into the stagnant condition of a calm—it is the agitation of the stream which, by flowing clearly, works itself into purity—it is the agitation of the tide which gives animation, and spirit, and life to the ocean of commerce over which it prevails. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, this has been the result of the efforts—of the patriotic efforts—of my hon. friends Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. (Hear, hear.) They diffused information, they excited curiosity where information and curiosity had never spread or existed before; they have gone throughout our manufacturing districts; they have ventured even within the hitherto interdicted confines of the estates of our squires, and amongst men of such colossal magnitude as the lords of this country, and, I was going to say, of such impenetrable obscurity as our squires; and, moreover, they have gone among their tenantry and peasantry to disseminate the principles which have emanated from the Anti-Corn-Law League, and taught them that neither their tenantry nor their peasantry were interested in maintaining high prices for food. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I maintain that for doing so my hon. friends are entitled to the thanks and esteem of their countrymen. (Cheers.) I maintain that, in distant parts of this country, the tenants and peasantry had not only no idea of the importance of this question, but no idea of their own natural rights—almost as men. I maintain that the tenantry never thought, as the tenantry of Scotland thought, of looking for long leases until this Anti-Corn-Law agitation arose. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) It was that which first dispelled the darkness—the settled darkness which hitherto prevailed and obscured their minds. (Hear, hear.) It was not till then, when this agitation arose, that the peasantry of this country began to think that they

might be better for the altering of the laws interdicting the supply of food, and of preventing their enjoyment of the common necessities of life. (Hear, hear.) Therefore all this enlightenment, which poured in like a flood throughout the agricultural districts of the country, is due to the efforts of the League, led on by those undaunted leaders—those indefatigable patriots—my hon. friends Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. (Loud cheers.) Although we now appear before you in times when this agitation may not be so all-powerful as it would be in those of general distress, we do yet appear before you in times when, as we conceive, there are good and valid reasons why this agitation should continue, and why you should demand, in a firmer and a sterner manner, a repeal of the Corn Laws, and an alteration of all those laws which oppress our commerce and impede the unrestricted flow of our manufactures. I look around me, beyond the bounds of our own nation, and I ask whether I see no reason there for such a course of policy. I see the manufactures of America extending themselves with the gigantic power which always marks the onward stride of that colossal country, which almost seems too great for a country in which the free institutions of England have been carried to the excess of free democracy. Gentlemen, whatever we may think of our own manufacturing supremacy, depend upon it there is one nation whom an urgent and impetuous desire for accumulation will drive onward to follow us, if not to overtake us, in our path of advancement and in our manufacturing and commercial improvements; that country which is the offspring of our own soil—its inhabitants the descendants of our forefathers—the natives of the United States of America—men who have inherited only to extend the liberties which they originally derived from England—men of such indefatigable energy that I may venture to call them, in a short phrase, not only Englishmen, but as it were ultra-Englishmen—men who pushed forward the energies which they have derived from the soil on which we now tread, and who are destined to become our greatest rivals, as they were once in war, so also in peace, in commercial arts and manufacturing supremacy: with that nation we have now to contend as the most formidable rival in manufactures and in those articles in which we have hitherto maintained so easy an ascendancy. America, whether we regard the great coal tracts she is now opening, and in which we have hitherto stood supreme, or the extent of the iron which she is now bringing into active employment for the production of machinery—America now, in my opinion, is the most formidable manufacturing rival which this country has to fear; and at the very moment in which I am speaking—while we ourselves are not extending by a single treaty the sphere and limits of our trade—America is interchanging a commercial treaty of great advantage to herself with the whole of that which is commonly called the Zollverein, or, in other words, the great commercial confederacy of United Germany. (Hear, hear.) Thus they are linked together—thus they are making new advances, while we are slumbering; and is it to be endured that Government and Parliament should sleep while our commercial opponents are actively awake, exerting all their energies to distance us in the race of manufacturing superiority in which we have hitherto maintained, as we think, so easy a supremacy and power? (Cheers.) America thus opens to herself, at once, a market of 27 millions of people for her tobacco and manufactures. And, in the meantime, what treaty has been concluded in favour of this nation? None, absolutely none. ("Shame," and "Hear, hear.") All we say is, that we should be received on the footing—to use a common commercial phrase—of the most favoured of commercial nations: that is, that we should be received on the same footing as those who are not favoured at all. (Hear, hear.) Then what are we to expect? What resources are we to look to? Our Ministers have in vain attempted to unite our commerce with that of other nations by means of treaties—treaties which have not succeeded,—so that the only course which remains open is to adopt the policy which was not only whispered in Downing-street, but uttered in the House of Commons;—the simple policy expounded long ago by Franklin, repeated by Pitt, and at last reiterated by Sir Robert Peel;—the simple principle that we should buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest which we can find. (Hear.) Gentlemen, our Ministers are, indeed, accused sometimes by their friends, and sometimes complimented by their foes, with being Free-Traders. (Laughter.) I give them full credit for all that they do. I only wish they were more open in carrying into practice, as they do not hesitate to speculate in theory on the advantages of Free Trade. (Hear.) Gentlemen, we have one Minister who makes the declaration we have just quoted; we have another Minister who tells us that the principles of Free Trade are the principles of common sense; we may possibly have another Minister who writes in favour of the general principles of freedom of trade; and we may even have had a Minister who has declared so far as this, that even the smuggler is an instrument—an unconscious instrument—in the hands of Providence to vindicate, against the unjust laws of man, the justice of the laws of nature. (Protracted cheering.) If all these principles have been declared by all those Ministers, why are they not acted upon? (Hear.) I cannot conceive a more ridiculous position than that of a Minister who, in his own office, while writing secretly in favour of Free Trade, should perchance be visited by some of his political supporters who are the greatest opponents to the extension of commerce. I can conceive the great embarrassment which he would feel when thus writing one thing and silently listening to another. (Hear, hear, hear.) The position of such a Minister when thus surprised, possibly in writing articles in favour of Free Trade for some periodical publication, would very much resemble a scene in a play, which has often been performed on the boards of this theatre—I mean the play of "The Rivals," in which a young lady, suddenly surprised with a number of contraband works, exclaiming to her attendant on the stage, "Stow the 'Delicate Embarrassment' within 'The New Duty of Man.'" (Loud laughter.) I can conceive that this would form a fair parallel to the predicament of a Minister thus interrupted by the ingress of some monopolist who surprises him in the performance of a duty to his country in which he has forgotten his duty to his party. (Cheers.) Well then, gentlemen, I maintain not only that Government and Parliament ought to do

to the abolition of the Corn Laws as the most effectual remedy which can possibly be devised for the commercial and fiscal evils of this country, but I maintain also that they ought to look to the removal of such oppressive duties as those on sugar, tea, and coffee, and the duties on all articles which contribute to the subsistence of the people; and moreover on those articles above all, which, in consequence of the high duties imposed on them, offer an absolute inducement for the natives of this country to defraud the revenue and the honest tradesman, and lead the honest peasant to become the dishonest smuggler. (Cheers.) I maintain, that the first duty of the Government and the Parliament of this country is—to watch over the subsistence, and to promote by its laws the morals of the people. (Hear, hear.) And I am the more led to insist on the iniquity of these laws, because, while we maintain oppressive duties on articles such as tea, sugar, and coffee, the burden does not in the least degree, or scarcely at all, fall on the rich man, but almost exclusively on the poor. (Hear.) These duties fall on the poor because they raise the price to them in a much more serious manner than to the rich. That is the first mode in which they oppress them; and the second mode is this: that, while the rich man has for the money which he expends in these articles a tolerably pure article, the poorer classes, and still more the poorest of all, have a mixed, a manufactured, an impure, and an adulterated article. (Cheers.) There is not one of the articles to which I have alluded, scarcely, that is not sold pure to the rich man, and impure to the poor. The poor man's sugar is mingled with ingredients of such a nature as sometimes almost to destroy its saccharine qualities; and I have seen myself and had in my hand specimens of the sugar commonly sold to the poor of this country, which exhibited some approach to the saccharine quality, but which in reality contained no produce of the sugar-cane at all. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") Now, can there be a more cruel, a more unjust contrast than this, that in the city in which we now are, the person who can afford to pay for it receives the article unmixed, while the poorest man of all receives, as we descend in the silent gradations of poverty lower and lower still, an impure and an impurer article, until at last it becomes so bad—that it is changed into another—deleterious, perhaps poisonous, but at all events deleterious; and the person is thus compelled by sad necessity of the laws of the country, to purchase it. (Hear, hear.) If we take the article of coffee, we find that of the rich man unmixed; and why? because he goes and buys, to use a common phrase—excuse me if I am necessarily obliged to be familiar on this occasion—he buys the "berry," has it ground in his own house, and enjoys the pure article. But look at the poor man:—He goes to a shop where he must buy the article ground, where it is mixed and rendered impure, or he may be compelled to take his breakfast at the corner of the street, where he gets it as impure as possible. And yet we have no means of counteracting the oppressive nature of these duties, which fall most unjustly and oppressively on the poor. (Hear, hear.) There is another article, that of tea. The rich man has his tea unmixed, and comparatively pure; he has his souehong, while the poor man has to purchase his congou. The poor man, being of a lower grade in society, is less likely to get the article pure, and is more certain to have to swallow it down impure. This, gentlemen, I say, is an injustice, a most gross injustice. (Cheers.) The first object of legislation, as Burke said, ought to be the poor; but with us they seem to be the last. (Hear, hear.) Then let us descend to another article on which these oppressive duties fall—I mean the article of tobacco—that Nicotian weed, which we owe originally to Sir Walter Raleigh, who introduced it for the amusement of the wealthy, but which is now used by the lowest class of society. Blame its use if you please—call it the noxious weed—call it by what name you like—still it is that whence the poor man derives solace and comfort; it ought to be lightly taxed, but it is taxed to the enormous amount of 800 per cent. upon its value. (Hear, hear.) I have had the honour of sitting in a committee of the House of Commons on the interesting subject of tobacco. Tobacco formed our morning's dream—tobacco formed the subject almost of our evening slumber, or, at all events, of our evening's meditation (laughter)—and on tobacco we have been hearing evidence of the various qualities, with the vocabulary of which I will not recreate your minds or entertain your ears. On this subject we have been engaged to the extent of a two months' duration inquiry; and I can only say, from all, at least, which has been shown me, that while the tobacco of the rich man comes into his hands comparatively in the nature of a pure article, the tobacco of the poor man, thus loaded with duty, is entirely changed, mixed, and adulterated: it is possibly smuggled (if it is smuggled it is the best he can get); if not smuggled it is sold in its component characteristics, and he is obliged to inhale that in its deleterious condition which the rich man inhales pure. (Hear, hear.) Well then, I would ask, are these just laws? (Cries of "No, no.") These laws are not only oppressive to the people as regards impediments to their subsistence, but, gentlemen, they are temptations to the immorality of the people. (Hear.) The people are tempted to become dishonest smugglers; and can we expect to find those who are thus led into temptation—can we expect to find in them the virtue of resistance? ("No, no," and cheers.) But these laws are not only anti-commercial and anti-social, they are oppressive on the people, taking away from them subsistence in one shape and recreation in another, and tempting them to immorality; and I hold that there cannot be a greater condemnation of the laws of any country, whether emanating from a monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, than those laws which tempt people to do wrong, and then punish them for doing so. (Cheering.) My honourable friend Mr. Villiers, with whom I had the happiness to sit in a committee of the House of Commons touching the import duties—Mr. Villiers, I say, could show you how, in the articles of spirits and silks, the duties were so oppressive that they actually tempt the people to smuggle them into this country. (Hear, hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, I ask, ought these temptations to continue, when, on the one hand, by removing them you remove temptation to do wrong from the people, and on the other hand, extend the sphere of commerce by allowing the people of France, Belgium, and America freely to import spirits, and silks, and tobacco into this country, thus calling into activity thousands of ships and of seamen which were unemployed before; thus extending the commerce of the country, while it tends to reduce the amount of temptation

and immorality? (Cheers.) Well then, gentlemen, I would remove these duties, and I contend that we have a right to expect from Government some comprehensive plan by which such obnoxious duties may be removed. (Hear, hear.) First of all, the subsistence and the morality of the people should be attended to, and then an end should be put to monopoly. Next, all colonial monopoly should be abolished. Fifteen years have passed away since you paid compensation to the colonial monopolists, and you expected to receive your own compensation in the freedom of commerce. (Hear.) Gentlemen, you paid twenty millions, and you have received nothing. You have, indeed, received the proudest of all modern rewards—the greatest reward which can possibly be contemplated by a benevolent and enlightened mind—the emancipation of one hundred millions of your fellow-creatures. (Hear, hear.) Let it not be supposed that I place in the balance against such a consummation anything like the—I might almost call it—paltry amount with which we redeemed from slavery a long-suffering and a long-injured people. (Hear, hear.) I maintain that you not only paid that price for their liberation, but for your own. You not only paid your twenty millions sterling as the price of their emancipation, but as the price of your own. If they were to have the iron fetters for ever taken from their hands—the slaves, I mean—you should have the commercial fetters shaken off your hands. But no! while the slaves have been set free, your commerce has been restricted, and, unless you rise and demand its liberation, will continue thus shackled, and fettered, and pent up, until nothing short of compulsion induces the Government of this country to redeem the pledge which they originally gave. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, gentlemen, how are you to call into action the full force of your colonial enterprise?—how are you to bring out the latent energies which now are hidden in your colonies? By one short magic word, gentlemen—"competition." (Cheers.) They ask for immigration of labourers; they ask you to wait awhile, and pause, and continue this monopoly. Give them, if they like, the immigration of labourers; let them get them if they honestly can; give them these, if you will, but give them also competition. (Cheers.) Nothing will call into active vigour the energies of the West Indies and the resources of this country, or of any other, except the principle of competition which is the soul of all trade, the animating principle of all enterprise. (Cheers.) So long as they continue monopolists they will remain sluggards. Despotism may bind up the hands of men, but monopoly fetters, rusts, corrodes, and eats into the soul and spirit of commerce. (Cheers.) But are there no other persons to whom this principle of competition should be extended? Yes, gentlemen, I would extend it to another race of men, and that is to the landlords of this country: let them enter into the market of competition, and open it fairly with the corn-producers of other countries. (Cheers.) Until that is done you can neither know your own resources, energies, nor enterprise. Call upon them—and I trust you will do so successfully—to meet foreign nations on the free ground of competing trade, and you will then summon into active existence new energies and new powers. (Hear, hear.) Call them out, and you will see what this country will produce. Why, gentlemen, the agitation—not the thing itself—not the substance but the shadow—the name of competition has been whispered throughout the length of this land by those who have agitated in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws—the very name and shadow of competition has called out energies unknown to them before. (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, they begin to bestir themselves, like men who long have been asleep, or, to borrow words far superior to any that I could use,

As men wont to watch,
On duty sleeping caught by whom they dread,
Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake."

(Cheers.) So it is with the agricultural interest of this country. They have roused and bestirred themselves—they are draining and projecting improvements, and they are devising mechanical adaptations to the various exigencies of agriculture which they never dreamed of before. Why have they been roused to this sudden extent of unwonted energy? Because they hear afar off the distant murmurs of the yet remote sound of competition; they heard them in the distance, and if in the distance it produced such a wonderful result, what must it be in effect when it comes to practical application? ("Hear, hear," and applause.) Gentlemen, the Anti-Corn-Law League have raised this magic sound, and disturbed the almost perennial slumbers of the agriculturists; and the League will not recede until not only they have taught them to see the distant shadow, but to meet boldly, and like Englishmen, to contend with the formidable substance of competition; and when they have thus met it openly and like Englishmen they will vanquish. (Hear, hear.) So long as it continues the shadow of that at which, like children, they tremble, they will not exert their energies or awaken their courage, but will remain in the same passive and dormant state in which they were found when the Anti-Corn-Law League first dawned upon their slumbers. (Hear, hear.) On these grounds we call upon you to support the cause of Free Trade. I do not restrict my observations to the Anti-Corn-Law League. I hold the League to be synonymous with, and at least approximating to Free Trade. I trust that the doctrines of Free Trade generally, inclusive of the abolition of the Corn Laws, are now beginning to be received as axioms in this country. They are now no longer a problem: they are the bases of future problems. (Hear, hear.) I trust, ere long, to see Free-Trade associations, having for their object the most extensive commercial intercourse with foreign nations, the most extensive employment for our manufacturers, and, as a consequence, the most active development of agricultural industry, extending from one end of the land to the other. Gentlemen, these things all must have a beginning; this great association commenced at Manchester, it extended itself to London; it is now extending itself all over England; its principles are extending themselves all over the world; and these, gentlemen, are the principles of freedom of trade, the basis and foundation of which may be said to rest on the Anti-Corn-Law League of this country. (Cheers.) I myself have seen translated into the Spanish language all the evidence of the House of Commons taken on the subject of Free Trade, and also in the languages of other countries. I have seen the name of my hon. friend Mr. Villiers, the name of my hon. friend near him (Mr. Bright), the name of Mr. Hume, nay, I was astonished, and perhaps puzzled, to see my own name also circulated, with all the questions which were put, and

all the answers which were given, throughout Spain, in a translation for the benefit of, I might almost say, that illustrious but most benighted country. (Hear, hear.) We call on you to extend commerce, manufactures, and agriculture at home, to extend the principles of Free Trade and of peace,—peace, gentlemen, which is the great consummation, the great triumph, and the glory of the principles of Free Trade. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, we Free-Trade are the friends of peace (renewed cheering); we rejoice in that title; we wish to explode the opposite anti-social notion, we wish to live together, not in the iron fetters of restriction, we wish to be linked together, but in the golden chain of mutual dependency. (Cheers.) These, gentlemen, are our doctrines; these are the doctrines which link us to foreign nations; these are the doctrines which should be our triumph and our pride. And, gentlemen, what is our triumph at home? It is this, that we maintain the principles of Free Trade, peacefully agitating, contending wisely and harmoniously from the centre to the circumference of this country. Ours are the principles of peace and of good order. (Cheers.) For we maintain that, with the extent of our commerce and manufactures, the good order as well as the enlightenment of this country is increased also. I maintain that, during the late severe trials of the manufacturing districts of this country, it was the greatest triumph which the human mind almost could conceive or human efforts accomplish, to see, notwithstanding privations and sufferings not only unfelt but also unimagined before, the quiet and peace which pervaded those districts. (Hear, hear.) I fear that, if the same temptations to disorder had existed among the ignorant and unenlightened agricultural population, they would have applied the firebrand instead of submitting with patience to their sufferings. Depend upon it, the doctrines of Free Trade are those which inculcate those principles of sound sense which teach the people that there is no rule of permanent liberty which is not consonant with good order, and that, if we are to vanquish in the strife in which we are engaged, we must vanquish with doctrines that are consonant with tranquillity and peace. (Cheers.) These are our principles—these we lay before you—these we lay before the country—and we call upon you for your sincere, enthusiastic, and almost, I might say, unanimous support. (Cheers.) If you know your own interest you will support principles such as these; but whether they be supported now or not, whether they are only destined for the present moment to have a species of temporary popularity, and afterwards to lose their impression on the minds of a portion of the people of this country, convinced I am that they will eventually triumph, and that the people of this country will not forget that their nearest and dearest interest, and that of their wives, their families, and their descendants, are intimately and indissolubly connected with the doctrines and the principles of Free Trade. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said: Our friend Howard Elphinstone, Esq., the member for Lewes, will now address you.

HOWARD ELPHINSTONE, Esq., M.P., then came forward, and on approaching the table was greeted with a burst of applause. When the enthusiasm had subsided he said:—Ladies and gentlemen, after the very able speech of our friend Mr. Ewart, I should feel, perhaps, more hesitation than I now do in addressing you upon the present occasion did not I feel convinced that I do not yield either to him or to our excellent chairman in the deep conviction which I entertain of the injustice of that system of Corn Laws which inflicts the double wrong upon the people of making their food dear, whilst by diminishing employment it renders the wages of labour cheap. (Cheers.) Now I must say, when we consider the fact that there are in this country no less than one million and a half of our fellow-subjects receiving alms in the workhouses as paupers, I think that every reflecting man must be of opinion that there is something morally wrong in the social condition of this country (cheers); and when I know, as every man here present must know, the great skill and the great industry of the working classes in this country; when I see also an abundance of capital in this country, which is only waiting for employment, I am one of those persons who think that the evils we complain of result from the bad laws and bad legislation which have been pressing for so many years upon the productive industry and productive ingenuity of this country. (Cheers.) Now, various persons who are legislators in this country, and who have an interest in the continuance of the present monopolies, have proposed different remedies against this state of things. Some persons—exceedingly well meaning, I have no doubt—have proposed what they call a system of emigration—that is to say, they wish the poorer classes in this country to leave the homes of their forefathers; and they wish you to believe, as sensible and thinking men, that it is easier to remove the men, women, and children from this country to countries where they can obtain food, than to bring the food to this country, where the people have been accustomed to live. (Cheers.) I think, before the experiment, at least, is tried, that it would be as well to try the more simple one of making use of our commercial industry by sending our ships to foreign lands, and by bringing home to this country the produce of those lands, to endeavour to give to our people the food of which they are so much in need. (Loud cheers.) This project, owing, perhaps, to the exertions of the Anti-Corn-Law League, has been what is called "blown up." (A laugh.) Another project, however, has been started. Several persons—some very well meaning and estimable in every respect—have brought forward what is termed "the factory question." Under the pretence of being the friends of the people, they have introduced the ten hours system. Now, I believe no proposition was ever made, either in the House of Commons or out of the House of Commons, more likely to do such harm to the working classes of this country. (Hear, hear.) I believe there is nothing so mischievous as to attempt any interference with industry and labour upon the part of the Legislature. (Cheers.) I need not go, before you, into all the arguments of this question; but I think there is one which is almost irresistible. Nearly all you obtain in this country is produced by the labour of your workmen. By a ten hours bill you will diminish their hours of labour, and consequently you will diminish that which they can produce by one-sixth in the course of the week; that is to say, the goods which are produced by the energies of the workmen will be one-sixth less than they would be if this mischievous enactment did not take place. The consequence is, that all other classes in the community would have one

sixth less of the goods made by the workmen to enjoy for the benefit of themselves and their families. (Cheers.) It appears to me that both the nostrums of these quacks in legislation will be failures. (Cheers.) I believe that the only sound principle by which you can relieve the distresses of the working classes in this country is, by adopting a really good system of Free Trade; because, by adopting a system of Free Trade, you encourage manufactures, you give employment to the people, and, by giving them employment and finding a use for the faculties with which they are endowed, you enable them to support themselves and their families in peace, plenty, and comfort. (Loud cheers.) Now, it is rather curious that the persons who have made these laws, if you look through the different provisions in the statute-book, have, upon every occasion, endeavoured to benefit themselves at the expense of the other classes of society. (Hear, hear, hear.) I should like to call your attention, in the first instance, to what is called the "land tax." (Cheers.) You are well aware that, in almost every civilised country in Europe, the land pays the greatest part of the burdens of the state. If you take France, for instance, if you take the greatest part of the states in despotic Germany, or even if you take Italy, you will find that, in almost all, the public burdens are paid by means of the land tax; and that was originally the intention in England. (Cheers.) When the present land tax was imposed, it was imposed upon the principle that it should be at the rate of 4s. in the pound, or one-fifth of the rental; but the landowners, when they made the last enactment upon this subject, saw that the trade of the country was going to increase, and that their own rents were likely in a series of years to rise; they therefore persuaded the House of Commons and the House of Lords to pass resolutions to the intent that the land tax for the future should not be increased; so that the rental at that time being, I believe, about ten millions, they succeeded in persuading the two Houses of Parliament that the land tax should only amount for ever to the permanent sum of about two millions a year; whilst if such a law had not been passed, and the principle had continued to be acted upon the same as when the tax was originally imposed, inasmuch as the rental cannot at present be less than some forty or fifty millions, the tax would have been not less than some eight or ten millions. (Cheers.) I say that this, in my humble judgment, is a specimen of that class legislation which, upon so many grounds, has done so much mischief to the best interests of the country. (Loud cheers.) Now, if it were not troubling you too much, I would call your attention to another point somewhat connected with this subject, which I thought it my duty to bring forward in another place (hear, hear)—I mean the exemption which landowners and landed property now have from what is called "probate duties." (Cheers.) You are aware that, as the law now stands, upon the death of any person who has personal property, a large sum under the name either of "probate duty" or of "legacy duty" is taken from the family and children, and paid into the coffers of the state. That sum, I believe, annually amounts to somewhere about two millions and a quarter; and by a return which has been made to the House of Commons, since this duty was imposed in 1797, no less a sum than £66,835,000 has been taken from the pockets of the people under the name of probate tax. (Cheers.) But whilst this enormous sum has been raised from personal property, landed property has gone entirely scot free; and if you take the value of the land at the showing of these gentlemen themselves, who tell you that it is the most important interest and the most valuable property in the country—a proposition which I don't wish to deny—I want to know how, in common fairness, how in common justice, it so happens that whilst one description of property has yielded a produce of sixty six millions, the other description has paid nothing at all to the exigencies of the state? (Loud and continued cheering.) I must say it does appear to me excessively unjust, that whilst the widow or the children of some poor mechanic who has saved, perhaps, some £100 or £150 in the course of a long and laborious life, are heavily taxed, that the heir apparent to an immense property—perhaps half a million of property—is to pay nothing whatever—to contribute nothing whatever to the maintenance of the state. (Renewed cheers.) I need not multiply these instances from the statute-book, because there are many others; but I wish to say this, that you find, that whilst in all the matters in which these monopolists have a direct interest they exclaim against Free Trade, and form associations to resist the doctrines of Free Trade, yet that, in matters where they have no direct interest in monopoly, they are the very first persons to take advantage of Free Trade, and of the commerce and the mercantile property of this country. (Cheers.) We all know that to-morrow will be the birthday of our most gracious Majesty (cheers); and just let me ask you all to mark what will take place in the drawing-room which will be held at St. James's to-morrow, when the ladies of this country will, with great propriety, wait upon their Sovereign to congratulate her upon her natal day. Take the proudest duchess in the land, you will see her covered with diamonds—it is her pleasure to wear diamonds. They don't tell you, when they buy diamonds from foreign countries, that they wish to see a heavy tax imposed upon their introduction. (Cheers and laughter.) Take the article plumes, with which they will be decorated; there is no "ostrich law" against the introduction of those plumes which will wave upon that occasion. (Cheers.) Take the shoes of the ladies; you have only to walk in the city of Westminster, and you will see shop after shop filled with French shoes; you will find that the sellers of French shoes in this metropolis are driving a very flourishing trade; and I am glad they are doing so: I don't object to their driving a flourishing trade; but I do object to this, that when it suits the interest of legislators, or their families, to admit certain articles, they should not think also of the wants and feelings of the humbler classes, and extend to them the same liberty which they themselves make use of. (Loud cheers.) I was walking to-day in company with a Conservative friend of mine (a laugh, in which the hon. gentleman himself joined);—well, I am one of those who think that politics should never sever friendship (cheers);—however, I was walking down St. James's-street with a Conservative friend of mine, when he pointed out the great beauty of a very fine erection, called "the Junior Conservative Club." Now, this club, as I dare say you all know, is to be the place where the Corn-Law League, the Anti-Free-Traders, are to have their great political club;—it is here that those persons who are leagued together in supporting the present system of Corn Laws,

who are leagued together to put down the doctrines of Free Trade, intend to make their common place of resort. But what did I see here? The beauty of the building was pointed out—my friend said, "What beautiful stone that building is erected with." I said, "Where did that stone come from?" Oh, the stone came from Caen, in Normandy! (Loud cheers.) So that, in the very place in which it is intended to put down the doctrines of Free Trade and of commercial prosperity, they are encouraging commercial enterprise by bringing from a foreign country stone which they cannot find in this. (Cheers.) Now, I don't blame them for doing so; I think, if they can find stone in Caen better suited for their purpose than any they can obtain here, that they are perfectly right in procuring it; but then I ask them to remember that the people of this country will consider that certain other things may be got from abroad which are better for them than what they get here (cheers); they may consider, perhaps, that we have little corn in this country, and that of so bad a description, that our poor mechanics would be greatly benefited by having the corn of Poland or America: I want them to apply to you the same doctrines which they apply to themselves. (Loud cheers.) So much has been said in relation to corn in this place that I won't weary you with any remarks upon that subject; I think every person of common sense, whether man, woman, or child, must have come to this opinion, that it is wrong to tax the first necessary of life; and that you are bound to take off entirely the duty on corn, in order to increase the employment of the labouring classes in this country. (Cheers.) I should wish to say a few words upon another matter which is almost equally a necessary of life—I mean sugar (cheers); and I wish to call your attention to the subject of sugar for this reason, that I think a great deal of very unnecessary, what we may call, "cant" has been made use of in reference to it. (Hear, hear, hear.) I believe that it can be proved by reference to any of the prices current of the day, that you are now paying for the sugar which the laws of this country compel you to take from the West Indies somewhere about 3d. per lb. more than if you bought it in the free market of the world; so that, if you take the consumption of sugar at its present amount, I believe you would find that the extra amount you pay to the West Indians for their sugar above what you would have to pay if you were allowed to buy it in the Brazils or elsewhere, is about five millions a year. (Cheers.) Now, these five millions a year are paid to those persons to whom you have already given twenty millions for getting rid of slavery; so that, in point of fact, this tax pays the same compensation over and over again to them at the end of every four years. (Cheers.) Now, when the people of this country came forward so generously to put down slavery, that foul curse of humanity, they did not mean that that sum of twenty millions was to be paid over and over again: they thought they had made a final settlement of the question (hear, hear); and I venture to say, if any person had proposed, when that sum of twenty millions was agreed upon, that an additional tax at the end of every four years to the same amount should be paid, he would have been laughed to scorn. (Cheers.) But our legislators had managed the matter in a much easier way; they did not apply to Parliament for renewed compensation, but they said, "We will take care by our laws that you don't get sugar from any country except our own, and by this means we will take care that every four years we shall put an additional twenty millions into our own pockets." (Cheers.) Now, a great deal has been said in relation to sugar upon the subject of slavery. I am one of those who wish slavery to be put down in whatever country or climate it may be found to exist. I look upon it as the foul blot and curse of humanity. (Cheers.) But I want to know how am I putting down slavery by enacting that we shall not take the sugar of the Brazils for consumption in this country, when we admit it to be refined here, and then to be exported to others, and when we bring back in return for it the money of other countries to be expended here? I say that we are doing no such thing as preventing slavery, but that we are rather setting up slavery in the Brazils; because you all know that, in addition to Brazil, where slavery exists, there are countries which produce sugar where no slavery exists. There can't be two prices for goods in the market of the world; and as I firmly believe that free labour is cheaper than slave labour, so I believe that the sugar of Manilla, and other colonies where there is free labour, might be produced cheaper than the sugar of Brazil, where there is slave labour. Then, to compete with Manilla, they would be obliged to put down slavery in the Brazils. (Cheers.) I trust that I have said enough upon the present occasion to give you good grounds, at least every one here, for being members of the Corn-Law League.

The CHAIRMAN: The Anti-Corn-Law League.

Mr. ELPHINSTONE: My hon. friend says the Anti-Corn-Law League. You all know what I mean—the League for putting down the present system of Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) Now, I have always observed that great principles in this country can only be carried by associations. In former times the great question of Catholic emancipation was only carried by the Catholic Association in Ireland. (Cheers.) The relief of the civil disabilities of Dissenters was only carried by their associating themselves together to obtain redress by every legal means. (Cheers.) The same course which succeeded in obtaining the removal of their grievances, and which afterwards succeeded to a certain extent in carrying a certain measure of parliamentary reform, is that by which we hope to obtain the repeal of those laws which now press so heavily upon the industry of the country. (Cheers.) Whatever may be the attacks that are made upon the Anti-Corn-Law League, whether through good report or through evil report, we shall still go on in the same course that we have hitherto adopted. We see that gradually larger masses of the people are becoming convinced of the soundness of our opinions, and we confidently expect that by renewed exertions, and by persevering in the duty of endeavouring to promulgate our opinions in every possible and every legal way, we shall be doing that which must prove beneficial to the interests of this great country. (The hon. member resumed his seat amidst loud and reiterated applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said: Mr. Moore will now have the honour of addressing the meeting.

ROBERT R. R. MOORE upon coming forward was received with the most rapturous applause: silence having been obtained, the learned gentleman proceeded as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gen-

tlemen, one would think that there could scarcely be a plainer or more self-evident proposition than that we have a right to as much of the world's produce as our labour can procure for us in the open markets of the world (hear); and yet it is to carry into effect this very simple proposition that all this organisation of the League has been formed, and all its gigantic efforts are made. Our demand is, that the people of England should be allowed to carry the produce of their industry to all the markets of the world, and to purchase unhindered in the most abundantly supplied markets whatsoever of the world's produce they may require. (Cheers.) The moment we make this request, we are immediately accused of all kinds of crimes and misdemeanours (Laughter.) We are called "destructives," "revolutionists," and are represented as a violent untamed description of people, having no regard for any of the rights of property, or veneration for the sacred institutions of the country, (Renewed laughter.) One would think at first sight, too, that it was impossible to deny that it was the right of the working man that the produce of his labour should procure him as much of the world's goods as the people of the world were willing to give him. (Hear, hear.) But our opponents do not like to look at the question of Free Trade in so simple a form; they are horrified at the idea of our saying that *wages are properly*, and that that property is interfered with when you stand between the earner of wages and the abundant markets of the world. They endeavour to make a mystery of this plain question, and to wrap it up in all kinds of confusion; they call standing between the labourer and the best market "protection." They call sending the labourer to a bad market instead of a good one "protection to native industry." They speak in such terms as Mr. Thomas Baring (laughter), the now member for Huntingdon (hisses), used recently upon his return for that borough. That gentleman said, "There was no getting over the fact that unfettered and extensive importations of corn would diminish agricultural labour to a melancholy extent. (Renewed laughter.) And although it reduced the price of bread, what did it matter to the poor whether the loaf was 1d. or 7d. if he had not the means to purchase it?" I do not know whether Mr. Thomas Baring, in the course of the speeches he delivered during the contest in the city of London, made use of any such statement as that which I have just read. (Cries of "No, no.") Probably he reserved the real expression of his opinions in favour of monopoly for a Huntingdon audience. (Hear.) But let us examine and see what this statement means. Mr. Baring says: "There is no getting over the fact that unfettered and extensive importations of corn would diminish agricultural labour to a melancholy extent." There might be no getting over it if it was a fact, but it is not so. It is merely an assertion of Mr. Thomas Baring's, opposed to all experience and to every fact. A fact! I will tell you why this statement is called a fact, and upon what this assertion is founded. The Monopolists and Anti-Leaguers contend that, for every quarter of wheat imported from foreign countries, there would be displaced from our markets a quarter of English wheat; and that, in short, as every man, woman, and child in the country who uses wheat is supposed to consume a quarter of that grain in the year, that every quarter brought from abroad would take a customer from the English farmer; and they go on to contend that, as the customer would thus be taken from the English farmer, his land would be thrown out of cultivation, and his labourers be unemployed. That is the statement which Mr. Baring intends to make when he says there is no getting over the fact—the melancholy fact—that the labourers in this country would be damaged seriously by the repeal of the Corn Laws. But the fact which they have to get over in making that assertion, and a fact that they never will look at, do what you will, is, that there are now eight or ten millions of people in this country who are not customers to the farmer for bread. (Hear.) When Mr. Baring and others say "that there is no getting over the fact, that unfettered and extensive importations of corn would diminish agricultural labour to a melancholy extent," they should first establish it as a fact that every person in this kingdom is supplied with as much agricultural produce as he stands in need of. (Cheers.) They assume that such is the case, contrary to all fact. The report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of women and children employed in agriculture, states, that in almost all our counties—in Devon, Dorset, Wilts, Somerset, Hampshire, Northumberland, &c.—the people are ill fed, clothed, and housed, very uncertainly employed, and badly paid for their work. The commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the poor in Ireland reported that there were about five millions of people in that country living upon potatoes as their daily food; and Dr. Marsham, of notorious memory, stated that there were ten millions of people in this country who "rejoiced in potatoes," or lived upon oatmeal. (Cries of "Shame.") Now, so long as these individuals are so ill fed, while they continue to live upon coarse and inferior food, and all the wheat grown in this country is, nevertheless, consumed—so long as year by year we import grain from abroad to make up the deficiencies of our own crops, and still do not supply all our people—while this state of things lasts, I cannot see upon what ground a man can presume to say that it is a fact that every quarter of grain brought from abroad would displace a quarter of home-grown corn. (Cheers.) Take it for granted that there are ten millions of people, as Dr. Marsham said there were (and that number remains uncontradicted by any other authority), living upon oatmeal and potatoes; every man, woman, and child of that ten millions would, as all the rest of the community do, consume a quarter of wheat per annum, if they could earn wages enough to buy it; then it is plain you might bring from abroad ten millions of quarters of grain for the supply of those persons; you might bring in that ten millions of quarters, and find ten millions of customers for it who do not now purchase from the farmers of this country, and the whole of that quantity of wheat might be sold, and the English farmer not sell one quarter less than he does now. (Cheers.) But it happens that the case does not rest there. We go a little further yet. We call ourselves, and with good reason, *the friends of the farmer*. We say that the League is the only organisation in existence which goes the right way to work to assist the farmer, and to lift him and his labourers out of the difficulties in which they are now involved. (Cheers.) The method by which we propose to befriend the farmer is by finding him *more customers*. We look at these ten millions of ill-fed people, some of them paupers, supported

at the farmer's cost, all of them bad customers for his produce, and we say, let us import grain to feed them. (Cheers.) Allow us, in addition to the articles we now import, to bring in grain, and we must then export, in addition to what we now export, goods to pay for that grain. To enable us to export this additional quantity of goods, we must employ a much greater amount of labour, and expend a larger sum in wages than we now do; and thus we contend that, by having liberty to bring in wheat to feed the now oatmeal-and-potato-fed people, we shall find wages for them, and, by so doing, enable them to buy from the English farmer such articles of produce as milk, butter, eggs, cheese, bacon, beef, mutton, which they never taste now. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Now, we are borne out in this statement by facts. Two years ago we were in the midst of a period of great and bitter distress. Manufactures were at a stand; men were walking about idle and begging; persons were crawling about the workhouses as paupers, who were able, willing, and skilled to work, and the produce of whose labour the world stood in need of. At that period farmers found less sale for the live stock produced upon their farms than they find now, when trade has somewhat revived; and surely it will be admitted by every person present, that as a revival of trade takes into employment a number of people previously unemployed, and finds for the farmers a consumption of beef and mutton which did not previously exist, that an extension of manufactures which would take into employment in trade new people, would make those new people who are now living upon inferior food consumers of the farmer's live stock, and enable him to produce more of such stock, and find a more ready and more steady market. So much for what *must be*—not for what *might be*—the result of the demand in this country for the grain produced in foreign lands. (Cheers.) Let no one ever turn your mind for a moment from that fact by any mysteries they may put before you. We cannot get the wheat of Europe or America without paying for it. They will not give it us for nothing. If you repeal the Corn Laws those foreigners will not send their grain here without they are paid the cost of producing it, and also the expense of bringing it here. You cannot get it without paying those two charges, and this cannot be done without employing more people in this country than are now employed. You can pay for it in no other way than by the labour of your people. It will not do for Mr. Baring and others to say that we should not pay for it in our manufactured goods, but in gold. If we did (and I am not going into that question to-night), then we must pay for that gold with our manufactured goods. (Cheers.) And so we must just, after all, make goods to pay for the wheat that we bring into this country. They say that every quarter of wheat brought from abroad must displace a quarter of home-grown wheat. For the last five years we have brought, upon an average, a million and a half of quarters of wheat from abroad, and they do not say that it has displaced a million and a half quarters of home-grown wheat. The fact is, they have no objection to your bringing in a million and a half quarters of wheat from abroad, provided by doing so you in no way interfere with what they call their "effective customers," that is, those who are enabled to pay a high—an unnatural and unfairly high—price for their food. But when you propose to bring in some few millions of quarters of wheat from abroad to supply those who are not reached by what is now grown at home, and brought from abroad under a sliding scale, then they cry out against you, and say that the farmer is about to be ruined; that his customers are going to be taken from him; that his land will be thrown out of cultivation; and that he will be able to employ no more labourers. (Hear, hear.) Whenever any one makes such statements, you should ask them, "Are the labourers employed now?" I have been down lately into the agricultural districts. I have recently been to Exeter; I had no need to speak of manufactures there, the people knew that they once had them, but that they are now nearly extinct in that city. I appealed to the people of Exeter in ten meetings, at which I had the pleasure of addressing them during the late contest—whether the condition of the agricultural labourer was not in itself a sufficient condemnation of the Corn Laws? (Hear.) We have the *Standard*, the *Herald*, the *Post* (laughter), and now and then the *Times*, standing up and speaking of the men of the League as though they sought to damage the labourers, and as though the Corn Laws had protected the agricultural labourers—as if, under the Corn Law, they sat in the glad sunshine of happiness at their own doors, plenty and comfort smiling upon them, and wants unknown, undreamt of. (Hear, hear.) To read those papers you would imagine that it was only necessary to go into the agricultural districts to obtain evidence in support of the beneficial operation of the Corn Laws upon the agricultural labourer,—to find him in possession of high wages—to see him well clothed and housed—surrounded by well-taught, comfortable, and happy-looking children; and yet, when we go down into the agricultural districts, we find none of these signs of prosperity, but the people are sullen and discontented, and, in fact, it is evident that there is no class upon whom want so bitterly presses as upon them. (Hear, hear, hear.) In that very county to which I have just alluded as having recently visited (Devon), rich as is its land, beautiful as its scenery is, and abundant as are its productions, the average wages of the agricultural labourer is not above 7s. a week. (Hisses, and loud cries of "Shame.") So much, then, for Mr. Baring's statement, that "an unfettered and extensive importation of corn would diminish agricultural labour to a melancholy extent." Where is the proof that it would have this effect? Do these persons pretend to say that the land of this country is now cultivated to its highest extent? Are they prepared to assert that the soil now employs every labourer for which it could find employment? Why, does not the very agricultural report to which I have referred, when speaking of Calce, in North Wiltshire, state that some years ago the farmers were making improvements in their farms, but that now they have lost heart and spirit, and have left off doing so; that not nearly as many labourers are now engaged on the land as it could profitably employ if the farmer had security that his outlay of capital and skill should yield him a profitable return? (Hear, hear, hear.) I have been into nearly every county in the kingdom, and I have not seen one yet—with the exception of some part of the Lothians—of which it could be said that the land was cultivated with anything like common skill. (Hear.) The land of Eng-

land cultivated to its utmost! Why, travel along the lines of railway, and, look where you will, you will see land which is half swamped—the rushes growing as thick upon it as if every bristling point was saying, "This is agricultural protection! Here, keep to it, protect the old rushes!" (Cheers and laughter.) Go over the whole country and you will find in farms innumerable acres of old pasture land which they call "old ley," which does not produce one half, or at the outside more than two-thirds, the profit to the farmer from the grass which it would do if he were allowed to plough it up and convert it into arable land. There is a gentleman—a farmer—now upon this platform, who told me to-day that on his own farm he has pasture-land which, if he were allowed to break up, would be far more productive in the cultivation of grain than it now is as grass land. (Hear.) There stands the Corn Law, made by the landlords in ignorance of the capability of the land, condemning these old pastures to remain in their present state; and there stand in a state of idleness the men who, under a system of freedom to agriculture and liberty to the farmer to cultivate his land as he thought best, would be fully employed. (Hear.) What, then, do these persons mean by saying that the repeal of the Corn Laws would throw a vast number of labourers out of employment? Why, they know that the labourers are not employed now, and that at present they go about begging for work. From week to week and day to day, in every agricultural county in England, the Poor Law contradicts the statement that all our labourers are employed. (Hear, hear.) I repeat that the labourers are not now employed. Put out of your head altogether the idea that the agricultural labourers of this country are employed as they might be; let no one persuade you that the land of these kingdoms is as well cultivated as it could be. Its cultivation is hampered by the Corn Law. In the first place, the farmer rears upon the Corn Law, satisfied that Parliament will give him certain prices; forgetting all the while that the Legislature has no power to preserve his customers in prosperity. He has thus no spur given to his exertions by competition—no inducement, by the introduction of foreign corn and the general prosperity of the country, to cultivate his land to the utmost possible extent. There he is, a mere serf to his landlord, at whose will he holds his farm, that the landlord may, through the operation of the Corn Laws, pocket all the difference of price which is caused by this false system of protection—there he is, compelled to go up to the poll when an election takes place and vote for whomsoever the landlord may direct him—there he is, exercising his skill upon the land, expending his capital upon it; and, after all, holding his farm upon the *chance* of the profit being his own, and at the price of the sacrifice of his conscience to the will of his landlord. (Loud cheers.) I will not occupy your time any further with this branch of the argument, which has been strongly forced upon my attention during my stay in Exeter. Let us now leave the agricultural labourers and consider a case applying to London. A society, whose professed object is "protection to British industry," has, it is said, for some time been very active among the Spitalfields weavers. At the first "great meeting" held by that body, at Freemasons' Tavern, a Spitalfields weaver was introduced upon the platform for the purpose of moving a resolution. This man was put forward with the view, first, of proving that the withdrawal of the restrictions upon the silk trade by Mr. Huskisson, in 1824, had greatly damaged the silk weavers; and, secondly, of demonstrating that the working classes of this country are opposed to the present movement in favour of Free Trade. (Laughter.) Now, I do not believe in reality that the Spitalfields weavers are against us, and I have good reason for holding a contrary opinion, for during the city of London election we held a meeting in the very heart of the Spitalfields district, and not one weaver ever stood up to oppose us, but, on the contrary, numbers of them crowded to our meeting, and gave us their hearty support. (Hear, hear, hear.) I rejoice that our opponents have introduced the subject of the effect of Free Trade upon the interests of the silk-weaver. Ever since that occasion I have been anxious for an opportunity of laying before you facts connected with the silk trade, that you might see from them that, so far as we have gone in the direction of free trade in silk, so far that trade has been benefited. (Hear.) Allow me to trouble you with a few simple facts in reference to this subject. From the year 1635 to 1692 the silk trade in this country was entirely free. The silks of the French were not then excluded from this country; they and the Italians sent to England annually from £600,000 to £700,000 worth of silk. That was in the infancy of the manufacture in this country—a period at which people tell us that protection is specially needed to preserve the young and growing manufacture—and yet during the period, from 1635 to 1692, the history of the silk trade proves that its prosperity was greater than it ever subsequently attained when protection was extended to it. (Hear, hear, hear.) In 1692, at the request of certain refugees who had established themselves here, and commenced a silk manufacture in Spitalfields, the importation of French silk into this country was prohibited. Very shortly afterwards the silk of India and China were also excluded from our markets. In 1719, Sir Thomas Lombe and his brothers set up in Derby a throwing-mill. Those gentlemen had discovered the mode of throwing silk practised in Italy. Previous to 1719 the silk throwing business was not carried on in this country at all. This firm not only got a patent from the Government to manufacture thrown silk, but very high duties were put upon all thrown silk coming into this country from Italy and elsewhere. This was done upon the ground that we would throw all the silk we needed for our own weaving, by which means it was stated that vast employment would be found for our people in throwing the silk at home, which otherwise would be imported from Italy. When this patent (which, I believe, was for fourteen years) expired, Government refused to renew it, but paid Sir Thomas Lombe and his company £14,000 as a premium for the good they had done in establishing their throwing-mill at Derby. At that period I think it will be admitted that protection was pretty close; and up to 1766 prohibitory duties remained upon thrown silk, and foreign manufactured silks were not allowed to be brought into this country. Now, to support their own theory our opponents are bound to prove that at that period the silk trade was most prosperous; when no foreign silk could come in, when the very little manufactured raw material had high duties imposed upon it, when the fully manufactured goods were prohibited altogether. Surely,

if protectionists be right, then our trade should have extended itself and prospered. But how did it fare? Why, in 1766, there were 7072 looms out of employ in London. There has been no greater distress experienced in the silk trade than that which came upon it when protection was most prevalent; when the restrictive system seemed to be perfect, then you had the silk weaver in the greatest distress. In 1793—and to this I would call your particular attention, tedious as these details may appear (hear)—in 1793 there were 4000 of the Spitalfields weavers idle; and yet, just twenty years before, the Spitalfields weavers went to Parliament, represented their distress, stated that their wages were so low that they could not live upon them; and Parliament, to remedy their distress, had done what the protection-to-British-industry people would have the Legislature do now—they attempted to regulate the rate of wages by law. Parliament had followed the advice that the *Post* would give now, an act was passed rendering it imperative that every silk manufacturer should pay a rate of wages to be fixed by the magistrates. And they said further, if a manufacturer dared to employ a man out of Middlesex, and gave him lower wages than those settled by the magistrates, he should suffer fine, and, as the case might be, imprisonment. There could not be a more stringent act of Parliament than that to which I have just referred; and yet, twenty years after that act was passed, there were 4000 weavers idle. But there was something more than the fact of 4000 weavers idle—the very workmen who had gone to Parliament, and said, "Fix our wages, don't allow them to be settled by the fair demand for our labour, our masters are tyrants, and they settle our wages, regulate them by law"—why, these very men took themselves from out of the reach of the legislative protection they had caused to be enacted, away from the county of Middlesex—the extent to which the act applied—and went to Paisley, Glasgow, Manchester, and Macclesfield, and there established silk manufactures, and obtained work out of the reach of the very act they themselves had agitated to procure. (Cheers.) To that very Spitalfields Weavers' Wages Act we owe the early establishment of the silk manufactures in those towns. If the *Post*, the *Herald*, the *Standard*, and the protection society had their own way, and could get the wages of the people generally in the country settled by law, the results would be, that the people would have to quit this country and go to some land where the wages were not so meddled with. (Loud cheers.) Parliament settled the wages the weaver should receive in Spitalfields for weaving; but they could not say to men who had capital engaged in the silk trade—or who might have intended to invest their capital in it—"You must employ men at such a rate of wages;" and as they could not compel men to set up in the silk business and employ labourers, so the silk weavers had to go and look for work elsewhere, and had to run away from their own protection act. (Cheers.) Now, in 1816 there was still great protection. The duty, then, upon thrown silk, was 14s. 7½d. apound, and upon raw silk, 4s.; and French manufactured goods were prohibited. Let us see how the weaver fared in 1816. We are continually told, by these protection-to-British-industry people, that we Free-Traders, whenever we have proceeded a step in the direction of our principles, have done injury to the working classes. Let us see how the weavers stood in 1816. There was a meeting at the Mansion-house on the 26th of November, in that year, to consider the distress of the Spitalfields weavers. Two-thirds of them were stated by the secretary to be then without employment or the means of support. Recollect that that was under a system of high protection. It was further stated that some had deserted their houses in despair, unable to endure the sight of their starving families; and many pined, languishing under diseases brought on by the want of food and clothing." Sir T. F. Buxton made a speech at that meeting, in which he stated that the distress among the silk manufacturers was so intense that "it partook of the nature of a pestilence, which spreads its contagion around and devastated an entire district." (A voice: "Yes, I know that was true.") That was in 1816, under high protection; and never since that period have the Spitalfields weavers been worse off than they then were. The law made silk very dear, so that it could be worn only by the very rich. The slightest change of fashion threw upon hand the stock that the manufacturer possessed, and he had no foreign market to which he could send it. This change in fashion threw the burden upon the operative weaver; and because his customers, as those acquainted with the silk trade know to their cost, were few, the slightest change was soon felt. He had not a large market to go to and sell his goods as he now has; and periods of distress were perpetual in their occurrence, and were more bitter than they have ever been since. (Hear, hear.) Now, I ask those protectionists—those protectors of British industry—those men who would put up Spitalfields weavers at protection meetings—whether they have considered these facts? Have they looked back to the history of the silk trade, have they studied this question for themselves? What do they mean by saying that the extension in some small degree of the principles of Free Trade to the silk-manufacture has distressed the silk weaver? They never have been so distressed since the change in the duties was made, as they were in 1793, in 1815, and 1816; these were their periods of greatest depression, and at the same time of highest protection. (Hear.) Let us take one other period, and I have done with this silk question. In 1824, as I stated, Mr. Huskisson determined to make reductions in the silk duty. He was told, just as we are now when we ask for a repeal of the Corn Laws, that it would throw the spinners, throwsters, and weavers out of employment. In that year, however, he reduced the duty on thrown silk to 7s. 6d.; in 1826 he still further reduced it to 5s., and he reduced the duty on raw silk to 3d. per lb. Manufactured silks were to be admitted at 30 per cent. *ad valorem*. In 1825 there were 780,000 spindles employed in Manchester in throwing silk; and in 1835, ten years afterwards, there were employed 1,180,000 spindles. In 1825 the duty on thrown silk was 14s. 7½d., that high sum being intended to keep the thrown silk of Italy and France out of this country, and to give a large manufacture of thrown silk to our own people; under that high duty we employed 780,000 spindles, while under the low duty which we were told would throw the people out of work, we see that 10 years afterwards there were employed 1,180,000 spindles. In 1825 there were 10 weaving establishments in Manchester, employing 500 hands each; then the silk of France was prohibited. In 1835 there were 30 silk weaving establishments

in that town, employing 500 hands each; that was under a system by which French silk was admitted into this country. So that while the high protection was on, and French silk was prohibited, there were in Manchester 3000 people employed in weaving silk; but when the protection was low and the French silk was admitted, 15,000 people were engaged in weaving silk. Now, with these facts before them, what do men mean by standing up amongst Spitalfields weavers, and trying to persuade them to join in the cry for protection to British industry? British industry wants no protection. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) British industry—from the least skilled and worst paid agricultural labourer, to the most ingenious and best remunerated maker and inventor of machinery in this country—needs no protection. *It wants liberty; it requires room to work. It demands to be free, and that its share in the world's produce should be held sacred. That is its protection.* It wants the protection that nature has given it, when it has made men wish to have in return for all they can make, the very best of everything they can get. (Renewed cheers.) But look again at this silk question; the case is not complete yet. In 1821, 1822, and 1823, we used in this country 2,399,000 lbs. weight of silk, for all the manufactures; and in 1839, 1840, and 1841, when the protection was diminished, we used 4,835,898 lbs. a year, being an increase of more than 100 per cent. in our consumption of silk. Now, there is another little point about this silk question, which is really interesting in a peculiar degree, and I cannot refrain from noticing it, because it settles entirely the question of *"total and immediate."* When, in 1824, Mr. Huskisson proposed to admit the manufactured silks of France at 30 per cent. duty, the manufacturers said, "No, give us time to dispose of our stock on hand, and let your change begin in July, 1826; during those two years we can dispose of our stock on hand, and we shall be prepared to endure the increased competition from France." Mr. Huskisson agreed to the proposition. Two results were immediately produced:—our manufacturers found it hard to sell, for shopkeepers and general purchasers only bought a small quantity, waiting for the French silks to come in and cause a reduction in price; the French, looking for the alteration in duty, and the admission of their goods to our markets, worked double tides, and laid up large stocks. Our manufacturers, about six months before Mr. Huskisson's first intended alteration was to come into operation, went to Parliament again, and said, "The French have large stocks on hand, but they are all of a particular length; prohibit silks of that length altogether, and then the French and we can start fair." (Laughter.) Mr. Huskisson agreed to the proposal; prohibited the French silks of that particular length, which the French had in stock; the French set to work again, worked harder than ever, produced silks of the required length, paid the duties upon them, and smuggled in the short lengths; so that your manufacturers, who would not let the change be made at once, stood in this position,—their own stock remained upon hand; the French short lengths were smuggled in, and the French long lengths came in under fair trade. (Laughter.) Then comes the conclusion of this silk question. In 1823 we exported £351,000 worth of silk goods; in 1836, ten years after the alteration, we exported £917,000 worth of silk goods; and we exported, in 1839—mark this!—to the United States, £410,000 worth of silk goods, which were sent to them at that rate per annum, and were progressively increasing. Now, is it not clear that our silk manufactures have improved? that they have nothing to fear from French competition? The American market is open to France, as it is to us: France can go and sell there; and yet in America—a neutral market—we can go beside the Frenchmen and sell £410,000 worth of silk goods annually. (Hear, hear.) The competition gave us an impulse. We took the French patterns and looms: our looms were first as good, and then they were better; for I should have told you that, under the old system, Mr. Ellice, the member for Coventry, said, in 1821 and 1826, in the House of Commons, that in France they produced about five times as much silk and ribbon in the loom as we did; and in Germany they produced about forty-eight times as much velvet. "Give us," said he, "protection." Mr. Huskisson said, "No; give you the impulse of competition, and that will cause you to make your machinery as good as the French." (Hear, hear.) They gave them competition; and England *did* make it as good as the French, but they did not stop there; they went on and made it better. They went out to America and sold nearly half a million's worth of silk beside the French in the American market. But they did more. "Do not lower the duties upon silk," it was said; "we are afraid of the French, they will sell their silks, and we shall not be able to dispose of ours; every lady in the land will be dressed in French silks, and they will wear nothing else." Men presented petitions to the House of Commons, stating that the measure would ruin the silk-trade in this country; that cobwebs would be found over the looms and shuttles in London, Coventry, Manchester, and Macclesfield. But, fortunately, none of these protection-to-British-industry people were listened to. The trade, indeed, was not made free as it ought to have been; it should have been entirely emancipated from its fetters; but still a step was taken in the direction of freedom; and in 1832 we sent to France £75,000 of silk goods, and sold them in that country beside the Frenchmen. In 1841, again, we sent £181,000 worth of our silk goods and sold them in the French markets. (Cheers.) And so the case stands: that the silk trade with manufacturing freedom established itself, and under the curse of protection declined; during a partial withdrawal of restriction, sprang up again, and that now our silks find markets and a sale beside those in dread of whom we formerly imposed a high protecting duty. What have the protection-to-British-industry people to say to this fact? How stands their case now? Do they think that they will be able to impose upon the Spitalfields weavers? They may happen to get some raw lads among them (cheers),—boys who know nothing of the history of the past; but they will get no honest Spitalfields, Manchester, or Paisley weaver, nor any hard-working man who reads, thinks, and registers his own experience; no man who has lived long enough to recollect the Corn Law of 1815, who remembers the old miseries of the silk-weavers, the uncertainty of their employment (loud and continued cheering); no man who remembers these things will be found joining in their cry for protection to British industry. And then, as to their second point—their pretended proof that the working class is not with us,—I answer them in

very few words:—*there are 50,000 registered members of the League in London.* (Cheers.) Are they all of the upper and middling classes? (Cries of "No, no.") I have been in nearly every town in England during the last six months, holding meetings and raising contributions towards our £100,000 fund, and upon every occasion a large portion—very large in proportion to their means—of our contributions have been from the working men (cheers), given freely from the interest they felt in the cause. Twenty thousand copies of our LEAGUE paper circulate every week (renewed cheers); and a very large number of them indeed are read by working men. We know how the labouring classes stood by us in Durham and the city of London, and more recently still at Salisbury. (Hear.) I know how they stood by me when, at the request of some friends, I unfurled the banner of Free Trade at Hastings. (Cheers.) I witnessed how they rallied round my friend General Briggs, when he came forward nobly to represent the League, and stand by the cause of Free Trade in the city of Exeter. (Cheers.) I know that "the Working Men's Association" met, canvassed for us, carried about the reports of the speeches, were incessant in their efforts—that no working men, except a few who were hired to do it, and made drunk for the purpose, held up their hands against General Briggs at the nomination. (Cheers.) We do not intend to make this movement for Free Trade a class movement; we do not wish to appeal to the working people as a class—we have no desire to organize them separately from any other portion of the community. We want to teach, to arouse, to convince, and associate all;—to have the best of every class, as you know *we now have*, from the Marquis of Westminster and the Earl of Radnor, down to the poorest man that makes an honest living by hard toil. (Enthusiastic cheering.) And now it is time that this meeting came to a close. I will only occupy you for four or five minutes longer with one point of very great importance, and then I will take my leave. Mr. Baring, at Huntingdon, said (laughter), "*He was the friend of free discussion, and he hoped it never would be put down. But with respect to the Anti-Corn-Law League, whilst he acknowledged its power and importance, he shrunk not from combating its opinions wherever he met them, nor from declaring it to be his opinion that its interference and expenditure of vast sums of money, on such occasions as they had recently witnessed, were unconstitutional.*" (Laughter.) He reckons our expenditure at the city of London election, and other places, by his own. (Cheers and laughter.) He seems to me to have spoken simultaneously with a writer at Exeter in a paper that goes there by the designation of "The Wool-gathering Gazette." (Laughter.) The writer says:—"*Nothing can be more unconstitutional than attempts of this kind to turn the course of an election by the employment of the funds of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Surely the constitution must have given the electors of this free country some redress against such an aggression on their privileges as that which the Anti-Corn-Law League are now perpetrating in the city of Exeter. It is a matter of just complaint to be laid before Parliament, and the citizens of Exeter will show themselves wanting in spirit and indutiful if they submit to so flagrant an insult.*" (Laughter.) The only way in which I can understand the meaning of these two persons is, that they mean to say that the elections should be carried on in the spirit of the olden times. (Hear, hear.) I will suppose that the writer of the article in this Exeter paper and Mr. Thomas Baring were jointly to petition Parliament upon this matter—their petition must be to this effect: "Whereas elections have hitherto been conducted upon certain known and established principles—all the public-houses in the town having been freely open to all comers, and the drink duly paid for by the agents of the candidates (loud laughter); and whereas certain poor men, having votes, have been in the habit of receiving a certain consideration for their said votes; and whereas it has heretofore been considered that there was no necessity for a candidate to explain himself to his constituents, but merely to intimate that he meant to *pay for his seat*; and whereas certain men have gone to certain cities and boroughs, and have had the audacity to speak, print, publish, and circulate information; and whereas their meetings have been crowdedly attended, and there is not a drunken man to be seen (loud laughter); and whereas all the public-houses are absolutely deserted, and the people who heretofore attended them go to the aforesaid meetings and listen to the aforesaid men, so that we, her Majesty's liege subjects, can get up neither drunkenness, nor fights, nor riots; and whereas we are now so well observed by the aforesaid men that we cannot bribe the electors (cheers and laughter); and these Leaguers watch us so closely and offer such large rewards, that it is impossible for us in a fair and honourable way, without risk, to buy the votes of the constituencies; and whereas the humbler class of electors presume to think for themselves, and begin to assert that they vote from principle, to the sure destruction of our ancient rights of dictation (loud laughter): We therefore pray that your honourable and right honourable House will take the matter into your serious consideration, and either put down this League or provide such other convenient remedies as to your honourable house may seem fit for this unconstitutional interference with the rights and privileges of aspirants to seats in Parliament." (Loud cheers and laughter.) Now, that is precisely the way in which the case stands. "Unconstitutional!" Why, what do the League do? The only means we employ at these election contests are the same as we use elsewhere—our tongues and the printing-press. (Hear.) What real offence can they lay to our charge? What fraudulent means have we made use of? In what way have we spent our money, but in paying the expense of rooms, for the printed reports of speeches, and of persons to carry them round and distribute them among the electors? Does Mr. Baring mean to say that it is unconstitutional to spread knowledge and to denounce corruption? Has he gone to Parliament to represent a party who would maintain, as the protection-to-British-industry men do, that you should not teach the people of this country—that you have no right to go out and lecture to the people, teaching them to discriminate, and believing, as the League do in their hearts, that this Corn Law is a grievance on the people—that it limits their supply of food, interferes with every working man, and prevents him from enjoying the full fruits of his industry—do they, I say, mean to contend that we should not teach that lesson to the people? Do they call it unconstitutional to come to men about to elect a member of Parliament, and say to them, "Throw aside paltry party considerations; come out as

men; be dictated to and crippled no longer; be made drunk, be bought and sold, no longer—but come out as honest, bold, independent men; attend the meetings which are being held for your information; read the speeches and tracts which are distributed among you; consider the picture that your country presents, and ask yourselves whether the franchise is not a trust reposed in you for the good of your fellow-men, and to be employed only for their benefit." Is that, I say, *unconstitutional*? (Loud cheers.) Do these men mean to insinuate that they would deny the right of instruction to others, because they cannot teach the people? (Hear, hear.) I have done with them. I entreat you not to let any disappointment or discouragement come upon you, because the League did not triumph at Hastings or Exeter. (Cheers.) I have been engaged in both those contests myself, and have returned from them cheered and ready for still greater exertion. There is a spirit roused at Hastings and Exeter, which will ere long win both those places for Free Trade. (Cheers.) They do not deserve to conquer who will not risk defeat. (Hear, hear.) We do not merit triumph, if we are unwilling first to go and teach the people. It is not the work of an hour's speech, now and then, to bring a constituency up from corruption, apathy, and party spirit, to purity and earnestness: it is a work of time (cheers); we have begun it; and tell those who say that the League is defeated, and that we have been beaten at Hastings and in Exeter, that we have marched into the country of our enemies, planted our standard there, and that we cannot be driven back: we have made good some ground, won friendship among the people, stirred up earnestness of spirit among them, picked out some honest men to work our cause. (Loud cheers.) Tell those who call us beaten, we have pledged ourselves that we will go again, and that the people of those places they are pledged to make the way easier for us when next we come; we have made waverers ashamed of themselves, and have broken up mere party intrigues in those places; we will march onward and onward still. Tell our opponents that, do what they will, they never can bring back people who are taught and thirsting for knowledge again to ignorance and indifference; that, strong in the goodness of our cause, and in the progress it is making amongst the people, cheered by the earnestness with which they listen, and the spirit with which they support us, we are determined every where to fight the same battle, if but ever so few men can be got to stand round us. (Cheers.) Tell them that we are come back from these contests convinced that there is much work before us, but strong enough to do it (loud cheers); that be it for one, two, three, or four years, we have devoted ourselves to this question, and put our hands to the plough to plough through this old weed-grown land of protection, and that we will never look back, or take our hand from that plough, but persevere with all our might and strength until the field is all turned, the seed sown, and a rich and abundant harvest reaped for all. (The learned gentleman concluded the above argumentative and eloquent address amidst most enthusiastic applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward amidst loud cheering and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, it is now my duty to announce to you that this meeting is dissolved; but before we separate, if you will not think it impertinent in me, I cannot forbear to express my feelings of surprise and satisfaction at witnessing the numbers that have collected here this evening, and the interest and attention that have been manifested upon the occasion. (Hear, hear.) My surprise is grounded upon such numbers having gathered here, considering the season of the year, and the countless attractions that might divert people from such a scene—that such multitudes have gathered together within the walls of this theatre to mark their feeling and express their opinion upon the question of the Corn Law, which, though it may injure them indirectly, is of tenfold injury to the humbler classes who are not present. My satisfaction is grounded on knowing that there is nothing more cheering and encouraging to those who are engaged in this arduous struggle than to find that they receive the countenance and sanction of so intelligent an assemblage as the present. It has been said that the existence of the League is "a great fact;" but I must say I think that the maintenance of the interest in our meetings manifested by the metropolitan public is a much greater fact. Gentlemen, I do hope that it may be maintained. I am quite sure that a more serviceable auxiliary to the cause of Free Trade to this country and the world at large cannot exist than your support. (Cheers.) The meeting is now dissolved. I believe I may announce to you that a very patriotic friend of ours, and a large proprietor of land, will preside at the next meeting this day week—I mean Lord Kinnaird. (Loud cheers, after which the meeting separated.)

BRADFORD ANTI-CORN-LAW MEMORIAL.—The memorial to the borough members, calling upon them to attend and support Mr. Villiers in his motion for a repeal of the Corn Laws, has now received the signatures of 650 of the electors.—*Leeds Mercury.*

HEXHAM ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING.—At Hexham, on Tuesday evening, Mr. Daniel Laddell, lecturer of the League, delivered an elaborate discourse on the injurious effects of the Corn Laws, and the prospective advantages of Free Trade; after which a chairman was elected (Mr. Matthew Smith), and some discussion on the proposed remedy ensued. There was, to be sure, a Chartist diversion, alike diverting and harmless; but the meeting (on the motion of Smith Stobart, Esq.) came to a very satisfactory vote, condemning the Corn Laws, and resolving to petition against them. But Hexham has another obligation to discharge. It ought to contribute something to the League Fund.—*Gateshead Observer.*

THE FALKIRK BURGHS.—The Falkirk burghs have memorialised their member, Mr. Baird of Gartsherrie, to support such motions as may be brought forward during the present session for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. The constituency consists of 1095 qualified voters, and 710 have signed the memorial, thus giving a majority in favour of a Free-Trade candidate, in case of a new election, of 325. Mr. Baird's majority over Mr. Gillon at last general election was 51. We understand many of Mr. Baird's former supporters, and even some members of his local committees, have given in their adhesion to the principles of Free Trade. This move, in these burghs, where Mr. Baird and his friends exercise such an amount of pecuniary and property influence, is highly illustrative of the change which has come over the minds of his constituents, as well as of the rapid spread of Free-Trade principles.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, April 24, 1844.
N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | |
|--|---------|
| Benjamin Burland, 14, Pump-row, Old Street-road | 20 10 0 |
| William Robertson, Pembroke Dock, South Wales | 1 1 0 |
| William Warr, 18, John-street, Barnsbury-park | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Pitt, Newark Foundry, Bath | 1 0 0 |
| W. T. May, Artificer to a cabinet maker | 0 1 0 |
| Joseph Hornsey, Tavistock-street, Bedford | 1 0 0 |
| John Somers, Baltimore House, near Bridgewater, Somerset | 1 0 0 |
| J. J. S. | 0 2 6 |
| John May, 64, Aldermanbury | 2 0 0 |
| B. Smith and Son, 8, London Wall | 1 1 0 |
| S. P. Beeton, 39, Milk-street | 2 2 0 |
| Henry Channing, Wheatsheaf, Vere-st., Clare-market | 0 5 0 |
| James Violett and Co., Bourdeaux | 5 0 0 |
| John Collier, 45, Snow-hill, Birmingham | 1 0 0 |
| George Hinchcliffe, cotton spinner, Hollinwood, near Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| James Greaves, Chamber-lane, near Manchester | 0 2 6 |
| Col. Addison, Chilton Lodge, near Sudbury | 3 0 0 |
| John Parr, Sepulchre-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 2 0 |
| Small subscriptions from Bristol | 6 5 0 |
| Geo. Darling, Hetton House, Wooler, Northumberland | 1 9 0 |
| Jas. Gray, Fowberry Mains, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Rev. Jas. Robertson, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Wilson, do. | 0 1 0 |
| Rd. Henderson Langford, do. | 0 2 6 |
| George Paxton, teacher, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Thomas Shaw, Rochdale | 20 0 0 |
| John Duncan, Newlands, Falkirk, N.B. | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 2 6 0 |
| George Taylor, 7, Market-street, Manchester | 0 5 0 |
| B. Bulcock and Sons, Clitheroe | 10 0 0 |
| John Richardson, New Market-place, Bolton | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. English, 9, Tredegar-place, Bow | 1 0 0 |
| A. Davison, Old Ford, do. | 0 5 0 |
| F. Blamire, 19, High-street, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Walter Hunter, do., St. Mary, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A. English, Tredegar-place, do. | 0 5 0 |
| J. W. Greaser, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Sam. Powell and Friend, Gungrog Cottage, Walspool | 1 0 0 |
| Haslingden, Henry Taylor, Square | 2 0 0 |
| Lancashire, John Parkinson, Stonefold, near | 1 0 0 |
| 4th Remit, Henry Whitaker, Rawtenstall | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Watt, Coal Hey | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Whitaker, Communion-street | 1 0 0 |
| John Walmley 3, Bedford-street Salford | 1 0 0 |
| Eden and Thwaites, Sharples, near Bolton | 20 0 0 |
| William Clegg, Lane End Mill Heywood | 20 0 0 |
| George Clayton, cotton spinner, do. | 5 0 0 |
| Alexander Whyte, Rochdale-lane, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 1 1 0 |
| Charles Mills, machine maker, Heywood | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Ashworth, ironmonger, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Extra Casson, grocer, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Hill, boiler maker, do. | 1 0 0 |
| S. C. Sagar, druggist, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Porter, Hooley-bridge, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Crosbie, draper, do. | 0 10 0 |
| John Briggs, builder, do. | 0 10 0 |
| John Rawson, ironmonger, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Robert Smith, York-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Howarth, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Jones, do., do. | 0 1 6 |
| George Ashton, dyer, do. | 0 1 0 |
| Joseph Fickling, Market-place, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Joshua Johnson, Vincent-place, Hartlepool, Durham | 2 2 0 |
| W. S. Lindsay, South terrace, do. | 1 1 0 |
| J. Richardson, do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| W. Hodgson, do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| J. Lawrence, do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| J. Pace, do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| Edwd. Mesnard, do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| R. Richardson, do., do. | 1 1 0 |
| W. Hodgson, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. Richardson, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Johnson Wortley, High-street, do. | 1 1 0 |
| G. D. Richardson, of Carlisle | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Brewis, Hartlepool | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Robson, Union-place, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Thos. Sanderson, High-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| R. Sotheran, do., do. | 1 0 6 |
| W. Rawling, do., do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. Procter, do., do. | 0 3 6 |
| A. Moore, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| R. Edwards, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| R. S. J., do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| Samuel Ashton, Poll-bank, near Hyde, Cheshire | 300 0 0 |
| W. Weldon, 111, h-street, Stockton | 1 0 0 |
| Turnbull and Craggs, Quay-side, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Christopher Martin, wharfinger, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Saml. Braithwaite and Rd. Ord, West-row, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Parr, Curtis, and Madley, Store-street, Manchester (second subscription) | 30 0 0 |
| Philip D. Tucket, Frenchay, Gloucestershire (annual) | 5 0 0 |
| William Somerton, Mercury Office, Broad-st. Workpeople in the employ of Thomas, Frupp, and Thomas, Broad-plain | 3 3 1 |
| A Landlord | 2 10 0 |
| J. G. | 2 2 0 |
| T. Thomas, Kingsdown | 2 0 0 |
| A Friend | 2 0 0 |
| A Friend | 2 0 0 |
| J. C. Watts, Queen-square | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Paraley, Work, Somerset | 1 1 0 |
| Rdw. Harwood, Woodhouse, Gloucestershire | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Sturge, Weston-super-Mare, Somerset | 1 0 0 |
| R. G. Bidmead, Stroud | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 1 0 0 |
| R. Humpage, King-square | 1 0 0 |
| A Regular Subscriber, St. James's | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Henry Terrell, Queen-square | 1 0 0 |
| A Forester, Forest of Dean | 1 0 0 |
| T. C. M., Thornbury | 1 0 0 |
| James Randall, Penaford, Somerset | 1 0 0 |
| H. W. Sayles and S. Solomon, 29, Bath-street | 1 0 0 |
| Teddy Yates, Kingsdown | 0 19 0 |
| An Old Subscriber | 0 10 0 |
| Joseph White, Baptist Mills | 0 10 0 |
| Turkey, Red, and Co. | 0 10 0 |
| James White, Baptist Mills Pottery | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend | 0 10 0 |
| Dr. Steele | 0 10 0 |
| A Free-Trade | 0 10 0 |
| B. Baylder and H. J. | 0 7 6 |
| A Friend | 0 7 6 |
| T. P., 22, Philadelphia-street | 0 5 0 |
| A Man and his Wife | 0 5 0 |
| George Phelps, West-street | 0 5 0 |
| A Subscriber | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| G. Barton | 0 5 0 |

Bristol—continued.

Wolverhampton.

| | |
|--|---------|
| B. Welch | 20 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| J. W. W. | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| Two Sisters | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| George Tovey, Stapleton-road | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 5 0 |
| Sums under 5s. | 6 12 10 |
| William Tothill, Stoke Bishop, near | 50 0 0 |
| James Charlton, Ashley-road | 25 0 0 |
| Thomas Frupp, and Thomas, Broad-plain, St. Phillip's | 10 0 0 |
| Michael Castle, Grove House, Clifton | 10 0 0 |
| E. S., per G. T., 49, Park-street | 3 0 0 |
| Francis Tucket, Frenchay, near | 5 0 0 |
| T. Rankin, St. James's Barton | 2 2 0 |
| W. H. Castle, Tenby | 2 0 0 |
| Robt. M. Ring, Redminster | 2 0 0 |
| Edward Halsall, Norfolk-street | 2 0 0 |
| John Robt. Joy, jun., All Saints-street | 1 10 0 |
| Charles Price, Thomas-street | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Price, jun., do. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Tucket, Frenchay, near | 1 1 0 |
| James Davis, Stapleton-road | 1 0 0 |
| Francis Ashton, Castle-street | 1 0 0 |
| John Wherret, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Richd. Howe, Friars | 0 10 0 |
| T. S. H., Mercury Office, Broad-street | 0 5 0 |
| J. W. Newcombe, St. John's-street | 1 1 0 |
| Alfred Thomas, Charlotte-street | 5 0 0 |
| Saml. Pim Jackson, 2, Ashley-pl., Stoke's-croft | 10 0 0 |
| William Fry, Banwell, Somerset | 5 0 0 |
| Dr. Ash, 39, St. James's-place, Kingsdown | 2 0 0 |
| George Jones, Redland | 5 0 0 |
| J. C. | 10 0 0 |
| Thomas Davies, Dean-street | 2 0 0 |
| H. Evans, 29, Clare street | 2 0 0 |
| Edward Hunt, Upper Wellington-place | 1 1 0 |
| Mrs. Edw. Hunt, ditto | 1 1 0 |
| Thos. Griffiths and Friends, 28, Bishop-street | 1 2 6 |
| George Chick, Stapleton-road | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Cooper, Lewin's-mead | 1 1 0 |
| H. Shute Nash, Great George-street | 1 1 0 |
| G. Plum, Dolphin-street | 1 1 0 |
| L. Jackson, Wine-street | 1 1 0 |
| Robt. Griffiths, 28, Bishop-street | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Bate, 11, Broadmead | 1 0 0 |
| J. H. Allis, Albion Chambers | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Jennings, Market-place | 1 0 0 |
| John Cox, Nicholas-steps | 1 0 0 |
| William Wood, Nicholas-street | 1 0 0 |
| F. Terrell, Queen-square | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Butler, 6, Castle-street | 1 0 0 |
| W. J. Waller, 16, Oldmarket-street | 1 0 0 |
| J. Body Redcliff hill | 0 10 0 |
| Thos. Cox, Montague-parade | 0 5 0 |
| Mr. H. | 0 10 0 |
| L. Bruton, at Mrs. Bingham's, Broad street | 1 0 0 |
| James Menzies, Brunswick square | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Sage, Upper Easton | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Ellis, 12, Cathay | 1 0 0 |
| J. Brett, 10 Oxford street, Kingsdown | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. George Armstrong, 11, Clifton Vale | 1 0 0 |
| William Pollard, Brunswick-square | 1 0 0 |
| Jeremiah Braxley, Mary-le-Port-street | 1 0 0 |
| William Jones, 74, Milk street | 0 10 0 |
| George Bayley, Mary-le-Port-street | 0 10 0 |
| J. J. Harris, 39 Broad street | 0 10 0 |
| John Ivey, 32, Temple-street | 0 10 0 |
| H. Evans, 102, Temple-street | 0 10 0 |
| G. B. Chick, Milk street | 0 10 0 |
| G. Parsons, 15, Oldmarket-street | 0 10 0 |
| James Ivey, 3, Froz la e | 0 10 0 |
| John Cox, 32, Fregmore-street | 0 10 0 |
| William Rawle, 30, Prince-street | 0 5 0 |
| J. Tucker, 21, Castle-street | 0 5 0 |
| H. B. Osborne, 24, Redcliff-hill | 0 5 0 |
| H. Morgan, 28, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Mr. Fletcher, 38, do. | 0 5 0 |
| R. Phillips 65, West-street | 0 5 0 |
| W. Belchambers, 1, Castle Mill-street | 0 2 6 |
| Samuel Stok-s, Bush Tavern | 1 0 0 |
| William Hedges, Broad-quay | 1 0 0 |
| T. and A. Warren, 46, Redcliff-street | 2 0 0 |
| E. H. Sheard, Counterslip | 1 1 0 |
| R. M. Hayman, 6 Upper Berkeley-place | 1 1 0 |
| Joseph Le Ray, Broad-quay | 0 5 0 |
| Richard Fryer, Werges | 50 0 0 |
| Thomas and Charles Clark | 25 0 0 |
| Charles Clark, Charles-street, in addition | 5 0 0 |
| Mrs. and Misses Clark | 5 0 0 |
| Moreton and Lanzley | 25 0 0 |
| W. Walker and Son | 25 0 0 |
| John Weaver, C ck-street | 20 0 0 |
| Bradshaw and Sons | 20 0 0 |
| W. Henderson, Graisleley | 20 0 0 |
| Sidney Cartwright, Dudley-road | 20 0 0 |
| Thomas Walker, Newbridge | 20 0 0 |
| Joseph Walker, North-street | 20 0 0 |
| John Shaw, George-street | 10 0 0 |
| W. Moseley, Charles-street | 10 0 0 |
| W. and E. Walford, timber merchants | 10 0 0 |
| G. Cox, Market-place | 10 0 0 |
| Mr. Hales, ironmonger, Horseley-fields | 10 0 0 |
| Hill and Sons, Dudley-street | 5 0 0 |
| W. Walker, jun., St. Paul's-terrace | 5 0 0 |
| Dr. Bell and Dr. A. Bell | 5 0 0 |
| Thomas Meredith, Snow-hill | 5 0 0 |
| P. and W. Wilkes, Market-place | 5 0 0 |
| Corns and Son, Snow-hill | 5 0 0 |
| W. Whitehouse, Janner, Cleveland-street | 5 0 0 |
| Thomas Bolton, Snow-hill | 5 0 0 |
| A Whig | 5 0 0 |
| A Friend to the Cause (No. 1) | 5 0 0 |
| A Cipher | 5 0 0 |
| A Shopkeeper | 3 3 0 |
| J. Crockett, Darlington-street | 2 2 0 |
| Joseph Anslow, grocer, Wednesbury | 2 0 0 |
| Mr. Tovey, North-street | 2 0 0 |
| R. Mortiboy, Little Swan Inn | 2 0 0 |
| Mr. Gatis, Horseley-fields | 2 0 0 |
| John Lewis, Queen-street | 2 0 0 |
| Mr. Walton, press-r, Berry-street | 2 0 0 |
| T. Barnett, Tattenhall-road | 2 0 0 |
| An Enemy to Monopoly | 2 0 0 |
| A Gow, Dudley-street | 1 10 0 |
| Isaac Fellows, St. John's-square | 1 1 0 |
| H. Peplow, Dudley-street | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Simkins, Bishop's-place | 1 1 0 |
| Richard Plant, Cock-street | 1 1 0 |
| J. B. Nucklin, High-green | 1 1 0 |
| H. Lewis, Dudley-road | 1 1 0 |
| A New Subscriber (No. 7) | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Laxton, Darlington-street | 1 0 0 |
| James Robinson, High-green | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Swindley, Bell-street | 1 0 0 |
| Thos. Whitehouse, Mill Bank, Coseley, Bilaton | 1 0 0 |
| John Munday and Co., Dudley-road | 1 0 0 |
| One for his Nob | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend (No. 10) | 1 0 0 |
| Fell and Co., St. James's-square | 1 0 0 |
| Four Friends (No. 11) | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Clear, North-street | 1 0 0 |
| E. Robinson, Cock-street | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Darbey, Sedgley | 1 0 0 |

Wolverhampton—continued.

Uxbridge and Vicinity.

| | |
|--|--------|
| J. Harding, Bilton-road | 21 0 0 |
| Messrs. Touks, Church-street | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend (No. 14) | 1 0 0 |
| Frederick Walton, Tattenhall | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Rodgers, John-street | 1 0 0 |
| J. C. N. | 1 0 0 |
| A Conservative | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Aston, Shakspeare Inn | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend (No. 17) | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend (No. 18) | 1 0 0 |
| R. Wullon, Montrose-street, Stafford-street.. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend (No. 19) | 1 0 0 |
| A Lady | 1 0 0 |
| Q. R. Gale, Darlington-street | 1 0 0 |
| W. Whele, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Stephen Evans, wharfinger, Horseley-fields | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Hemmingsley, Junction Works, Staf- ford-street | 1 0 0 |
| B. Mortiboy, Wellington, Horseley-fields | 1 0 0 |
| E. Jones, Old Hall | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. G. Stokes, Worcester-place | 1 0 0 |
| A Shropshire Farmer | 1 0 0 |
| A Conservative | 1 0 0 |
| John Devey, St. James's-square | 1 0 0 |
| T. Rudge, Market-street | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Davies, Wheel, Cornhill | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Evans, ironfounder | 1 0 0 |
| F. Walton, Snow-hill | 1 0 0 |
| T. Webb, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr Glover, builder, Horseley-fields | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Lee, Chapel Ash | 1 0 0 |
| C. Higga, Tattenhall-road | 1 0 0 |
| Total and Immediate Repeal | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. R. Peck, Berry-street | 1 0 0 |
| R. Peck, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Thomas Horton, 6s. 8d. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Horton, 6s. 8d. | |
| T. Fulwood, 6s. 8d. | |
| James Jenks, Merridale-street | 0 10 0 |
| John Blower, Cleveland-street | 0 10 0 |
| A Friend (No. 20) | 0 7 0 |
| J. Hidge, John-street | 0 6 0 |
| A Friend (No. 21) | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend (No. 22) | 0 5 0 |
| A Member of the League in another Town | 0 5 0 |
| A Chartist | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend (No. 30) | 0 10 0 |
| C. Talbot, Bilton-street | 0 10 0 |
| H. Dickinson, Darlington-street | 0 5 0 |
| W. Dobbs, Pountney-street | 0 5 0 |
| W. Barnett, Dudley-road | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend (No. 23) | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend (No. 24) | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend (No. 36) | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend (No. 32) | 0 5 0 |
| J. Thompson, labourer, Gas Works | 0 2 6 |
| A Wesleyan | 0 2 6 |
| A Working-man | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend (No. 27) | 0 2 6 |
| A Doorkeeper returned his Fee | 0 2 6 |
| A Tory Chartist | 0 1 0 |
| A Friend (No. 28) | 0 1 0 |
| A Friend (No. 29) | 0 1 0 |
| A Female Servant | 0 1 0 |
| Charles Rutter | 5 0 0 |
| T. H. Riches | 5 0 0 |
| Fixed Duty | 5 0 0 |
| H. Hull (second subscription) | 5 5 0 |
| Joseph Rutter, Hollingdon | 5 0 0 |
| Thomas Edmunds, (second subscription) | 10 0 0 |
| A Friend to Settlement | 1 1 0 |
| George Messenger | 1 0 0 |
| John Austin, Cowley Mill | 1 0 0 |
| William Hull | 2 0 0 |
| Joseph Smith, banker | 1 0 0 |
| N. B. Hollick | 1 0 0 |
| S. Homewood | 1 0 0 |
| A. S. | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Tate | 1 0 0 |
| R. Wilkinson | 1 1 0 |
| C. Saunders, Brentford | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. W. Walford, Uxbridge Common. | 0 10 0 |
| Mr. James, grocer | 0 10 0 |
| A Tradesman | 0 10 0 |
| Mr. Hall, grocer | 0 10 0 |
| Ed. Smith | 0 19 0 |
| Good Intent | 0 10 0 |
| A Convert | 0 10 0 |
| Joseph Tew | 0 10 0 |
| John Stransom | 0 5 0 |
| F. Hammond | 0 5 0 |
| R. Dalgleish | 0 5 0 |
| J. Price | 0 5 0 |
| J. Holland | 0 5 0 |
| Ed. Beasley | 0 5 0 |
| W. S. Gates | 0 5 0 |
| J. Chapman | 0 5 0 |
| J. Burness | 0 5 0 |
| T. M. | 0 5 0 |
| H. G. Coxier | 0 5 0 |
| William Nash | 0 5 0 |
| D. and Co. | 0 5 0 |
| William Heron | 1 0 0 |
| George Stacey | 0 5 0 |
| H. Tebbs, Uxbridge Common | 0 5 0 |
| Bernard Tribe | 0 5 0 |
| Fixed Duty | 0 5 0 |
| C. Redborough | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend to Justice | 0 5 0 |
| H. Perkins | 0 5 0 |
| Lazarna | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. John Burgess | 0 5 0 |
| Robert | 0 5 0 |
| M. H. Walker | 0 5 0 |
| W. W. Towndrow | 0 5 0 |
| Richard Nash | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend | 0 3 0 |
| Rev. T. G. Stamper | 0 2 6 |
| John Nash | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| R. Logan | 0 2 6 |
| G. Hogg | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Dalgleish | 0 2 6 |
| H. Line | 0 2 6 |
| R. Line | 0 2 6 |
| W. Line | 0 2 6 |
| W. Tribe | 0 2 6 |
| W. Houre | 0 2 6 |
| C. Clayton | 0 2 6 |
| S. Capp | 0 2 6 |
| J. Keep | 0 2 6 |
| D. Keep | 0 2 6 |
| R. Alport | 0 2 6 |
| J. Leake | 0 2 6 |
| James Clayton | 0 2 6 |
| George Jennings | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Ductman | 0 2 6 |
| Beginning | 0 2 6 |
| John Nash (second subscription) | 0 2 6 |
| H. Adams | 0 2 6 |
| C. Busbey | 0 2 6 |
| D. Basset | 0 2 6 |
| H. Morten | 0 2 6 |
| J. Brickwell | 0 2 6 |
| J. Tatley | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums | 1 8 0 |
| Subscriptions from persons whose names will be announced in a future list | 6 10 0 |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|--|--------|
| Liverpool, 19th Remit. | The Misses Finch, 94, Chatham-st | 25 0 0 |
| | H. W. M. King, Baltic-buildings, Rod- cross street | 1 1 0 |
| Accrington, 7th Remit. | Mr. Blythe, Church, near | 9 0 0 |
| | E. Bowker | 2 0 0 |
| | George Taylor | 0 5 0 |
| Birmingham, Eighth Remittance. | J. A. Friend | 0 2 6 |
| | Thomas Ross, 3, Prospect-row | 0 5 0 |
| | Do. Workmen | 2 2 0 |
| | Thomas Bryan, 13, Gou-b-street | 1 1 0 |
| | Mr. Wrigley, hoaler, Aston-street | 1 0 0 |
| | Mr. Wakefield, wireworker, Legge-street | 1 0 0 |
| | Messrs. Turner, gunmakers, Fisher-street | 1 0 0 |
| | Messrs. Turner's Workpeople | 0 13 6 |
| | E. Collins's Workpeople | 0 14 0 |
| | J. R. Cooper, Legge-street | 0 5 0 |
| | R. Mason, Lancaster-street | 0 5 0 |
| | Mr. Willis, Legge-street | 0 2 6 |
| | Thomas Ellis, 86, Bradford-street | 1 0 0 |
| | John Hawkes, 83, Lombard-street | 1 0 0 |
| | S. and J. Daniel, Moseley-street | 2 2 0 |
| | R. Wrigley, Lombard-street | 1 1 0 |
| | John Slater, Masons' Arms, Moseley street | 1 0 0 |
| | A Tradesman | 0 10 0 |
| | George Osborn, 203, Darwin-street | 0 10 0 |
| | George Docker, Moseley-street | 0 5 0 |
| | E. Fildesley, 161, Chapside | 0 10 0 |
| | Cox and Luckwin, Darwin-street | 0 5 0 |
| | Benjamin Bishop, Lombard-street | 0 5 0 |
| | L. Deley, Lombard street | 0 2 6 |
| | Thomas Howe, Woodman, Bradford-street | 0 2 6 |
| | William Barker, Bradford Arms | 0 2 6 |
| | John Langford, Bradford-street | 0 2 6 |
| | Mr. Linnett, do. | 0 2 6 |
| | Mr. Rudke, Swan, Moseley street | 0 2 6 |
| | R. Fowler, 90, Great Barr-street | 0 2 6 |
| | A Friend | 0 2 6 |
| | L. S. | 0 5 0 |
| | Alfred East, Moseley-street | 0 10 0 |
| | Small sums | 0 5 6 |
| New Mills, Derbyshire. | Thomas Loyd Furness, near Disley | 30 0 0 |
| | John and C. Yates, New Mills, near Stockport | 25 0 0 |
| | Thomas Gishorne, Esq., M.P., Horwich House, near Buxton | 10 0 0 |
| | John Welch Furness, Cheshire | 10 0 0 |
| | Thomas Boothman, do., do. | 5 0 0 |
| | Thomas Waller, jun., cotton spinner, Mellor, near Stockport | 5 0 0 |
| | John Yates, Rock Mill, printworks, (2nd sub.) | 5 0 0 |
| | John Thornely, New Mills, near Stockport | 2 0 0 |
| | Son of a Tory | 1 1 0 |
| | Samuel Bradburn, Market street, New Mills, near Stockport | 1 1 0 |
| | Charles Bradbury, ironfounder, New Mills, near Stockport | 1 1 0 |
| | William Travis, Soldier Dick, Disley | 1 1 0 |
| | Andrew Welch, Furness, near Disley | 1 1 0 |
| | J. Cavins Marsh-vale, New Mills, nr. Stockpt. | 1 1 0 |
| | A Friend | 1 1 0 |
| | An Extra-particular Friend | 1 1 0 |
| | Mr. James Brown, Spinnerbottom, Hayfield, near Stockport | 1 0 0 |
| | Henry Mason, machine broker, New Mills, near Stockport | 1 0 0 |
| | J. Mason, Torr-top, New Mills, nr. Stockport | 1 0 0 |
| | Saml Radcliffe, Dainstead, Mellor, nr. Stockpt. | 1 0 0 |
| | John Sheldon Kettlethulme, near Whaley- bridge, Cheshire | 1 0 0 |
| | William Stafford, Mellor, near Stockport | 1 0 0 |
| | Joseph Waterhouse, Grapes Inn, New Mills, near Stockport | 1 0 0 |
| | Workmen at Messrs. Loyd, Buchan, and Welch's print works | 1 0 0 |
| | Jonathan Wright, Bugworth cotton mills, near Whaley, Cheshire | 0 10 0 |
| | A Friend to the League | 0 10 0 |
| | Evan Heaton, Rock Mill, New Mills, near Stockport | 0 5 0 |
| | Strangers | 0 3 6 |
| | Thomas Halkyard, Compstall-bridge, near Stockport | 0 2 6 |
| | Hugh John Oldham, Roval Oak, Fernilee, near Stockport | 0 2 6 |
| | Od Roper, Mellor, near Stockport | 0 2 6 |
| | W. Travis, Furness, New Mills, near Stock- port | 1 1 0 |
| | H. S. O'dham, Fernilee, near Whaley-bridge | 0 2 6 |
| | John Thornely, New Mills, near Stockport | 2 0 0 |
| | Small sums | 0 2 0 |
| | Sundries collected at the Free-Trade Meeting here, April 8, 1844, without names | 0 10 3 |

EXETER ELECTION.

(From our own Correspondent.)

The election in this city terminated on Monday last. For General Briggs 529 electors voted. During this brief, but hard-fought contest, occupying only a period of about nine days, ten Free-Trade meetings were held. With one exception these meetings were all held in the Royal Subscription-room, which will hold 2500 individuals, and on some occasions the place was filled to such a degree that it was not without great difficulty that the speakers could obtain access to the platform. The meetings were addressed by General Briggs, Mr. G. Thompson, Mr. Moore, Mr. Saul, and Mr. James Brotherton. It would be next to impossible to convey an idea of the spirit and enthusiasm which prevailed in these large gatherings, the people listening for a while with intelligence beaming in their countenances, with the greatest stillness and attention, and then bursting forth into cheers which were heard far beyond the walls of the building in which the meetings were held. The interest in the meetings increased as the election proceeded; and the reports of the speeches were sought after and read with the greatest eagerness; and repeal of the Corn Laws and universal Freedom of Trade were the subjects of general conversation. The old leaders of the Liberal party stood aloof from the contest, but new leaders came forward, and nothing could exceed the spirit and energy with which they worked and with which the 529 independent men recorded their votes. Immediately on the close of the poll a meeting was held in the Subscription-room, at which votes of thanks were passed by acclamation to General Briggs and the League. It was resolved to keep the committee-room open for three or four days for the purpose of enrolling members of the League; and the election committee, with power to add to their numbers, was appointed a committee of a local Free-Trade association. It is worthy of remark, that during the whole time the city was free from the old disgraceful electioneering drunkenness and riot,—thanks to the agitation of the League and the stringent provisions of Lord John Russell's act against bribery and treating. The attention of the people of Exeter has been turned to the importance of Free Trade, and cannot again be withdrawn from it; in all future contests that question will have precedence of every other. Mere political parties can no longer divide the representation between them; the 529 are in right earnest, and will allow no such

trifling with their franchise and their interests. General Briggs was an excellent candidate, and maintained the contest with the utmost spirit and good feeling: he and his cause have won good opinions from many besides those who supported him at the poll. The non-electors were active in their support of the League, and there is little doubt that in Exeter as in Salisbury the waverers and voters against conscience for interest's sake will soon be taught that honesty is the best policy.

Of the ten meetings which were held Mr. Moore addressed nine; his fervid eloquence made him a great favourite, and when he was about to leave Exeter from two to three thousand persons assembled to see him off. They pressed round the coach, eager to shake hands and have a parting word with him: every now and then hearty cheers were given for Free Trade, for repeal of the Corn Laws, for General Briggs, and for the 529 honest electors. There was no ill feeling toward the other party manifested, but a right earnest resolution to work and win at the next election. As the coach started three cheers were given for the League, for Mr. Cobden, and for Mr. Moore.

GREENWICH.

ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.—A general meeting of the Association took place on Wednesday, at the Lecture Hall, Greenwich, for the purpose of receiving a deputation from the National Anti-Corn-Law League, to consist of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Robt. R. Moore. The large hall was crowded to excess at an early hour with a most respectable assemblage, a goodly proportion of which, we observed, consisted of ladies. The deputation, accompanied by the President of the Society, Col. T. Perronet Thompson, who acted as chairman on the occasion, entered the hall a few minutes after seven o'clock, and were received with the most vociferous cheers by the 1200 persons assembled before them. Mr. Moore being detained at Covent-garden at the weekly meeting of the League, his place was supplied by Mr. George Thompson, who accompanied Mr. Cobden as his co-deputy. Admiral Dundas, M.P. for the borough, was also present.

As soon as the meeting was constituted, the CHAIRMAN came forward, and opened the proceedings in a brief address.

A person from the body of the meeting inquired of the chairman if those who addressed the meeting would answer any questions which might be put to them at its close? These questions would be deferred until then, as he was opposed to interruptions during the progress of the regular proceedings. (Hisses and partial cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN said he supposed that, when those whom the meeting had invited to address them had finished, they would gladly hear any question from those whom they had invited; but it was entirely, as to the latter, a question of courtesy. The meeting was not under the smallest obligation to hear any question answered which they did not like. That was a matter which he would leave to the discretion of the assembly, pledging himself to act in strict accordance with whatever opinion they should express. (Cheers.)

The Secretary then read a letter from Mr. Barnard, M.P. for the borough, apologising for his absence from the meeting, after which

Admiral DUNDAS, his colleague, came forward, and was received with tumultuous cheers. He was completely committed in the cause of Free Trade in corn, and so far was in favour of the League. (Hear, hear.) He was also in favour of a Free Trade in everything else. (Renewed cheers.) He would have preferred that the League had declared themselves Free-Traders altogether, than have declared themselves the Anti-Corn-Law League solely. As it was, however, they had worked uncommonly well, and had certainly done their duty, considering the interests in array against them. There was one class of men opposed to them, however, and that was the landlords, who should be grateful to the League, for, since the present agitation commenced, the farmers had redoubled their exertions and skill. (Hear, hear.) For that alone the League deserved credit. The gallant admiral then went on to say that he considered the question involved in the agitation of the League as intimately connected with the suffrage question. (Hear, hear, hear.) The suffrage was at present upon such a footing that the peers and great people throughout the country exercised all political power—a state of things which was as impolitic as it was unjust. (Hear, hear.) After dwelling at some length upon this point, and apologizing for introducing matter which was not wholly relevant to the question before them, the gallant admiral concluded by assuring the meeting that he was always ready to give his support to Mr. Cobden and his coadjutors, both in the House of Commons and elsewhere.

Mr. COBDEN then came forward. The assembly rose en masse, and a storm of shouts burst from every quarter of the spacious hall. The cheering was again and again renewed, and, when it at length subsided, the honourable gentleman observed that he felt somewhat at a loss on entering the meeting as to how he should address them, or what he should say, believing that they were likely to be quite as well informed upon the question as he could be himself. The gallant admiral who had preceded him, however, had furnished him with a peg on which to hang a beginning, at all events. He had called them to task for not adopting the title of the "Free-Trade League," instead of calling themselves the "Anti-Corn-Law League." But he would explain to them how the League was both of these, although acting under a distinctive name. The League believed that, if they could manage to dispossess the landowners—who formed the majority in the House of Commons—of their peculiar monopoly, these landowners would save them the trouble of getting rid of all other monopolies. They (the League) believed the Corn Laws to be the keystone of the arch of monopoly, and they had only to remove the keystone and the whole structure would fall. Therefore it was that the League kept the battering-ram going against the keystone of the arch. But they might say that they had no proof that the League was in earnest in wishing for Free Trade in everything. The manufacturers had no protection which they did not want to get rid of. There were, it was true, laws on the statute-book enacting that cotton goods should not come into this country from abroad without paying a duty. But so was there also on the same statute-book a law, at one time, subjecting the importation of coals to Newcastle to a duty of 24s. per ton. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) In neither case could such a law operate as a protection. The so-called pro-

tection on cotton goods did not enable the manufacturer to sell his production at a higher price at home than he could abroad. Out of every seven pounds of raw cotton worked in England, six pounds were sold abroad, and at a better price than the remainder disposed of in the home market. The manufacturers had, therefore, no real protection, and wanted none.

Mr. Cobden concluded an able speech amidst a storm of cheering. Mr. George Thompson followed in an eloquent speech. After which the collection of subscriptions in aid of the League Fund was proceeded with.

EDINBURGH ANTI CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.

REPRESENTATION OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

Monday, the 22nd inst., the annual meeting of the above-named association was held in the Waterloo Rooms. The occasion seemed to have excited considerable interest, from the fact of its having been announced that an amendment would be brought forward to the resolution about to be proposed, pledging the meeting, in the prospect of a dissolution, to the bringing forward candidates of thorough Free-Trade principles. The large room was, accordingly, quite filled at the hour appointed (seven o'clock). On the platform we observed, amongst others, Mr. Wigham; Montgomery Bell, Esq., advocate; James Moncrieff, Esq., advocate; Edward Maitland, Esq., advocate; Duncan M'Laren, Esq.; J. F. Macfarlane, Esq.; Alexander Robertson, Esq.; Dean of Guild Dick; Bailie Gray; Councillor Stark; Mr. Archibald Thompson; Mr. Ralph Richardson, &c. &c.

Mr. WIGHAM, having been unanimously called to the chair, opened the proceedings. He adverted to the present position of the question of Free Trade, and illustrated the evils of the Corn Laws by some valuable statistics, and concluded by pointing out the evils which they inflicted on the manufacturing and agricultural interests.

Mr. MILLER, S.S.C., then read the annual report of the committee of the association, which was received with great applause.

GEORGE M'ALLAN, Esq., proposed the adoption of the report; which was seconded by GEORGE STONE, Esq., and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. J. F. MACFARLANE then came forward to propose the second resolution, which was to the effect that the meeting should express to the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay and William Gibson Craig, Esq., the members for the city, their strong hope that they, as their representatives, would now be prepared to support the immediate and entire abolition of all duties on the importation of foreign corn; and in particular that they would give their cordial and unqualified support to Mr. Villiers's motion for the immediate and entire abolition of these duties. Mr. Macfarlane remarked at some length upon the present state and prospects of what he styled this wonderful association, the Anti-Corn-Law League. He claimed for the "Edinburgh Review" the credit of having advocated the principles of Free Trade before these principles were so well understood as they are at present. The resolution he had to propose was to the effect that a copy of the report be transmitted to the hon. members for the city, with the expression of a hope that they would support Free-Trade principles. Both these gentlemen on the last occasion voted for Mr. Villiers's motion, and he (Mr. Macfarlane) trusted they would do so again. Considering that so large a proportion of the constituency of Edinburgh had met to support this resolution with calmness, he trusted that their doing so would not be in vain. (Applause.)

Mr. JAMES M'LAREN seconded the resolution in a lengthened speech.

Mr. BAILIE GRAY proposed the following resolution:—"That it be remitted to the ordinary committee, as a special instruction from this meeting, that, in the prospect of a dissolution of Parliament, they shall take care that candidates be brought forward to represent the city of Edinburgh whose views on the question of freedom of trade shall be in unison alike with the great body of the Liberal electors, and of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and, in order to carry this resolution into effect, that the committee shall have power to call a meeting of the whole Liberal electors to ascertain their opinions on the subject, and generally to take such other steps as shall seem to them proper, for giving effect to the opinions of the majority of the constituency on this great public question of the day."

He supported the resolution on the ground that it was well to be prepared should a dissolution take place. He trusted the meeting was prepared to tell their members, and to tell the United Kingdom, that no man would suit them as a representative in Parliament who was not an out-and-out advocate of Free Trade, and a total and immediate repealer of the Corn Laws. He held out no threat; he found no fault with their members for what they had done; they had, he believed, acted honestly and uprightly according to their views; but the meeting now stating their views on the great question of Free Trade was, in his opinion, a much more open and manly way of dealing, than if they concealed those views till near the day of election. He thought, in that case, that the members would have just reason to complain, and say—Why did you not tell us sooner? (Applause.)

Mr. A. THOMSON seconded the resolution in a lengthened address.

Mr. ALEX. ROBERTSON, music-seller, said he had an amendment to propose; and he proposed it, not as a Reformer of yesterday, but as one who had taken his side in politics when it was dangerous for a citizen of Edinburgh to attach himself to the cause which he had espoused. He objected to the resolution which had been proposed, because it involved a censure upon the members for the city. ("No, no.") That was undoubtedly the import of the resolution: they might put any construction upon it they pleased, but that was the conclusion to which they must ultimately come: and therefore it was that he begged to move an amendment upon it, to the effect, "that, until there shall be a nearer prospect of a dissolution of Parliament, it is inexpedient to enter upon the subject of the third resolution." Having supported the amendment, he concluded by moving its adoption.

Mr. MONTGOMERY BELL, advocate, rose to second the amendment, and he wished to preface the very few remarks he had to offer upon this subject with an expression of regret that any difference of opinion should have arisen among the members of this association. He had, for some years past, been a member of the sub-committee of the association, and he was sure that every member of committee would bear testimony to the fact, that up to this period the members had gone on together with the utmost harmony and good will. ("Hear, hear" from Mr. Wilson.) Before coming to the point of difference, he wished to notice how far, in the proceedings

of this evening, one and all of the members went heartily together. In the first place, they were all cordially as one in supporting that admirable report which they had heard read. Further, they agreed in the propriety,—he would say in the duty,—of bringing their views, as expressed in that report, to bear with the utmost weight of their moral force upon the minds of their representatives. They went cordially together so far; and the only question before them was, how they were most effectually to bring their opinions before their members,—where was it that the point of difficulty lay? The point had arisen here, that, not content with bringing their moral influence to bear upon their representatives, by means of the two first resolutions, the third resolution contained—what their representatives, who were high-minded and honourable men, must hold it to contain—the elements of a threat and menace, which was brandished over them in the face of the British public; and the result of which would be, that, in place of bringing the members to acquiesce in their views, it would tend to embarrass them and keep them back. Mr. Bell then went on to contend against the resolution; but, in the course of a lengthy address, the impatience of the meeting, which had been manifested throughout, became so great as to prevent his proceeding. After several interruptions, Mr. Bell concluded by moving his amendment.

Mr. M'LAREN was received with loud cheers. He agreed with Mr. Bell, that it would be of great importance to have Mr. Macaulay on their side; and, as far as he knew the sentiments of the Anti-Corn-Law committee, he believed that they had no other feeling than a wish to convert him—to convert him if they could; and, if they could not, to cut the connexion. He denied in toto that the third resolution implied a threat or menace. The constituency had made a contract with these gentlemen during the existing Parliament. They had applied to them repeatedly to reconsider their votes; they had entreated them to give due weight to the feelings and wishes of the constituency, and the answer was that which was contained in Mr. Macaulay's letters. They now proposed to tell their members that unless they not only voted for Mr. Villiers's motion, but were prepared to give it a cordial and welcome support, the constituency must look out for other members when their term of office expired. (Applause.) He should like to know if any candid man, unbiassed by party considerations, could object to that course of conduct. He held that the members had no right to a life representation in the city of Edinburgh. (Applause.) It was generally understood throughout the city that Mr. Craig's mind was made up to take the step of voting for the immediate and total repeal. He held that that was a fixed point in his mind; and that, therefore, in point of fact, he was with them already. He hoped, or at least he wished, that Mr. Macaulay would take the same course. If he did not, their duty was to do the thing that was right, leaving him to do what he thought right. With regard to the opinions of the electors, his opinion was—and, from his position as treasurer to the League Fund, he had better opportunities than most men of knowing—he had no doubt that, in the event of a vacancy, two-thirds of the Liberal electors would support a Free-Trade candidate. With regard to what had been said by Baillie Gray, as to Mr. Macaulay being fettered by his party, he thought that he (Baillie Gray) had hit the nail upon the head. If Mr. Macaulay had not been a member of the late Government, and if he did not expect to be a member of the next, he would now have been found fighting in the highest ranks of Corn-Law repeal; and this should be a lesson to them that, in looking to fill their members' seats in case of a vacancy, they should neither look to men who were in place, nor to those who were expecting places. (Hear.) Mr. M'Laren repelled an insinuation circulated by a clique for the purpose of damaging the meeting, that he intended to put up for the representation of the city himself; and concluded by expressing his belief that if a person holding the principles which he (Mr. M'Laren) did, and having the interests of his fellow-citizens at heart, as he had on various occasions shown—if such were to come forward on Free-Trade principles, and Mr. Macaulay on fixed-duty principles, he would beat him by a majority of two to one. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. G. MAITLAND, advocate, then attempted to speak, but the interruption was so great that only fragments of sentences could be heard. He opposed the resolution.

The vote was then taken by a show of hands, when 28 voted for the amendment, and the rest of the meeting for the resolution, which was declared to be carried amidst loud cheers.

After appointing a committee, and other matters, the meeting adjourned.—*Abridged from the Edinburgh Observer.*

UXBRIDGE.—A public meeting of the Free-Trade Association was held at the Town-hall, on Thursday evening, the 18th instant, which was attended by a large concourse of most respectable inhabitants, and by many agriculturists of the neighbourhood, to hear addresses from Mr. Bright, M.P., and Mr. Thompson. Among the gentleman on the platform we noticed the following:—T. H. Riches, Esq., Messrs. W. Heron, W. Hall, James Smith, John Smith, — Tate, sen., Robert Tate, jun., and — Wilkinson; Revds. W. Walford, Caleb Morris, — Thomas, and T. G. Stamper. Mr. H. Hull was cordially introduced to the chair. On his right was J. Bright, Esq., M.P. for Durham; on his left, G. Thompson, Esq. The room was tastefully decorated with evergreens, and a variety of appropriate inscriptions, and there were at least 600 persons present.—The Chairman introduced the object of the meeting by saying he could have wished that some more talented individual, from their own town or neighbourhood, had been called to occupy the chair; at the same time he felt assured that he should find his task an easy one, as the subject which had called them together had been well considered, and was well understood in Uxbridge. They were still true to those principles which had been so clearly and so powerfully set before them, when favoured with a visit some time ago from Mr. Cobden, and they still maintained the position they took on that grand occasion. (Cheers.) That was the most enthusiastic meeting which ever took place in that town. He should not support this question if he did not sincerely believe that it was one which involved the best interests of all classes of the people. (Cheers.) It was based on a foundation of truth and justice, and in its aspect was most philanthropic. It was no trifling or

mere political question. It aimed at the good and well-being of the whole of her Majesty's subjects—none could be injured by it. There were many agriculturists present, and he would tell them that, if he conceived it possible that their interests could be in any way injured by it, he would not have been there to advocate Free Trade. (Cheers.) Fully convinced as he was that nothing could save the country but to carry out the object of the League, he should be ashamed if he did not, both in private and in public, advocate this great principle. He should not occupy more of their time, but should call on their worthy and talented friend, John Bright, to address the meeting. (Cheers.)—Mr. Bright then rose and was received with enthusiastic cheers: he addressed the audience for more than an hour, in one of the most business-like and argumentative speeches we ever heard, even from that gentleman.—Mr. Rutter proposed the following resolution:—"That this meeting is of opinion that the Anti-Corn-Law League merits our most cordial approval and support for the manly and consistent course it has pursued during a period of five years in the diffusion of knowledge on the great and important principle of Free Trade, and also in its determination to carry out this principle by contesting the various cities and boroughs as vacancies occur; and we pledge ourselves to render it every assistance by contributing to its funds, and by every other means in our power." Carried unanimously. Mr. Bright being obliged to leave the meeting on other business, a vote of thanks was cordially passed to him amidst enthusiastic cheers.—G. Thompson, Esq., was then introduced by the chairman, and was rapturously greeted. His address, which was eloquent and argumentative, elicited repeated rounds of applause.—Mr. Wilkinson said, after what they had heard, it would gratify the meeting to hear that the principles of Free Trade had made great progress in Uxbridge, and subscriptions to the amount of nearly £80 had been raised. He then proposed that the cordial thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. G. Thompson for his company and his very able address this evening. Carried by acclamation.—Mr. Thompson briefly acknowledged the compliment.—Mr. Hull said he wished to raise the sum to £100, and he was assured that every one would be ashamed not to have his name on the list of subscriptions.—Mr. Thompson moved the thanks of the meeting to the chairman.—Mr. Wilkinson having seconded the motion, it was received with great warmth and three cheers.—Mr. Hull said, that short thanks were sometimes sweetest. He felt the greatest pleasure in having presided, and hoped their association would receive a double stimulus after the very able speeches they had heard.—The meeting was then dissolved.—*Abridged from the Windsor Express.*

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING AT HORSFORTH.—An interesting meeting was held on Monday se'night, in the Baptist Chapel, Horsforth, in favour of Free Trade. The building was comfortably filled by a respectable audience, whose deep attention to the various arguments adduced by the speakers indicated the interest they felt on the subject. John Marshall, Esq., of Horsforth Hall, occupied the chair, and on opening the proceedings said, he was almost a stranger amongst them at present, but he trusted times would come when they would find it their advantage to meet and consult together on topics affecting their interests; and he should then soon learn to address them as friends and fellow-townsmen. He then at some length pointed out the injustice of the Corn Laws, and urged the necessity for the removal of commercial restrictions.—Mr. Plint of Leeds, Mr. Ackroyd of Otley, and Mr. Byles of Bradford, addressed the meeting, and forcibly set forth the evil effects produced by monopoly.—Mr. William Rand, of Bradford, then moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, and in doing so read a letter from Mr. Michael Craven, a farmer and landowner of Scotland, near Horsforth, enclosing a £5 cheque as his subscription to the League Fund.—Mr. Oxley seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously; and Mr. Marshall having returned thanks, the meeting separated. Another subscription of £5 was announced; means also are to be taken to canvass the inhabitants for subscriptions.

BRIGHTON.—On Tuesday evening, the 6th instant, a special general meeting of the members of the Anti-Corn-Law Association was held at the Sussex Hotel, to receive a deputation from the Council of the Anti-Corn Law League. The meeting was numerous and attended by the influential and leading Reformers of Brighton. The chair was taken at half-past eight o'clock by Mr. Isaac Bass. The object of the meeting was to consider the most efficient steps that could be taken in respect to the registration of voters for this borough, and the return of Free-Trade members to Parliament, when it was unanimously resolved that the association in future be called the "Brighton Anti-Corn-Law, Free-Trade, and Registration Association;" that a committee of five be formed to attend to the registration; and that a subscription be raised specially for that purpose. Several questions of importance relating to registration purposes were explained by Mr. James, who attended from the League; and the meeting separated, having pledged themselves to carry out the objects for which they had met.—*Brighton Herald.*

MONOPOLIES AND STRIKES.—On Thursday evening, the 18th inst., Mr. D. Liddell delivered a lecture in the Assembly Rooms, North Shields, to a crowded audience, on the Corn Laws, and the causes and effects of strikes among workmen. The lecture was well received.—*Gateshead Observer.*

PROGRESS OF FREE TRADE.—A petition to the Queen, in favour of Free Trade, and praying for a dissolution of Parliament, to enable the electors of the kingdom to pronounce their verdict on the question, has been forwarded from the parishes of Killybeghill and Ystradgunlais, in Glamorganshire. The petition has 386 signatures, of which number 14 are landowners, 11 are freeholders, 14 are leaseholders, and 97 are tenant-farmers. The farmers of Glamorganshire are rapidly becoming convinced by the experience of the past three years that their prosperity is dependent on that of trade and manufactures,—that to "speed the plough" we must "ply the hammer." At the unanimous request of the parties who had charge of the petition, Mr. Vivian, M.P. for the Swansea boroughs, has undertaken its presentation, Mr. V. having earned this claim to their confidence by his support of Mr. Villiers's motion last year. It is a fact worthy of notice, that, when the royal commission visited Wales last December, the farmers in this district stated it as their conviction that it was useless for them to complain of

local grievances—that their greatest grievance was distress, and its most effectual remedy Free Trade.

THE LEAGUE.—We rejoice to see the indifference with which the League regard the various small diversions contrived against them by their antagonists, the case with which the petty tricks are rendered innoxious, and the reckless simplicity of those whose motives in making them are so notorious and impure. Still more do we rejoice to see that, instead of the influence of this great body being in the smallest degree prejudiced by the silly attacks and unfounded statements so industriously reared up against them, every day adds weight to their political rank, and increased respectability to their social character. The experience of men who judge only by practical results is daily and hourly fortifying the doctrines of the political economist, and giving a tone to popular demands which cannot be misunderstood, and which must not be disregarded.—*Dundee Advertiser.*

PRO-CORN-LAW PETITION.—We understand that many of the farmers have refused to sign the Pro-Corn-Law petition adopted at the Anti-League meetings lately held at Middlewich and Tarporley. We have heard of one farmer who told the parties who called at his house with the petition that he would "sign his death-warrant" sooner than put his name to it. The same individual, who is much respected among his neighbours, tells us that four of them who signed the petition have since expressed their regret to him that they had been weak enough to act so much against their convictions, "just to please the laird." What weight ought to be attached to signatures obtained under such circumstances?—*Macclesfield Chronicle.*

GENTLEMANLY BEHAVIOUR OF AN ANTI-LEAGUER.—We meet occasionally with persons wearing the garb, who are too apt to forget the character, of gentlemen, but we will do the Anti-Leaguers the justice to say that we do not believe that the occasional hints from a few unreasoning ignorant men of their party to duck Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright in the river has met with extensive sympathy. In the early part of our agitation we had frequent cause to complain of the brutal treatment of our lecturers and agents, chiefly by stewards, bailiffs, and land agents in the agricultural districts, but, on the whole, latterly, we have had little to complain of, and we the more regret to be obliged, in justice to Mr. Moorhouse, a most respectable and earnest agent of the League, at present engaged in distributing the packets of tracts in Yorkshire, to record a very unbecoming and unmerited insult from one who ought to have known better, and who, we would fain hope, is now heartily ashamed of his conduct. Mr. Moorhouse writes us from Yorkshire:—"In serving the township of Brierley on Friday (April 12) I met with one of the most brutal receptions I have met with in the West Riding. After leaving the packet with the female servant at the house of a gentleman of the name of George Andrew Helleley, the servant came after me and said, 'Master wants you, sir.' I returned up the fold, or yard, and the moment I got through the inner gate, he threw the contents of the packet, torn in pieces, in my face, and at the same time told me he would take me up if I did not leave the village. I looked at him for a moment, and then said 'I was sorry to see a person of his station in life conduct himself in that manner.' He again said, 'I'll take you up, you scamp.' I then stood still in the yard, and told him at his peril to lay a hand on me (he having sent for me back to his house). I have no doubt when he sent the servant after me that he expected to frighten me as he would the farm labourers, for from what I learnt yesterday in the township of Great Houghton he is one of our bitterest opponents in this riding, and a subscriber to the Anti-League Society. Newton one of the men out with me, saw the whole of the above occurrence." Mr. George Andrew Helleley may fancy himself a great man in his own neighbourhood, but he would have found himself in a very awkward predicament if he had ventured to carry his threat into execution. Perchance the thought crossed his mind that it was safer to bully than to assault an agent of the League.

MONOPOLY AND THE MARCH OF INTELLECT.—At the Free-Trade banquet recently held at Liverpool, Mr. Cobden, in the course of his speech, gave the following amusing illustrations of the "march of intellect" amongst the advocates of monopoly:—"Our opponents do not seem to have had very extensive reading—some of them. The other day one of my friends here, who is fond of reading from the works of an author whose name appears among the list of your invited guests, Thomas Carlyle—(cheers)—one of my friends, I say, quoted him. The next day we heard one of our opponents charging us with being infidels, and said we had been quoting a man who had been convicted and imprisoned for blasphemy! (Hear.) They do not read Thomas Carlyle, it appears! I would advise them to do so, for there is more of suggestive thought in one page of his books than in a volume of what they are ordinarily accustomed to read. (Hear, hear.) Again, our opponents—some of them—are not very learned. The other day one of the Free-Trade newspapers in Hertfordshire, in a very able leading article upon the Anti-League movement, alluded to the defection from the right cause of an old and very esteemed nobleman there, Lord Dacre, and he exclaimed, in the ordinary familiar phrase, 'Et tu, Brute!' The next day a long letter came from his lordship's land steward, an active opponent, denouncing the editor for calling Lord Dacre a brute! (Loud laughter.) I might multiply these instances, showing that our opponents are neither very good logicians nor yet very learned; but I will trouble you with only one more. It happened in a southern village where the clergyman of the parish presided at a public meeting. It was held in a small parish, and some of our friends called it 'a little go'; it was an Anti-League meeting where about a hundred people were assembled. One of the leading persons in it was the sexton. In the course of the clergyman's speech he said we were a body of Unitarians. The next day the sexton was busy spreading the report throughout the village that there was not a single Churchman amongst us; for he had heard the parson say we were all Unitarians. (Much laughter.) So you see that, when you take into account the extent of experience of our opponents, the amount of their knowledge, and the quality of their natural talents (laughter), you must make allowance for any little blunder they may fall into." (Cheers and laughter.)

Mr. R. N. Bacon, one of the proprietors of the *Norwich Mercury*, an able and consistent advocate of Free-Trade principles, has been declared the successful competitor for the Royal Agricultural Society's prize for the best Essay on the Agriculture of the county of Norfolk.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A VOICE FROM CANADA.

To the Editor of the LEAGUE.

Barnston, March 12, 1844.

SIR,—I am located in the eastern townships in Canada, quite adjacent to the north of Vermont, about one hundred miles from Montreal; and I have the pleasure to inform you that the LEAGUE frequently reaches this obscure part of the world. This statement may not be surprising at all to you; but if Mr. Baker had known the extent of the LEAGUE's circulation in the Western World, when he made the following statement, which appeared in the LEAGUE of the 27th of January, I think he must have had a hard face, indeed, to have sent them a copy of his ignorance, or, if not his ignorance, his dishonesty:—

"In America and other places, as soon as one piece of land was exhausted, they ploughed up fresh land. They could take up fresh land to any extent."

Now, Mr. Editor, I was so very much pleased with your remarks on the above sentiment that I could not refrain from sending you word to go on with the argument, for Mr. Baker's nonsense can never stand before the truth, which you have so plainly and fairly stated. Mr. Baker, poor man! oh that he was but here for one hour! we would find him work enough to do. Just at the present time most of the farms in this section are getting the worse for the wear, and it would be fine fun for the Yankees to see him take the plough and set to to break up new land. I imagine I see him entering the forest now before my eyes (it's near at hand—he would not have far to go); but before he entered he would begin to think himself, not in England, where he saw the new land he speaks of studded with maples, firs, birch, and other sorts of trees, mostly as large as English oaks, not allowing each other room to grow, and in addition to these the ground covered with small wood and underbrush; so that I fancy Mr. Baker would tire of his ploughing. The axe comes before the plough. Upon new land the axe is used by the first generation, and the second generation succeeds to the land to cultivate the soil in part; but, if the farm is to be a large one, the entire work of cultivating the soil will be reserved for the third or fourth generation.

The correctness of Mr. Baker's idea of taking up fresh land when the old is exhausted, may be known from the fact that wild land may be had in any quantity at from 4s. to 6s. an acre, while the price of cleared land is from £2 to £3 an acre. But Mr. Baker may say that this land is not worn out: this is very true, but four or five years would wear out the best of it, should the farmers neglect manuring, a thing which he speaks of as being very expensive; and if so in England much more so here; for in this part the dung is made in the barn-yard six months in the year, and the labour required to move it is expensive, for a man gets 7½d. for threshing a bushel of wheat; and I perceive by the LEAGUE, that, in England, a poor culprit's wages had been 2½d. The practice of taking up new land, so often alluded to in England, is not resorted to from motives of profit, but necessity. After the land has been under cultivation for ten or fifteen years, the wheat crop is infected with a fly called weevil, which, in most cases, nearly destroys the whole crop; in some cases one-third, in others one-half, of the crop is ruined just before coming to maturity. Owing to this destruction, the migration from the Atlantic states to the far West has been nearly equal to the emigration from Europe to America, and would have been greater had the people been similarly situated; but they are bound to live with their property as long as it retains any value; there are no buyers except the far West. If Mr. Baker, as you observe, had been much of a geographer, he would, at all events, have been able subsequently to see the truth of your remarks upon his speech: "That you could not expect grain in large quantities from America, except in times of scarcity, so as to prevent the exorbitant rise in price which is now experienced in deficient years." So true is this part of your comment, that the farmers in this section of Canada have not been able to send their grain to Montreal this year, and obtain remunerating prices; although we have a special law in favour of Canadian grain. Your readers may farther judge of its accuracy from the following fact:—If we had canal conveyance from here to Montreal, which would reduce the cost of carriage about 10s. per ton, we could then afford to send the grain at the Montreal prices this winter; but with our present conveyance, we have to pay 20s. per ton, and the consequence is, all the last year's grain is still in the farmers' granaries; at the present time not a pound has been sent from this section that I have heard of.

Yours, &c.,

J. GREEN.

To the Editor of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—I have again letters from Berlin, the insertion of which in your paper, together with my answer, will, I trust, serve your cause, more especially as the LEAGUE is now widely circulated on the Continent.

I am, faithfully yours,

DIOGENES.

Berlin, March 31, 1844.

"You will have heard of the treaty concluded between Mr. Wheaton, on the part of the United States, and the Zoll-Verein. Here you have a practical illustration of the principles of 'giff-gaff' which you treated a few months ago with so much contempt. This is the commencement of the system which will now be acted upon, not only in Germany, but every where, in order to bring England to the resolution of meeting the interests of other nations by an adaptation of her mercantile policy to that of her neighbours.

"But in order to do this with advantage, she must reserve her concessions as a counterweight for those she requires. It is disagreeable and troublesome, but England must now pay for the selfishness of past times. The League would act more consistently if they took a more practical view of the best measures of attaining their ends. It is a painful thing to see a recurrence to differential duties at this time of day, 'mais tu l'a voulu, George Dandin.'"

Another correspondent writes as follows:—

"Whilst England refuses to treat us better, it ought to claim no concessions from us; and if, nevertheless, my Lord Aberdeen will issue strong diplomatic notes, he is only served right by these remaining unanswered. This has been truly the reward of his meddling with our duties on iron, a proceeding considered here as singularly unseemly and 'mal à propos.' If the noble lord would set us a good example, we should have great pleasure in

following him. My creed, to be sure is 'the utmost freedom of commerce;' but those who deal so hard with us must expect to be paid in their own coin, even if it were only to contribute to their amendment. You will soon hear of some fresh and important steps in that direction. England was our predecessor in the system of high duties; may 'she' soon lead the way in reductions and equitable arrangements."

To these two letters, which appear to be brief chronicles and abstracts of the daily current of thought and conversation in Germany, I have replied thus:—

"DEAR SIR,—The sneap Lord Aberdeen has had to undergo pleases me well. I am fond of seeing impertinence tossed in a blanket, and like to assist in dragging thimble-riggers through horsepounds. It must have upset the gravity of the Prussian Government to receive Free-Trade lectures from an anti-commercial and notoriously most narrow-minded, double-tongued, and tricky Ministry. How droll must Peel's despatches have read, inculcating the principle 'that it is best to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market;' or Graham's stating, 'that the principles of Free Trade are the principles of common sense.' How much must your Finance Minister (on commercial and statistical matters the best informed man in Europe) have felt honoured and delighted at listening to instruction proffered by Stanley, *alias* the Marquis of Tamboff, who believes, and stated it publicly *thrice*, that thirty-eight millions of quarters of wheat had been produced in one year (1835) in the province of Tamboff, from whence St. Petersburg draws its supplies; whilst in fact only *eleven bushels* had been altogether exported in that, the preceding, and the succeeding year! In my mind's eye, I see 'Die Herren Presidenten und Staats-minister around their long table,' with meerschams nearly as long, well filled with excellent 'knaster, when straight up comes my Lord of Westmoreland, just stopping a bit on the threshold but to finish the last bar of a cavatina, before he advances. He means to press the Zoll-Verein's attendance on his new opera, as well as their adoption of low duties on English iron. He delivers his Free-Trade message first. The Germans, says he, politely, are a thinking, reasoning, logical, philosophical people, whose sound sense and great learning have no doubt convinced them of the perfect folly in the abstract of all protective and prohibitive measures; besides, there is but one opinion on the subject in the British Cabinet. 'Mein Gott!' exclaims Herr von Bodelschwing, puffing a cloud out of his meerscham that might do credit to my Olympian progenitor, 'why, then, don't they act up to their opinion?' 'Why, gentlemen,' replies the perplexed ambassador, in tragicomic recitative, 'our Ministers, you must see, have a difficult game to play. They have such odd people to deal with. They are, upon my honour, and ever were, at heart downright good Free-Traders, but must not stake character and place upon this matter. They only wait for the proper moment; and, to beguile the time, look like the time, letting 'I dare not wait upon I will.' They could never have got into office had they proclaimed themselves Free-Traders; but being in, and getting strong and independent, they will presently surprise the world with sweeping measures of a most liberal character.' 'Ei! Ei!' answers 'der Herr Oberpräsident,' whiffing his cloud as mightily, but more deliberately than the Minister of Finance; 'when they have done it we may follow their example; we, likewise, have odd people to deal with; and the oddest thing of all is, that they always want us to do as you do in England. In fact, my lord, we like you much, you are a most affable gentleman; you give most excellent dinners; you compose good music, and we will come to your new opera. But we can do no more for you than that. You Englishmen are too clever for us. If Sir Robert Peel can deliberately deceive his own countrymen, he may treat us honest Germans in the same way. My lord, we can no more allow you to interfere with our iron laws than you allow us to interfere in your Corn Laws. And, *à propos* of liberal and sweeping measures, have they not resisted the admission of wheat from the Cape of Good Hope, your own colony? That does not look like strength and independence.' But I have lost myself in fancy's regions, to the neglect of sad reality, which tells me that no such conversations took place; that those gentlemen, besides plain sense and solid knowledge, have also much of the milk of human kindness, and would not hurt the feelings of our musical representative. A dignified silence was as natural to them as these impudent meddlings to our old woman in the Foreign-office, and his drivelling comates at our council-board.

"Ah! that it should come to this! In three short years—nay, not so much, scarce two—has the great Tamworth doctor brought England down from her high station;—her notes remain unnoticed; her diplomatic remonstrances even without a reply! There is the bitter that spoils the sweetness of my satisfaction. Can I behold with pleasure the wasting of the present era, big with the fate of so many nations? Can I rejoice to see the giant thus emasculated—to see the empire brought into contempt, from whence all lovers of the human race have ever been wont to expect rules and laws and practices meet to advance the best interests, the physical and moral elevation of mankind? Heaven forbid!

"Nor do I see, though without surprise, yet not without pain, the measures taken or threatened to assert your independence and whip the British Government into more seeming conduct. If your measures are really beneficial to the Prussian people, let them be taken quite independently of the principles or doings of Great Britain or any other country. But if pernicious to Prussia, they surely ought not to be adopted either to spite us or to teach us how to be wise. Thus to play the schoolmaster is somewhat fantastical, and may become costly. Is not practice better than doctrine? You admit the correctness and desirableness of Free-Trade principles, but for the benefit of Great Britain you would castigate yourselves. Why do we laugh at Don Quixote, but that with unusual wisdom in his mouth, he took folly by the hand to battle windmills, mistaking them for giants. To coerce the English people is as chimerical; to expect anything rational from the present administration is equally so—they have no power or influence but for evil. Being gone (which may be soon), Great Britain will be herself again. But then you will be hampered by interests and monopolies, which you are now going to create and foster, and you will rue the day when you enacted restrictions and made treaties, to teach my Lord Aberdeen more modesty and better manners."

"Brother Jonathan is a cunning fellow, and being not on the best terms with his cousins this side the water, has paid his addresses to our honest but poorer neighbours of the Zoll-Verein. Your treaty will disappoint you, in the sense in which you seem to set value upon it; and if they fancy in Yankeeeland that they have not got the whip-hand of you, they will not ratify—that's sometimes done in Washington. I, for one, set no value on such affairs which always aim at that which is not worth having, and are meant to prevent that which is the only rational benefit derivable from foreign commerce. Each party wants to export, whereas imports alone are the desirable thing."

"The League will hardly follow your counsel, and recommend moderation in mercantile reform, and reserve in commercial concessions. Moderation is the very disease under which we labour here; and we do not look upon reductions of import duties as concession, nor are they such. To eat more bread and consume more sugar and coffee, will be good service to ourselves, whatever it may be to others; but that your position as a Free Trader is as yet somewhat unstable, you would see that we only mean to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market. In this there is no concession or liberality; it is only common sense and business-like conduct. Rely on it the Leaguers know well what they are about; they have a rational, honest, and tangible purpose which they mean to attain by rational, honest, and tangible means. If they were to venture upon reserves, manoeuvres, and diplomatic intricacies, such as your counsel involves, men of such various stations, habits, characters, and interests would not hold long together. Simplicity of purpose, of action, and of means is the secret of their strength and of their success."

"I understand that, at the late bidding for iron rails at Cologne, your ironmasters tendered lower than ours, and have obtained large contracts. Does this not prove the needlessness of protection? Here we are in a pretty fix, more especially in commercial affairs. Hints and rumours of large alterations of duties are abroad. Some talk of sugar, some of coffee; now it is to be wool and cotton, then tallow and soap. In the meantime all is stagnation—the perennial fruit of the restrictive system ripening every spring into high expectations, never to be gathered in; for the issue has ever been, and will be again, disappointment. The Minister dares not venture upon any great measure. He is not his own master, but the football of the landed aristocracy—of selfishness and of party spirit."

To the Editor of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—The *Times* newspaper of the 18th, in giving a brief statement of the speeches at the Great League meeting at Covent-garden Theatre on the preceding night, reports that the hon. member for Sheffield (in discussing the question as to the advantages derived to the shopkeepers of London and other places from the expenditure of the wealthier classes,) expressed an opinion that "the number of those who spend their money in foreign parts is not very great."

I cannot help thinking that Mr. Ward has underrated his estimate on this point, and that there is a far larger sum expended by our fellow-countrymen in foreign parts than is generally supposed, and that we have, in a very great degree, to thank the corn and provision monopolies for it.

In an official document, lately published in France under the authority of the Minister of the Interior, it was stated that there were then in that country 70,000 English residents—not birds of passage, but domiciled fixtures.

We may safely say that, one with another, each of these would spend three francs a day, and upon this calculation we have a sum exceeding three millions sterling annually expended by British residents in France alone. Let it be assumed (and it is far below the mark,) that there are 70,000 more British residents scattered over the other countries of the Continent, and it will be found, according to the same rate of calculation, that through their expenditure a sum exceeding six millions sterling is annually distributed amongst the tradesmen of foreign countries, instead of being spent amongst those at home.

About one-third of these persons may, however, be classed as emigrants from whom, caprice, or fashion, and not of necessity. But not so with the remainder—they have been driven from their own, to seek refuge in a cheaper country, because neither they nor any of small incomes can now hope to maintain themselves or their families in "Merry England!" where the shameless monopolist in corn, and the monopolist in every necessary of life which it is possible to monopolize will allow no one to put a piece of food into his mouth without first seizing half of it for his own share, and for no other reason that can be given than that he chooses, and has contrived to get the power to do so.

I am, Sir, yours,

A SUFFERER.

To the Editor of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—Since the income-tax has come into operation I have lost not less than half-a-dozen good customers, who have gone to Guernsey, Jersey, or the Continent, where they can live so much cheaper than they can in England.

It is a fact that a vast number of West-end tradesmen fancy that Free Trade would injure them by reducing the rents of the nobility and gentry, thereby lessening the sums to be expended among themselves, without considering the thousands of families of little independent fortunes who are now obliged to live abroad because there they can live so much cheaper, but who, if Free Trade were carried out, would most gladly come back to England, for then prices would be so equalized that there would be no inducement for people to banish themselves from their native country. I am induced to trouble you with this, in the hope that it may convert a fellow-trader, for I feel convinced there is hardly one at this end of the town who has not lost some of his customers (and the best ones too, viz., the paying ones) in consequence of the high price of food and heavy taxation.

I remain, Sir, &c. &c.,

A LEAGUER AND WEST-END TRADESMAN.

Regent-street, April 23, 1844.

P.S. A trader is a sort of fixture. His customers can go where they can live cheapest; he must stop and pay enormous taxes and double price for his food, and this with diminished means, from excessive competition, which so often cuts down his profits that his business is hardly worth attending to.

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

Dursley.

SIR,—Having received a number of Anti-Corn-Law papers, I beg leave to transmit to you the following particulars, which have not been brought before the public as I could wish:—

In 1834, the handloom weavers of the north presented a petition to the House, complaining of deep distress. To examine this petition the House appointed a committee of sixty-four of its members, Sir James Graham being among the number. This committee sat for two sessions. In 1835 they agreed to a report, and stated to the House that the distress of the petitioners was to be attributed to various causes, and, among others, to the Corn Laws; and they stated further that the handloom weavers and their families consisted of 800,000 individuals dependent on that trade for support. Here the subject dropped; but in 1837 the House addressed her Majesty to appoint a commission to inquire into the condition of the weavers of the United Kingdom. A commission of fourteen members was accordingly appointed, four of whom constituted the central board, which sat in London; the other ten travelled the country, and sent to the board the statements they collected from all parts of the United Kingdom. W. A. Miles, Esq., investigated the condition of the county of Gloucester, and he found 1135 families of handloom weavers living on a far less quantity of food than that supplied to common felons in the county gaol. But, notwithstanding this distress, out of 782 prisoners committed to Horsley gaol in two years, there were only twenty-seven weavers, of whom but four were charged with any serious offence; whereas the number of labourers amounted to 587. This statement is to be found in Mr. Miles's report, p. 413.

From the village of Uley seventy of the inhabitants emigrated to seek bread in a foreign land. In 1839 there were 180 houses without inhabitants. Since 1800, 140 manufacturers have failed in this county, the principal number, however, since 1815. Notwithstanding all this, the handloom weavers have maintained their character as a loyal though suffering body of men; for when the standard of revolt was raised by the Chartist leaders in the county of Gloucester, the handloom weavers held a county meeting, and pledged themselves to stand by the British constitution; and thus was the peace of the county preserved.

The report of the commission before referred to was completed and signed on the 19th of February, 1841, after which it was presented to her Majesty. The commissioners stated that they considered the Corn Laws, as they affected the handloom weavers, the chief object of the appointment of the commission; and they recommended their repeal for the general good of her Majesty's suffering subjects. But when her Majesty's then Government proposed a fixed duty in the place of the sliding scale, the present Government voted them out of office; and thus her Majesty's commission was made void, and the weavers disappointed and left to suffer. I think they ought to know these particulars, in order that they may see how they have been treated. This might be accomplished by a great public meeting, or through the press. I likewise think that a meeting of the Wesleyan Methodist local preachers of Great Britain, on the subject of the Corn Laws, would be beneficial. I have conversed with some of my brethren on the subject, and they are of the same opinion. I should be glad to hear from you upon the subject.

I remain your obedient servant,

TIMOTHY EXELL,

An Enemy to the Corn Laws.

N.B.—I have four volumes in my possession containing the particulars of this commission.

The following letter has been forwarded by Mr. Cobden, in reply to an invitation to discuss the Corn-Law question with Mr. Feargus O'Connor:—

National Anti-Corn-Law League,

67, Fleet-street, London, April 24, 1844.

SIR,—I have received your letter, informing me that, at a public meeting held in Stockport, at which you officiated as chairman, a resolution was passed requesting me to discuss the question of the Corn Laws with Mr. Feargus O'Connor. With all deference to the opinion of the meeting, I think my time may be better employed than in trying to convert Mr. O'Connor to the principles of the League. To confess the truth, I think the Corn-Law repealers are much indebted to Mr. O'Connor for his opposition, inasmuch as it recommends our cause to the favourable consideration of all rational politicians; and should he at any future time offer his support to the League, I trust the Free Traders will imitate the example of his own countrymen in their repeal agitation, by declining his co-operation.

As respects the opinion of the population of Stockport upon the Corn-Law question, I will venture to affirm that, with the exception of a few young persons, who will grow wiser as they grow older, there is scarcely a working man in the borough who will aid Mr. O'Connor in his efforts to maintain the landlords' monopoly.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Mr. Joseph Carter. RICHD. COBDEN.

Letter from the Rev. Braithwaite Armytage, Vicar of Peterchurch, to the Rev. Dr. Jenkyn:—

Peterchurch, March 15, 1844.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I have this day received the greatest possible pleasure from reading your letter to Lord Brougham upon the Corn Laws, and most fully do I agree with you in every sentiment contained therein.

It certainly is the most important question that can occupy the thoughts of a rational man; and, therefore, a question that we, as Ministers of the Gospel, ought to take the most lively interest in. I must confess that I have but very lately taken upon me that interest, but with the blessing of God I hope that I may continue so to do, and thereby "heap coals of fire" upon the heads of my poorer brethren.

May I beg of you to inform me whose publications you consider the plainest and the best for distribution among a very poor and ignorant population like my own, consisting of about 900 persons, mostly small farmers. Particularly inform me (if you please) as to any tracts upon the subject written by the clergy. The Hon. B. Noel's is the only one I have seen, and that I consider unanswerable!

Most humbly apologising to you for the trouble I am giving you, also for the liberty I am taking in addressing a perfect stranger—I remain, rev. and dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

BRAITHWAITE ARMYTAGE, Vicar.

The following letter from the Rev. Dr. Prendergast, of the Established Church, was read at the Free-Trade meeting held at Greenwich on Wednesday last:—

Lewisham-hill, April 23, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—I venture to trouble you with the enclosed ten guineas, as a donation to the Greenwich branch of the Association for supplying the poor with abundant labour and cheap food, useful instruction and innocent amusement, which, by a less euphonic name, you call the Anti-Corn-Law League. And I take this opportunity of expressing the sense of obligation which every lover of even-handed justice must feel to the leaders of the League for their untiring zeal, their generous self-devotion, and, what is more, their eloquent facts, for they have brought forward in favour of Free Trade a variety of argument and illustration, of which even the wisest and best informed would scarcely have supposed the subject susceptible.

I must add, that I view with particular satisfaction the course they have adopted at the recent elections: by this course, vigorously pursued and firmly persevered in, they will carry out the intentions and give effect to the enactments of that large measure of reform at which our good friends the Whigs struggled so many years, undaunted by the frowns of the Court, and undismayed by the coldness of the people; and at length, by the providential concurrence of similar struggles in other parts of Europe, most wondrously achieved.

I am, my dear Sir, yours, very faithfully,

John Wade, Esq.

JOSEPH PRENDERGAST.

The following, among other letters, were addressed to the Chairman of the Liverpool Anti Monopoly Association, on the occasion of the late Free-Trade banquet:—

FROM THOMAS CARLYLE, ESQ.

Chelsea, London, March 12, 1844.

SIR,—With many thanks to the Council of the Anti-Monopoly Association for the honour they do me, I have to express my regret at not being able to attend on the day in question.

No man wishes better to the cause of Free Trade—which, indeed, seems to me, in itself, the cause of common sense and common honesty—a sad thing to be called upon to demonstrate at this time of day. Called upon, nevertheless, many are, and grievous obstructions on all sides do abound. These, if the cause is true, will of a very surety have to take themselves away, and the sooner the cheaper it will be for them, I believe! But, perhaps, we have not yet got at the whole truth; perhaps it is on that ground not entirely without profit to us, though at their own great peril, that they are permitted to continue yet awhile.

Wishing you and all men that mean manfully good success,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

T. CARLYLE.

FROM MISS MARTINEAU.

Tynemouth, March 25, 1844.

SIR,—I hear with strong interest of your intended Free-Trade demonstration in Easter week.

My presence at your festival is, as you suppose, out of the question; but I shall think of you with cordial good wishes. To me it appears that the Free-Trade movements now in progress promise, not only success as to their immediate aims, but a yet greater ulterior benefit. They will assuredly give us Free Trade; and I fully believe they will give us yet more—a sound portion of national education.

Unhappily, we cannot so agree as to collect the children of the nation into school-houses, where all may be trained to intelligence and good morals; but a considerable portion of this good work seems to be done out of school-houses by Free-Trade teachers, by the discipline of thought into which they lead multitudes of the people who never before were encouraged to exercise their minds. Men who induce and enable masses of the people to examine and understand their own and others' interests, and to act upon the truths they lay hold of, are as efficient public educators as perhaps could be proposed under any view and any system. I, for one, honour them for their twofold service—for their efforts to bring food into every man's house, and for their influence in rousing every man to exercise and inform his own mind. The next generation will be indebted to them, not only for more comfort, but for more wisdom. I have not yet seen that the Free-Trade leaders are toasted or cheered as national educators; but, in my opinion, they deserve it. Believe me, with every good wish to your cause,

Very truly yours,

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

LIVERPOOL ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION.

We have received the fourth number of "The Free-Trade Circular," which is issued monthly by this zealous and highly intelligent body of Free Traders. The "Circular" confines itself this month to two topics—the true source of agricultural prosperity, and the sugar monopoly. Its observations on the former are founded on an advertisement which recently appeared in a Liverpool paper, announcing for sale an extensive estate in the county of Renfrew, in which the proprietor sets forth, as its most prominent advantage, that "it includes a town of 1200 inhabitants, chiefly engaged in the cotton manufacture, and that there are ample means of increasing the existing, and of introducing the various other, branches of industry and manufacture." The "Circular," speaking of this advertisement, says:—

"The advertisement proceeds in a business-like way to assure intending purchasers that 'the stability of the present rental, and the certainty of a progressive advance, are strikingly established by the fact, that the rents of the estate have been steadily maintained ever since the war-prices ceased to operate, and now a unit exceed what they were twenty-three years ago, notwithstanding the general depressing circumstances of the times, and a competition which has lately arisen in the neighbourhood for the purchase of the estate.'"

The gross amount of the rent and returns from the estate, as now let, is £9420 0 0
Deduct public burdens .. 305 0 0 or nearly 8d. per £.

Remains FREE RENT .. £9115 0 0

Having noticed this remarkable admission, the "Circular" observes:—

"Nothing, indeed, can be more contradictory than the assertions of the very same monopolist landowners. They appear

to have two distinct sets of facts: one for George Robins and the steward, and the other for the hucksters. As men of business, with an estate on sale, they point to the advantage of some thriving populous district; but as 'strong party men' they declaim against the extension of manufactures as inimical to the landed interest! As men of business, they proclaim to the public 'that all the new sets continue to be made at an advance on the former rents notwithstanding the depressing circumstances of the times'; but at the private county meetings for the 'protection of agriculture,' they declare their profound conviction that agriculture is not sufficiently protected! As men of business, they inform intending purchasers that the public burdens are 'extremely low,' and they are always prepared to show a very captivating amount of rent; but when the Corn Laws are discussed, out of Parliament, they are accustomed to re-assert their claim for 'protection' upon the plea that there are many 'very heavy special burdens' upon the land."

The "Circular" then points to the above statement to show that while the "public burdens" on land amount to but 8d. in the pound, or about 3½ per cent. on the entire rental, the taxes upon the chief necessities of life—bread, tea, coffee, and sugar—amount to from 50 to 200 per cent. The "Circular" concludes this subject with the following remarkable statement:—

"We have a fine specimen of the 'special burdens upon land' in the adjoining county of Chester. By a Parliamentary return (January 23rd, 1838), moved for and obtained by Mr. Thorneley, it appears that the amount received for tollage duties on the river Weaver and West-ward Canal, from 1793 to 1837 inclusive, amounted to £816,515 12s. 3d., making, with sundry other receipts of £46,846 0s. 10½d. (not including £11,910 borrowed in 1838), a total of £864,361 13s. 12½d., of which only £491,580 19s. 13d. had been 'appropriated to maintenance, repairs, and improvements,' leaving a surplus of £372,781 14s. 0½d.; which has been applied, not to the reduction of the tolls—*manure never paid any toll*—not for the benefit of that trade from which the vast sum was exacted. No: we quote the simple language of the return, 'paid for the use of the County of Chester, £389,155 18s. 3½d.' the whole of which must certainly have been otherwise paid by rates upon the owner and occupiers of the land; so that the advantage of a great Cheshire estate might run thus:—In addition to the other peculiar advantages of this locality, it should be mentioned that the county rates are, in part, paid by a tax levied on salt and other commodities passing along the Weaver navigation to and from Liverpool and the manufacturing districts."

THE SUGAR MONOPOLISTS.

Our readers scarcely need to be reminded of the facts in relation to our sugar colonies. Under the system of slavery, we gave them an entire monopoly of the British market. They could not compete with other countries; and, to favour their weakness, our sympathising Government laid duties on foreign sugar nearly three times as heavy as the duty on colonial. Then came the period of emancipation, and we liberally, lavishly gave 20 millions to deliver the slaves—a sum sufficient not only to free the slaves but to buy the estates also. Then came the torturing apprenticeship, and freedom at last, when it was found, that in point of fact, free labour was so much more effective than slave labour had been, that, though costing more, it was cheaper. But the planters, still relying on protection, would not improve their modes of cultivation, and adapt themselves to altered circumstances. Sugar became scarce and dear, and the Board of Trade discovered that a diminution of the discriminatory duties would not only increase the supply and reduce the price, thus saving millions to the people, but that it would also add some millions to the revenue. In 1841, the Whigs attacked the monopoly; but the old slaveholders, rallying under the anti-slavery cry, defeated the attempt; and the foundation of their case was the confident assurance given by Lord Sandon and by the Government, that the future supply of sugar from our colonies would be ample. The monopolists triumphed. The planters have had three years more of their much-loved protection—the people three years more of dear sugar, with an income-tax to make up the revenue which cheap sugar would have given. And now let us see what is the happy condition of the protected planters. We are indebted to a friend in Jamaica for a copy of the *Morning Journal* of the 8th of March, 1844, in which we find an important debate in the House of Assembly on the condition of the island, on a motion to memorialize the Queen for the maintenance of the differential duties. In support of this measure, the strongest statements were made as to the ruinous condition of the plantations. The mover of the memorial represented that the abandonment of the greater proportion of the properties was inevitable, unless speedy relief were afforded; and he stated that in one parish, out of 23 estates, five had been, and eight more were in course of being abandoned. Mr. Geddes was of opinion that, in the course of eighteen months, two-thirds of the estates would be abandoned. Mr. Whitelock said:—

"It was a notorious fact that most properties had drawn for three times the value of the produce shipped; the consequence was, that supplies and remittances had been stopped, and the prices at home had refused to honour any more bills, unless the attorneys would pledge that produce would be shipped to cover the amount of the same."

Mr. Sanguinetti declared the memorial to be too highly coloured, and feared that it would fail to excite sympathy for its want of truth. He doubted also whether the statement of their ruinous condition might not be used against them; for to declare that the greater number of estates were on the eve of abandonment would "furnish an argument in favour of those who clamour for cheap sugar, and insist upon having it for the starving people of England." He urged that the more politic tale to tell would be, that they were resorting to cheaper modes of cultivation, and would be able to supply cheap sugar by free labour. Mr. Osborn followed in a similar strain. He asked if it was prudent for an insolvent, applying to his friends for assistance, to represent truly his condition? "How could they expect capitalists at home would advance money, when they told them that they were abandoning their properties?" Some speakers contended that the estates of Jamaica could not be cultivated profitably, unless the owners themselves looked after their property, instead of leaving it in the indifferent and extravagant hands of attorneys and agents. Others, on the contrary, represented that, without the skill of these parties, there could be no good cultivation; and if the produce would not pay for them, the estates must be abandoned. (One gentleman mentioned the case of an estate where £600 a year are paid for management, and yet it is profitable. The conclusions to be drawn from all this are, that our protective system has utterly failed. The planters have relied on monopoly, instead of upon themselves; but even monopoly cannot support men pursuing such a policy. They complain that they are going to ruin now as fast as possible; and yet their only prayer is—perpetuate the system that has brought

us to this pass. They are between the horns of a dilemma. Unless they cry "Ruin! ruin!" with all their might, they fear the Government may touch their monopoly, for the benefit, as they say, of the "starving people of England." But if they cry "Ruin!" too loudly, their creditors may lay hands on them; and the people of England, seeing through the delusiveness of the promises of abundant supplies from the colonies, may become impatient of the monopoly. If they could only tell their tales in private, how well they might manage! To Mr. Gladstone they would say, "All the West India property of your family will be destroyed, unless you keep up the monopoly;" to their creditors they would say, "We are cheapening our modes of cultivation, and shall be able to pay amply for all your advances;" while to the public they would cry, "Increase your efforts to put down slavery in other countries, and in a few years we will supply you both abundantly and cheaply." The misfortune of these planters is, that instead of telling their tales separately, each to the ears for which it is designed, they tell them all in the same place, at the same time, in the ears of reporters who convey them to the press, which sends them to England—and thus the whole game of fraud and plunder is exposed. What is the value of the West India colonies to England? Our trade with them? The fact is, that for what we export to these islands we might purchase twice as much tropical produce from other countries. If a man keeps a farm, he ought surely to eat his bread and bacon somewhat cheaper than those who buy. If a nation has sugar colonies, of what value are they unless they supply sugar at least as cheaply as independent countries do? Yet these West Indians, to whom we pay double price for every ounce of sugar, have the audacity to claim a continuance of this system of plunder, and to talk, besides, of another grant of we know not how many millions for compensation. They pretend to say that they are ruined by emancipation, which has rendered labour dear. A Mr. Osborn, who, in a very manly way, declared himself a descendant, by the mother's side, of the negro race, and who repudiated the right assumed by others to hold property in slaves, said:—

"They knew very well that, during the time of slavery, the labourers got no wages at all. They only got a small allowance of fish. They knew very well that, in times of slavery, a worn-out estate might have paid; but in a state of freedom, when money wages had to be paid for labour, it could not be carried on, and it was necessary that it be abandoned."

According to this the profit made by the planter was just that of which he robbed the labourer. But slave labour was not so cheap as Mr. Osborn represents. The fact is, that free labour is much cheaper. The hoeing of an acre which, in 1823 cost from £5 to £7, is now done by free labour for £3 10s. A chain of walling, which used to cost £5, is now done for 22s. So that, though the cost of a slave for a day was but a red herring, and the wages of a free labourer may be one or two shillings, yet, comparing the entire cost of labour with its produce, free labour is by far the cheapest. These planters pretend that they cannot compete with the slave countries. Why, one of them confessed that, while they have been trusting to protection, the slave countries having no protection, but a most costly system, have been making improvements, which have given them great advantage. Then let us apply the same discipline to the planters. Strip off their protection, regardless of their cries of ruin, and we shall soon find them in a more healthy condition, and we shall have with them a profitable, instead of a losing trade.—*Sheffield Independent.*

AGRICULTURE.

THE FELLAHS OF EGYPT AND THE FARMERS OF ENGLAND.

"It was most desirable for the farmer to know the actual quantity of corn grown in this country, as such knowledge would ensure steadiness of prices, which was infinitely more valuable to the agriculturist than fluctuating prices. But to ascertain this there was extreme difficulty. They could not leave it to the farmer to make a return of the quantity which he produced, for it was not for his interest to do so. If in any one or two years he produced four quarters per acre on land which had previously grown but three, he might fear that his landlord would say, 'Your land is more productive than I imagined, and I must, therefore, raise your rent.' The interest of the farmers, therefore, would be to underrate and to furnish low returns."—*Mr. Christopher's speech on Mr. Milner Gibson's motion.*

Scarcely can a landowner open his mouth upon the subject of British agriculture without dropping—whatever may be his intention—statements and admissions which are pearls and diamonds to Free-Traders. Of this, the passage from Mr. Christopher's speech upon Mr. Gibson's motion for returns showing the agricultural products of the kingdom, which we have placed at the head of this article, forms an apt illustration. Now, Mr. Christopher is a monopolist of the first water; he represents a Lincolnshire constituency supposed to have an ardent affection for laws restrictive of the trade in corn, and he is one of the few Monopolist members who attempt to give plausible reasons for their faith in monopoly. It therefore becomes well worthy the attention of the farmer to examine and understand the propositions which are expressed or implied in Mr. Christopher's speech. First, he says that steadiness of price is of infinite value to the farmer; and, therefore, that a knowledge of the actual state of the crops in general, which would tend to promote steadiness of price, must be beneficial to the farmer. This is what the Free-Traders have always said; and one of our proved indictments against all Corn Laws is, that they increase the fluctuations of price, which arise from variations in seasons, and prevent the correctives which a free trade in corn would supply. But "there is a lion in the path;" there is a difficulty, "an extreme difficulty," according to Mr. Christopher, in "ascertaining the quantity of corn grown in this country." Will our readers believe what it is? In Egypt, on the banks of the Nile, in the most fertile corn district of the habitable globe, the Fellahs, the cultivators of the

soil, anxiously conceal the quantity of grain they produce from the knowledge of the agents of their rapacious landlord, the Pacha, lest he should exact from them the last measure of wheat on which they and their children hope to subsist. Travellers have told us that these unhappy husbandmen bury large quantities of the grain they grow, hide it under their hearthstones, and resort to all sorts of devices to make their apparent lower than their real produce; that they submit to be beaten well nigh to death before they disclose their hidden granaries; and under an instinctive fear of violent death only do they surrender to their grasping landlord their means of living. The indignation felt by the observer of these things has been communicated to his readers, until it has become a matter of surprise how the Egyptian ruler, who does these things, should venture to lay claim to be the "protector" and regenerator of Egyptian industry. But Mehemet Ali is a barbarian, his Fellahs (his tenants) are slaves, such a system of tyranny could not exist in a civilized community, will be the reflections arising in the minds of our readers. What, it will be thought or said, can such facts have to do with the state of British agriculture? Mr. Christopher the monopolist, the "farmer's friend," the "protector" of British husbandry, shall himself supply the answer:—"They could not," says the Lincolnshire representative, "leave it to the farmer to make a return of the quantity which he produced, for it was not his interest to do so!" The reader's natural exclamation is, why? And Mr. Christopher again furnishes the explanation:—"If in any one or two years he produced four quarters per acre on land which had previously only grown three, he might fear that his landlord would say, 'YOUR LAND IS MORE PRODUCTIVE THAN I IMAGINED, AND I MUST, THEREFORE, RAISE YOUR RENT.' And that such a fear is no chimera every day's experience informs the English farmers. In what does this differ from the practice of the Fellahs of the Nile? What is the difference between the Pacha of Egypt and the Monopolist landowners of England? Oh yes, there is a difference: the engine of compulsion in the valley of the Nile is the bastinado, in merry England it is yearly tenancies and the power of distress!"

In principle, the habit, the debasing habit, of misstating the amount of produce, into which the husbandman has been forced, is the same in England as in Egypt; but the moral degradation which it implies in the former country is far greater than in the latter. The Egyptian farmer is a mere slavish drudge; he has no capital, skill, or intelligence; he raises his crops almost by the spontaneous bounty of the earth and the mighty river on whose bank he dwells, without manure, without implements, and by the means of the most primitive husbandry; he is a heavily-burdened serf in a land of slaves, and he uses the slave's defence in cheating his oppressor.

On the other hand, the English farmer is always a man of some, generally of considerable, capital and skill; it is by providence, forethought, and judgment, he must seek to raise the crops necessary to meet his engagements; he uses many and highly-finished implements; he is the master and arbiter of the weal or woe of a great number of labourers; and, above all, he is an educated, responsible, freeman. Yet we are told that, under the existing system—ay, and that by one who seeks to perpetuate it—no trustworthy return of the quantity of corn grown can be obtained from English farmers, because they fear that, if landlords were aware of the actual produce grown, they would put on the screw of competition and increase their rents!! Can anything be said more condemnatory of the actual system of land tenures in England? Does not Mr. Christopher's brief speech speak volumes against those direct consequences of the Corn Laws, artificial prices and yearly tenancies?

How true it is that every step taken towards the investigation of the real condition of British agriculture brings out fresh evidence against the Corn-Law monopoly, and that usually from the mouths of the Monopolists themselves. Farmers quite understand that improvements which give increased produce are inevitably followed by an advance of rent, and this has been broadly and strongly stated by many good farmers as their reason for discountenancing agricultural associations and all societies in which the results of their cultivation are communicated by farmers to each other, and to their landlords. We know a good farmer who was induced by a friend to publish in the "Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society" the particulars of a rotation of crops he had adopted with great advantage upon a description of land difficult to manage, and who for so doing has been called by his neighbours "a fool," and taunted with "telling the landlords too much, of which advantage will be taken." But though farmers seem to understand, that if they increase their produce their rents will be raised, it seems strange that they should not see with equal distinctness that all the additional price they may obtain for their produce will with equal certainty find its way into the landlords' pockets.

Yet it is a fact that advanced prices are more regarded by the landowners as the means of raising rents than increased produce. Of this the Monopolist landlords' own organ, the *Morning Post*, is so fully sensible that it actually denounces "improved modes of cultivation" as no less "ruinous" than the "reduction of protection." This is very explicitly avowed in an article on Mr. Christopher's speech.

This article is so illustrative of the real principle of "protection," and so entirely proves that nothing short of an artificial scarcity will serve the purpose of the Monopolists, that we have given below a few extracts from it, with explanatory comments.

GOOD FARMING INCONSISTENT WITH PROTECTION.

The Monopolists, at all events amongst themselves, have been driven to speak out what they always assumed and acted upon, namely, that scarcity and dearth, real or artificial, are essential to their objects. This country contains a large and industrious population, whose industry is set in motion by a larger amount of capital—accumulated labour, the savings of men who, unlike the landlords, did not spend their incomes before they were received—than exists in any country in the world, and is directed by a degree of energy and skill unexampled in any other race. Such has been the effect of Anglo-Saxon industry in this country, that in spite of many untoward circumstances, in defiance of the most vicious and anti-commercial system of legislation an industrious nation ever groined under, the wealth of the community has constantly increased, while population has advanced in a ratio previously unknown except in newly-settled countries. Now, it has unfortunately happened that the laws by which the British nation is governed have not been made by those who have contributed to the national wealth, and its concomitant, a rapidly-increasing population, but by those who chanced to possess the land, and whose possessions, without any exertion of industry or intelligence on their own parts, have been made enormously valuable by the growth of wealth around them; in a word, by the landowners.

In this state of things it occurred to the landowning legislators that, though they had contributed nothing to the national wealth by their own industry, yet, being lawmakers, they might so order matters as to take a toll on the industry of all other classes.

The way they set about it was, to enact that the people should eat no food but that raised on British soil, which, as experience had shown, was, under existing circumstances, insufficient for British consumption. Foreign grain was therefore excluded until famine should have become so great as to endanger the personal safety of the lawmakers. But here, again, Anglo-Saxon energy seemed likely to counteract the project of its Norman rulers. Landowners could not themselves cultivate their lands, and husbandry became the business of a body of industrious capitalists drawn from the classes which have advanced Britain to be the commercial mistress of the earth. After trying various short cuts to success at the expense of other people, recommended by the landowners, these capitalists, the farmers, began to see that their only safe reliance was to increase the quantity and improve the quality of the commodities it was their business to produce. And upon this the farming body in general is at this time acting, with, of course, very varying circumstances of local and individual effect. But, as our landlord legislators had founded their expectations upon receiving a capitation-tax from the community, in the shape of an extra price upon all the food consumed here—such consumption being by law confined to the food raised at home—they began to discover with dismay, that if British skill, industry, and capital were applied, unfettered and untrammelled, to the culture of the soil, it would probably become so productive as to reduce the prices of grain as low, or lower, than the prices in the open markets of the world.

Hence they are now trying to found the grounds for a sort of inverse *Jack-Cade* legislation, by which the penny loaf is to be sold for twopence, and every one is to be obliged to buy a double quantity for the benefit of the owners of land!! This brief narrative of the progress of the Corn-Law question is necessary to make intelligible the very singular quotations from the *Morning Post* we propose to lay before our readers. Commenting on Mr. Christopher's speech, that journal says:—

"Mr. Christopher has, if we do not mistake, lent himself to the delusion which the Royal Agricultural Society has for some years been propagating—the delusion, we mean, that improved methods of farming will compensate the farmer for diminished legislative protection."

Practically, every farmer knows this to be untrue; for, whenever "legislative protection" has been inoperative, the farmer has endeavoured, and usually with success, to meet lower price by means of increased produce. Again, the landlords for whom this trash is written, are told:—

"Agricultural improvement is, in fact, dependent on legislative protection to agriculture—and in direct proportion to the amount of the protection will be the extent of the improvement. To urge British farmers to improve, because the protection hitherto secured to them by the Legislature has been lessened, is to urge farmers to rush upon ruin with the least possible delay."

So far is it from agricultural improvement being dependent upon "protection," that the very reverse is the truth. The great movement in husbandry now taking place, and which the mortgaged patrons of the *Post* contemplate with so much horror, received its impulse from

the low prices of 1833, 1834, and 1835, and the complete exposure of the fallaciousness of protection made in the evidence given before the agricultural committee of 1836.

Again, see what a hideous picture of plenty it is which alarms the patrons of the *Post* :—

"The British farmer now finds prices unremunerating. He is urged by friends and foes in chorus to multiply the quantity of his produce, and by that process to render prices less remunerating still. Cobden and Bright tell the farmers of England to exclude foreign corn from our markets by the agency of 'scientific farming.' Cobden and Bright forget, however, to state that if 'scientific farming' shall avail to exclude foreign corn from our markets, 'scientific farming' must, in the first place, depress the price of food in England to the level of price established in the cheapest corn-growing countries in the world."

Now, to produce this result through "scientific farming," every available agricultural labourer must be constantly employed; and we know that the existing number of labourers would be scarcely sufficient for the purpose, and nothing more is required to show that the state of things the Monopolist predicts, should it really happen, must be one of joy and hope.

So, again, we are told :—

"Sir Robert Peel and Lord Stanley again have, in rivalry of the leading Leaguers, discoursed largely at agricultural meetings on the necessity of adopting 'improved modes of cultivation.' These distinguished persons always forget, however, to indicate the mode in which, under these Free-Trade schemes of legislation, an increased power of consumption is to be called into existence to counterbalance the depressing influence in prices which increased production must inevitably exercise. If the 'improved modes of cultivation' recommended by Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel should increase our annual growth of wheat by only one-fifth, the English farmer would find it difficult to sell it at the rate of even 30s. a quarter."

One more extract, and we have done. The *Post* says :—

"We are as anxious as the most devoted worshipper of Liebig can be, that 'improved modes of cultivation' should be adopted universally by the farmers of Great Britain; but if we would not confine the benefit of these improved modes of cultivation to the recipients of fixed money incomes, we must augment the 'protection' of the farmer before we call on him to increase the quantity of his produce. A new consuming power must, in short, be created, to prevent the farmer from being ruined by the increased means of enjoyment which he may place at the disposal of society. Principles of legislation—diametrically opposed to the principles of Free Trade—must be adopted. The value of labour must be raised, not lessened. To increase the market value of labour is, in fact, the most direct mode of stimulating improvements in agriculture. Increased means of consumption in the great body of labourers will, of necessity, induce the production of larger quantities of food; but the production of larger quantities of food, by means of 'scientific farming,' will not on the other hand, of necessity, secure increased means of consumption to the great body of our labourers. The advocates of 'scientific farming,' be it remembered, propose, simply, to increase the quantity of food. They do not propose to increase the means of consumption now possessed by the mass of our labourers."

We scarcely know whether the above passage is the offspring of real, stolid, squirearchical ignorance, or whether it is the cunning of the inverted Jack Cadeists, who declare the penny loaf must sell for twopence; but it is the fact that large and permanent reductions in the prices of home-grown grain could not be brought about in this country by means of improved farming without "raising the value" of agricultural labour enormously, while cheap food and unrestricted commerce would give an extraordinary increase to the means of consumption of the great body of British labourers.

Let us here note that, in reading the above extracts from the Monopolist journal, the reader must substitute the word "landlord" for the word "farmer;" and this correction must usually be made in reading or hearing the arguments of the Monopolists.

But we must do our contemporary and his patrons an act of justice, by admitting that there may be a class to whom the general adoption of "scientific farming," and the low prices of corn resulting therefrom, would possibly bring ruin—we mean those on whose lands no improvements were made. With low prices and low produce, rent, if it existed at all, would be merely nominal. To this class belong the deeply-mortgaged landlords (and some of them are the nominal owners of vast estates) who have not the means of improving themselves, and who, to ensure improvements being made by tenants, must grant leases of considerable duration at reduced rents. This appears plainly in the following sentence :—

"The advocates of 'scientific farming,' therefore, who are not also, and in the first place, advocates of a far more stringent system of protection than now exists, are (it may be unconsciously) stimulating the farmer [landlord] to ruin himself FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE CREDITOR CLASSES OF SOCIETY."

There is the rub. The true objects of the *Post* and its patrons' hostility are the "creditor classes of society." Let men who can pay their debts without taxing other people for the means look to this in time.

AGRICULTURAL INSTRUCTORS.

It is difficult to say whether those who take pen in hand in defence of the landlords' monopoly of corn are most obnoxious to the charge of ignorance or dishonesty. To the latter class must be referred such writers as Mr. Cayley, whose ingenious quotations from Adam Smith were last week exposed; while the correspondent of a Monopolist journal, who writes upon "the Corn Law and the tariff," offers a good specimen of the former. This writer, after rather incoherently stating that "it must be satisfactory to all the friends of British prosperity" to learn that the fears "entertained a year ago respecting the ruinous consequences" of the new Corn Law and the tariff "have been as yet nearly groundless," intimates a suspicion, nevertheless, that "this satisfaction cannot be of long duration," and, as cause thereof, this well-informed writer shows that :—

"American butter is now selling by retail at 6d. per pound, and cheese from the same quarter, fully equal to the latter, may be obtained in the greatest abundance at less than 6d. per pound."

Now, be it known to all farmers who have listened to Monopolist instructors, that the tariff made no alteration in the duties on foreign cheese or foreign butter, but only

lowered those on colonial cheese and butter, there being, in fact, no butter or cheese made in any of our colonies for exportation. How is it, therefore, the writer makes out, that—

"To graziers and dairy farmers in Great Britain the alteration in our custom house duties is also already doing much injury, and it must continue to do so until their property be far better protected against foreign competition than it is under our present laws."

Though the dreaded Canada Bill has not yet produced its promised fruits, it is, according to the monopolist, yet to do so, for he says :—

"The Canada Corn Bill has not yet had time to operate; but through it we shall eventually receive all the surplus produce of the western provinces of the United States of North America, and we shall charge no duty on its importation. By the latest advices from Upper Canada, the best wheats could be purchased in Michigan, Ohio, and in the other neighbouring states under 2s. 6d. per bushel; and 2s. per bushel paid the American producers well. By the time it can now be forwarded to Montreal, and even to Great Britain, without being transhipped; and its quality is so excellent and its condition consequently so good, that little danger exists of damage, even from a long voyage."

We should like to see the adventurous vessel which could perform the voyage from Lake Michigan, down the rapids of the St. Lawrence, and across the Atlantic to Liverpool! And let us compare the above with the statements of a Canadian corn-merchant's circular, published in the *Montreal Herald*, and dated at Montreal on the 20th of March last, wherein he says :—

"The prices paid for wheat and flour in Canada West and the United States are, in my opinion, not justified, and will, I fear, end in disappointment and loss to buyers. The prevailing impression appears to be that flour will open here at 28s. 9d., others at 30s., and a few have carried their expectations to 32s. 6d., and wheat in proportion; but the following statement will serve to show that, without an advance in England, such expectations are likely to prove fallacious :—

Supposed price obtainable in Liverpool in June, July, s. d.
and August 31 0

| | Less— | s. d. |
|---|-------|-------|
| Cartage and wharfage here 2d.; freight to Liverpool, 4s. | | 4 2 |
| Insurance, 1d. per cent. on 31s. and policy duty, 6s.; duty 7d. | | 1 1 |
| Dock and town dues, truckage, storage, insurance, &c. | | 1 0 |
| Four months' interest from date of shipment, until realized | | 0 7 |
| Commission and Del credere, 4 per cent. | | 1 3 |
| | | 8 1 |
| | | 22 11 |

22s. 11d. at 9 per cent. exchange is 27s. 9d. Halifax currency, which will vary little from the average cost on board of vessels here of purchases made in the interior. The price of American flour will be governed by the New York market. Should it rate no higher than Canadian it will be consumed almost exclusively, as it is generally preferred. My opinion is, that the price of Canada will not range above 27s. 6d. to 28s. About the 1st of June freights to Britain will probably be 4s. 6d. to 5s., or 6d. to 1s. higher than above stated."

This is a business-like and very close estimate of the probable profit of sending flour from Canada to England, which may be right or may be wrong, but it shows plainly enough that we shall NOT "eventually receive all the surplus produce of the western provinces of the United States." On the contrary, the circular tells its Canadian readers that—

"The injudicious imposition of a duty of 3s. sterling per quarter on American wheat imported to be manufactured into flour for export, has marred this important branch of trade, as the prices now current in the western states debar us from entering that market to any extent; indeed, the few who have sought to do so, to a limited extent, and such adventures may be denominated experimental speculations."

And, so far from shipments to this country proving safe speculations, we learn that—

"Shipments of wheat made during the autumn gave unsatisfactory returns generally, but some adventures made late in the season, at and under 5s. per 60 lbs., on which insurance was saved, paid very well; that item constituting about half the gain. Such as were made at 5s. 3d., and paid the regular insurance, scarcely saved themselves."

These extracts prove the absurdity of the Monopolist's statement, that—

"In a very few years, therefore, our farmers will see good reason to petition the Legislature for that protection against American produce to which they are so justly entitled instead of praying for the continuance of the laws by which the importation of colonial agricultural produce is, at present, regulated;"

while he admits that our future intercourse with the corn-growing countries of Europe cannot hereafter be rendered more restricted than at present. The truth is, that foreign competition is altogether a bugbear, by which farmers are frightened and deluded into taking farms at too high rents for yearly holdings or short leases; and even if all was true which Monopolists assert on the subject, it would only prove that the landowners and not the farmers benefit by the Corn Laws.

"TO SEE OURSELVES AS OTHERS SEE US."

It will probably not have escaped the observation of the readers of agricultural news, that there is a gentleman of the name of COLMAN who appears at most of the meetings of the *Royal Agricultural Society*, and wherever besides the high and mighty patrons of agriculture congregate, and who is designated as a commissioner appointed by the state of Massachusetts to collect information relative to British husbandry. This gentleman, it seems, is about to publish his "Agricultural Tour" in the "Farmer's Magazine;" and though from the society in which he has been moving, chiefly that of landowners, it is not likely that any very strong dislogistic opinions will be expressed, it is plain, from a few anticipatory extracts which are given in the *Mark-lane Express*, that Mr. Colman will go back to the United States with the means of correcting the notion there so erroneously entertained, that "England is only a large garden." Though Mr. Colman appears to touch his subject with the "velvet paw," and possibly the extracts offered by the Monopolist journal may not be the most forcible of the writer's remarks, they yet offer matter of observation to agricultural Free Traders. The American agriculturist says :—

"England presents at this time a more brilliant example than any age or country has before witnessed of the application, I will not say of science, for that would not comprehend the idea which I wish to express, but the application of mind to agriculture. The practice of agriculture, and the philosophy of agriculture, are matters of universal interest. Men of all grades and conditions are labouring in this great cause, and are asking for the how, and the way, and the wherefore. The brightest intellects are directing their talents to agricultural

inquiries; and the humblest in their humble, but not inefficient way, are seconding their efforts. So many minds concentrating their rays upon the same point, they must be sure to illuminate it with an extraordinary brilliancy."

Though a somewhat rhetorical expression of the attention which is now being directed in this country to agriculture, it is yet in a great degree just. But in the next sentence Mr. Colman shows that he has not learnt why this great and really effective stir is making in the agricultural world of England, for he says :—

"Agriculture is now getting to be recognised as the commanding interest of the state; so it must ever be, as lying at the foundation of all others."

If Mr. Colman supposes that agriculture—that is, the interests of those who derive their incomes from land—is only "now getting to be recognised as the commanding interest of the state," we fear he has not permitted his mind to travel beyond those select agricultural circles in which we have noticed most frequently his "bodily presence." For nearly 30 years our legislators have been proving practically, that, if by agriculture is meant the landowning interest, it has been "the commanding interest in the state." But if Mr. Colman means (and it is, perhaps only fair to presume he does) that agriculture in fact, meaning improved husbandry and the interests of the industrious cultivators, is "getting to be recognised," he is right. But we are not satisfied with the meagre statement of the fact; and we will answer for it, neither Mr. Colman nor his countrymen will be satisfied, when he reports to them the results of his tour, without some explanation of the why and the wherefore. Why is it that the chemist and the philosopher, the mechanist and the man of letters, are tasking their several powers to the utmost to develop the productive powers of the British soil? Is it not because the dominant class of this country—the landowners—see that the monopoly upon which they have hitherto built or attempted to build their prosperity is breaking under them, and that, ere long, their rents must be kept up by means of a higher standard of cultivation?

But let our Monopolist landlords remember this, that unless the trade and manufactures of the country be also steadily and prosperously increasing, which must mainly depend upon the freedom of our foreign trade, the very success of their efforts would defeat their own objects. Were two-fifths of England cultivated on the best systems, the prices of grain here would be lower than in the open markets of the world, and thus rents reduced to a minimum. This indicates the insane ignorance of those landowners who are actively seeking to check and impede the progress of manufacturing industry.

But to return to Mr. Colman. In alluding to the actual condition of English agriculture he says :—

"The condition of practical agriculture in Great Britain, as far as I had an opportunity of observing it, must be pronounced highly improved. Many parts of the country present an order, exactness, and neatness of cultivation greatly to be admired; but a sky is seldom without clouds, and there are parts of England where the appearance is anything but laudable and where there are few and very equivocal evidences of skill, industry, or thrift. We are often told in America that England is only a large garden, in which art and skill and labour have smoothed all the rough places, filled up the hollow places, and brought everything into a beautiful and systematic harmony, and into the highest degree of productiveness. This is not wholly true; indeed, although there are many farms to be altogether admired for the degree of perfection to which their cultivation has been carried, yet there are not a few places where the indications of neglect and in-tolerance and unskilfulness are but too apparent; and where, in an obvious contest for victory between the cultivated plant and the weeds, the latter triumph from their superiority both in force and numbers."

Let our readers go into Essex and Hertfordshire, the two counties in which the Monopolist landowners have mustered most strongly in defence of monopoly, high rents, and low culture, and they will there see ample illustration of the truth of the last sentence. They will find, in fact, that, in many places, the "native" products, the weeds, have been completely "protected" against the "foreign" competition of the corn, and have obtained absolute possession of the land.

It is also worthy of remark, that the frequency with which property changes hands in the United States, from the fondness of cultivators for seeking fresh land after having overworked their old farms, operates against improvement in the same way that the yearly-tenant system does here. On this subject Mr. Colman says :—

"Like short leases, it has an obvious tendency to hinder or discourage improvements or a substantial and permanent character, involving a large expenditure."

Thus the same practice of temporary occupation produce in different countries precisely similar evils, though in the one case the practice is caused by the scarcity, and in the other by the excessive cheapness, of land.

THE VALUE OF LAND.

We have often had occasion to notice the foolishness of those landlords who pretend that land in this country is likely to undergo any reduction in value from Free Trade and moderate prices,—the approach of both which dreaded public benefits is now imminent;—thus we find in the *Ayrshire Agricultural Report* for the past month, that

"Grain markets have been, if anything, tending downwards, and little animation perceptible. Beef has also been selling heavily, and, we think, at fully lower rates than during the last month. Sheep, on the contrary, are scarce, and have been selling at good prices, and much more remunerating than cattle; very few are now to be found in the county; and we should say the same remark applies to fat cattle. Fodder is everywhere abundant, and dairy stocks in fine condition. Milk cows continue to sell at very low figures."

Yet, in the face of these seeming discouragements, "Grass parks have been letting at a trifling advance on former rents. Farms out of lease (if good) are eagerly picked up, and the spirits of the farming world are far from being depressed, believing that, should the improvement in trade be permanent, its good effects must ultimately tell upon the prices of agricultural produce."

RURAL FELICITY.—An old farmer at Elswick, expressing his surprise at Mr. Cookson's statements respecting the high wages and short hours of agricultural labourers, said, "He did not tell the meeting about the ninepenny and tenpenny tickets that are given to the Layton and Marton poor labourers who are out of work, and that only for three days a week." It seems from this that some little poverty is to be found even in Mr. Cookson's own township, and that it is relieved by tickets from 9d. to 10d. a day, and that only thrice a week, which will amount to 2s. 3d. or 2s. 6d. per week at the utmost.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Adam Brown's reply to "An Essex Farmer" next week. We have received several valuable suggestions and offers of assistance for the Bazaar; we feel very grateful to our fair supporters, but beg their indulgence if replies are delayed. So many offers have come together that it would be impossible to give immediate answers.

"B. P. G." will find his suggestions attended to on the first opportunity.

"A Stan-h Free-Trader."—The materials he has supplied are valuable; but the form at present is rather objectionable.

"A Reader" is thanked, and the passage shall be looked for.

"E. B. D."—There is great power in the verses; but the stanzas are a little rough and unmusical.

"J. C."—The League cannot, at present, enter into the minute details of agricultural processes.

"W. H. A."—We should be much obliged by his sending the books with the quotations marked.

"J. B."—We regret that we must decline the insertion of his lines.

We have to apologise to the writer of the following letter, for having mislaid his communication and thus delayed the insertion of his poem:—

To the Editor of the League.

SIR,—The following lines were suggested by a very common street spectacle. The aim of the writer being to aid the cause of suffering humanity, they may possibly be found worthy of insertion in your excellent paper.

"A LITHOGRAPHIC SKETCH."

"Tis a cold and gloomy winter's day,
Heavy and damp with fog;
And a squalid wretch on the pavement way
Is crouching down like a dog:—
Like a poor and famished dog that, now,
Neither cart nor truck may draw,
That squalid wretch, with careworn brow,
Puts forth his skeleton paw.

"On the surface flat of the pavement stone—
Cleansed with his ragged cuff—
He chalks, he chalks, with moan and with groan,
Sketching his work in the rough.
Chalking—chalking—chalking away,
Characters fair, in colouring gay;
A record of misery, talent, and want,
With hungry belly and fingers gaunt.

"Passengers hurry, hurry along,
With sorrowful hearts, or gay;
Rich and poor—a motley throng—
Pass over the pavement way:
But none, save the needy, slacken their speed
To gaze on the writing there;
None, but the wretched, can tarry, to read
That famishing wretch's pray'r.

He has chalked and chalked all his chalk away,
Making the very pavement pray;
And shown us how stones may come out in print,
To soften with pity men's hearts of flint.
Mockery!—cruel mockery all!
In a land of mocking and groans,
Where the pamp'ring steed feeds high in the stall,
While Christians starve on the stones!

"One word!—only one—appears on the stone,
In characters bold and fair;
But, oh! that word is of skin and of bone!—
'Starving' is written there.
Starving, in flourishes chalked on the ground,
Starving in colours so gay,
Like the rich who can revel in luxury round,
Our furnishing forms of clay.

"Starving—starving—starving!
With maddening hunger and cold,
While the holy bishop is carving
His viands on dishes of gold!
Oh, the shivering wretch may hide his head,
And his eyes so hollow and dim,
For life to the fat church livings has fled,
And Death may grapple with him.

"Oh, land of mockery, wealth, and woe,
A land of riches and raze,
Where the alien rides in pomp and show,
And the native starves on the flags!
Mockery—mockery—mockery all!
A land of mocking and groans,
Where the pamp'ring steed feeds high in the stall,
While Christians starve on the stones!"

Upper Harley-street.

Q.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE WEEKLY MEETING OF THE LEAGUE will be held in the THEATRE-ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN, on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, the 1st of MAY.
The Right Honourable Lord KILNARD will take the Chair at HALF PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK.
The meeting will be addressed by Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; T. Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; and J. L. Ricardo, Esq., M.P.

Cards of admission may be had on application at the Offices of the League, on Monday and Tuesday, between the hours of eleven and four o'clock.

Applications for Private Boxes to be made personally or by letter on Monday.

The cards of registered Members will admit, as heretofore to Pit and Galleries.—DOORS TO BE OPENED AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, April 27, 1844.

Just as we are going to press, our attention has been directed to a letter by Mr. Cayley, in yesterday's *Morning Herald*, professing to be a defence of himself against Lord Radnor's charge of inaccuracy in his quotations from the great work of Adam Smith.

By implication Mr. Cayley confesses to one thing we suspected of him, viz., taking quotations, even from so accessible a writer as Adam Smith, at second hand. Referring to the substitution of "protection" for "encouragement," he says, "if the error was originally mine." The law knows little difference between the receiver of the stolen goods and the thief. Whoever changed the word

committed a fraud. Such an apology as that "I paid more attention to the general spirit of my argument than to the verbal accuracy of its letter," cannot apply to falsified quotations.

Mr. Cayley seems to suppose that, in the citations on the navigation laws, and on the distribution of the produce of a country, he satisfies the justice of the case by supplying the supposed passages, and there leaving it. Is he so imbecile as not to perceive how much he perverted them? Does he imagine that, either in this journal or by Lord Radnor, he was only accused of a transcriber's or compositor's blunder? His giving the quotations in full is only the commencement of his task. Much now is required to free the use of those quotations from the imputation of gross dishonesty.

To the untoward quotations Mr. Cayley affords no clue. We again challenge him to do so, in the firm belief that, if not actually fabricated, they are egregiously perverted.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE LEAGUE.—Mr. Wilson, who has been for some time confined by serious indisposition, our readers will be happy to hear is so far convalescent as to resume his arduous and important duties. He was expected to preside at the meeting at Covent-garden Theatre on Wednesday last, but the numerous claims upon his attention at the Council prevented his departure from home.

REVIEW.

Peterchurch Conservative Festival. Report of Speeches.—Hereford Journal.

We have placed this report among our reviews because it is one of the greatest literary curiosities that has for a long time come under our notice. As a contrast to Professor Lawson's "Lectures on Political Economy" the speeches of the Peterchurch worthies are inestimable. They contain, in a condensed form, all the fallacies and falsehood, all the misconception and malignity, with which Monopoly wages war against truth; and they offer the best illustration of what George Canning used to call "mendacity in morals and mendacity in mind." The chairman was the Rev. John Hopton. He informed his auditors that "he was born a Tory." Like the infant Hercules, he began his exploits in the cradle, asserted a monopoly in the nursery, and clamoured for protection to the pap-bat. Nothing could be added to such a precocious childhood; and, in truth, the rev. orator does not seem to have made the attempt; he did not rise above the standard of baby eloquence, merely repeating the phrases picked up from the nurse or the housemaid, and affording a sad proof that the principles of childhood develop themselves only into childishness.

He was followed by Mr. Henry Lee Warner, who opened fire upon the League in the following exquisite style:—

"But now a new enemy has risen up in the shape of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and a formidable attack is being made upon the landed property of this country: call things by their right names, it is nothing more nor less than this. Sir Robert Peel said the object of his tariff was to reconcile conflicting interests, and strike a balance as far as it is possible between them; but the object of the Free-Traders is to destroy the landed interest, and raise their prosperity upon its ruins. Shortsighted and misguided men! Why, they would ruin themselves also."

It would have been kind of Mr. Warner to explain the nature of the attack which Leaguers make on landed property; it is simply a defensive alliance against being plundered for the support of a class. Valabond tells us that the pickpockets of Holland complained that their vested interests were injured when the Dutchmen began to put buttons on the pockets of their breeches; but Mr. Warner goes further, and declares that a refusal to be taxed for the benefit of an oligarchy is not only a crime, but an inexplicable infatuation. We are described both as knaves and fools for simply declaring that we prefer using our own money for our own purposes to giving it to pay dividends on the debts of the Duke of Buckingham, or to portion the junior branches of the illustrious house of Knatchbull. The orator then proceeds:—

"The ground of this Corn-Law question has been ploughed so often that we cannot turn up any new arguments. There can be no use in legislating against the grain. These Anti-Corn-Law philosophers say that foreigners would buy our manufactured goods if we could purchase their corn; but it so happens that to those countries to which we export most of our goods, from them we import the least quantity of corn; our commercial intercourse with Russia and America bears us out in the accuracy of this remark. Besides, we meet with no reciprocity from the foreigner: if we alter our tariffs to please him, he raises the duties on our manufactures."

What the orator means by "legislating against the grain" is not very clear, because it is against grain that monopoly legislation is chiefly directed. He happens to state what is directly contrary to fact when he declares that we import least corn from Russia and America; but even the falsehood is useless to his argument, for everybody knows that both countries would send abundance of corn to England if it would be admitted into our market. He then gets held of the old fallacy, that gold would be ex-

ported to pay for the corn: not seeing that such a result would only prove that this country wanted corn more than gold. Neither nations nor individuals will exchange the articles which they want most for those which they want least. But here is his climax:—

"Free Trade! what a phantom! How can a dear country like England, with high prices, loaded with debts and taxes, compete with foreigners, who have few debts and taxes, and low prices? Establish Free Trade, and abolish the Corn Laws, how will you raise the taxes when the landed interest is ruined? You cannot repeal the national debt. There it is; its principal and interest must be paid. Low prices, low wages, and great profits for the manufacturers, is a very convenient doctrine for them, but it is a very impracticable one. The public credit of the country must be supported; the public burdens must be borne. Let us hope there will be always enough of English feeling in this country to support the farmers."

His argument simply comes to this, that the English people must be enabled to bear the burden of the national debt by taking upon their shoulders the additional burden of monopoly; and that we will be better able to pay the national creditor by giving our money to the creditors of titled paupers.

But turn we from Mr. Warner to the great actor of the night, the Ursa Major of the Peterchurch constellations, the Rev. Mr. Powell. He laid hold of the reciprocity fallacy, and gave it forth with some new variations of his own, which are clearly derived from the rignarole school of eloquence. Here is an edifying specimen:—

"I remember a fable which used much to amuse me as a boy at school. A wary old fox, in making a predatory incursion in a gentleman's cover among the pheasants, was unluckily caught by a steel trap, in which he lost his tail. As soon as the cunning old fellow had sufficiently recovered both the shock of the wound and the shame of the loss, he set out on 'a tour of the provinces.' In each county he took up his abode in some large wood, whither he invited, by flaming handbills, his brother foxes to give him the meeting, and thus he addressed them:—'My friends, you have long been labouring under a heavy incumbrance. I ask you of what possible benefit to you are those long and heavy brushes which you wear? they serve but to draggle in the dirt; they impede your progress through the gorse; and, worst of all, you are at all times liable to be caught by them in a trap! Let me then persuade you, as your best friend and kind well-wisher, to do as I have done, do away with the incumbrance. Gentlemen, the League is the old fox—the Zollverein is the trap—you are the foxes—the Corn Laws are the brush.'"

According to this very original joke and aboriginal application, the League has been robbed of something by somebody. This is quite true, even though Mr. Powell has said it; but it remains to discover the robber. Now, if we read the tale aright, the Corn Laws have been the trap laid for us by the landlords; and they have not only lopped away such an appendage as a tail, but they have injured vital parts. The allusion to the preservation of pheasants in the tale might have provoked a different commentary, and certainly would have suggested a different application, if told to an assembly of farmers and farm labourers as an illustration of the Game Laws. But Mr. Powell rested his entire case on what he deemed a stronger point—he insisted that lowering the price of provisions would lower the rate of wages. He says:—

"I must, however, I believe, hasten on to say a few words upon the second proposition which the League holds out—'That by the importation duty free of foreign corn you enable the operative classes to procure bread, the staff of life, at half its usual English price; and, by way of enabling them to do this, you immediately reduce the wages of the operative by one half; for this is the real meaning of cheap bread—cheap labour! Now, to support this assertion of mine I must produce evidence, and I shall produce the best possible evidence. My first witness is Mr. Ricardo, commonly called the great. These are his words—'The Corn Laws raise the price of bread—this raises the price of flour—and this of course lessens the profit upon capital.'"

If the poor man had been able to understand Mr. Ricardo, he would have discovered that the evidence which he quoted was the strongest possible that could be given against him. Wages must be paid out of profits; we apprehend that Mr. Powell himself would not profess to have discovered the means of paying them out of losses;—consequently, whatever reduces profits must necessarily reduce wages. Mr. Powell is too ignorant to know that capability of labour is capital, that industry is capital, that the educated head and the trained hand are capital, else would he never have stated that a reduction of the profits of capital was no injury to the working man. He sets out by stating a patent falsehood, and then quotes its most direct confutation as evidence in its support.

His next assertion is that the wages of the manufacturing operatives have been continually diminishing since 1815, and his proof is that the cost of production has fallen since that period. The source of his blunder is simply his not discovering that increased power of production more than compensates for this fall, and leaves the gross sum of weekly earnings unchanged. This is a point level to the meanest capacity: if with certain machinery a piece of cloth could be woven in a given time for three shillings, and if by improved machinery three pieces of cloth are woven in the same space of time, the earnings of the workman are not changed if he is

THE LEAGUE.

No. 32.]

SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1844.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

THE BUDGET.

Recantation is a hard lesson; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer is an apt scholar, and, on presenting his budget, he gave as excellent a lecture on the doctrine of Free Trade as could be expected from a recent convert to sound principle. His great aim appears to have been practically to illustrate the signification of Free Trade "in the abstract," which seems to mean a recognition of its justice and its policy, united to a determination to maintain as much of the injustice and impolicy of monopoly as the patience of the nation is able to endure. Mr. Goulburn had to act a double part, to expound and reconcile the theory of Drayton Manor and the practice of Goodwood—the creed of our ostensible rulers, and the course of conduct they are compelled to pursue by their masters behind the curtain. Like many other preachers, he went on glibly so long as he kept close to the doctrines, but when he came to the application, he found that his instructions left him little or nothing to apply; like *Iago*, he could only conclude—

"To suckle fools, and chronicle small beer."

Small enough, indeed, was the beer which he had to chronicle in his lame and impotent conclusion; it was actually soured to vinegar. But, laying metaphor aside, it is neither uninteresting nor unamusing to compare his eloquent exposition of principles with his miserable failure in practice, amounting, virtually, to an acknowledgment that the monopolies which restrict the markets for the produce of British industry are injurious and iniquitous, but that they must be maintained in compliance with the behests of certain influential parties who afford political support to the Ministry.

Loud as is now the cry for agricultural protection in relation to corn, it is but as a whisper compared to the clamour formerly raised for protection to British-grown wool. One would almost have supposed that the destinies of the nation were carried on the backs of sheep. Protection to wool was in fact a favoured portion of the wisdom of our ancestors; not only the living but the dead were taxed for its maintenance, an act of Parliament having been passed to compel the interments of corpses in woollen shrouds. Woollens were declared to be the staple manufactures of the nation; staple towns were incorporated for its exclusive sale; mayors of the staple were chosen to regulate its markets; above all things, protecting duties were established to encourage the home-growth of wool and save "the staple" from being dependent on foreigners. When first a reduction of the wool duty was proposed, the yell of the pretended farmers' friends almost frightened the Isle from its propriety; it was averred that the admission of foreign wool would convert our sheepwalks into deserts, deprive the English farmers of the best

source of their profits, send shepherds into exile or the workhouse, and overthrow Church and State for the exclusive benefit of grasping manufacturers. In short, all the nonsense now vented against the free importation of corn was then shouted against the free importation of wool, with some score of other fallacies which the slow but sure progress of public opinion has rendered too manifestly absurd to be repeated in our days. Yet the last rag of this precious monopoly and highly-prized protection—this staple which Parliament had treated like a petted child until it was almost suffocated by the over-tenderness of legislation—Mr. Goulburn flung to the winds on Monday night as recklessly as if wool was unknown to landlords, and sheep no acquaintances of farmers.

Now, we should wish to know why the application of sound principle should stop short at wool? Why should protection be taken from feeders of sheep, and continued to growers of corn? Wool, we are told, is the raw material of an important branch of British manufacture; but food is the raw material of all manufactures; the energies of industry can only be developed through the thews and sinews of the labourer; deprive him of sustenance, and you render him incapable of work. It is food, assimilated by the vital functions, that is worked into every article beautiful to the eye, comfortable to the person, or gratifying to the palate. The esculent grains must be regarded as the raw materials of all our textile fabrics, of all our mechanical products, of all our articles of glass and porcelain, of every kind of manufacture which finds its way into the market, so long as it is by eaters of bread that they are manufactured. We need not dwell on a fact, by no means unimportant, that flour is directly used as an ingredient in many processes of manufacture; this scarcely increases the impolicy of the Corn Laws as a tax on raw material, for no man can doubt that the food of the spinner and weaver is just as much a part of the material worked up in a piece of cloth as the wool that composes its warp and weft.

The duty on wool is to be abandoned because its removal, we are told, will give a stimulus to one branch of British industry. Be it so; we hail the statesman-like truth, and recognise the validity of sound principle; but British industry has many branches, some of which are in a far more deplorable condition than the woollens; and why should the boon be withheld, or, we should rather say, why should the justice be refused, which would give to the whole British community the advantages that a niggard hand now confines to the West Riding of Yorkshire?

A duty on glass is to be remitted that scarcely paid the expense of collection; let us be grateful for the boon, and say, with the child, "Thank you for nothing." Next, we are to have cheap currants. Now, as currants are only useful in cakes and puddings, it does seem rather whimsical to lower the impost on them, and retain the duties which enhance the price of the flour with which they must be combined. Vinegar, too, is to be given to us more freely, as a whet to the appetite; but the food is still to be withheld by which that appetite may be gratified.

Two items remain to be mentioned, deserving of all attention, seeing that on them the Chancellor of the Exchequer has founded a new branch of moral science, which we may very properly call the Ethics of Botany. It appears that coffee is invested with an insensibility which prevents it from receiving any taint when brought into contact with vice or immorality; even when grown in slave states, it takes with it no particle of the pollution of slavery, but may be safely roasted, ground, infused, tasted, and swallowed, without risking injury to such tender consciences as that of Lord Brougham, or even to that worthy patron of wooden imitations of the Bible, Lord Sandon. But sugar, on the contrary, appears to be one of the most susceptible substances in nature; a certificate of origin is as necessary before using it in England as a knowledge of where the pig was fed is before pork dare be eaten in India. To be sure, we moral Englishmen did for a long time use slave-grown sugar, without discovering that it tainted our moral constitution and deteriorated the spirituality of our nature, and, if pious Mr. Goulburn had been permitted to have his way, we should have gone on consuming slave-grown sugar to the present day. But who is not aware of the evils that resulted from our consumption of the dangerous article in past times. To the use of slave-grown sugar may fairly be attributed the Manchester massacre, the Six Acts, the employment of spies to foment insurrec-

tions and furnish an excuse for coercive measures, the delay of Catholic emancipation, and the maintenance of Gatton and Old Sarum. We are not the persons to deny that there was a taint of slavery in all these measures; but we are at some loss to discover by what process Mr. Goulburn has been so completely converted as to confess that during the greater part of his life he was the moral poisoner of his countrymen.

So utterly absurd is this distinction between slave-grown coffee and slave-grown sugar that it is scarcely possible to write seriously on the subject. There is no rational man within the seas of Britain who does not see that Ministers are reduced to the degradation of venting such transparent fallacies by their former adoption of the hypocritical cry against slave-grown sugar for party purposes, when a reduction of the differential duties was formerly proposed. But we wish to know how the difference between slave-grown and free-grown sugar is to be discovered, and what canons on the subject are to be issued for the guidance of the officers of the customs. Is the difference obvious by sight, taste, or smell? Or has the Chancellor of the Exchequer found out some magical means of testing those occult qualities which are referable to no category of the senses? If certificates of origin be the test, there can be little difficulty in discovering what will be the market price of such documents in New Orleans or elsewhere. Mr. Goulburn promises to make some additional revelations on the subject, which may, perhaps, elucidate some of these difficulties; but, so far as we can yet see, the worthy Chancellor has only supplied an illustration of the Swedish Chancellor's aphorism, "See with what little wisdom the world is governed."

MR. CAYLEY'S TRACT AGAIN.

We cannot allow the noblemen and gentlemen of the "Agricultural Protection Society" to forget the disgraceful position in which they stand. The brand of falsification remains ineffaced and ineffaceable upon their first tract. They are convicted of an attempt at fraud upon "the Industrious Classes of the United Kingdom," to whom it is addressed. The charge is founded upon no questionable statistics, or inferential reasonings. It is, as we have already shown, a distinct perversion and falsification of the words and opinions of Adam Smith, for the purpose of gilding their cause with the appearance of Adam Smith's authority. Such offences are not venial amongst honourable men, or in civilized society. We know of no other form of falsehood which has more moral turpitude; especially as the object is the upholding of a sordid interest.

Mr. Cayley's letter, to which we briefly adverted in our postscript last week, has not in the least mended matters. In that letter, he gives at length two quotations which had been garbled in his pamphlet, in one of which we had anticipated him, and seems to think that, by so doing, he has afforded all reasonable satisfaction. He seems quite unaware that these passages prove the case, of misrepresentation, against him. Either he has directed them to be transcribed from the "Wealth of Nations," without reading them, or his brains must be made of most impenetrable stuff, or his reliance is enormous upon the gullibility of those who read short, and skip the quotations. There they stand, however, in his letter published in the *Morning Herald*. If at first, as we suspect, he took them upon trust, he now knows where to find them in the original. He has stripped himself of the poor excuse of ignorance, or of having relied upon an unworthy authority. The sin devolves upon his own head.

In this attempted defence there are two instances of disingenuousness, in connexion with the quotations in question. The verbal (and they were not merely verbal) changes, which we pointed out, are silently rectified. No account is given of how or why those changes were made. The fact that they were made is, so far as Mr. Cayley can accomplish his purpose, consigned to oblivion; meanwhile, the unacknowledged falsifications are left to do their work upon the public mind—"Caveat emptor." It is not wholly unnatural that certain ruling members of the "Agricultural Protection Society" should patronise a sort of horse-jockey morality.

The other instance, in relation to these two passages, of disingenuousness, is the allegation that "it was necessary, in the space of so short a pamphlet, to condense, as much as possible, the quotations I made use of." Condensing a quotation is a novel operation in honest literature. Has Mr. Cayley to learn the force of inverted commas? Is he unaware of their amounting to a distinct pledge that no

condensation has been practised, but that we have the *verba ipsissima* of the author named? Moreover, he did not condense. He altered and omitted, so as to vary the meaning; a very different thing from condensation. About an honest memoriter quotation, true to the author's sense, however failing in verbal accuracy, we should have given ourselves no trouble; save, perhaps, a passing rebuke on so careless a habit. *Perversion* was our charge, and Mr. Cayley has shown his acquaintance with the evidence by which it is thoroughly substantiated.

Mr. Cayley has not supplied, in this letter, the check of reference for several other professed quotations from Adam Smith, in some of which we believe the falsification to be as gross as in the detected instances. We again challenge him to do so. They ought to have been appended originally. This was pre-eminently incumbent upon a writer who condenses quotations. Who is to find a "condensed" passage in the original work? He was plainly not solicitous that it should be found. The obligation was not the less imperative. The character of fraud is rendered the more glaring by the systematic omission.

The Duke of Richmond is not only committed as a confederate in these tricks, together with the Duke of Buckingham, and the other managers of the Agricultural Protection Society, but also by his personal avowal of approval in the House of Lords. He declined grappling with Lord Radnor as to the facts. And yet, in the face of those uncontradicted facts, he declared that "for his own part, however, he considered the pamphlet to be a remarkably good one." Then came a selection of the usual farrago of calumnies against the League, expressed with the usual insolence of his Grace's manner. It has long been a maxim of aristocratical morality that all things are fair in love and in war. The apology means that, where lust or slaughter is the end, falsehood as a means is no dishonour to a gentleman. The reported speech of the Duke seems to imply that the maxim is applicable where the love is that of landlords for labourers, and the war is that of landlords upon the League.

By such frauds as have been detected, the Protectionists put themselves out of the pale of controversy. Before anything they can advance has the slightest claim upon respectful attention, they must purify themselves from the moral stain. In whatever relates to politics, many of them may have been bred in a school of corruption. That fact may be admitted in mitigation of punishment, but cannot stop a verdict of guilty. Even as a palliation, it should be preceded by confession. They must abide by the responsibility which they have voluntarily assumed. Unless they throw Mr. Cayley and his tract overboard, they must consent to its sinking their own characters as honest defenders of the monopoly which puts money into their own pockets, while it impoverishes the people. We have not argued that their cause is indefensible because it has been unwarrantably defended. We have not sought to damage their arguments by their proved falsifications of quotations. The question is not one of logic, but of morals. Their first business is to put themselves right as far as they now can, and then, being purged of the stain, they may claim to enter the arena of controversy. Till then the taint remains; and we tell these dukes, earls, and M.P.s, that if their chivalric ancestors (those of them who had chivalric ancestors) had behaved in tournament as their descendants now behave in argument, their spurs would have been hacked from their heels, and their banners kicked out of the lists.

IMPORTANCE OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE NEXT ELECTION.

The time is arrived when constituencies should be provided against any emergency which may arise, either by the vacation of seats in Parliament, or a general election.

It is a gratifying evidence of the progress of our cause, that memorials have been addressed by the majority of the electors of many boroughs, whose representatives have not hitherto voted for Mr. Villiers's motion for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, requesting them to support that motion when next brought forward. We take it that these memorials are sufficiently significant of the intentions of the electors of such boroughs, whenever a vacancy occurs, of their choosing members who shall represent their opinions on the vital question of Free Trade. We know that in many places there are feelings of difficulty, arising from long connexions and personal attachments; but we are arrived at that stage of our great struggle when duty calls on all men no longer to "halt between two opinions," but to decide whether they prefer principles or men.

We have been much gratified with the report of the annual meeting of the Edinburgh Anti-Corn-Law Association, held on the 22nd ult. Some of our friends there felt difficulties such as we have referred to; but we would remind them that the history of no country affords more frequent instances of personal sacrifices for the attainment of great and noble objects than theirs. Their fathers entered into a solemn league and covenant for liberty of con-

science. We call on them as cordially to unite in the league to reclaim our right to exchange the products of our industry for the food and productions of the whole earth—a right as inalienable as that of life and liberty, and without which the latter is nothing but an empty name. We can make no compromise with Monopoly. Those who preach about Free Trade, but still hanker after fixed duty, are Monopolists as well as they who support the sliding scale; the difference between the two is only in degree. We are indebted to Sir Robert Peel for opposing Lord John Russell with the League arguments against his fixed-duty scheme, and showing to demonstration that, whilst an 8s. fixed duty would be valueless as a means of raising revenue, it would raise the price of all the corn consumed by the whole amount of the duty. We cannot believe that a man of Lord John Russell's shrewd judgment can adhere to the fixed-duty fallacy, and suppose himself a Free-Trader. We have, however, nothing to do with men; our warfare is waged against Monopoly and Monopolists; we cannot, therefore, but approve and admire the manly, straightforward resolutions, and the judicious course pursued at the Edinburgh meeting. By the following resolution, they express their agreement in the sentiments of the League, and respectfully hope that their representatives will be prepared to support them in Parliament:—

"That the meeting agree with the sentiments and recommendations of the Council of the Anti-Corn-Law League, addressed to the people of the United Kingdom, of 28th September last, and that, in accordance with one of these recommendations, the secretary be instructed to transmit to the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay and William Gibson Craig, Esq., the members for the City, copies of the report which has been adopted by this meeting; and respectfully to express to those gentlemen that this meeting, deeply impressed as it is with the paramount importance of Free-Trade principles to this kingdom, and the benefits likely to result to the family of man from their general adoption, entertain a strong hope—in common, they believe, with a large majority of the Liberal electors of the City—that their representatives will now be prepared to support the immediate and entire abolition of all duties on the importation of foreign corn, and, in particular, that they will be prepared to give their cordial and unqualified support, both in the House and in the committee, to the motion about to be brought forward in Parliament by the Hon. C. P. Villiers for the immediate and entire abolition of these duties."

The next resolution is the most important, and one which we recommend to the adoption of every constituency who have doubts of the cordial support of their representatives on the question of Free Trade, viz:—

"That it be remitted to the ordinary committee, as a special instruction from this meeting, that, in the prospect of a dissolution of Parliament, they shall take care that candidates be brought forward to represent the city of Edinburgh whose views on the question of freedom of trade shall be in unison alike with the great body of the Liberal electors and of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and, in order to carry this resolution into effect, that the committee shall have power to call a meeting of the whole Liberal electors, to ascertain their opinions on the subject, and generally to take such other steps as shall seem to them proper for giving effect to the opinions of the majority of the constituency on this great public question of the day."

This is a plain and intelligible course, and, if representation be not a perfect farce, we do not see how electors can adopt a more appropriate proceeding. The observations of Mr. Duncan M'Laren on this resolution are so much in accordance with our own views of the rights and duties of electors, that we cannot withhold them:—

"The constituency (he said) had made a contract with these gentlemen *only for the existing Parliament*. They had applied to them repeatedly to reconsider their opinions—they had entreated them to give due weight to the feelings and wishes of the constituency, and the answer was contained in Mr. Macaulay's and Mr. Craig's letters. After these preliminary steps, taken upwards of a year ago, they now proposed to tell their members, that unless they not only voted for Mr. Villiers's motion, but were prepared to give it a cordial and unqualified support, the constituency must look out for other members when their term of office expired (Applause.) He should like to know how any candid man, dealing with other matters, unbiassed by party considerations, could object to such a course of conduct. He held that the members had no right to expect a life interest in the representation of the city of Edinburgh." (Applause.)

An amendment to this last resolution was proposed, but was supported by only 26 out of 600.

When the electors at large shall imitate the noble example of the electors of Edinburgh, by declaring their attachment to principles in preference to men, however distinguished by their eloquence or station, then our redemption from the thralldom of Monopoly draweth nigh.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Twelfth Week, ending Saturday, May 4.

The House of Commons on Monday night was crowded, in expectation of the announced opening of the Budget by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and here we must protest against the unconservative spirit gaining ground, by which people are induced, after the example of Sir Robert Peel, to talk, in roundabout and grand phraseology, of the annual Financial Statement "Budget," to be sure, is not an exceedingly genteel word, but it is expressive; it has the sanction of long-established use and wont; every politician has been trained up to associate a definite idea with it; and even if some people are foolish enough to suppose that on Budget day the Chancellor of the Exchequer enters the House with the national wallet on his back, it is no sufficient reason for parting with an old useful servant. If this spirit spreads we shall, by and by, have a Lord Chancellor treating it as a breach of privilege to be reported in the newspapers as having taken his seat on the "woodcock;" and about the very time that we are getting rid of the comparatively modern usurpation of the Corn Laws, we will also be getting rid of those parliamentary phrases which remind us that, for nearly all our national rights and privileges, and for the whole of our grandeur and our power, we are indebted to the fact of having been, and continuing to be, a COMMERCIAL people.

The House, as we have said, was crowded; the body of the compact little hall was filled, and all along the side galleries every seat was occupied by members eager and anxious to hear what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to say. The strangers' gallery was also overflowing; City men were there, speculating on what the Government meant to do with their "surplus capital," and guessing at all sorts of anticipated reductions of duties; while editors, reporters, and newspaper proprietors poured in torrents into the reporters' gallery, ready to set into action that simple yet marvellous machinery, by which every word spoken may be sent "flying all abroad," and, with Puck-like versatility, girdling the globe as fast as railroads carry and ships sail.

And Mr. Goulburn occupied a very proud position on Monday night, if he only really understood it. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer to a commercial people, he had it in his power to proclaim, that since he entered office in 1841 he had received daily proof of the practical utility and eternal truth of Free-Trade principles. When we say he "had the power," we use the word without reference to party associations, or party hopes and fears. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is the national treasurer; and, as the official organ of a people priding themselves on their practical tendencies, their attention to details, their business habits, and their wonderful worship of FACTS, he might be supposed to have the fear of COMMON SENSE before his eyes, and to hold HUMBUG in scorn unutterable. But we have not yet, as the Yankees in their significant familiarity would say, "toed the mark." The Anti-Corn-Law League, however, is fast bringing us up to it; and there is some reason for supposing that, at least on commercial subjects, Humbug, like Dagon, will fall prostrate at the presence of the ark of truth, and demonstrate, by his shorn dimensions and headless trunk, that the victory of the Philistines was the utter ruin of their power.

In so saying, we by no means wish to insinuate that Mr. Goulburn *humbugged*. In former days he was rather despised, as being a mere routine official hack, of considerable industry but no ability. Yet his "Financial Statement" on Monday night, which occupied two hours in delivering, was very clear and very able. Mr. Goulburn has nothing of the felicitous manner which renders Sir Robert Peel the very best expositor of figures in the House of Commons. But Mr. Goulburn seems to get cleverer as he gets older. The most remarkable thing about him is his approximation to Free Trade in his old age. People, when they become old, usually become opinionative; but Mr. Goulburn, who, as having through life the characteristics of a West Indian proprietor and slaveholder—a rabid High Church Tory, and a red tape official—is showing that old age presents no positive obstruction to the clarifying process of Truth. He is now a Free-Trader in the "abstract;" and though it is very doubtful if he will make an early appearance at Covent-garden Theatre, there are some reasons for supposing that, if he remain long enough in office, he will stand up in the House of Commons, and officially proclaim that it is the inalienable right of the people of the United Kingdom to buy their corn and their sugar in the "cheapest market;" and that the freedom of Capital and Labour is a rights as precious as that personal freedom and speedy justice which constitute the sole merits of Magna Charta.

Not since 1835 had any Chancellor of the Exchequer the chance which Mr. Goulburn had on Monday night. For nine years there has been no "surplus revenue." In the memorable years 1832-1835 we had abundance of supply, comparative cheapness of food, good profit for capital, excellent remuneration for labour, and a "surplus" revenue. With 1837 commenced our "decline and fall." Deficient produce and high prices broke us up; capital lost its profit, and labour could scarcely get remuneration; and for these nine long, dreary, dismal years, we have had, not a "surplus" but a "deficient" revenue. Now, the tide is turning. CHEAPNESS brings about DEARNESS—two ideas which some people cannot harbour in their brains at the same time. A fall in the prices of essential articles of consumption disengages capital; the working man, paying fivepence instead of eightpence or ninepence for his loaf, has something additional to spare for baker, butcher, tailor, railroads, steamboats, silks, and calicoes; the additional demand stimulates trade, causes a greater demand, enlarges the market both for men and money; and though, under a fair system of Free Trade, prices would never rise *unnaturally* high, yet an active, industrious, thriving community would always afford a fair remunerating profit, infinitely safer than the gambling chances of occasional high prices—with this addition, that this steady remunerating profit was not wrung out of the necessities, but freely afforded by the comforts of the people. In this way free cheapness brings about comparative dearness.

This process, within a limited sphere, has been going on during the last two years. Abundance has produced comparative cheapness; that cheapness is increasing consumption; and increased consumption is reviving the revenue. So, in effect, spoke the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Monday night, when he congratulated the House and the country on the reviving prosperity of the country, and told us all that the main portion of this prosperity was derived from the increased consumption of the working classes. By what means are the working classes improving in condition? By increased employment. How is increased employment obtained? By additional facilities for the profitable remuneration of capital. And therefore, on these FREE-TRADE principles, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was enabled, on Monday last, to make a "financial statement," the most gratifying which the country has had for nine years past. For instance, last year he only calculated on receiving £19,000,000 from the Customs; and he has had the agreeable disappointment to find that increased power of consumption on the part of the people has added nearly two millions and a half to his conjectural estimate. The account stands thus:—

| | Estimated produce. | Actual produce. |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Customs | £19,000,000 | £21,450,000 |
| Excise | 18,000,000 | 18,000,000 |
| Stamps | 7,000,000 | 7,000,000 |
| Taxes | 4,200,000 | 4,125,000 |
| Post office | 600,000 | 600,000 |
| Crown Lands | 130,000 | 147,000 |
| Miscellaneous estimates | 250,000 | 300,000 |
| China Money | 870,000 | 800,000 |
| Total | £50,150,000 | £52,322,000 |

This increase of realized over anticipated income was

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favourable on the one side, and that of the expenditure was equally so on the other. They had received more than they calculated on, and they had spent less. The charge for the Debt, and other items belonging to the Consolidated Fund, had been much the same as usual, the difference not exceeding £30,000. There was an apparent reduction in the actual expenditure for the army, as they had estimated that department of expenditure at £6,619,000, while the amount expended was only £6,118,000. But this arose from the Indian Government having contributed a larger share of the expenses incurred, and the restoration of tranquillity in the East had rendered it unnecessary to keep very large sums in the military chests. There was also a reduction in the estimated expenditure for the naval service of £650,000. Last year there was a deficit in the revenue of no less than £2,400,000, that being the amount in which the income was behind the current expenditure. Not only had the whole of this been cleared off, but there was a surplus revenue, after paying debts, of £1,400,000. His estimate for the ensuing year is as follows:—

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Customs, estimated at .. | £21,500,000 |
| Excise | 13,000,000 |
| Stamps | 7,000,000 |
| Taxes | 4,300,000 |
| Property-tax | 5,100,000 |
| Post-office | 600,000 |
| Crown Lands | 130,000 |
| Miscellaneous | 250,000 |

Total, in round numbers .. £51,790,000

This is the estimated income for the ensuing year. The anticipated expenditure was, first, the charge for the Debt, which, last year, was £29,130,000, would be next year £27,697,000, being an apparent reduction of £1,400,000. This, however, was not a saving to the public, for it arose from the altered periods for paying the dividends, one of the consequences of the measure for reducing the Three-and-a-Half per Cents. The real saving which would result from this reduction (from which, by the way, the amount of dissentients is very insignificant, only £247,115, considering the large amount of stock, £250,000,000, to which the operation extends)—would be, for this year, only £313,000. The estimate of the expenditure for the ensuing year stands thus:—

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Consolidated Fund, including Deficiency Bills .. | £30,097,000 |
| Army | 6,616,000 |
| Navy | 6,250,000 |
| Ordnance | 1,840,000 |
| Miscellaneous | 3,000,000 |
| Extraordinaries | 400,000 |

To which add £200,000, as a provision for paying off the dissentients from the reduced Three per Cents., and also a sum of £239,000, being the remainder of the Guarantee Fund of the South Sea Company. The total expenditure, as estimated for the ensuing year, is £51,790,000, leaving an apparent surplus of £3,146,000, but a real one of £2,370,600.

Having thus got through the first part of his subject, the whole House became nervously anxious to hear what the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to do with this "surplus revenue." And though artfully contriving to mention all the insignificant matters first, and only proposing to reduce duties to a comparatively small amount, it must be confessed that the whole course of the Government is a circuitous one towards Free Trade. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that general expectation anticipating a surplus revenue, he had been overwhelmed with applications for reductions of duties on every article which contributed to the revenue. The first article he proposed to deal with was glass. There was a distinctive duty between bottle and flint glass, which the great improvements in the manufacture not only rendered useless, but led to frauds on the revenue, by the substitution of one for the other, in receiving the drawback on exportation. He proposes to equalise them, reducing the duty on flint glass to the rate on bottle glass, that is from 2d. per pound to three farthings. This will stimulate trade, but the alteration will lead to a loss of £35,000 this year, the alteration not commencing till July, but hereafter the loss on a full year is calculated at £45,000. The next article is vinegar, on which the duty is to be repealed altogether, and by which there will be a loss of £25,000. The inducement to repeal this duty is its large use in manufactures, especially in calico-printing. Next, the duty on marine insurances is to be altered and reduced. The duty was originally imposed in war time; when it was reduced by Lord Althorp the effect was favourable; at present it operates injuriously, by depriving us of the full benefit of that resort to Britain in marine insurance, which our capital and our credit entitle us to. At present, on every £100, where the premium is 15s., there is a duty of 1s. 3d.; up to 30s. a duty of 2s. 6d.; and above 30s., it is 5s. There is to be a new scale, as follows:—

| | |
|---|-------|
| On every £100, where the premium is 10s. .. | s. d. |
| From 10s. to 20s. | 0 3 |
| From 20s. to 30s. | 0 6 |
| From 30s. to 40s. | 1 0 |
| From 40s. to 50s. | 2 0 |
| From 50s. to 60s. | 3 0 |
| From 60s. to 70s. | 4 0 |
| Above 70s. | 5 0 |

Some minor reductions are to be made on stamps for agreements, and on proxies for voting for the election of railway directors. The next important reduction is to be made on the article of currants. This was now largely consumed in this country; it was mainly imported from the Ionian Islands; and the alteration is anticipated to be doubly favourable, both to the home consumer and a dependency in which we have a special interest. The duty is to be reduced from 22s. to 15s. per cwt. This will lead to a loss of revenue amounting to no less than £90,000; but increased consumption is expected to counteract this. Then, the duty on foreign coffee is to be altered from 8d., as fixed by the new tariff, to 6d., leaving only a differential duty of 2d. between foreign and colonial coffee. This reduction is to be accompanied by an increase of the duty on chicory, which at present is largely used in the adulteration of coffee. The reduction of the duty on foreign coffee will cause a loss of £50,000. The last article with which the Government propose to deal is wool, on which the duty is to be altogether repealed, which will cause a loss to the revenue of no less than £100,000. Altogether, the entire loss to the revenue which is anticipated will result from these various reductions is calculated at £400,000.

The Government are retaining a large surplus in their hands, with the prospect of a still greater at the termination of next year, evidently to effect one of two objects.

They are either accumulating in order to be able to take off the Income (not the Property) tax next year; or else they are intending to effect still greater reductions on Import Duties, of which the intended change in the Sugar Duties is but a foreshadowing. Mr. Goulburn on Monday night said that there was another important matter, to which though not formally before them, it was important he should advert, in consequence of the general expectation which prevailed. He meant the article of sugar. Our treaty with Brazil will expire in November next; and by this treaty we are bound to admit its produce on the same terms as those of "the most favoured nations." On the expiry of that treaty the Government propose to admit the sugar of foreign countries, where it is raised by free labour, at a differential duty of 10s.; which as the colonial duty is 24s., will admit free foreign at 34s. This would extend our trade with countries east of the Cape of Good Hope, and enlarge our commerce with China itself; and it neither involved a sacrifice of principle, nor hostility to Brazil, for the reduction of the duty on coffee was a proof of the contrary. Their object was to prevent sugar, the produce of countries tainted with slavery, from being imported into this country. But he referred all details to the time when the annual Sugar Duties Bill will be discussed; and concluded by congratulating the House on the cheering prospect of increasing prosperity which the state of the revenue afforded.

So far as can be gathered from the language used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards by Sir Robert Peel, on Monday night, we may conclude that the Government in retaining a large surplus in their hands are doing so in preparation for a great experiment next year. They will then either repeal the income (not the property) tax, or else—which is the more probable course—retain it for the full period of five years, and give compensation in the shape of great reductions of our import duties. The following passage from the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer seems conclusive on this point; and it is also remarkable as containing a distinct intimation that, so far as the working of the new Tariff has enabled him to judge, the principles of Free Trade are not only true in theory, but in practice; not only good in the "abstract," but beneficial in actual operation. Speaking of the new Tariff, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said:—"I have no hesitation in saying, that at the present moment I cannot form an estimate of what may be the result of the reduction of duty made in 1842. Undoubtedly, when I look at the list of articles, and see the increased consumption in almost every one of them, there is ground for hope. (Cheers.) Of the thirty-three principal articles on which the duty was reduced, there are only about five of which the consumption has decreased (hear, hear), and there has been an increase, more or less, upon all the others. I am, therefore, sanguine as to the issue of the experiment; but the House will bear in mind that upon some of the main articles in the tariff, owing to the necessity of giving indulgence for stocks in hand, especially in the case of timber, the reduction did not come into full operation until the middle of last year. The experiment has thus not been fairly tried, and I am not prepared on this short experience to say what will be the view the House may be disposed to take upon the question in the course of the next year, when the property-tax must come under consideration. Such being the circumstances, I think it will be obvious to any one that I should not have acted a becoming, nay, that I should not have acted an honest part, if I had induced the House on the present occasion to consent to a large reduction of duties, which reduction could have had but one effect, viz.—that of preventing Parliament in the next session from coming to an unfettered judgment." (Cheers.)

Announcements like these coming from such a man as Mr. Goulburn are exceedingly cheering, and diminish the regret felt that the Government have not ventured this year on a bolder application of Free-Trade principles. For it is now clear that these principles have struck their roots in the soil of the routine official mind; they are demonstrating their own truth at the Custom-house, and in the Exchequer; and seeing, as Lord John Russell satirically remarked, that in 1842 Sir Robert Peel had applied the principle of "buying in the cheapest market" to onion-seed, spices, and herrings, the time is not far distant, it is to be hoped, when he will apply it to the article which constitutes the essential food of the people.

On the whole, omitting the momentous question of the SUGAR DUTIES (which will come before us again), we may characterize the "Financial Statement" as the small Free-Trade Budget of 1844, the comparative littleness of which is made up by the implied announcement that we are to have a larger Free-Trade Budget in 1845. And small as is our progress, still it is progress; every inch of ground gained is gained for ever; ere long we will have Free Trade in CORN and in SUGAR; and in a few years people will be apt to doubt their own identity, when their memory carries them back to the time when it required the continuous exercise of a great organized MORAL POWER to sweep away delusions so utterly foolish, that it will seem a miracle how they could have been so pertinaciously maintained.

MORPETH AND MONOPOLY.—Since the monopolist landlords held their exclusive meeting at Morpeth in respect of the Corn Laws, there have been open and public meetings held for "repeal" and Free Trade. On Tuesday se'nnight one of these public assemblies was held in the Town-hall—when Mr. Watson was called by acclamation to the chair. Mr. Donkin, of Bywell, first addressed the meeting; and after the delivery of his speech, an offer was made to any protectionist to reply, but not one in the crowded hall was disposed to say a word in favour of the Corn Laws. After a few remarks from Mr. Liddell on the taxes on land and on food, and votes of thanks to the Chairman, &c., the meeting separated with three cheers for Corn-Law repeal.—*Gateshead Observer.*

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NOTTINGHAM REVIEW.—Gentlemen,—There has come again this week, what is generally called the Duke of Portland's "rent day." Thinking it a seasonable opportunity to sound a little upon the Corn Laws, I had a short conversation with one of the tenants, and he assured me that the farmers dare not open their minds too much, for fear of unpleasantness. He told me another fact, that as good a landlord as the duke had always been, many of his tenants were not twenty shillings better than they were twenty years ago! For whom, then, were the Corn Laws forced upon the country?—I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant, FARM TRADER. Mansfield, April 23.

MEETINGS.

GREAT MEETING AT COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.

The usual weekly aggregate meeting of the members and friends of the National Anti-Corn-Law League took place on Wednesday, at Covent-garden Theatre. The doors were thrown open at 7 o'clock, and in a very few moments every seat was occupied; the private boxes and the stage being more than usually crowded.

At half-past seven o'clock the Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird, who had undertaken to preside, entered the theatre amid enthusiastic cheering. He was accompanied by Mr. Cobden, M.P., and followed by a number of influential members of Parliament and gentlemen, supporters of Free-Trade principles. Among those present at this time we observed,

The Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P., Benjamin Smith, Esq., M.P., Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., John Lewis Ricardo, Esq., M.P., Sir Wm. Baynes, Bart., J. Somers, Esq. (Bridgewater), Ralph Ricardo, Esq., A. Austin, Junr., Esq., R. R. Moore, Esq., H. R. Ricardo, Esq., Arthur Pattison, Esq., Rev. Henry Townley, General Briggs, Professor Key, Col. Tucker, A. Bauer, Esq., Rev. W. Todman, Rev. Dr. Marshall, W. A. Wilkinson, Esq., Wm. M'Call, Esq., Samuel Harrison, Esq., Norman Wilkinson, Esq., George Lance, Esq., Dr. Cooke Taylor, George Wansley, Esq., C. Foster, Esq., J. Evans, Esq., Major Reid Revel, J. B. Scott, Esq. (Manchester), R. Palmer, Esq., R. W. Cole, Esq., Peter Dixon, Esq. (Carlisle), John Egan, Esq., Thomas Egan, Esq., W. Elliott, Esq., T. Nicholas, Esq., D. Miles, Esq., W. Chambers, Esq., W. Thornborough, Esq., W. Stirling, Esq., Henry Lloyd Morgan, Esq., J. T. Clay, Esq., J. H. Hulme, Esq. (Manchester), W. Lockett, Esq. (Manchester), George Nelson, Esq. (Manchester), J. P. Nixon, Esq., T. Keeling, Esq., H. Baldwin, Esq., W. Hughes, Esq., P. Nott, Esq., Isaac Nicholls, Esq. (Plymouth), Josh. Storr, Esq. (Yorkshire), Wm. Bettison, Esq. (town council, Hull), James Eytan, Esq. (Mold, Flintshire), John Williams, Esq., W. Clarke, Esq., W. G. Mitchell, Esq., J. P. Burnard, Esq., W. Gessin, Esq., Robert Johnston, Esq. (Manchester), E. Edridge, Esq. (Mayor of Bath), John Atkinson, Esq. (Mayor of Hull).

Mr. SAUL having read the minutes of the last meeting, upon the motion of Mr. VILLIERS, M.P., seconded by Mr. WILKINSON, they were unanimously confirmed.

The Noble CHAIRMAN then came forward to the front of the stage, and the cheering with which he was again greeted having subsided, he spoke as follows:—Ladies and gentlemen, I must commence by thanking you for the very kind reception which you have given me this evening. Often as I have occupied one of those benches before me which I now see so well filled, still did I ever expect that I should find myself upon the stage of Covent-garden Theatre (laughter and cheers); and I do not think that anything scarcely could have induced me to appear here but the feeling that I might in some measure be able to promote the important cause of Free Trade. (Loud cheers.) I should have appeared, ladies and gentlemen, here this evening with still greater reluctance, had I not heard from speakers who have addressed audiences in this house on former occasions, that they never addressed, I may say, more intelligent, and, at the same time, more indulgent audiences. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Looking round on the countenances spread before me this evening, I feel that I am certain of the first, and I hope I may count on the latter. (Hear, hear.) When I look around me at the immense numbers here congregated together, I think I am justified in warning you all, that perhaps the number—which has not yet been defined by the Executive—the number of people congregated together which constitutes an illegal meeting or a conspiracy not having been defined—we may all be—yes, ladies and all—included in the category of conspirators. (Laughter.) Now, I own that, looking around me, and seeing so many ladies here present, it would have surprised me to imagine what could have induced them to come and listen to such a dry subject as that of political economy, did I not know that woman's heart is ever open to feel for the sufferings, and she is ever ready to hear how the distressed condition, of her fellow-beings may be ameliorated and improved. (Cheers.) I trust, therefore, that it is not through curiosity either to see or to hear what may be said or done this evening that they are assembled here, but that it is from a sincere desire to promote the prosperity and welfare of all classes, but particularly of the humbler classes of society. (Loud cheers.) That is the main, the principal object of the Anti-Corn-Law League; because, while the agriculturist must be benefited (and I am prepared presently to prove that the landowners must be benefited), no class, at the same time, can be so benefited as the industrious and labouring classes of the community, by opening fresh sources for the employment of honest industry; and, to use a phrase which has now become a cant phrase, but is not, I am sorry to say, acted on to the fullest extent—allowing them to buy in the cheapest and to sell in the dearest market. (Cheers.) I hope you are not here merely from curiosity, but that you are here to learn; and, if you cannot learn in one evening, we shall be glad to see you here back again for the purpose of further instructing you; or, if you apply to the Anti-Corn-Law League, they will supply you with documents proving to you the truth of that which we hold to be sound and legitimate doctrine. (Cheers.) I hope that, when once convinced, you will use your utmost influence in this righteous cause; for we know not, to the fullest extent, what influence any individual here may have. You have seen, probably, a pebble cast into a pool of water, and you have seen how gradually the circles extended until they spread round the whole surface of the stream; thus it may be with the influence of any one who is thoroughly convinced of the justice of his own cause. (Loud cheers.) This influence was remarkably exemplified in a late visit to Perthshire, from a deputation of the League, consisting of that able advocate Mr. Cobden, (loud and long cheering), and others. On that occasion there was a manufacturer who told us this fact. He said, "I reside in the midst of farmers and agriculturists. I have taken advantage of the fall of water, and I have a large spinning mill. I am surrounded by about thirty farmers, and, with the exception of one, they are all Free-Traders." (Hear, hear.) That one farmer attended the meeting at Perth, which is situated in the midst of a large agricultural district; the meeting was also attended by about 1500 or 2000 persons, a large proportion of whom consisted of tenant-farmers. I was told by a friend, who, after he attended the meeting, went into the market-place, that he saw nothing but the wan long-looking faces of the Monopolist landowners, who left their business and the market-place to hear what was going on. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) And what was the effect? Why,

the manufacturer told us, that the next day he found this farmer, who was before a dissentient, eagerly engaged in arguing the question with a neighbour Monopolist farmer in favour of our system. (Loud laughter and cheers.) The manufacturer was astonished, and asked, "How is this?" The farmer replied, "I did not quite take in all that you said to me, but from what I heard at the meeting I became so satisfied of the truth of the statements made that you now have not a more zealous friend of the cause than myself. (Loud cheers.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, the study of political economy is not new to me: it has not been taken up by me for any party purpose, for those who are now no more early turned my attention to its doctrines. But, whilst studying the works of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mrs. Marcet, and other masterly productions, not forgetting the works of Miss Martineau—the interesting tales of which extraordinary person I recommend to the ladies more especially—"hear, hear," and laughter)—while studying these I never thought that I should see so soon the extraordinary proof of the truth of their assertions as has transpired during the last two or three years, owing to the principles and exertions of the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Loud cheers.) It is impossible to see any return that has been made for in either House of Parliament, or any statement that has been made by the Anti-Corn-Law League, without directly corroborating everything that has been written in those able works. (Cheers.) Now, being dependent almost, I may say, for my existence on the produce of land, I naturally have turned my attention considerably to it. I have for several years had a farm on my own hands, and a considerable quantity of land; and during the last eighteen months, not coming to town, I devoted myself to the improvement of the land to see what might be done with it, and whether I could not produce corn a great deal cheaper and with equal profit: the result is that I have come to the conclusion more firmly than I did before, that it would be better to take away the Corn Laws, which are most injurious to me as a farmer and a landowner. (Loud and long-continued cheering.) If I found myself alone in this opinion as a landed proprietor, and that it was only such as my friend Mr. Cobden, engaged in manufactures, who coincided with me, I might hesitate and think that I was wrong; but when I know the large number of landed proprietors who are in favour of these all-important doctrines, but who object to take a prominent position, or to join the ranks of the Anti-Corn-Law League, I feel no hesitation on the subject. (Cheers.) Though these men do not come forward to support the Anti-Corn-Law League, still they say, "Oh, you are quite right; but we do not like the League." There was one gentleman, however, whom Mr. Cobden met with (Mr. Murray, of Polnaisie, near Stirling), who is a large agricultural proprietor, and who devotes his whole time to agriculture; he has a large farm on his own hands, and is one of the greatest authorities on all questions relating to farming: you will see by the statements which he has given what he has made his land to produce. Mr. Murray told me himself that he has been for eighteen years engaged in agriculture, and that the only thing which interferes with him, and does him harm, is the upholding of the system of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) I have had letters from farmers on this subject. I had one not long ago from a farmer, who sent me a letter of his written in the year 1826. He had travelled over England, and had been for some time abroad: it was about two years ago that he came to me. He is a farmer holding land to the amount of £1500 a year. His uncle holds another large farm, and also his brother. He came to me and asked me for a farm, which I was but too glad to give him. This farmer showed me a letter written in 1826, wherein he said that the Corn Laws were then injurious to the land. (Loud cheers.) So that a tenant-farmer, even before this question was agitated as it now is, discovered the truth of this fact. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, there is a tenant, Mr. Watson, of Killah, one of Lord Wharnclyffe's tenants, who holds two or three farms under him. I wanted him (knowing his opinion to be that the Corn Laws are injurious)—I wanted him to be present here; but "No," said he, "I disapprove of the League; I disapprove of their agitation." But I, it so happened, was acquainted with the reason—he was under a Conservative landlord. (Loud cheers and laughter.) Thus, you see, I am myself inclined to be the more strongly convinced as to the truth and importance of my views on this question, because I find myself backed by the authority of so many practical farmers. (Cheers.) Now, I want to know for whose benefit are these laws; because we can prove, and I believe it is not denied, that many people suffer by them? One outrageous monopolist will tell you that it is better to pay so much more for bread. Another will tell you, so much the better; it will lessen wages. I have been told, "Oh, wages are too high; it would be much better if the working man had less wages." That is a fact. Others, however, say, "Oh, rent, rent! it is not that; the sacrifice would be nothing; but it is the interest of the farmers who have invested so much capital, and that of the poor agricultural labourers, whose position is to be considered." (Laughter.) It is all for that—it is all entirely for that; if it were not so, we would not think of it for a moment; oh, no! (Loud laughter and cheers.) Let them look at the history of the Corn Laws. What was the Corn Law of 1815 passed for? Why, for the purpose of keeping up rent at war prices. This law was truly said to have been passed at the point of the bayonet, because members of Parliament, in going down to vote, were obliged to be protected by the soldiery. ("Hear, hear," and hisses.) The law was passed also without giving the people time to petition against it, as I find from recently reading the debates upon the subject. The bill was hurried through both Houses of Parliament with the most indecent haste: as Mr. Horne at the time said, "It was an endeavour of the landowners"—who then, as now, I think, command a very considerable majority in both Houses of Parliament (hear, hear)—"it was an endeavour on the part of the landowners to save rents from an unavoidable fall;" and for this purpose the bill was passed. (Cheers.) And now what are we told? Oh, that so much capital has been invested in land that you will be doing the greatest injustice if you do away with the law; just as though, because you tolerate one injustice, you must continue others in succession. (Cheers.) When I came into my property, I found that many of the farms in Scotland were taken at the war prices. Well, what did the landlords do? They were obliged to consent to have large arrears. I said immediately it is a very unpleasant thing to have one's head

under water (laughter); the best thing is at once to let us know what is fair; and so I had the land all valued over again. (Loud cheers.) I do not wish to take credit to myself for that, because it is merely what others did. The landlords kept these arrears hanging over their tenants, thinking, perhaps, they might make use of them in election matters. (Laughter and cheers.) I thought, however, that it would be better to start fair. But what do we see in England? If any of you here read the *Morning Post* (loud laughter)—I am afraid it has not such a circulation as the other papers; I do not often, but I sometimes do, look at it, to see what is said upon both sides of the question—but if you read the *Morning Post* you will sometimes see announced "Great Liberality of a Landlord," "Wonderful and Extraordinary Liberality," "Wonderful Reduction of Rents;" the Duke of This and my Lord That has given back ten or twenty per cent. at his last audit. What does this mean? Why, simply that he could not get it. (Great laughter.) And the consequence of his being under a belief that it was to be got caused him to live, as many have done, far beyond what he could afford. And it is a very remarkable thing that, if you go back to my friend the *Morning Post* (laughter), you will see that there are not so many announcements of large *fêtes* and balls for the last two or three years as there were formerly. (Hear, hear, hear.) You see also a great reduction in establishments. Before I took a farm on my own hands, I sent the man who was to manage it round England with an English farmer to learn a little farming; and directed him to report to him upon what he heard, and observed. He returned to me, and said that, generally speaking, nay, almost universally, he considered that land in England was underlet, in comparison with that of Scotland; that it was not made to produce the same quantity; and as the system of farming was so expensive there could not be the same profit. I maintain, then, that the landlords, like pigs swimming down a stream, are, in reality, cutting their own throats. (Loud laughter and cheers.) One or two years may be good years, but which, in reality, are years of scarcity. What they call a good year is when there is not enough food for the unfortunate families of the poor. (Hear, hear.) Providence has blessed this country with many abundant harvests; but, as in the case of Castlereagh and others on the same side, they have made that a cause of distress which should be a blessing. We state, therefore, and it must even be apparent to those people who have not looked, or will not look into the question, that there must be something wrong where such a blessing as an abundant quantity of food is denied to the people of this country. (Cheers.) If you will visit any farmer and ask him, "Well, how are you doing?" He will answer, "Oh, bad times; farming is a very bad trade, it is the worst trade in the kingdom." Well, how is that? There must be something wrong; there is nothing so protected; nothing ought to give so good a return as land, and yet you see the farmers complain. (Hear, hear.) I, who know, can safely state that in Scotland, and I believe it is the case in England, at least, one-half the farmers have been reduced from affluent circumstances to abject poverty; that they have been obliged to expatriate themselves; that they have been obliged to become labourers, where, before, they were in possession of a farm—not from any improvidence of their own, but for this reason, because by our laws they have been promised certain prices; but they took a farm calculating on getting those prices, believing what their landlords and agents had told them, but they did not get them, and so it must continue as long as a law so uncertain as the Corn Law exists. (Loud cheers.) I visited, about two years ago, several agricultural counties, and in my life I never saw such bad farming, such waste of farmyard material, labour performed so expensively, and, after all, such miserable crops compared with those that ought to be produced: so that, by keeping up the law which prevents the people from getting food from other countries, they do not even produce from the land that which otherwise they would do. Now, a few days ago, I was at a place in the neighbourhood of London, and I asked a man there what the land let for, knowing something of land and its value myself, and he said, "30s. an acre;" he was a Scotchman. I said, "Is it not underlet?" and he replied, "Yes, very much." I said, "Do not you think it is worth £3; why do not the Scotch farmers come and take it?" He said, "There are some in the neighbourhood who are making their fortunes." That was told me only a few days ago. Why, in Scotland, are we reckoned good farmers? A Scotchman, certainly, is an industrious animal (laughter); he sets his wit to work, and does not take for gospel all that is told him ("hear," and laughter); he thinks for himself; and if the farmers of England thought a little more for themselves they would do infinitely better. (Loud cheers.) Then the farmers in Scotland are indebted to the agricultural labourers, who are a superior class of men. They say that machinery, instead of injuring them, is one of the greatest boons. They are not against the employment of machinery in Scotland. They are men who are zealous for improvement, and see that it must be to their advantage. (Hear.) The whole of the Scotch farming is done better, although with a much worse climate: then we have but a short time for getting the seed into the ground, for even the delay of a day may prevent the getting of a crop; and therefore we are obliged to exert ourselves, and use the most expeditious mode to get our land in good order, sow our seed, and gather in our crops. ("Hear" and cheers.) Now, if there were a little more competition, I contend that the English farmer must soon do the same. (Hear, hear.) I think I have thus shown that neither the farmer nor the farm-labourer are at present benefited: because, read the reports of the commission which was sent down by Government, and who continued for about fifteen days or three weeks in the agricultural counties, such as Dorsetshire and Hampshire; the accounts that they give of the misery, destitution, ignorance, and immorality which prevail in those counties are such that the very thought of them harrows up the soul. (Cheers.) They have been verified by landowners themselves, although it is true enough that you find some like Mr. Bankes, who thinks to make you believe that they are perfect clyseums. (Hear, hear.) Now, I have been on Mr. Bankes's estate, and anything more miserable than the cottages I cannot conceive. (Cheers.) True it is not so much misery congregated in masses such as we lately witnessed in the manufacturing districts; but I have seen cases scattered about these cottages equally as bad. You see disease existing for want of proper

food. I have seen it—for I made the experiment myself:—I gave a family who were all diseased, an order on my butcher, and in the space of six weeks or two months the change in that family was a proof that with proper food they would never have been so. (Loud cheers.) I have travelled in many countries, and in very few besides our own have I found people so charitable and anxious to do good on their own immediate properties; but no individual charity can support poor people out of employment. (Hear, hear.) For instance, I lately visited Sussex, in the neighbourhood of a large landed proprietor, a great Corn-Law monopolist. I went in at the gate of a cottage, and I saw the children there at home. I said to the woman, who did not know who I was, "How is this? There are schools close by, why don't you send your children?" She replied, "They have no clothes." "But," I said, "how is that; your husband is getting work, is he not?" "Oh yes, pretty constant, but not regularly." "What does he get?" "Oh, in winter, 6s., and in summer, 7s. a week." (Hisses and disapprobation.) Now, that is the general rate of wages: in some counties it is slightly more—perhaps 8s. a week. This woman showed me a loaf of bread, for which she said she had paid 8d. And she said, "Look at it; do you think that it is enough food for five children and two grown-up persons? There is 8d. out of this 1s. a day, nearly the 7s., leaving about 28d. to provide for every other necessary; and how can I send my children to school?" ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) If we go into the actual expense, and there have been several publications showing it, the thing is impossible. The only wonder is how they live, or rather how they starve, for it would be ridiculous to say they live. ("Hear, hear," and loud cheers.) And yet there are people who complain every day, "Oh, it is these agricultural labourers you are throwing out of employment." Now, it is a very curious thing, but many of them are led to believe that the majority of the people are agricultural; they affirm this in many of their papers and among themselves. They state that so many are manufacturers, and that all the rest are agriculturists; and so you are, though you don't know that you are, agriculturists: I confess I should be sorry to let a farm to many of you, for I fear you would not know how to set about it (laughter); but, ladies and gentlemen, according to the theory of the Protectionists you are one and all agriculturists. (Loud laughter and cheers.) Now, in a paper, a most able paper, the *Economist*, there is copied from the *Manchester Guardian* a report from twenty-seven counties, and amongst these are Essex, Norfolk, and Lincoln, being purely agricultural counties, the others not being included, owing to the return of the last census not being had: the remaining twenty-seven counties, including York, Lancaster, Staffordshire, and Warwickshire, which, as you all know, are great manufacturing and mining places, are not included in this. Well, Mr. Brotherton, I think it was, in the House of Commons, said, that instead of the numbers being 7-9ths agricultural out of the population they were not 1-10th. "Oh, oh, oh!" cried some, which means there, "You have told us what is not true, and we don't believe it." But by the returns here—and they are efficient returns as far as they go—by these returns, in the agricultural counties, it turns out that there is not 1-8th of the population employed in agriculture, including women and children. (Hear.) The persons engaged in other trades amount to 28½ per cent., while ½ per cent. only are employed in agriculture; and for this purpose you are to be blessed, or rather cursed, with a protection law to keep up prices. (Loud cheers.) But it is a curious thing that in these counties, taking all the women and children, and all the men employed in agriculture, the aggregate amounts to about 610,000, while in the Salford union, comprising 210 acres, the population amounts to 700,000; so that in these 27 counties the whole of the agricultural population does not amount to the number included in the 210 acres of Salford union; you see then what a small proportion they are making a fight about. (Hear, hear.) But then, ladies and gentlemen, the curious thing is, that as the population increases the proportion employed in agriculture diminishes. (Hear, hear.) In 1811, 352 out of every 1000 were employed in agriculture, while there were 648 in other trades; in 1821 the proportion employed in agriculture was 332, in other trades 668; in 1831 the proportion was 281, showing a gradual diminution, while in other trades it amounted to 719; and, if in 1841 it goes on in the same proportion, there will only be 240 out of every 1000 employed in agriculture, while there will be 760 employed in other trades. (Cheers.) But again, the actual number (which is another curious thing) employed in agriculture, in 1821, including women and children, was 6,500,000, and in 1831 it was 6,400,000; so that the actual numbers were diminished. (Hear, hear.) This is a very singular fact, and only to be accounted for in this way—that in farming it is naturally the landowner's interest—I mean not his individual private interest, but for the general wealth of the country—that farms should not be too small, because a small farm requires the same farm buildings—the same number of persons to be employed immediately about the homestead; so it is not for the advantage of the country generally, or for the landowners, to have too small farms; and, I believe, they have been throwing in the farms, and making them larger, thereby diminishing the numbers employed. That is one reason; there may be others why there are fewer employed in agriculture, and I believe that there will turn out to be still fewer in 1841, when the returns are made out, than there were in 1820. But then we are told, "Oh it is all very well, but the public burdens bear so heavily upon agriculture," and I dare say many of the ladies have often said, "What a wretched thing is this increase of population—what is to become of it?" Why, this very increase, if we only had free intercourse with other countries, and the means of disposing of our manufactures to other nations, would be the real wealth of the country—and particularly such a population as we possess; for I believe there is scarcely a man amongst them who would wish to be idle if he could help it. (Cheers.) I will show you briefly how the public burdens diminish per head as the population increases. In 1811, the public burdens were at the rate of £3 10s. 3d. per head; in 1821, they were £2 13s. 8d. per head; in 1831, they were £2 6s. 5d. per head; and in 1841, they were £1 18s. 10d. Now, it is true that taxes have been remitted from 65 millions to nearly 52 millions; and the population has so increased that they are enabled to bear those burdens—that is, they would be, if they were let alone. (Cheers.) But, I will show how these are pressed upon agriculture. The proportion paid by the

agriculturists was, in 1811, six millions and a half, and by the other classes 12 millions. (Hear, hear.) That was the proportion of the taxes they then paid. There were 65 millions altogether: the agriculturists contributed 36 per cent., and the other classes 64 per cent. But in 1831 cent., the agricultural population, not having increased but diminished, paid £12,422,000, and the other classes £39,000,000; so that the agriculturists in 1831 contributed 24 per cent. to 76 per cent. by the other classes, instead of, as in 1811, 36 per cent. to 64 per cent. (Hear, and cheers.) The farmer does not pay duty for horses used in farm purposes, and he may keep one for riding about; nor does he pay for his dogs which look after his sheep. It is quite clear the landowners have taken care of themselves. (Hear.) We cannot blame them for it; everybody will do so if you let them. I ask you not to let them do so any longer. (Loud cheers.) If the people of this country only show a determination, peaceable, yet firm, they must yield. They are in the minority, and many of them know they are wrong. Many of them are quite willing to go with you, and, if you only show a bold front, the Corn Law must fall to the ground. (Great cheering.) Look at what the population has lately been saddled with!—an income-tax rendered necessary by restrictive laws. (Cheers.) John Bull takes things very coolly; he is a long time before he rouses himself; but when he does rouse he gives a good shake. (Hear, hear.) How long he will be subject to this tax is a question not easily answered. We were first told it was for three years, and then for five. I was in the House of Lords when Lord Melbourne, rubbing his hands, said—I don't use his own words—"It's a very good thing for a Minister to get hold of, but I wish you may get rid of it." (A laugh.) The advocates of that tax tell you that it is only taken out of the pockets of the rich, and that it is all for the benefit of the poor man. Still, if anybody with common sense were to ask them to consider that if they took £10 or £20 from a man, he could not spend it, and that the effect would be felt by every one concerned in the manufacture or sale of what he would otherwise purchase, they would not listen to him. (Hear, hear.) I will not enter into the question of political economy as to whether you should do away with direct taxation—but with the present system of taxes, when the Government boasts of having a surplus revenue, I would ask them, "How did you get it?" (Laughter, and cries of "Hear, hear.") Why, by putting your hands into my pocket. (Cheers.) And that is the real truth; they have the power to do it: they make up a surplus by such means, and then boast that they have got it. (Cheers.) It has been said, if you do away with the Corn Laws you will throw the poor land out of cultivation. (Hear, hear.) Now, to grow wheat upon poor land is a clear loss of wealth, and if you impose burdens upon the people to enable the landowners to grow wheat upon poor land, there is a sacrifice of the means to the end. (Hear, hear, hear.) Many farmers, when asked what the Corn Laws are for, say to secure them high prices,—literally and truly I was told that by an intelligent farmer the other day. Now, protection is a wheat law—it is very much lower upon barley—so much so that the price of barley has risen considerably, and I have found it to pay better than wheat. In order for land to be productive it does not follow of necessity that it should grow wheat. I could show some pasture land a short time ago worth not more than from 3s. to 5s. an acre. I gave it to a man to cultivate, and in four years it was worth £1 an acre; and the man said he could make a very good thing of it; but he added, "I never think of growing wheat; I rear cattle; and, if they would only allow the consumer the means of purchasing the wool and cattle which I produce, hang all the Corn Laws." (Cheers and laughter.) But I will give you an instance to show, if I am not taking up too much of your time, how unnecessary it is, in order to make land pay, to grow a quantity of wheat. I had a farm on my own land and the tenant was always grumbling. The fact was, I saw he was a bad farmer—that he did not like to lay out his capital; so I said to him, "You had better give it up; you shall go out at a fair valuation, and let me see what I can do with it." I had it valued; the valuation was very low, as you may be sure; and now it is as high-rated a farm as any on my estate. (Cheers.) I put capital into a man's hand, and I said, "Don't come to me for any assistance; do the best you can with it." Now, what was the consequence? That farm was valued at £2 1s. 10d. an acre. It was not the best land; some of it would not let for more than 5s. or 6s. an acre in England. It contained 263 statute acres, and the produce in 1842 was 180 tons of potatoes, 42 acres of turnips, 60 tons of seeds, and 610 quarters of grain; and out of that there was of barley 213 quarters, of oats 251 quarters, of beans 45 quarters, and of wheat 71 quarters. (Hear, hear.) Now, as regards expenses, I bought manure to the value of £195; expenses of workmen and the manager's salary, £178; making £573. Its rent, at £2 1s. 10d., amounted to about £567; and the clear profit I got from the crop was £220 4s. 8d., and on the cattle land £214, making a clear profit of £134 odd. (Cheers.) Then, taking the capital invested at £2000, and allowing five per cent. for that capital to be laid back, I still had £234 clear profit. (Hear, hear.) That was a high year. Now I will take a low year. The expenses were £615; my profits were £277; and, laying by the five per cent. as before for interest on invested capital, a clear profit of £77 on that year was still left. I say, then, that farming will answer when properly managed. That year the cattle market was materially injured by destroying the trade of Dundee with South America and the Brazils, so that I could not sell my cattle. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I think, then, I have shown you that a small portion of wheat grown on a farm is not any very great disadvantage. The only injury a farmer sustains is that, the market being destroyed for cattle, his farmyard supplies him with but a small quantity of manure to assist in growing his wheat. I asked a farmer whether if he could sell double the quantity of cattle he would keep them? He replied, "Certainly, because I should have so much manure that I should be able to grow wheat at such a price that I would defy the foreigner to bring his cattle over and compete with me." (Loud cheering.) Another farmer to whom I spoke said, "If you repeal the Corn Laws, corn will come in and ruin us." I said, "Where from?" "Oh," he replied, "I do not know;" but they had told him that all foreign countries were flooded with corn, and that you only had to go to the seashores and you could pick it up like guano on the coast of Africa. (Applause and laughter.) Now, the good the Anti-Corn-Law League do

is that they go amongst the people and convince them of the real truth of the case; and when once you convince men, though the landlord has great power over them, yet when they find out that anything is to their interest, they don't easily abandon it. (Cheers.) Now, amongst other evils, these Corn Laws do is, that they render farming such a gambling transaction. The uncertainty of the weather is quite enough for a farmer to contend with, without the prices hopping up and down in consequence of these laws. (Hear, hear.) Gambling is suppressed by act of Parliament, though I dare say you may recollect that lately some gentlemen of the turf, finding themselves in a scrape, procured an act of Parliament to protect themselves from prison, and, having some influence, they said, "If you don't help us, we'll set to work against the Art-Union, for they are illegal, and we'll have Prince Albert and the Archbishop of Canterbury's wife convicted of gambling." (Laughter.) Now, in one week, what happened to me? Wheat was sold at 45s. per quarter. I said it was quite sure to rise, because no other could come in; and I was right. The price got up—56s., 58s., 60s., 68s. My agent said we had better sell. Well, I said we will; it is a very good price for July, but I think it will rise to 70s. Well, there came a fortnight of fine weather, which frightened all the holders of corn. They let it in at 8s.; and I had my wheat on hand. I lost my chance. (Hear, hear, hear.) I mentioned this in Perth to some gentlemen, and they said they had all been bitten in the same way—that is, those who could afford to keep corn on hand; but remember how hard it is on those who were obliged to sell at 45s. This shows what a gambling affair it is. (Hear, hear.) The other day I said to a gentleman, "You were promised 56s., but you won't get your price." He gravely replied, "I don't expect it exactly, but I shall get a little less." I said, "How is it you are satisfied with 54s.?" "Oh," he answered, "we are able to produce wheat cheaper now, and if you will give us time, we will produce it at 40s." "But," I said, "my dear fellow, how should you like to go without your dinner for a long time, and then be told you would get it cheaper in the end?" (Hear, hear, hear.) Now, I am sure of one thing, and that is, that the farmers' eyes are becoming daily more open to the importance—and these last few years have contributed more to that enlightenment than any previous years—of the consumers being able to pay for what they want. I took the trouble, two years ago, to inquire into this subject; and in Dundee I found that, instead of 180 cattle per week being slaughtered, as before, there were only 70; and in the small villages where there used to be two or three, there were none. (Hear.) The consequence was, the farmers became aware that by injuring the consumer you must injure the producer. (Cheers.) Before sitting down I must just make some few observations upon a pamphlet which has been written by Mr. Cayley. (Hear.) He is, I believe, an honourable man, but my impression is that he has been deceived; the quotations he has given as from my old friend Adam Smith I am quite sure he could never have seen or he would not have used them. This pamphlet has gone forth to the world under the authority and sanction of gentlemen calling themselves a protection society, though I think they might more appropriately be called a *rent-league*. (Loud cheers.) I think you will agree with me, when I have pointed out to you some of these misstatements and incorrect quotations, that it is a shameful thing men should seek to delude those who depend on them by such fallacies as are therein contained. He says: "The largest body of producers—the customers of farmers and the labourers—are the great support of the inland trade of the country." Now, it is quite clear that the farmers are not; the great masses congregating in the manufacturing towns, they are the great consumers. Then he states that "the agricultural labourers are at the same time the producers and the largest consumers of their own produce." If they are the largest consumers of their own produce, how are they benefited by paying so large a price for it? Here is a curious thing: he says: "To use the words of an authority much quoted upon this subject, Mr. Adam Smith, whatever tends to keep down the price of labour below what it would otherwise rise to, keeps down the revenue of the great body of the people more than it reduces that of the land." When I read that "keeps down the price of labour" I thought it wonderful that there should be such a statement in Adam Smith. What he really says is "whatever keeps down labour" not "price" at all. (Cheers.) Is it not too bad to assert things of this sort. (Cheers.) This led me to look a little further, and, strange enough, I find he goes on to state that "the whole annual produce of the land and labour of every country are divided into three parts, constituting the revenue of three separate orders—those who lived on the rent of the land—those who lived on the wages of labour—and those who lived upon the profits of stock. The interest of the first of these three great orders is strictly and inseparably connected with the general interests of the society. Whatever either promotes or obstructs the one, necessarily promotes or obstructs the other." And he is quite right, but then the quotation stopped. If the writer had read on a little further he would have found that Adam Smith said—"When the public deliberate concerning any regulation of commerce or police, the proprietors of land never can mislead it with a view to promote the interest of their own particular order, at least if they have any tolerable knowledge of that interest"—a knowledge in which they were too often defective. (Hear, hear.) "They are the only one of the three orders whose revenue costs them neither labour nor care, but comes to them as it were of its own accord, and independent of any plan or project of their own. That indolence which is the natural result of the ease and security of their situation renders them too often not only ignorant but incapable of that application of mind which is necessary in order to foresee and understand the consequences of any public regulation." (Loud cheers.) Here he stops short, and leaves the rest to be inferred. If I am not tiring you too much I will go on with the second order: "The interest of the third order has not the same connexion with the general interest of the society as that of the other two. Merchants and master manufacturers are in this order." Would you not suppose that meant that those were the only ones? Instead of that Adam Smith says that, "The merchants and master manufacturers are of that order, those who, perhaps, employ the largest amount of capital." He again imputes to Adam Smith "that it will be generally advantageous to lay some burden upon foreign for the protection of domestic industry." I thought it would be odd if I could find that

in Adam Smith. What he says, is that "there seems to be two cases in which it may be generally advantageous." Mr. Cayley says it will be generally advantageous, leaving out the two cases; and that is the difference. (Hear, hear.) One of the cases mentioned by Adam Smith referred to the navigation laws; and the other was, where an article being taxed at home, it became fair also to propose a tax upon the same article coming from any other country. (Cheers.) I could show you that every quotation Mr. Cayley has made from Adam Smith is incorrect: and yet this pamphlet has gone forth with the sanction of the Protection Society, and of that party who are mainly instrumental in maintaining restrictive laws in this country. I have myself also heard it approved of by a leading protectionist in the House of Lords. (Hear, hear.) I firmly believe, and I am satisfied, that if it had not been for them the Prime Minister of this country was quite prepared, as we say "to go the whole hog" with Free Trade. (Cheers and laughter.) But he has masters who tell him that they have placed him where he is, and that if he does not do their bidding they will turn him out. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I really must apologise for having detained you so long, and I most heartily thank you for the kindness with which you have listened to me. The noble chairman retired from the front of the stage amidst loud and protracted cheering; again advancing he said, my friend Mr. Ricardo will now address you. (Cheers.)

Mr. Ricardo, M.P., on coming forward was greeted with loud plaudits from all parts of the theatre. He said:—I am well aware how ill qualified I am to supply the place of your old and faithful friend, Mr. Cobden (cheers); a gentleman who has done so much for the cause—who has always something new to say upon it, and who will never desert it so long as it requires his assistance. (Great cheering.) I recollect an old story in which it was told how certain philosophers entered into a controversy with respect to the position of a certain building. After having expended a great deal of ingenuity of argument upon the subject, some individual suggested whether it would not be advisable to go and look at the building. (A laugh.) Now, I have heard a great deal said about the question of Free Trade in this country, and I have been told that insensibly the agitation was dying away. The answer I give to all those who are of that opinion is, to come and see. (Loud cheers.) I think the League, when it first began its agitation, told you not to be led away by any dogma of one party or of the other party—not to listen to the dictum of this philosopher or of that philosopher; but to come here, and hear with your own ears, and see with your own eyes, and judge with your own judgment, whether you are not suffering under a horrible injustice, and whether you ought not to do something to get rid of it? (Hear, hear.) And certainly it is most remarkable that this injustice is not removed, when it is considered that the League has been able to open what was before a sealed book, except to a very few in this country—when they have made thousands and hundreds of thousands of political economists, and that not by exaggeration, not by appealing to your passions, but by coolly and deliberately showing you the facts of the case, and by asking you to give your opinion upon them. (Loud cheers.) I think he must be a bold man indeed who would come here to endeavour to add anything to the convictions which the League has given to you—to endeavour to put in a different point of view those arguments which have never been refuted, or to support an injustice which it was never attempted to justify. (Cheers.) And certainly, my lord, that is not my intention to-night. I come here—and I don't mean to mince matters—disgusted and despairing of success in that place where I have endeavoured to support your cause; I come here to appeal from the oppressor to the oppressed—from the lawmakers to those who are the victims of the law. (Great cheering.) Certainly, indeed, I have heard very good political economy there upon some occasions. I heard very sound doctrines of political economy there with respect to corks (a laugh); and I was surprised at the unanimity with which those doctrines were met. (Hear, hear.) On looking round, however, I saw no corkcutters in the House. (Cheers and laughter.) So also I heard good sound doctrines with respect to straw plait; but there were no straw-plait weavers behind the Treasury benches. (Renewed cheers and laughter.) And, the other night, I was surprised to hear how well received was the doctrine of free trade in currants; only I recollected that in all my travels on all the railways about this country, I never came across a currant plantation. (Laughter.) Now, this marks to me that you may dig in the holes of poor unfortunate corkcutters and straw-plait weavers, that you may pull down their little nest of monopoly; but, touch one straw of the hive of the great monopolies, up come all the drones that have been fattening, (a burst of applause here interrupted the hon. member, which, having subsided, he continued)—up come all the drones that have been fattening upon the honey which of right belongs to you; and if their sting were as bad as their "buzz," we should be in a poor way indeed. (Cheers, and great laughter.) Now, it may be well to trace exactly how we have been treated in that House. I recollect when my hon. friend Mr. Villiers first brought forward this question, the only argument with which he was met was that of hooting, and babbling, and so forth. (Cheers.) But, as public opinion obtained in this country, and they found they were obliged to give some answer, they came down from their lofty position, and talked about vested interests; and as the question became more talked of, they began to argue; but day by day we beat them from one position to another until they had not a leg to stand upon; and, as extremes meet, they are now obliged to fall back on their old original position, and they have now nothing to talk of but vested interests. (Cheers.) Our noble chairman well exposed these vested interests; but perhaps I may be excused if I examine for an instant what they really consist of. In my idea, a vested interest is the taking by somebody of something which does not belong to him (laughter); it is purloining some property, and asserting you have a right to it because you purloined it a long time ago. (Immense cheering.) Now, I dare say, there are a great many here who have been in France, and they will recollect that, in that country, there are none of that class of people whom we term "the regular dustmen." (Laughter.) The people, therefore, are in the habit of throwing their ashes and other rubbish in the front of their houses, and there are certain people called *chiffonniers*, who rake up these ashes, and pick up the little bits of paper and whatever may be useful to them,

In fact, they obtained a livelihood by so doing. You may recollect that, at the time of the cholera, the Government of France thought these heaps of stuff caused the disease to spread, and endeavoured to have them carried away. Oh! then they touched the vested interests of the *chiffonniers*! Up started the *chiffonniers*, and they would hear no reason; they had vested interests in the heaps of mud, and positively the Government, being afraid of a riot, were obliged to leave them there, and there they are to this day. (Immense cheering and laughter.) The same thing happened in Madrid. There it is customary to carry water into the city from a considerable distance. It was once proposed to build an aqueduct, but the carriers of water found their vested interests touched. Nobody had a right to buy water except of them. They had a vested interest in water, and nobody should have any interest in it of them at a dear price. (Cheers.) Now, I say, absurd and ridiculous as these instances of vested interests are, they are neither so absurd nor so wicked, nor so mischievous as the vested interests which the landowners have in this country. (Cheers.) What was the origin of this vested interest? It was a dreary and long war; not the least notorious of its effects was the high price it caused of all the necessities of life. (Cheers.) A great war, though a curse to the people of this country, was a profit and a benefit to the landowners, and it taught them when, at a great sacrifice, that war was ended, to come down to the House of Commons, and by the help of those bayonets which conquered their enemies they passed a law to continue artificial scarcity, and to rob this country of one of the greatest blessings that peace can confer. (Cheers.) But they have a vested interest in scarcity. (Cheers.) Whilst the people of this country have a vested interest in plenty—a vested interest which is founded upon a far higher law than was ever passed in Parliament—a law which said that the goods of this world should be scattered about, not for the benefit of the inhabitants of any particular spot where any particular article is found, but that the inhabitants of all parts, by mutually exchanging that of which they have a superfluity for that of which they have a scarcity, shall enjoy a fair share of the blessings which it has pleased God to bestow upon this world. (Cheers.) And I say, is it not wonderful, when we know these things, when we cannot help knowing them—when there is not a tradesman, not a manufacturer, not a farmer, not a landowner, not a labourer, but these things must stare him in the face—is it not wonderful, I ask, that the people of this country remain quiet when they see the rights of labour trampled on—when they regard the distresses of the population, thousands and hundreds of thousands of their fellow-creatures starving in workhouses—when it has been said by one of the protective party (and I would not for the world be the man who could have the insolence to say such a thing), that there were millions rejoicing on oatmeal and potatoes; and when, in answer to this, a Cabinet Minister tells us that there are two millions and a quarter of quarters of corn rotting in the warehouses of America, and that he should consider it a misfortune for it to come here (applause); two millions and a quarter of quarters of corn rotting in the United States; millions of quarters rotting in the Ukraine and Pultawa! And is it said that to exchange that corn which we want for the goods which they want would be a great national misfortune? (Hear.) When they say these things openly can they consider the consequences? Can they not think it may be just possible that, while they consider they are building fortifications by iron laws round their property, they may be creating enemies to that property itself? (Cheers.) Let them recollect what was said—not by a Leaguer—not by any man in this place—but by a servant of the Government, that the people of this country have no objection to any man keeping his property; but if he tells us that his property has some peculiar attribute which enables him to take some of ours from us, which we have only earned by the labour of our hands, then it is just possible that we may begin to think that there is some anomaly and injustice in it which we may fairly endeavour to up-set and destroy. (Cheers.) These are things which I don't like to say, only I am driven to it by the way in which we are treated. (Hear, hear.) I shall only detain you a very short time longer; but before I leave off I must implore you to help us, for you, and you only, can assist us. We can insert the nail, but you must wield the hammer to drive it home. (Loud cheers.) I think it is of no use now attempting to bring fresh Free-Traders into Parliament. If we had 20 or 30, or even 40, they would be of no use to us; but there will be another election, and I say that you ought, each man in the position he holds in life, to do his utmost in support of the great principles of Free Trade. (Cheers.) Your forefathers before you gained you civil and religious liberty; they gained you that at the point of the sword, and risked their lives and properties for it. I don't ask you to make such sacrifices for it; but as they bequeathed that as a legacy to you, you should remember that there is another boon which you may bequeath as a legacy to your sons, and that is—commercial freedom. (Great applause.) If you do that, I am quite convinced there is not one amongst you who will regret any sacrifice of time or money that he may make; and think, that your names may be written in the annals of your country, that your sons, and your sons' sons may point to them with conscious pride, and say, "Those are the men that emancipated the commerce of England." The honourable member resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic cheering, which lasted for some time; when it had somewhat subsided,

The Noble CHAIRMAN again came forward, and introducing Mr. SOMERS, said, I have now the pleasure of presenting to you Mr. James Somers, an excellent tenant-farmer from Somersetshire.

Mr. SOMERS then came forward amidst great applause, and said—My lord, ladies, and gentlemen, I believe that I am justified in saying that I am now beholding a scene such as I never before beheld; and I feel also that I am now called upon to perform a task and a duty such as I have never yet performed. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, duty is a sense of that which predominates over all other considerations, and which has brought me before you this evening. (Cheers.) The task, I feel, is too much for such a humble individual as I am to undertake, but I do hope and trust, from the kind feeling that I have seen evinced since I have been in the presence of this magnificent audience, that I shall receive that kindness and sympathy which are due to an individual holding such a position in life as myself and appearing under

such peculiar circumstances. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, I am a person possessing but very little information, and less capability of communicating it to you. I had the pleasure of being present at Exeter Hall this day, and the impression on my mind, and the inquiry which I put to myself when a gentleman rose to address the meeting, was this: I was desirous of knowing who he was, and what he was; and therefore I am led to believe that a kindred desire exists amongst the audience I am now addressing. I would remind you that I am one among that class of society called the tenant-farmers. (Cheers.) When I use the term "farmers," I must enter somewhat more into detail, for, in the county of Somerset—I do not know whether it is peculiar or different in this respect from other counties—there are various classes of farmers. For example: I remember some years since attending a sale of farming-stock in the neighbouring county of Dorset. I understood that it was the stock of a farmer, but I found that he was also a land-agent; he had, a few years previously, been called in that capacity to value the land of which he was then the occupier. He gave in his valuation at a fair moderate rent—a rent with which a farmer might venture to expend his capital, and anticipate that it would afford him a due compensation for his skill and outlay. But the fact was that no such tenant was forthcoming, and the result was that the land-agent became the occupier of this farm. It seems that a period of two or three years elapsed, which was quite sufficient to convince him that it answered his purpose much better to value land than to occupy it himself. (Laughter and cheers.) I mention this to show you that farmers of this sort are not the characters that are likely to appear on this platform for the purpose of advocating the principles of Free Trade. Short leases and frequent changes of tenancy suit them best,—not long leases and fixed tenure. I beg, then, to observe that I am not one of that class of farmers. (Cheers.) Again, a few years since, my nearest neighbour, who was a lawyer, and also an agent for several noblemen, occupied a few acres of land of his own. We often had a friendly chat together, and sometimes, of course, the conversation turned upon the profits of the farming business. He observed that, as far as his profits were concerned, "it would be poor Farmer So and So" (I do not mention the name), "were it not for Lawyer So and So." (Laughter.) Gentlemen, it is not my good fortune to be among that class. (Renewed laughter.) Again, in the county of Somerset there are many farmers who are termed tenants-at-will. We are to understand by this, if I mistake not, that they are tenants who, when they have to exercise their franchise, and are called upon to vote for members of Parliament, generally make choice of those gentlemen whom their landlords have selected; it so happens that that is the case (hear, hear), and these do not form the exception, but I think the majority of farmers in the county of Somerset do. I am happy to say that it is not my lot to belong to that class. (Loud cheers.) There is another class of farmers to whom I will call your attention; that is, to those who are the possessors and occupiers of landed estates. I am sorry to say it is not my lot to belong to them. (Laughter.) But even were it the case I should have no objection to appear on the present occasion. But still there is another class of farmers to which I would beg leave, if it be not too troublesome to you to listen to me (cries of "No, no")—I am sorry to say there is but a poor crop, of the description which I am now about to mention—and that is those who take out a licence to think for themselves, and act upon the dictates of their own minds. (Loud cheers.) Now, it affords me much pleasure to be able to tell you that I claim for myself to belong to that class. (Renewed cheers.) I feel it an honour to be amongst them; and, if called upon to give my vote for a member of Parliament, it is not a question with me who my landlord or landlady may have selected: I think for myself, looking to measures and not to men; and not only so, but when I am called to exercise my influence, however small it may be—and I am told that every man has some little influence in reference to any public question—the question to me I trust is, and always will be, not what suits my individual interest, but what will tend to the advantage and welfare of the millions of this country. (Loud cheers.) I envy not the man, let him be who he may or what he may, who is opposed to such principles as these. Having expressed to you in the best manner I can what the class of farmers is to which I belong, it becomes me now to state to you what my feelings are in reference to Free Trade. I will relate to you a conversation I had with a magistrate in our county some little time since, whilst discharging my duty as a member of the board of guardians of the Bridgewater Union:—He said, "Somers, what are your sentiments in reference to Free Trade?" I said, "Well, if you ask me for my opinion, I will give it you candidly: I am for Free Trade in everything all over the world. (Immense cheering.) Still," I observed, "I know but little of foreign countries; but I have never yet heard that there is any land which will spontaneously produce three or four crops of grain a year; if there be such a country as this, that is the one upon which I would fix a duty to prevent it from importing, because I think we cannot compete with a country of that sort." (Cheers.) What I mean is a soil that will produce three or four crops of corn without the expense of additional seed and labour connected with its produce. This was the observation I made to that gentleman in reference to Free Trade. I am one of those who do not make assertions, and give my opinion upon any subject, merely in the manner in which farmers do in general, by saying, "I think so, because I do think so." I always feel it my duty to give a reason why I say so and so and think this or that. If, then, I am called upon to assign a reason why I support Free Trade, I say, in the first place, that I am told that at present, and for some time past, large quantities of the necessities of life have been subjected to restriction; not because there is no consumption for them, but that, while there are thousands who are craving for them, there exists at the same time a law preventing these necessities of life from being brought into this country, whereby the people would have their wants supplied. For this reason I think the Corn Law a most iniquitous system. (Hear, hear.) It is a question with me whether the farmers—the men who support such a system—are not themselves held in a bondage of a far worse description. Again, ladies and gentlemen, I advocate the principles of Free Trade under a conviction that it will tend to advance the prosperity and welfare of the industrious classes of the community. (Cheers.) I perfectly agree with Earl Spencer, when he said he believed that Free Trade would in-

crease the quantity of labour, and consequently augment wages in agricultural districts (hear); affording the labouring classes a better opportunity of supporting themselves with a greater degree of comfort than they now possess under the present system of restriction. (Cheers.) The doctrine which the agriculturists in the county of Somerset generally put forth is this—that the farmers are a body of such importance that if they stop all other classes must stand still also; that is, if farmers are not in a prosperous state, no other class of the community will be. (Laughter.) But, gentlemen, I am one of those persons who cannot see the importance of farmers in this light; I do not believe that the agricultural part of the community are of that consequence which some people suppose them to be. My impression is this, that if farmers stop it is because all other classes have failed previously. I believe that farmers and manufacturers are united, like links in a chain. Farmers, if I may so speak, resemble animals in the plough, who are chained together; but I regard the manufacturers as the fore horse (loud cheers); and if the fore horse stops, it is more than likely that the hinder horses must stop also. What is it which now checks the farmers? Is it not that there is an insufficient consumption of the produce of their land? Will they refuse to produce beef, mutton, bread, and other necessities of life, so long as they can find a market for them? And what is the reason they do not possess that market to the extent in which they ought to do? Because the labouring classes have not their full employment at remunerating wages. (Loud cheers.) The order of the day, I believe, among protectionists, is a cry for protection. Ah! that is a word which harmonizes only in strict accordance with the situation, the wishes, and the wants of the great majority of the community. The infallible standard of Divine Truth tells us that "a tree is known by its fruits." (Hear, hear.) You know that a tree must be planted, take root, and vegetate, before it can produce fruit. Is not this the case as regards the protection of which they talk? Have we not had experience of it year after year; and what is the fruit which it has produced? I know not what may be the condition of the manufacturers, but of this I am persuaded, that, if they were in a flourishing state, we should not find them expending their capital and strength in agitating the question of Free Trade. (Hear.) I know but little of the state of the artisan; but of this I am convinced, that if it be true with reference to that class, as I was lately informed by a magistrate of the county of Somerset, that the artisans were far behind the agricultural labourers, both as regards education and the blessings of Providence (loud laughter, and cries of "Oh! oh!"),—and I have no reason to suppose for a moment that the gentleman would have stated to me a falsehood, although I believe he was labouring under a grand mistake,—if this be the case, I am satisfied, and I am sure you will be so presently when I come to the case of the agricultural labourer, that, the artisan's present state and condition would be by no means an enviable one. (Hear.) What can agriculturists say with regard to this protection which we hear so much about? Are they in a flourishing condition, and satisfied with their present state? Do we hear no murmurings and complainings among them? If there are no complaints in other parts of the country I can testify that there are in Somersetshire (hear), where the farmers are continually complaining of the times. It is true as regards the occupiers of the soil there; and although what I say may reach their ears, yet I will venture to declare my opinion, and to express my conviction, that they are convinced of the truth of what I am now stating, that their present state is a very melancholy one, for they are bordering upon insolvency. (Hear, hear.) How, therefore, can they boast of the value of this protection of which they talk so much. We will come now to its influence upon the condition of the agricultural labourers. It is said that they would be injured if we had free trade in corn. Ladies and gentlemen, is such a thing possible? It cannot be so. You will instantly perceive this when I remind you that the average wages of agricultural labourers in the county of Somerset, taking one season of the year with another, does not exceed 9s. per week. If we allow 1s. for rent, which is much below the sum actually paid in most instances, that would leave 8s. a week for the support of a man, his wife, and four children, being at the rate of 16d. for each individual per week to find them in food, raiment, fuel, and all other necessities. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, whether it is not extreme hypocrisy to say that it is possible to injure these agricultural labourers or lower their condition? (Hear, hear.) Reduce them to pauperism!—it cannot be. I have been a guardian in the Bridgewater Union from the commencement of the present law, and I can state to you that the average expense of supporting the inmates of that house has not been less than 2s. 4d. per head per week; and I would remind you that we have the advantage of going to the wholesale market and purchasing at the cheapest rate; at the same time we find that the expense is 2s. 4d. a head, while those who are so highly favoured and protected by the Corn Laws have only three-fifths of that amount to support them. Taking into consideration the nature of the labour—tugging and toiling upon the land throughout the day—I appeal to any man of common sense and humanity, whether they do not require a larger amount of subsistence to support them than those who are confined in houses. (Cheers.) I think it is impossible to show that the farm-labourers are receiving any benefit from the present system of protection. All classes are complaining, and not without reason. It is true, the majority of farmers in the county of Somerset at the present time are opposed to the repeal of the Corn Laws. Why are they so? They are told that corn would be brought in from foreign parts to such an extent that its price would be much lower than it is at the present time, and therefore that they would be altogether ruined. Some of them look, as it were, with suspicion upon manufacturers, because they agitate for a free trade in corn. They think, and some of them say, that the manufacturer wishes cheap bread in order to keep down wages. Can there be a greater insult offered to common sense than this? (Loud cheers.) Is it not well known to every thinking man that wages are a marketable commodity, just like bread or other things? (Hear.) The price of wages does not depend upon the price of bread; the demand for labour regulates its value. Again; some of them say that they believe the manufacturers wish to destroy and lower the price of land in order that they may afterwards invest their immense capitals in it. Such arguments I consider as more characteristic of the inmates

of a lunatic asylum than rational beings. (Loud cheers.) If manufacturers, by the application of their skill, capital, and industry, have, as Lord Radnor, if I mistake not, stated, for some years past fed and clothed the surplus population of the land; if they have enabled the agriculturist and others to go to the draper's shop and purchase the articles they require at a much less price than they were in the habit of paying; if they have enabled them to go to the ironmonger's for the hardware which they would require and purchase at a lower price, it is a mark of base ingratitude on the part of the agriculturists if they do not respect, co-operate with, and look upon the manufacturers as their best friends,—as the safeguard and main spring of the country,—as those to whom alone they may look for protection. (Loud cheers.) Yes, my lord, as a farmer I declare, that if I look for protection anywhere it is not to the gentlemen who assemble in the House yonder; I believe I should in vain expect it there; I would rather turn to the men who exercise skill, capital, industry, and intelligence, and who expend their wealth in employing the great mass of the labouring class (cheers); giving them wages whereby they can purchase the necessities of life. Let the manufacturer prosper, and then the farmer will have nothing to fear. (Renewed cheering.) Let the artisans have their full employment, and then we shall have no reason to complain of a want of markets for our beef, mutton, bread, and so forth. If "times be dead," as we say, it is not because there are no consumers, but because they have not the means of consuming; it is because we have these restrictive laws preventing the extension of trade and commerce. As far as the principle of Free Trade is concerned, I am persuaded that there cannot be a stronger argument to convince us of the propriety of advocating them than that of the duty upon wool. I believe it is only a few years since a large portion of the duty was taken off that article. Previous to that time, before this alteration was introduced, when it was only in contemplation, a great opposition was raised against the change; and it was said that the result would be total destruction to the wool-grower. But what has been the result? The fact is, that amongst all the articles which the farmers have to take to market, he has had nothing which has fetched a better price upon an average than that of wool. If this has been the case—and it cannot be denied—why then do not the same arguments apply as regards corn? I have no doubt but that the same result would follow with reference to that article. As a tenant farmer, therefore, I fear not the result of Free Trade. (Hear, hear.) Neither do I expect that the present Corn Law will tend to improve the state of tenant-farmers: they must take care for themselves. But there is a large class of the community who have nothing to look to but their physical powers and intellectual skill to enable them to furnish themselves with the necessities of life. (Hear, hear, hear.) This class forms a very large portion of the community; and seeing that they are in a most distressed state, surely they ought to receive our warm sympathies. They are here, and must be supported; and the question is, whether it is not more prudent to extend commerce and trade, and thus enable them to support themselves in independence; whether it would not be to the profit and credit of those in power to endeavour to benefit them in this way in preference to maintaining them in the union house? The union house with which I am connected has been so full during the past winter that we have been obliged to rent a place for the accommodation of the paupers, not having sufficient room in the workhouse itself. It is also a fact that we have a surplus quantity of labour; there are more hands than we can employ; we must, then, advocate and agitate for Free Trade, and thus enlarge our trade and commerce; by such means the manufacturer will continue to drain off your surplus population, and we shall go on prosperously. (Loud cheers.) If I mistake not, the time is rapidly approaching when the question of Free Trade will again be agitated in the Commons House of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) I have no doubt as to what the result of the motion upon that subject will be. The opponents of Free Trade will once more shout "victory." They may boast also of the number of petitions which have been presented in favour of monopoly, and endeavour to convince those who are friendly to Free Trade that they have not the people with them (laughter); but if that House places much confidence in the petitions which have been presented in support of the Corn Laws, I think it shows a great extent, indeed, of weakness and delusion. Perhaps it may not be amiss if I describe to you the manner in which some of these petitions have been got up. If I were permitted, I could prove to the honourable gentlemen who compose the House of Commons that such petitions are utterly unworthy of their notice. To my knowledge petitions have been brought into villages, and placed in the hands of some farmer who has announced that a pint of cider would be given to every man who came and signed them. (Cheers and laughter.) Perhaps you may not be aware, ladies and gentlemen, that this cider, which is an intoxicating drink, is the common beverage of, and is well liked by, the labouring classes of the county of Somerset. Such are the some of means which have been adopted for getting signatures to protection petitions. Sometimes, too, when the labourer thus presents himself for the purpose of taking the pint of cider, and signing the petition, he probably has a child—perhaps three or four—with him, whose names are also added to the list. (Hear, hear, hear.) Not merely children unable to read for themselves, but children who may be actually at the time at their mother's breast, have their names, nevertheless, appended to the petition. ("Hear, hear," and cries of "Shame.") This, ladies and gentlemen, is the kind of strength of which the opponents of Free Trade in the House of Commons boast themselves, and upon which they rely for the perpetuation of that system of Monopoly and restrictive duties which they have so long countenanced. (Hear.) From the village in which I live—Otheny, in Somersetshire—it may seem somewhat inconsistent, but it is nevertheless a fact,—we forwarded a petition to the House of Parliament, about twelve months back, praying for Free Trade in corn and all other articles. (Hear, hear.) By way of contrast to the former, I will inform you how that petition was got up. It was not, I assure you, by the plan to which I have just alluded, that of giving a man a cup of cider for his signature—(laughter)—no; we announced publicly that a meeting would be held in a certain spot; the most convenient place for the purpose being

a chapel, which is in the village, we availed ourselves of, considering it would be no desecration of the building had it even been the parish church itself. (Cheers.) The stated period arrived, and the occupiers of land, together with the agricultural labourers, attended. I told the audience as much as I know upon the subject,—that they were well aware that agriculture was in a most depressed state, and that the labourers were worse off than any other class, or than ever they were; that if we wanted real protection we must look for it to the manufacturers, who employ so many labourers, giving them wages sufficient to procure the necessities of life; that such being the case, as far as I was concerned, I felt it my duty to sign a petition to Parliament in favour of free trade in corn, in order that trade and commerce might be extended. (Cheers.) The result was that a majority of the occupiers then assembled, comprising the greater part of the parish, immediately signed such petition. Not an individual among the labouring classes was allowed to put his signature to it; but it was signed solely by a majority of the occupiers and small proprietors of land of the parish in which I reside. This I am persuaded was a more straightforward and honourable mode of dealing than that adopted by the Protectionists of holding hole-and-corner meetings. An assembly of this latter description—or "protection meetings," as they call them—was lately held at Bridgewater. My friends and neighbours inquired of its conductors whether the question of the Corn Law would be allowed to be discussed, and whether parties opposed to that measure would be permitted to be heard? The reply was, "Oh, no, we want no Leaguers." When it comes to this, that a question will not bear inspection, it shows, in my opinion, the badness and weakness of the system. (Cheers.) As a proof of this dread of investigation, it is only necessary to notice that when the hon. member for Stockport, who is now present, moved for a committee of inquiry into the working of the present system of the Corn Laws, such an inquiry was not allowed by the House of Commons. Is not this another convincing proof that the system is a bad one, and will not bear the test of inspection? Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, although the friends of protection may once more shout victory in the House of Commons, I am convinced that their triumph is but temporary, and that the day will speedily arrive when the principles of Free Trade will be fully adopted in this country to its manifest advantage, welfare, and prosperity. (Loud cheers.) I am firmly convinced that the predominance of monopoly will be brief, for we are told in Scripture that the triumph of the wicked will be short in duration. My lord, ladies and gentlemen, it is now late in the evening, and I know you are anxious to hear the hon. gentleman who is to follow me, and who knows more of the subject and can speak with far greater eloquence upon it than I can. I will not, therefore, trespass longer upon your time further than to thank you for your kindness in having paid attention to an individual so humble as myself. I only wish I was capable of addressing you in a more able manner. I am firmly convinced that the principle of Free Trade is a principle of common sense and sound judgment, and which must be for the welfare of the community; and therefore the sooner it is carried into effect the better. (Mr. Somers resumed his seat amidst loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then announced that Mr. Cobden would address the meeting.

Mr. COBDEN upon coming forward was received with the most enthusiastic applause, cheering and waving of hats and handkerchiefs, which rendered it impossible for him to proceed for some considerable time. Silence having been restored the hon. gentleman proceeded:—My lord, ladies and gentlemen, fortunately for me, the phenologists, who have examined my head, tell me that I have neither the organ of self-esteem nor love of approbation: if I had, I am sure you would spoil me. (Laughter.) At this late hour of the meeting I should not have intruded myself at all upon you were it not for a consciousness of the duty we owe to our visitor to-night: the noble lord who has so kindly consented to fill the chair upon the present occasion (cheers), who has had the nobility and courage of nature to be the second individual who has come forth from his order to preside at our meeting, and who has furnished us with so many additional arguments calculated to cheer us on in the pursuit of our great cause. (Hear, hear.) Had it not been for the duty we owe to his lordship and to the gentleman who has just sat down, who is an occupier of land, and who I may tell you holds the situation of acting chairman of the board of guardians of the Bridgewater Union—if it had not been, I say, for the purpose of paying a tribute to this noble lord and the Somersetshire farmer, I am sure I should not have trespassed upon your time at this late hour of the evening. (Loud cries of "Go on, go on.") We have here again another answer to his Grace of Richmond, who stated in the House of Peers that the farmer to a man are with the Monopolists. I tell the noble duke, "Well, you have not yet answered the speeches of Messrs. Hunt and Lattimore, and now are you willing to reply to that of Mr. Somers?" (Hear, hear.) We will call upon his grace to notice these men, and to say whether, in the counties of Gloucester, Hertford, and Somerset, from whence these three farmers severally came, there can be found more unexceptionable witnesses, in point of talent, character, morality, and fitness in every respect; whether there could have been better witnesses brought from the counties I have named than those gentlemen. (Cheers.) These are not the description of men the Protectionists put forward at their meetings as "farmers;" their *farmers* generally consist of lawyers, land-valuers, and auctioneers—mere toadies and creatures of the landlords. (Hear, hear.) They are men who stand towards the real farmers in a far worse relation than the landlord himself; for they do the dirty work, to the tenant which the landlord personally would scorn to do. I will tell what kind of people the land-valuers and auctioneers are. I was once travelling in Scotland upon the banks of a loch, between Taymouth and Killen. A Highlander rode with me in the car who was a firm believer in witches and ghosts. (Laughter.) He said his father had seen many of these ghosts, and he himself had seen some; that they were exceedingly mischievous, for they actually put stumbling-blocks in the way of people going home on a dark night, and often bewitched the cattle; "in fact," said he, reasoning the matter out, "I believe they are worse than the Evil One that sends them." (Laughter.) Just, you see, as the factor over there," pointing in the direction of the marquis's factor or land-agent's mansion, "just as the factor there is *waur than the laird*." (Laughter.) Now, we

do not bring these land-valuers and auctioneers. Mind you, the talking men in the farming districts generally are these auctioneers and land-agents. We have not too wide a choice among farmers who are Free-Tradists, and who can speak at public meetings like this; but this I can tell you from my own experience, in every county of the kingdom, wherever you find a man of original thought and independent mind, and who has where-withal [here Mr. Cobden placed his hand on his pocket] to make him independent, and enable him to stand erect in the world, that man is almost invariably in favour of Free Trade. (Cheers.) But, upon the general argument of Free Trade, what am I to say to you, ladies and gentlemen, you being all agreed on the subject? I can only congratulate you that during this present week we have not been without evidence of progress in high quarters in our question. We have had a budget—I cannot say it is a Free-Trade one, because, when we Leaguers get into power, we will bring forward a much better budget than that. ("Hear," and laughter.) But still there were some little things done in the budget on Monday night, and every thing that was done was in the direction of Free Trade. What have the Duke of Richmond and the Protection Society been about? Why, I thought they had organised themselves and assembled in his grace's parlour, and declared that their Prime Minister had gone so far that he now should go no further. But, it is quite clear to me that the Prime Minister does not dread those carpet-knights much who sit in the drawing-room of his grace; he is not very much alarmed at their chivalry. I think he has a great deal more reliance upon us than dread of them. (Hear.) There is one thing done by the present Government which has been well done, because it was *totally and immediately* done—I mean their abolition of the protection upon wool. Twenty-five years ago there was an uprising of all the Knatchbulls, Buckinghams, and Richmonds of that day, who said, we insist on having a 6d. duty laid on foreign wool to protect our own growth. They obtained what they asked. Five years afterwards Mr. Huskisson said he had been informed by the Leeds manufacturers that if that duty was not greatly altered, and almost taken off, all the woollen manufactures might be lost, and then the English farmers would have no market for their wool at all. By dint of great management and eloquence on his part, Mr. Huskisson was enabled to take off at that time, 5d. of the 6d. which had been laid on. And, during the past week we have got rid of the other 1d. When it was proposed to take off this duty, the agriculturists—I mean the Knatchbulls and Buckinghams of the day—declared (I have often quoted from their pamphlets upon that subject before), that if the duty was repealed there would be no more shepherds employed, but that they would all go to the workhouse; that there would be no mutton in the land, and that all the shepherds' dogs might be hanged. (Cheers and laughter.) Why, if you had heard them talk in those days you would have thought the poor sheep, instead of carrying merely its own wardrobe on its back, bore the entire wealth and prosperity of the whole nation. Now they are going to carry on the trade of sheep-rearing and wool-selling without any protection. Why should they not conduct the business of raising and selling corn upon the same principle? (Cheers.) If it is unreasonable to "totally and immediately" abolish the duty on corn, why has their own Prime Minister and Government "totally and immediately" abolished the protection on wool? We find encouragement and good argument in favour of our principles by every step that is taken, even by our professed opponents. Take the article of coffee; that matter is not entirely but it is half done. The duties on coffee formerly were—indeed, at this moment, are—1d. per lb. duty on colonial, and 8d. per lb. on foreign. That meant just 6d. per lb. monopoly to the colonial growers, because they were thereby enabled to sell their coffee at just 1d. more than they otherwise would have done. Sir Robert Peel has reduced the duty on foreign coffee, but not on colonial, leaving the latter with 2d. per lb. less protection than it formerly had. I cannot say that is *rightly* done, but it is *half* done, and we will have *the other half* by and by. (Cheers.) Now, the next matter is sugar. Ladies, you cannot make your coffee without you have sugar; at least, with all your most honeyed smiles you cannot make it sweet. (Laughter.) Now, we are in a little difficulty about this sugar; for there are *scruples of conscience* which have come over the Government of this country. They cannot take foreign sugar, because it is tainted with slavery. Gentlemen, I am going to let out a secret. There is a secret correspondence going on between the Government of this country and that of Brazil to this effect. You know that statesmen sometimes write private letters and instructions to their agents, which are not published till about 100 years after they are written, when they become curiosities. I will just give you one that will be published 100 years hence respecting our Government and the Brazils. The present Ministry turned out the late Administration on the question of sugar. Lord Sandon, when he moved an amendment to the Whig proposition to allow foreign sugar, rested his argument on the ground that it was very impious to consume slave-grown sugar. But he said nothing about coffee; the rest I will explain in the words of the supposed secret letter from our Government to their ambassador in Brazil:—"Inform the Brazilian Government that we stand pledged to the country, as regards this article of sugar, and, when we bring in our budget, we shall be obliged to tell the people of England, who are very glibly, and who will believe anything we tell them from our place in the House of Commons, that it will be very improper to encourage slavery and the slave trade by taking Brazilian sugar; but, to convince the Brazilian Government that we do not mean to do them any harm in this matter, we will preface our remarks about sugar by a declaration that we will admit their coffee at 2d. per lb. reduction on the former duty; and as four out of five of the slaves who are employed in Brazil are engaged in the coffee plantations, and as three-fifths of all the exports from the Brazils are coffee, and as sugar forms comparatively an insignificant item in their production and exports (of all which the people of England are profoundly ignorant,) this will convince them that we do not mean any injury to the Brazilian planters, and that we are not in earnest when we propose to stop the slave trade; we are simply bound to exclude the sugar by the exigencies of our party and our peculiar position. But tell them, at the same time, how cleverly we have tripped up the heels of the Whigs by the *manœuvre*." (Cheers and laughter.) That is the description of

despatches which will be published 100 years hence, as having been sent by our present Government to their envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Brazil. No doubt there are people who have been taken in by this cant about slave produce: honest, well-meaning philanthropists, if I must call them so, although I find it difficult to treat men as philanthropists who merely revel in the enjoyment of an unreasoning conscience, because true philanthropists have always something like a show of reason to guide their benevolence. (Hear.) There is a class of individuals who have come into considerable notoriety of late in this country, who wish to subject us, not to the dictates of an enlightened benevolence, but to the control of mere fanaticism. They are men who, under the plea of being anti-slavery advocates, petition the Government that they should not allow the people of this country to consume sugar unless they can prove that it had not "the taint of slavery," as they call it, upon it. Is there anything in morals which answers to the principle in material nature that there should be one thing which is a conductor of immorality, and another a non-conductor (laughter)? that coffee is a non-conductor of the immorality of slavery, but that sugar is a conductor, and therefore you must not take it? I have personally met with some of these unreasoning philanthropists, and have been called upon by them to meet their objections relative to slave-grown sugar. I remember in particular one very benevolent gentleman in a white muslin cravat with whom I discussed this question. (Laughter.) I met him this way:—"Before you say another word to me on the subject strip that slave-grown cotton from your neck." (Loud cheers.) He replied that it was not practicable to do so. (Cries of "Oh, oh.") I rejoined, "I demand it; it is practicable; for I know one gentleman who has dispensed with wearing cotton stockings in the summer (laughter), and will not allow his garments to be put together with thread if he knows it." (Renewed laughter.) It is, I assure you, a fact that I know one philanthropist who has made that sacrifice. "But," said I, "if it is impracticable for you, who stand up before me now with slave-grown cotton round your neck, to abstain from slave-grown commodities, is it possible for the people of England to do it? Is it practicable for us as a nation to do so? (Cheers.) You can, if you please, pass a law prohibiting the importation of slave-grown sugar into England, but will that accomplish your object at all? You receive free-grown sugar in England; that leaves a vacuum in Holland and elsewhere, which is filled up with slave-grown sugar." (Cheers.) Before men have a right to preach such doctrines as these, and call upon the Government and the nation at large to support them, they ought to give evidence of their sincerity by the self-denying quality of abstaining from those articles which are already consumed in this country. (Hear, hear, hear.) What right have a people who are the largest consumers and distributors of cotton goods to go over to the Brazils with their ships full of cotton, then turn up the whites of their eyes, shed crocodile tears over the slaves, and say, "Here we are with a cargo of cotton goods, but we have qualms of conscience, religious scruples, and cannot take your slave-grown sugar in return for our slave-grown cotton." (Loud cheers.) In the first place the thing is inconsistent, and in the next it is hypocritical. Mark me, clever knaves are using fanatics in order to impose upon the people of England a heavy burden. (Hear, hear.) That is just what it amounts to. Cunning and selfish men are tampering with the credulity of what used to be the reasoning benevolence of the people of England. We must put down this sort of dictatorship, which has no rational judgment to guide it. (Cheers.) Will they venture to assert that I am an advocate for the continuance of slavery because I maintain the principle of Free Trade? No; I assert here, as every where, that one good, sound, and just principle never can be at war with another of a similar character. If you can show me that Free Trade is promotive of slavery, and that it is calculated to extend or perpetuate it, then I should doubt, pause, and hesitate whether freedom of trade and personal freedom are equally consistent and just in their principles; and, as I say, *prima facie* there can be no question but that the possession of human beings as goods and chattels is contrary to the first Christian precepts, therefore I say at once that slavery is unjust; and, if you can show me that Free Trade would promote that diabolical system, then I should be prepared to abandon Free Trade itself. (Enthusiastic cheers.) But I have always been of opinion with the most distinguished writers who have ever treated upon this subject—such men as Adam Smith, Burke, Franklin, Hume, and others, the greatest thinkers of any age—that slave labour is more costly than free labour—that if the two were brought into fair competition free labour would supersede slave labour. I find this view so strongly put and clearly borne out by a body of men whom I should think ought to be considered as authorities on this matter—I mean the anti-slavery body themselves—that I will venture to read just three or four lines out of this volume, which is a record of the proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, called by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and held in London in 1840. It was denominated the "World's Convention of Anti-Slavery Delegates," for its members assembled from all parts of the globe. They appointed a most intelligent committee to make a report as to the relative value of free and slave labour, and here is their declaration, unanimously agreed to by the conference, with Thomas Clarkson at their head. They say, "Resolved—That, upon the evidence of facts to which the attention of this convention has been directed, it is satisfactorily established as a general axiom that free labour is more profitable to the employer, and consequently cheaper, than slave labour." They go on to say—"That of all kinds of slave labour, that of imported slaves has been demonstrated to be the most costly and the least productive." And they wind up thus:—"That the advantages of free-labour cultivation cannot be fairly attested or fully realised under a system of husbandry and general management which has grown up under the existence of slavery, and which is attested by a waste of human labour, that, but for monopoly prices, must have absorbed all the profit of cultivation. That the unrestricted competition of free labour in the cultivation of sugar would necessarily introduce a new system, by which the cost of production would be further diminished, and the fall of prices that must ensue would leave no profit upon slave-grown sugar." I will only quote one other passage of three lines from this

report. There was a long debate upon the subject; many intelligent witnesses from all parts of the world bore testimony to that principle, and the committee passed those resolutions unanimously. I will only read from the report of the discussions a few words of the speech of Mr. Scoble, in speaking of the difference of the price of sugar then in the market. In alluding to the price of slave sugar being 23s. per cwt. in the market, while that of free-grown sugar was 47s., he says:—"Now, what is it that makes the difference in price between these two classes of colonial produce but what is usually termed the West Indian monopoly? Let the monopoly be got rid of, and I will venture to say, that free-labour will compete with slave-labour sugar of any kind." That is the testimony of Mr. Scoble, who, I believe, is the accredited agent of the present London anti-slavery body. Now, I ask these gentlemen to do that which we Free-Traders do, to have faith in their own principles (cheers); to trust a great truth, that it will carry them safely through whatever there may be of apparent difficulty in their way. We, as Free-Traders, do not ask for the free admission of slave grown sugar because we wish to consume the produce of slaves rather than of freemen, but because we object to the infliction of a monopoly upon the people of England under the pretence of putting an end to slavery. We deny that that is an effectual or a just mode of extinguishing slavery. On the contrary, it is subjecting the British public to a species of oppression and spoliation second in injustice only to slavery itself. We maintain, with Mr. Scoble and the Anti-slavery Convention, that free labour, if placed in competition with slave labour, will be found cheaper and more productive, and that it will, in the end, put down slavery and the slave trade, by rendering it unprofitable to hold our fellow-creatures in bondage. (Cheers.) Why, would it not be a monstrous thing if we found that in the moral government of this world it was so contrived that a man should have a premium offered him for doing injustice to his fellow-man! Plenty and cheapness have been the reward promised from the beginning of time to those who do well; but if the greater cheapness and plenty should be the reward of him who seizes on his fellow-man and compels him to work with the whip, rather than for the man who offers a fair recompense for the willing labourer, I say, if that were found to be true, it would be at war with all we hold most just, and which we believe to be true of the moral government of the universe. (Loud cheers.) If, then, free competition be wanted to overturn slavery, I ask this anti-slavery body how they can consistently present petitions to the House of Commons praying that this free competition shall not be allowed, and therefore that the very means they recommend for abolishing slavery shall not be carried into effect in this country? I am willing to believe many of these individuals to be honest; they have proved themselves to be disinterested by the labours they have gone through; but I warn them against being made the unconscious instruments of subtle, designing, and thoroughly selfish men (loud cheers), who have an interest in upholding this monopoly of sugar, which is slavery in another form, for the consumers of sugar here; and who to carry their base object will tamper with the feelings of the people of this country, and make use of the old British anti-slavery feeling, in order to carry out their selfish and iniquitous objects. (Loud cheers.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, before I sit down I wish to say a word to you on a truly practical part of the question. Some allusion was made by my friend Mr. Ricardo to the probability of an election, and the necessity of being prepared for it. I am desirous, particularly in this place, where what we say goes out to the whole world—our own organ, the LEAGUE, conveys every syllable of our speeches to 20,000 persons in all the parishes in the kingdom—I say I want to dwell especially here upon what I conceive it is necessary the people of this country should do to carry out the principles of Free Trade. They must simply adopt the plan which Sir Robert Peel recommended to his party—"Register, register, register!" (Cheers.) Without a single public meeting or demonstration of any kind at all comparable with this, that party went to work, and in the course of four or five years placed their chief, who had given that good advice, in a majority in the House of Commons. Now, we have infinitely more scope for work than ever he or his supporters had. (Hear, hear.) Are you aware of the number of people who are voluntarily disfranchised in this country at this moment? You will be astonished when I tell you that in the metropolitan boroughs alone there are from 40,000 to 50,000 people who might register and vote for members of Parliament if they chose, but who neglect to do so. (Hear, hear.) In every one of the large boroughs, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, there are thousands of people entitled to vote for members of Parliament, but who yet do not make the necessary claim for that purpose. Why, within the walls of the city of London, I will venture to say that there is not one house which is paying a lower rent than £10. Every man with a roof over his head there can, and ought to, be a voter. How will you carry your *Free-Trade ticket* at the next city of London election, unless you all register yourselves, for we do not then intend to go for one, but for all the four members together? (Vehement cheering.) I will in a few words state to you, and all our friends in the country, exactly how we stand at this particular moment. In about ten weeks the time will have elapsed which will give the people an opportunity of claiming to vote for the next year. Then, observe, that in order to have a vote you must have occupied a £10 house for twelve months previous to the 31st of July, and have paid all rates and taxes due up to the 6th of April, upon or before the 20th of July. Having done this, you will be entitled to register your names as voters, and be in a position to exercise the elective franchise the next year should there be a dissolution of Parliament, and a contest for Free Trade. (Hear.) Mark me! By a late decision in the Court of Common Pleas, every man who rents a room in a house, if the apartment be a separate tenement—that is, if the lodger has the key of it, and has ingress and egress at the outer door when he likes—if that room be rented at £10 a year or upwards, he will be entitled to a vote; and, if his landlord pays the rates, it is a sufficient rating provided his own name be put down along with his landlord's on the books of the overseers. (Hear, hear.) Now, that decision alone has given the franchise to perhaps 1500 or 2000 people in the city of London, and an immense number throughout the whole metropolitan boroughs. But lodgers who are boarded and lodged in a house, and who have not a separate room, as is the ordinary way

with young persons, are not entitled to a vote. I wish they were, for I have no doubt we should get most of them. How is it that there are 40,000 or 50,000 people in the metropolis, and many thousands in all large towns, that are not on the electoral lists? I will tell you why. In the first place, I am sorry to say that a vast number of people in this country, who would be shocked and offended if we called them "slaves," or did not compliment them under the title of "free-born Englishmen," will not take the trouble to walk across the street in order to obtain for themselves votes, even where there is no expensatending it. In very many cases the difficulty is this, that in a great number of the smaller class of houses the landlords owning them compound for the rates, and pay them in a lump, whether the houses be empty or not, and by so doing pay a somewhat less amount than they would do if they paid for each house individually. If a tenant under such circumstances tells the overseers he wishes to be put down in the rate-book to get a vote, the overseers are required by law to put their names upon the rate books with that of their landlords. That is the condition in which thousands, nay, tens of thousands, of people in this country are situated who might have votes for members of Parliament if they adopted the proper means. I do hope that all who hear me, and those who will read what I am saying, will feel that now the time is come when every individual in his locality will be called on to make an effort to enrol his own and his neighbours' names on the register, against a future electoral combat. Come when it may, our victory will depend on the force we can bring on paper before we come into the field. It is of no use going to a contest if we have not previously been to the registration court. I would counsel our friends, the non-electors in any borough, and point out to them how much they can do by looking after their neighbours; and, when they see a man just balancing and doubting whether he will or not claim to vote, to urge upon him the duty which he owes to the cause we advocate of having his name placed on the register. (Cheers.) If they do not do so, the time will come when they will bitterly regret it. It was only the other day that our friend General Briggs, at Exeter, where he nobly did the work for us (cheers), found that he could not walk the streets of that city without being followed by crowds of non-electors, saying, "I will show you, sir, where there is a man who will give you a vote." Another would say, "I have been looking after three votes for you." A third would exclaim, "I wish I had a hundred votes, you should have them all." One honest man who kept a turnpike-gate—and we are often told that turnpike-keepers are misanthropes—positively would not receive toll from the general, stating that as he had not a vote to register for him he would give him what he could. (Loud laughter and cheers.) Persons of this description, if they will take my advice, instead of reserving all their enthusiasm until the time of contest, will during the next ten weeks do their utmost to influence every one of their neighbours whom they can to be enrolled. It is by these means, and not by talking, that the victory will be won. I have over and over again told you that I have no faith in talking; it is not by words but by deeds, by pursuing a course such as I have been describing, that when the day of battle comes we shall be prepared with a majority on the electoral lists to meet our opponents in that constitutional fight in which the question must be decided; and if we are true to our principles, and show but ordinary zeal in their behalf, we shall not have another general election without finding a triumphant majority in favour of Free-Trade principles. (The honourable gentleman resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN then said:—Ladies and gentlemen, it is my duty to state that the proceedings of the evening have come to a close, and I must say that, if I had not witnessed it, I could not have believed that in a theatre, crowded to this extent, the people would have listened so attentively, and with such zeal. I say this augurs well for the cause of Free Trade; and, if you will go on persevering in this manner, it will strike terror into the hearts of our opponents. Some of you probably recollect the fable of the fox that had his tail cut off; now, if you will only cut off the landlords' tail, they will soon cut off the tails of the other monopolists, and we shall have Free Trade.

Three cheers were then given for the noble chairman, and the meeting separated.

LIVERPOOL OPERATIVES' FREE TRADE SOCIETY.—The members and friends of the above Society held a meeting in the large room, Roe-street, on Tuesday evening last, which was both numerously and respectfully attended; Mr. John Critchley in the chair. The speakers were Messrs. Fitzsimons, Skidmore, Duddy, and M'Gregor. Mr. M'Gregor said that many were opposed to Free Trade, lest it should make us dependent upon foreigners, and, in the event of war, we should be deprived of food. Now, he would ask those parties who used this argument, whether they had made provision to grow cotton in England? for, in case of war with the United States, we should be deprived of that article for clothing. He would also ask for what purpose we sent out vessels on voyages of discovery? He conceived the reason to be, to endeavour to find out new markets for our trade and commerce. Why had we gone to war with China, and why concluded a treaty with China, if it had not been for the purpose of forcing a trade to the advantage of England? In the event of war, the protectionist would be deprived of those luxuries which were of foreign growth and manufacture; and, therefore, he came to this conclusion, that, if Free Trade with all the world became the law of the land, the divine principles of Christianity, "Peace on earth and good will to man," would be to the interest of every class in this vast empire, and the blessings of peace and plenty would be felt in every portion of the habitable globe. Mr. M'Gregor sat down amidst great and prolonged cheering. Other speakers followed, and clearly showed the necessity of the operatives joining together and using every lawful means in their power to obtain a removal of all restrictions on trade and commerce. Too much praise cannot be given to the worshipful the mayor and to Mr. Rushton, for the courteous manner in which they received the deputation from this body, and the prompt measures they have adopted to prevent outrage at these meetings. Inspector Savage and the police force under his command attended, and were active in their endeavours to preserve order.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, May 1, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|---|
| Major-General Briggs, Oriental Club (3rd subscrip- tion this year) | 240 | 0 | 0 |
| Benjamin Smith, Esq. M.P., 5, Blandford-square | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Lindley, 8, Adelphi-terrace | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| William Lindley, do | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend per William Lindley | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| George Wasey, Louthbury | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Richard Deane, New Inn-buildings, Strand | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Foreman, Halesworth | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Evans, Alder's Mills, Tamworth | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Aked, bookbinder, 1, Palgrave-place, Temple-bar | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Timothy Jones, do, do, per J. Aked | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Hutton Long, Hulme, Rawtenstall, Lancashire, per do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Edie, Craven-buildings, Drury-lane, per do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mr. Aldridge, 14, Wellington-street North, Strand, per do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, per do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. H. Pickford, 13, Wiltam's-buildings, City-road | 1 | 1 | 0 |
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| Zachariah Reynolds, St. James's-place, St. Sidwell's, Exeter | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Conservative | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Henry Cove, Tottenham | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander M. O'Connell, Kilmarnock | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| T. Willson, Rochester | 0 | 10 | 0 |
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| J. B. Whitehead, Bow-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
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| Mr. Allen, City-road Anti-Corn-Law Association, two monthly subscriptions, per Mr. Const | 0 | 2 | 0 |
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| William S. Shove, Blackheath vale, do | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| John Shove, Lewisham, do | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Henry M. Call, Hyde Vale | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Richard Hollier, Park-place (2nd subscrip.) | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Frederick Hensch, Blackheath, Kent, do | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Bennick, 2, Diamond ter., Hyde Vale, do | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| J. Powle, Peckham-lane, Deptford, do | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Jos. Hargrave, Grove, Blackheath | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| John E. Lee, Loampit-hill, Lewisham | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Lee, do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Wade, Lower-road, Deptford | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Martin, Hyde Vale | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Martin, do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mrs. Martin, do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mrs. Martin, do | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Le Gallois, 3, Maize-hill | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. W. Turner, Nelson-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. S. Prowse, Conduit Vale | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Melhuish, Blackheath-hill | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A hardworking Man | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Hally, Blackheath Vale, Kent | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Rev. J. Pulling, 19, Union-street, Deptford | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Fearley, coal merchant, Lewisham | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| H. Parr, East-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. Peppercorn, Broadway, Deptford | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| G. Peppercorn, do, do | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. Parker, do, do | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. Sharp, do, do | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. Evans, Church-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Shepherd, Mill-lane, Deptford | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Edward Hawke, do | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| G. W. Bennett, Blackheath Vale, Kent | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. C. Bennett, Stockwell-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. R. Morris, Kent Waterworks, Mill-lane, Deptford (2nd subscription) | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Morris, 3, Russell-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. N. Orther, Church-street, Deptford | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| George Wale, 4, High-street, do | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. Perkins, Church-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. P. Knightley, Blue Style | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert Paul, farmer, Sydenham, Kent | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. Angus, miller, Lewisham, Kent (2nd sub.) | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Jonathan Angus, Hayes, Kent | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Joseph Richardson, Lon Jon-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| H. K. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Richards, 7, Creed-place, Maize-hill | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Captain Boyes, Trafalgar-road | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| E. Lambert, Deptford-bridge, Deptford | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| X. Y. Z. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| G. Hunt, Grove, Blackheath | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. H. Hoyer, London-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Benjn. Hubble, jun., New Town, Deptford | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Parkinson, Lewisham, Kent | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend, G. B. | 1 | 1 | 0 |

Greenwich and its neighbourhood—continued.

| | | | |
|---|----|----|----|
| J. C. C. Walton, Deptford Bridge | 41 | 1 | 0 |
| H. Sharp, 6, High-street, Deptford | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Bowditch, High-street, do | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Jones, Greenwich-road | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Col. Read, Ravensbourne-ter., Lewisham, Kent | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| W. Christall, Maldenstone House | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mr. Symone, Paragon, Blackheath | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mr. Haycraft, Greenwich-road | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| B. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| James Russell, Prospect-place, Deptford | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| W. P. B. Parker, Turnpin-lane | 0 | 12 | 6 |
| Workmen of W. Fairbairn and Co., Millwall | | | |
| Poplar, per E. Tomlinson | 0 | 9 | 6 |
| A Friend to Free Trade | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss L. Veoman, Dartmouth-row, Blackheath | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss R. Yeoman, do, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Stokle, George-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Smith, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Wheeler, Avenue-road, Lewisham, Kent | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Marshall, Trafalgar-road | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Dennant, Stockwell-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Chartist | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joseph Catt | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| L. May | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| A. Cousins | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| W. Newton | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| A Friend | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| B. Bede | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. Graham | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Todman | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. Kingford, Lewisham-road, Kent | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Marshall | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| G. Green | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| R. Kerr, Royal-place | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Lieut. Corby, Royal Hospital | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Andrew Carpenter, London-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Small subscriptions | 11 | 5 | 11 |
| William Lancaster, Lancaster | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Anthony Milner, do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Russ Douglas, do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Small sums at meeting, do | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| J. Fielden, Rochdale-rd., Middleton, near Manchester | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| George Stott, do, do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| T. S. Bayne, do, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Percival, do, do | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| John Ovens, Carpenter's-lane, do | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Cooke, Richmond, Yorkshire (2nd subscrip.) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Tyler, Monk-street, Monmouth | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Edwin Richards, do, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Vaughan, do, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Rochdale, small sums, per Miss Bright | 17 | 0 | 0 |
| John Lee, Callender-street, Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. M'Cheyne, Leek-street, Leighton Buzzard | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James M'Kay, Leighton-street, Woburn | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| David Burgess, do, do | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend, do, do | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Wild, 45, Horns-witch | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William M'Connell, London | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. M'Cartney, Manchester | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Alexander Mackinnell | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| C. B. Lee, Lake-street, Leighton | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joseph Metcalf, St. George's-road, Manchester | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Peter Gaskell, Tyson-street, Cheetham, near do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Francis, Stonebrier-street, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Johnson, George-street, Hulme, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small sums, do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Samuel Ratcliffe, Burton-on-Trent | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Mansfield, Hartshorn, near Ashby de-la-Zouch | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alex. S. G. Wick, Bull's Head Collyhurst, Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander Steel, 59, Hanover-street, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Derbyshire, Salford, near do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Lloyd Roberts, Caernarvon, N. W. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Geo. Frintons, Lawns Wood, near Dudley | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Robert M'Curdo, 7, Ancoats-place, Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Samuel Barker, Don Pottery, near Rotherham | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend per S. B. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Cowan, Mexboro', near Rotherham | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Hewitt, do, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend, per S. B., do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. W. Johnson, Don Pottery, near do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| 73 Operatives at the Don Pottery | 1 | 9 | 9 |
| Charles Lockwood, High-street-buildings, Doncaster | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Charles White, Baxter-gate, do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| W. J. Milnes, Priory-place, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| George Villiers, Hall-gate, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Martin, Fisher-gate, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Marriott, Scot-lane, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| George Cade, St. Sepulchre-gate, do | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| James Thomas, Baxter-gate, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Booth, St. Sepulchre-gate, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Colart, Church-street, do | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| J. B. per J. H. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Armstrong, Baxter-gate, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Price, St. Sepulchre-gate, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Jackson, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend, per J. H., do | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Pigott, Wood-street, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| F. Tammond, High-street, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joseph Foster, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. Martin, Baxter-gate, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Spink, Union-street, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| George Blagden, Warmworth, near do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| M. Crowder, Capuch-terrace, do | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| H. Crowder, do | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| Friend to the Cause, do | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Small sums, per J. A., do | 0 | 2 | 9 |
| Mr. Lindley, per J. A., do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Friend, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. and Mrs. Woods, Cleveland-street, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| T. Clarke, Priory place, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| R. Andrews, G. oss hill, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| H. Barton, Hall-gate, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Charles Siddall, Cleveland-street, do | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| John Stanton, Spring-gardens, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Charles Hathill, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Swallow, Thorne, near do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Anti-bribery, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Wrightson, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small sums, per Mr. Swallow, do | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Jonathan Allison, Market-place, Doncaster, in addi- tion to 10s. paid before | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Small sums | 3 | 19 | 0 |
| Small sums | 0 | 19 | 0 |
| Edward Robinson, High-street, Tewkesbury | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A. Buswell, do, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| E. S. Robinson, 53, Queen-square, Bristol | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Jas. Lewis, Church-street, Tewkesbury | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Edward Nash, do | 0 | 11 | 6 |
| Wm. Potter, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Henry Welford, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small sums, do | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| Ralph Howard and Friends, 24, Dale-street, Balford | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Mayer, Falstaff, Bedford-street, Hulme, Manchester | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Pownall, sen., 8, York-street, Hulme, do | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. H. Hadfield, 78, Canal-street, Ancoats, do | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Higson and Son, Cross-street, do | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| A. M., do | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| William Hewitt, Colnefield, Colne, Lancashire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Wilson | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| H. Hry Hellaell, Aspley | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Frederick Stubbs, New-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Milner, Peter-street | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Joseph Taylor, Golcar | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. Crowther, Crowland-moor, near | 1 | 0 | 0 |

Leeds.

Birmingham.

Glasgow.

Stockport.

Salford.

Str.

Sir William Lowthrop.

Mr. Alderman Thompson.

Sir William Lowthrop.

When the tea equipage.

position which belongs.

On this instrumentality.

He deprecated the employe.

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|---|
| Peter Williams and Sons | 423 | 0 | 0 |
| M. Wilson, jun., Ashton Hall, near Skipton .. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Anthony Fille, jun., York-place | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Samuel Carr, Dewsbury-road | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| John Carr, Chapel-street, Hunslet | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Joseph Carr, Brunswick-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| No. 30, Mill-hill | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| James Jackson, 108, Meadow-lane (2nd sub.) | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | | | |
| R. Smallwood, 2, St. Martin's street | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Barnes, Swan-with-two-Necks, Deritend | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Henderson, London works, Smethwick, near | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Groom, do., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Cartwright, do., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| S. Meredith, do., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robert Broad, do., do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Turner, do., do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A. Chapman, do., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robert Johnson, Holly Hall, near Dudley | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Francis Miers, Handsworth | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| W. D., do. | 6 | 2 | 6 |
| A Friend, do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. A. L., do. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small sums | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| | | | |
| Alexander C. Duncan, 28, Cochran-street .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Samuel Pollock, 107, Buchanan-street .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Henry Lawson, jun., 128, Queen-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Workers of James-street Factory, Greenhead | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Duncan, Clyde Shipping Company, Greenock | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hendry and Ewing, 74, Glasgow-street .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Andrew Burnet, Clydebank Print Works .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Roy, do. | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| John Musher, 54, St. Andrew-square | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Bow, 48, London-street | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Henry Slaughter, 23, St. Andrew-square | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John McPherson, 10, St. Andrew's-lane .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John McDoug, St. Mungo-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Andrew Dow, 10, India-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James McLeshoe, bookseller, 83, Buchanan-st. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | |
| Cephas Howard | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| S. T. Carrington | 39 | 0 | 0 |
| Urbain S. Hartley, London square | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| William Royle, Richard the Third | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. W. Royle, do. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Henry Crippock | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| William Wooliam | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Reeby Hodgson | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Samuel Massey, Plough Inn | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Small sums | 0 | 4 | 6 |
| | | | |
| John Bradbury, Kinders near Uppermill .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| G. T. Bradbury Uppermill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Whitehead, Funstead, near Uppermill | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| F. S. Buckley, do, do | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. F. S. Buckley, do, do. | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| William Robinson, Spring Meadow, do. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Ammon Platt, Huesteds, near Dobcross .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |

ment of harsh terms against landlords, and said that the warfare of Free-Traders should be against principles, not men. He also suggested the desirableness of excluding politics from their discussions. After some further observations, the chairman concluded amidst loud cheers.

Mr. W. H. HOLDSWORTH proposed the first resolution, which, after denouncing protective duties and restrictive policy—especially in articles of food—was highly pernicious, stated the propriety of addressing the borough members, and calling on them to vote in favour of Free Trade. Mr. Holdsworth took a review of the several progressive states of mankind, and showed that the commercial state was that in which man had exhibited his highest powers. He then went on to show how man's energy and enterprise were now restricted by a principle of selfishness which was at work in the minds of those who had the power of controlling a nation's operations, and how his noblest powers, which would have been awakened and expanded in the natural course of events, became crippled and confined by a restrictive, or, as it was falsely called, protective commercial policy, the pernicious tendencies of which he exposed. This led him to consider the beneficial effects on all classes which an abolition of these laws would have; and he concluded a long and impressive address with a brief glance at past struggles for freedom, the results of which, he said, ought to serve as beacons to warn those now in power from pursuing their present dangerous course.

The Rev. E. HIGGINSON seconded the resolution. He said the question of Free Trade ought not to require advocacy; the onus of proof was on the party who argued that trade ought not to be free. It was a natural law that trade should be free, and they ought to require good arguments for its restriction. (Applause.) All men had a right to go to the best markets for the sale and the purchase of commodities of life. That was a principle which could not be disputed, and which infringed on the rights of no one. But, though this was a moral right, it was not a legal one, and he was sorry to have to draw the distinction. It was a legal right for a certain class of men to compel others to buy from them what they could purchase with greater benefit elsewhere. (Cheers.) The rev. speaker then went on at some length to show that in the present Free-Trade movement it was not sought to abolish duties laid on for revenue purposes merely, but to do away with the—so called—"protective" or restrictive duties.

The first resolution having been unanimously carried amidst loud cheers.

Mr. Alderman COOKMAN, in the absence of Mr. Alderman Thompson, who had been called away upon special business, moved an address to Sir John Hammer and Sir Walter James, calling upon them to vote for Villiers's motion for the total repeal of the Corn Laws.

Dr. GORDON seconded the address. He said it was somewhat singular that he, a professional man, should be called upon to advocate Free Trade, a subject in which those connected with commerce were so eminently interested. Were the merchants become so rich—had the coffers of the manufacturer become so crammed—that they felt no longer any interest in the trade and prosperity of their country? (Cheers.) If so, he was glad of it, because he knew that if the place wherein he lived prospered, he too, if industrious, must become prosperous; and the converse was equally true—no man could be prosperous long when all around him were borne down by adversity. (Cheers.) It was under a conviction of that truth that he had come forward this evening. The whole social economy was under the guidance of natural, inevitable, and unerring laws; and he knew that if the people became overwhelmed with poverty, misery, and disease, he too would suffer. He had come forward, then, to save himself, and to assist those present to save themselves. (Cheers.) They were all dependent one upon another, and must rise and fall together. There was implanted in man a feeling of sociability, of mutual dependence and assistance. It had been so arranged by the Divine Creator, that what one country produced another was deficient in, and thus opportunities were given for the cultivation of this feeling of sociability. Free Trade then appeared to be the law of nature; and if it were true that they could not violate a law of nature without causing injury and sorrow, then was any violation of the principle of Free Trade calculated to cause embarrassment, sorrow, and ultimately ruin. (Cheers.) Dr. Gordon showed the utter futility of passing measures for restricting labour and promoting education among the poor, unless Parliament first removed those oppressive burdens which, in the shape of the Corn and the Sugar Laws, were imposed on the shoulders of the people, and the removal of which alone could give to labour its due value, and effectually remove that "tyranny of masters" which those now in power affected to deprecate. (Loud cheers.)

The address was unanimously carried.

The CHAIRMAN having said he should be glad to hear any gentleman in the room disposed to speak on the question,

Mr. JOSEPH JONES ascended the platform, and in the course of a few observations on the importance to the Free-Trade movement that the three great ports of Liverpool, Hull, and Bristol should declare in favour of it, said he had not the least doubt that if Mr. Cobden were solicited to stand for Hull at the next election, and consented, he would be triumphantly returned. (Loud and long-continued cheers.) And he had no fears of being able to send with him a colleague of congenial sentiments. (Rapturous cheers.)

Mr. COULSON, one of the secretaries to the Free-Trade Council in this town, explained the plan of operations intended to be pursued: he said the address which had been carried would be sent round the town to receive the signatures of the Free-Trade electors; and a second address would also be signed by the non-electors, as it was absolutely necessary that the Free-Trade strength of the borough should be ascertained before anything else was done.

It was unanimously resolved, amidst rapturous applause, that other meetings of a similar character should be held; and a vote of thanks having been passed to the chairman, the meeting, which was a most pleasant and enthusiastic one, dispersed. — *Abridged from the Hull Advertiser.*

HONITON.

The deputation from the League left this city (Exeter) on Tuesday afternoon (the 23rd ult.), on their way to Honiton, where Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Saul, and Mr. Harvey delivered addresses to a numerous audience in the British School-room. R. H. Aberdell, Esq., in the chair.

Mr. BROTHERTON said he would endeavour to place before them the cause of which they were the advocates. They were the opponents of all monopoly, but they especially directed their efforts against that giant monopoly, the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) It was asserted by the monopolists that these laws were necessary for the protection of the farmers and the farm-labourers. But there never was a greater delusion practised upon any set of men than the attempt to persuade the tenant-farmers and the farm-labourers that these laws ever afforded them any protection whatever. In order to prove this part of the case, it would be only necessary to state that during the twenty-nine years the sliding scale had been in existence no less than five parliamentary committees had been appointed to inquire into the causes of agricultural distress. It was said by their opponents that Free Trade would stop the revenue of the country and prevent the payment of taxes. The removal of the Corn Laws could not affect the revenue, because there was no revenue anticipated from its importation; and the only way in which it could affect the revenue would be to increase it, by the increased consumption among the people of excisable articles. The gentleman then proceeded to show how unequally the burden of the bread-tax fell on the working classes. It was most unequal and unjust. The principles of Free Trade were the principles by which mankind must be extensively benefited, and the nations of the world be united in their best and peaceful interests. Mr. Brotherton gave some details of the principles of Free Trade: he concluded amidst warm plaudits, and was followed by—

Mr. SAUL, who addressed the meeting for an hour and 20 minutes. He explained the way in which monopoly inflicted injury upon the trade and commerce of the country generally, diminishing the trade, and reducing the profits of the commercialist and manufacturer, limiting the field of labour, making it superabundant, and consequently reducing the wages of the operative. He then illustrated the working of the Corn Laws on the interest of the farmer. The occupation of the agriculturist, said he, is based on the same principles and governed by the same laws as those which regulate trade and commerce. A farmer has two considerations to look to—first, he has to produce; secondly, he has to sell. His success in the first depends on the employment of his capital, the seasons, and his own exertions; but the second depends on the condition of those who have to buy. Useless will have been his toil and anxiety if, when the golden grain is reaped and harvest is past, he has no market for his produce. Now, monopoly produces this effect. It cuts off the resources of those who should be the farmers's customers. It makes bankrupt the manufacturer and tradesman, and pauperises the operative; and when the farmer brings his produce to sell, he finds the people wanting his commodities, but unable to buy. If the landlord lawmakers were sincere in offering protection to the farmer they might do it by moderating their rents; the fact is, however, that they pass laws which they call protection to the farmers, and then in consequence of that protection raise their rents. It was protection for the landlord if it raised rents; but it could be no protection to the farmer, if, for an imaginary advantage, they had their rents increased. There can be no doubt that the sliding scale was concocted for the purpose of making the farmers believe that they should be benefited by it, that they should have high prices for their produce. But how does it work? It is well known that, just before the harvest is ripe in this country, the stocks of wheat in the hands of the farmers are very low; prices go up, and the duty is reduced by the sliding scale, and importations are made of foreign wheat. And, as these importations are made just before harvest, by the time the English farmer has his wheat ready for the market, the foreign wheat is in at the same time, depressing the price, and thus ruining the small farmer, who is obliged to sell his wheat to meet his payments. The speaker attacked the fallacies brought against the principles of Free Trade, and earnestly appealed to the audience to exert themselves to put an end to those starvation laws which have so long disgraced the statute-book, and inflicted such misery upon the country. The talented speaker sat down amidst loud and hearty cheers.

Mr. HARVEY addressed the meeting upon the sugar question, and pointed out the great inequality of the tax paid by the poor man upon his tea, and that paid by the rich man upon his tea. While, also, we paid 9d. and 10d. per lb. for our sugar from the West Indies, the people of the West Indies were allowed to receive Brazilian sugar, which had been refined in this country, and for which they only paid 4d. to 5d. per lb. It was a well-known fact, that we have no more sugar now supplied to this country than we had twenty years ago, consequently those who come short of supply must be the poor. He (Mr. H.) hoped they would all use their efforts to rid the country of a system that was fast weighing it down, and which, unless abolished, would ultimately lay it prostrate at the feet of its enemies.

L. J. COX, Esq., proposed a vote of thanks to the deputation from the League, for their addresses delivered this evening.

Captain GROOME, R.N., seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. BROTHERTON acknowledged the compliment, and proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman; which Mr. ABERDELL acknowledged in his usual appropriate and felicitous manner, and the business of the meeting terminated. — *Abridged from the Devonshire Chronicle.*

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEMORIALS.

SOUTHAMPTON. Memorials to Messrs. Hope and Midlam, the borough members, requesting them to vote in favour of Mr. Villiers's motion for repeal of the Corn Laws, are now in course of signature by the registered electors. These memorials have been got up by the Free-Trade Association, in pursuance of the recommendation of the Anti-Corn-Law League. The plan was followed in several boroughs last year, and was attended with a considerable degree of success, and this year it is intended to be carried into effect in every borough in the kingdom. The opinions of the honourable gentlemen who at present represent Southampton will not probably be much affected by this appeal from their constituents; but if, as it is anticipated, a large number of signatures be attached to the memorials, it must have a great moral effect at the next election, in securing the triumph of Free-Trade principles in the borough. There is another great object, too, which will be subserved. There can be little doubt that the aggregate number of signatures to all the memorials, from the various constituencies, will form a large majority of

the electors of the United Kingdom, and this "great fact" will materially strengthen the position which the friends of Free Trade in Parliament will take in the coming debate. We therefore urgently call upon every elector who has become convinced—in the words of the memorial—"that the law which imposes restrictions on the importation of foreign corn is unjust in principle, and destructive of the industrial interests of the empire, whether agricultural, commercial, or manufacturing," at once to sign his name. The sheets are lying for signatures at different parts of the town, preparatory to a general canvass of the electors; but the friends of Free Trade will perceive that by promptly signing, without waiting to be canvassed, they will greatly lessen the labours of the committee who have taken this matter in hand, and facilitate the accomplishment of the object which they have to carry out. — *Hampshire Independent.*

Huddersfield. — On Thursday week, a memorial, signed by a great majority of the electors of Huddersfield, was transmitted to the borough member, requesting him to support Mr. Villiers' motion for a total repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws.

Pontefract. — A memorial from the borough of Pontefract is getting numerous and respectfully signed, and will soon be presented to the two members, in support of Mr. Villiers's motion.

Bradford. — The Anti-Corn-Law memorial to the members for the borough of Bradford has received nearly 700 signatures. 800 will be a certain majority, but the canvassers hope to obtain 1000 signatures before it is sent off to the members.

ADAM BROWN AND AN ESSEX FARMER.

An "Essex Farmer," who sends his name privately, puts several questions, desiring answers, because, as he says, "I am in opposition to Free Trade until I can see it will be for good, but quite open to conviction if facts can be shown to me." Another reason for his questions is, that, in my published account of a late visit to Colchester, I noticed his farm amongst others, and paid him a well-deserved compliment as an excellent farmer. Speaking of his employment of nearly treble the number of people on the same acres of land which others employed, and of his greatly enlarged crops, I called him a "public benefactor." So far it is necessary to explain who the "Essex Farmer" is, else several of his remarks, suggestions, and arguments would not be clearly intelligible. If they were made, or believed to be made, by an ordinary farmer, they would be without meaning or purpose.

Besides his questions, I here give his other remarks; and as the whole, questions and remarks, resolve themselves into one, and can be answered as one, it will be fairest to let him speak for himself, by printing them as they stand, without the intervention of separate comments, save in one part where an omission is made, and a reason given for making it:—

Colchester, April 12, 1844.

"Sir.—Having read your statement in the LEAGUE newspaper of April 6, I feel desirous to ask you a few questions, if I may be allowed."

"First. What is your motive in making such an inquiry respecting the mode of farming, and whether the labourers are all employed, in these parts?"

"Second. What interest will it be to the manufacturing community if our labourers are employed on the land, as it appears the manufacturers wish for a free trade in corn; and if so, they wish to have the corn from the Continent in exchange for their goods; if so, the less quantity grown by us farmers the better, as it will better suit their purpose?"

"Third. Would it not be better for the machinery to be laid aside, and men employed that are accustomed to the trade, and paid so as to be able to earn the necessary food for themselves and families; for until the machinery reached to so large a head, we did not hear of so much distress among the labouring class; at that time we were secure, and all were employed? What advantage will it be if it is true that manufacturers are erected on the Continent, and many of our best mechanics are employed there already, and the goods are equal to ours, and cheaper than we can make them?"

"Fourth. Would it not be better if the land were well cultivated in England; and if so the labourers will be wanted; and many of those who have left the agricultural districts for Manchester and other places, might return to the cultivation of the soil, and a large increase of corn be produced, and the labourer be paid so as to have sufficient to live on and be satisfied? For, after all, this class of people are a happy people—plain food is all they wish for, and no more. I think, if the land were to be cultivated well, there are not enough labourers to do the work. I only speak of this part. For the farmer's happiness consists in being able to produce more and more by improvements; and that in part by labour; and in his improvements he feels a great pleasure."

Here the "Essex Farmer" digresses into the subjects of moral and intellectual improvement. His remarks on the high value of temperance and self-denial are exceedingly good; but they are not a part of the main subject, and are too lengthy for present use. Speaking of some labourers, who, by most people are considered too bad to be employed, he observes:—

"These, of all persons, should be employed; for these men by mixing with the sober and industrious in employment, will be shamed out of their evil practices. When there is no employment the mind is unoccupied, and all kind of evil and base thoughts are generated; and, in many instances, put into practice."

This "Essex Farmer" does not merely write this benevolent philosophy on paper; he practises what he writes. Some of the working-men about his farm told me when I was there, that such was his practice. If he saw an out-cast—a man fresh from a prison, it might be—whom no other farmer would employ, he took that man and put a spade or a hatchet in his hand, after filling his belly, and sent him to work, and paid him for his work, and tried to reclaim him. This is noble philanthropy.

He proceeds, after making other excellent remarks on the duty which devolves on a farmer—and he might have added, upon every other employer, in respect of training the young to habits of industry, and watching their rising talents and dispositions—he proceeds to say, in opposition to a free trade in corn:—

"About eight years since I was in France, and attended Calais market, and was surprised at the change which was presented to my sight. I had never seen a pitched market before; and was very much struck at the quantity of females that attended to sell the wheat and rye for grist; and to see the miller canvassing the women for the grist. Some brought one, some two, and others more. The miller attended to take it to the wagon. I will give a brief description of the wagon, &c."

"It had only two wheels, and was built with a corria or round pole, which I think might cost about 7s. This I am sure, with the exception of the wheels, was the utmost value. The harness was made of ropes, and not worth more than

2s. 6d.; and the two horses not more than £10. The dress of the miller was as follows:—Wooden shoes; blue stockings; leather small clothes; pepper and salt jacket, with no handkerchief. The hat was about worth 1s. 9d.; and his whole kerchief. I consider the value to have been not more than 17s., dress included, the value of the women into the country. There were about sixteen women and five sacks of corn, and all upon the above-mentioned waggon, if so it may be called.

"I then took a diligence to Paris; and on the road saw several mills, and there was not a mill but was propped up with poles, and did not appear at all safe. This is an account of the state of the mills and millers of France. Upon inquiry I found that their food consisted of rye bread, water-cress, apples, and very poor soup. And the houses were of a humble description as the mills. The farmhouses were hardly to be distinguished from the piggeries in the yards, for there are many buildings which form the square, and at a distance it could not be distinguished from the others. Notwithstanding all this appearance of poverty they were happy in their situation. I next speak of the manner in which the labour is performed. It is principally performed by the women. The man stays at home and attends to the family. The food is rye bread, similar to a flat pancake, as dark as ginger-bread; but nothing mixed with it. Their clothing is of the best kind: no shoes nor stockings for the children; and nothing upon the head. Their dwelling-houses are thatched hovel, with no floors or windows, but a hole cut in the thatch for light; no bedding or bed, but they lay just where they can.

"Such appears to me to be the hard fate of the labourer in France. But still they appear to be happy and contented. This called aloud to me to be grateful for the state of the poor labourer in England. Our labourers are comparatively kings.

"Supposing we were to have a Free Trade, will not our labourers, millers, and farmers have to come to this state? And how can they come to this? It is enough to break their hearts at once. After having lived in so much luxury, ease, and pleasure, I say it is what we cannot bear. Let us resist it, and improve our lands, and employ the poor, for in so doing we shall hope to escape this horrid state; we had better give up a part than a whole. If I spent in labour bring 1d. profit, and feed the poor, let us spend it in time and make no delay; for four bushels per acre increase at 15s. per acre for labour is worth trying for. In so doing many are employed in getting the articles for manure, which imparts more good to the land than we can be aware of. At present I am in opposition to Free Trade, until I can see it will be for good, but quite open to conviction if facts can be shown to me."

This extract from the "Essex Farmer" is at present enough. He proceeds to the condition of the seed-growers around Colchester, and shows what they have suffered by a "free trade in seeds." His observations on this point shall be stated at length hereafter, and answered. At present I shall only observe that a partial reduction of a duty on one article is not Free Trade.

He assumes, at the outset, that the manufacturers want to have corn from abroad in exchange for their goods to the exclusion of home-grown corn. Instead of which the manufacturers care not where the corn comes from so as it comes. The "Essex Farmer," if he has read anything on the Corn-Law controversy at all, can only have read one side, else he would know that it has been again and again repudiated by the manufacturers who advocate Free Trade, that they wanted foreign corn admitted merely to feed their own workpeople cheaper, that they might have goods produced at a cheaper rate to send abroad in payment of that corn. For my part I never saw such a statement put forth save in the columns of newspapers which defended the corn monopoly. On the contrary, the interest of the manufacturer is the very reverse of this supposition. His interest is in not having the population of England reduced to the state of those millers and farmers, and women and children whom the "Essex Farmer" saw in France, because they are not good customers to a manufacturer. His interest consists in having the population so well fed that they may be able to buy clothes and furniture. He knows that food is the first necessary of life, and that food must be obtained before clothes. He knows that bread is the prime article of food, so he first turns his eyes to the producers of corn to see if they can not produce more, because he knows there is not enough. He sees that, whenever food is scarce and dear, the working population leave off buying clothes, shopkeepers leave off selling, merchants leave off buying, and he is obliged to leave off making. If they do not all stop entirely, they stop partially: and all the intermediate persons whom they employ,—the merchant, shopkeeper, warehouseman, shipper, carrier (by road, rail, and canal); the builder and all his men, bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, glaziers, painters, and miners, colliers, iron-founders, machine-makers; and all the shoemakers and tailors who again make clothes for them,—the manufacturer sees all these arrested in their career of industry by the scarcity and excessive price of food; and he says, if it were more plentiful this stagnation of trade would not occur.

But he sees more. He sees that, when two or three years of scarcity follow each other, the great mass of the population, the working people first, and the trading class and the gentry immediately above them in their turn, become too poor to be good customers even to the farmers. When an abundant harvest does come the mass of the people are too poor to buy a sufficiency of food for their wants, and hence prices of farm produce fall much below what they would be if there was not so much poverty.

Thus the farmer in his turn becomes distressed. He is distressed in a threefold degree. He has a bad market for a good crop. He has contracted to pay a rent on the faith of high prices promised by the delusive Corn Law, and now he has low prices; and though the Corn Law has deluded him, he is bound to support his landlord who supports it; and to do so he is a tenant-at-will; he is without a lease to enable him to cultivate well if he had capital, but without capital because he has to pay what little he has in rent.

What the manufacturer wants is a steady demand for his goods, and he cannot get that unless the population are able, first to feed, and then to clothe, themselves. He knows that much more might be produced on the English soil, as the "Essex Farmer" himself knows well and admits; but to a population, increasing at the rate of a thousand a day, the manufacturer knows that enough cannot be produced in this country, not even under the most favourable circumstances, and certainly not while land is held under such tenures as it is now held under, and the farmers are, as a body, so utterly unable to apply capital and science to agriculture as they are now.

The manufacturer, therefore, looks to other countries where articles of food are produced, as tea, coffee, sugar, and corn, and where articles of British manufacture find a ready market, if we choose to take in return those things which we need, and which are to spare. No circumstances could ever possibly exist under which we could derive all our supplies of corn from those countries to the

exclusion of our own. On the contrary, our population are under-fed by one half at the present moment; and a larger supply of bread, or of sugar, would only create a greater demand for beef, and mutton, and bacon, and butter, and cheese, and eggs, and poultry, and give more wages to buy. A larger supply of food than we now have would enable our people to keep up a steady demand upon our own food markets; and a steady demand would enable our farmers to cultivate with a certainty, and that being the case, at a profit. Their bane is now, and has ever been, and under the Corn Law ever will be, fluctuation and uncertainty.

It is to keep our people from ever falling into the barefootedness and general misery of those whom the "Essex Farmer" saw in France that Free Trade is requisite. Commerce and manufactures have elevated English agriculture to what it is. Whatever eminence it may have attained to over the continental agriculture, it has attained to that through the superiority of English markets—through the largeness of the number of the buyers of farm produce, who are not themselves earning their means of buying by agricultural employment, over the same class of persons in any other country. Having attained to this, we might remain where we are, if our population did not increase in number, and if we could be stationary. We cannot stand still, we must advance; and we cannot advance without freedom of commerce.

Is the "Essex Farmer" afraid of competition with foreigners? Surely, having seen what continental agriculture is, he is not afraid to compete with it! Surely he is not afraid of the rope harness worth 2s. 6d.; the two horses worth £10; the waggon worth 7s. 6d.; the women who till the land while their husbands do the indoor work, sixteen of them coming to market with five sacks of corn! Surely he is not afraid to compete with them! No; nor need he be afraid to compete with any cultivator in Europe. The national taxes of France are nearly all borne by the land; so are they in Germany and Russia; not so here. The market price of a German peasant's or a Russian serf's food may be less than that of an English labourer's; but an English labourer will do six times the work of any of them. A difference on the same principle may be seen in various parts of England. In those countries where wages are habitually lowest labour is worst performed, and is in fact dearest. Wages are highest in amount nearest the manufacturing towns; in a manufacturing county even agricultural wages are highest; and in a purely agricultural county they are lowest. So in nations. Commercial England pays higher wages than agricultural Poland or Russia or Austria.

The "Essex Farmer" raises the question of machinery. He cannot have any practical knowledge of the machinery employed in manufactures, else he could not—with so much good sense on other subjects—suggest the abrogation of machinery, to return to the feeble and expensive and tedious modes of working. The vast number of people employed now in conjunction with machinery,—making it, mending it, working with it, but more especially in obtaining and preparing the materials with which it works, and in disposing of its products,—the vast number of those people over what could have been employed without its aid, is a sufficient answer on this point; to say nothing of the superiority of the clothing which the English peasantry obtain from it at a low price; that clothing which makes them look like kings compared with the peasantry of the Continent. The rope harness, and wooden shoes, and feeble waggon of the French miller are indicative of poor agriculture in France, compared with the more effective implements and harness of England. But the transcendent beauty and usefulness of the machinery now used in spinning and weaving, over the old spinning-wheel and the handloom, exceeds out of all proportion the superiority of English agricultural implements (and implements are machinery) over those of France.

At another time I shall be glad to renew this subject, more particularly by adducing figures in support of what has been now stated. Meantime, I must come to a close. I am answering this at a considerable distance from London, without having left myself time, and without having documents at hand, to do it as completely as I could wish.

ADAM BROWN.

AGRICULTURE.

EDUCATION OF FARMERS.

That the farmers, as a body, are far less educated than any other class of industrious persons who employ capital in this country, is universally admitted; and that deficiency exists not merely in respect to general knowledge, but in the knowledge connected with their own business. The gross impositions which have been with some success practised upon large numbers of farmers by the lords and squires who have of late discoursed at "Protection" meetings, sufficiently prove the absence of that ordinary stock of general information on the circumstances affecting their own peculiar commodities which all other tradesmen possess. No assertions as to the productiveness of foreign land, or the effectiveness of foreign labour employed in agriculture, have been deemed by the Monopolist landowners too extravagant to be made to farmers. So absolute has been the Monopolists' reliance on the want of knowledge amongst the farmers that falsification of facts, figures, and dates have been the staple of Protectionist speeches, while the principles laid down have been the most ludicrous self-contradictions. Could Mr. Cayley's silly but dishonest tract have been written had farmers in general been sufficiently informed to have read Adam Smith, and mastered the elements of economical science?

Yet it is by reason of this rural ignorance alone that the Corn Laws continue to exist. As Free-Traders, we are deeply interested in every movement towards the education of the farmers. Moreover, as agriculturists, we are most anxious for the elevation of our own class. It was, therefore, with pleasure we noticed the manly and judicious

remarks of Earl Ducie at the recent meeting held in Gloucestershire, for the purpose of establishing an "Agricultural College." His lordship earnestly inculcated that healthy feeling of self-reliance amongst farmers which alone could make such a college successful. He said:—

"Throughout the whole of the preliminary proceedings, I have always entertained and expressed the opinion, that unless the farmers—the agriculturists themselves—would come forward liberally and generally, it would be almost impossible for any extraneous support to be sufficient to accomplish the object."

This is just and true. Farmers must feel the value of a higher standard of education than has been common amongst them, in order to keep alive such an institution as that proposed to be established at Cirencester. It is hopeless to expect much good to result from the patronage or subscriptions of landowners, unless the farmers themselves embark heartily in the cause.

Perhaps there is no business which affords more room for the aids which education brings to practical pursuits than that of a farmer. In his farm he has an instrument to which he may apply with profit to himself chemical, botanical, and geological knowledge. System and order, the first consequences of education, are nowhere more valuable than in husbandry. The power of observing with accuracy, the capacity for combining and distributing the living and mechanical powers at his command, the ability to control and encourage the labourers in his employ, the habits of calculation and forethought, which are so essential to eminent success in husbandry, are only fully possessed by the educated farmer. Lord Ducie well alluded to the come-by-chance way in which farmers at present obtain professional instruction when he said:—

"The only opportunity that you have of teaching them their business is, when they come home from school, perhaps at 14 or 15 years of age; you then instruct them in what you know yourselves; or it may be place them, with a large premium, into the hands of some neighbouring agriculturist, of whose practical and scientific knowledge you entertain a higher opinion than you do of your own. But no man can teach more than he knows himself; the person to whom you may send your sons may know a good deal, he may be a good farmer and a good breeder of stock, but still unable to communicate the degree of scientific knowledge which is necessary for the successful prosecution of agriculture; and although a farmer qualified in all respects was found, it is to be supposed that he could accommodate as many pupils as required his instruction? In all points of view, therefore, it is necessary that you should support this college which will afford you an opportunity of giving your sons a sound practical education on all subjects relating to their occupation."

And his lordship concluded by saying:—

"I hope the resolution will be seconded by a tenant-farmer, who will tell you of the bearing of the question upon agricultural pursuits generally, better than I can. As far as I am concerned, I will be happy to give the scheme my best support, and I hope the farmers will do the same, as, without question, their best and most lasting interests are involved in it."

Such are the views of one of the best practical agriculturists, and one of the most thorough Free-Traders in the kingdom, upon the advantages of education to the farmers, and the necessity of improved arrangements for affording it.

Another good which education will confer on the farmer will be mental and personal independence. The landlords will no more think of dictating to an educated tenant in the way many of them have been accustomed to do, than they would to a man of their own order. Indeed, so much has this been felt by landlords disposed to retain a dependent tenantry, that they invariably object to "gentlemen" tenants, who, though in every respect more eligible than the uneducated men preferred, will not so well submit to the cap-in-hand system in which so many landlords delight. Such landlords, however, are beginning to see, that if they are to keep up their rents they must have skilful and intelligent tenants; for at the meeting to which we have referred the Monopolist Earl Bathurst presided, and several other Monopolist landowners took part. The following ebullition of ignorance, by Mr. John Nicholls, a farmer, which not long since would have been applauded to the echo, was simply laughed at. This is a good sign. Mr. Nicholls said:—

"I am sorry, my lord, to oppose anything which appears under your lordship's patronage—but this is a humbug all about your college—it's all fudge, and I'll not allow it to pass without raising my face against it. And who are the proposers of this college? Mr. Brown and Mr. Bowly. And, with great respect, who is Mr. Brown? a very respectable gentleman, no doubt, but as an agriculturist, not known. And who is Mr. Bowly?—a very respectable gentleman, too, but who is known only within this year or two as an agriculturist by the field which he obtained at the Cirencester exhibitions. I think it is too bad to represent farming as being behind—in this quarter it was never so good from the time of the Romans as now. With regard to what Mr. Kearsey said about farmers' boys not being put to the plough, I can tell him that nothing will do but industry and frugality—it's all gammon to say otherwise—there is not a lad who comes to Cirencester market who has not as much learning as will take him through the world. (Cries of 'No, no!') I say yes, yes. (Continued cries of 'No, no!') Well, produce him then," exclaimed Mr. Nicholls, amidst a burst of merriment from all parts of the room.

And why, it might have been asked, was "farm-

ing never so good as now," but because circumstances have taught a great many farmers the necessity of applying intelligence and energy to their business? What is required is, to raise the standard of husbandry to the level of that pursued by the best farmers. But this will never be done, nor do we believe that farmers will ever fairly put their shoulders to the wheel, either to improve their farming or their education, until the uncertainties and delusions caused by the Corn Laws have been removed.

Dr. Daubeny referred to the advantages derived from agricultural colleges on the Continent, and observed:—

"Those who look forward to the day when the means of supplying our population shall be provided from our own soil must feel anxious for the advance of agricultural knowledge, and this becomes the more indispensable when it is considered that the population is increasing at the rate of 700 a day. It is evident that unless skill and science be increased, the necessary supply of the necessities of life cannot be produced; but were such increase to take place, it could not be otherwise than beneficial, as the industry of the country is taxed to its utmost extent. I think a lesson may be taken by the agriculturists from the manufacturers, whose skill, as is well known, exceeds the skill of all the manufacturers in the world; but if you go into the manufacturing districts, you will find that the manufacturers, without gradual improvement, are not able to retain their position; and yet the farmers of this country rent contented with going on in the same way that their forefathers did. I think these are reasons why we should endeavour to advance in practical knowledge, and in some degree in theoretical. I do not mean that farmers should become practical chemists; but I hope the institution will be the means of supplying a number of individuals in every district, who can be appealed to on chemical subjects; but farmers generally, when anything new is presented to their notice, such, for instance, as liquid manures, should be aware of the principles by which their value is to be tested, and this degree of knowledge I wish every farmer's son to obtain."

This is practically a lecture on Free Trade, for we have seen that the genuine Monopolists denounce improvement in husbandry and "scientific farming" with as much vehemence as they declaim against Free Trade. Indeed this meeting offers fresh proofs that all the best and most intelligent agriculturists are to be found in the ranks of the Free-Traders.

PROTECTION OF FARMERS.

Amongst the various ways in which the owners of land in this country have secured to themselves peculiar advantages from their exclusive power of making laws, there is none more injurious to the agricultural capitalist, the farmer, than the law which enables the landlord to levy his rent—even to six years' arrears—by distraining and selling all the property on his tenant's farm. The evil of this law is not to be measured by the cases in which it is actually enforced, but it is in its indirect effect upon the relation of landlord and tenant that it is most seriously detrimental to the farmers and the community. This has begun to be understood by farmers, and the question has of late undergone considerable discussion—if that can be called discussion where there seems to be scarcely a difference of opinion—in the agricultural newspapers. Thus we find in the last *Mark-lane Express* a correspondent refers with approval to a letter which had previously appeared upon the subject of the "law of distress," and adds some practical expositions of the effect of that law. He says:—

"I hasten to offer to 'Cincinnatus' my tribute of thanks for having taken up this question, and with him earnestly urge upon you the advocacy of the repeal of this most obnoxious and injurious law, which does more to retard improvement in farming than any statute now in existence."

If the writer had excepted the Corn Law, we believe he would have been right in saying that the law of distress does more to retard improvement in farming than any other existing law. And the reason is perfectly obvious, for by removing from the landlord the risk of loss from taking reckless or unprincipled tenants, he is enabled to get a higher rent than the fair value at the expense of the other persons with whom such tenants may have pecuniary dealings.

This is well touched upon by the writer we have above mentioned, who says:—

"I will not now enter into the many evils arising from this law, but leave it to the hands of yourself and your able correspondent from York-shire, who has recently touched upon a few of them, but would, with suzerainty, beg to call his attention to its injurious effects in the competition for farms; for, however much landlords may repudiate the idea that competition has any effect on them in fixing the rent of their land, still I am prepared to prove that there are landlords who have said it matters not to them how their land is farmed, providing they get their rent; the tenant cannot take the soil away."

Now, though few landlords say this, they all act upon it. In fact, it is by means of competition alone that nine land-agents out of ten estimate the value of land. Those agents who really understand land and its capacity for production are few and far between. The addition of so much to the old rent as anybody will offer is a short and simple cut to a valuation of an estate and the favour of most landowners. Indeed many, perhaps most, landlords select their agent, not from their knowledge of their profession, but from their readiness to do their masters' behests. We know an instance in which the principal agent of a grandee, whose rental is said to be £70,000 a year, was originally a drill-sergeant. And, on being offered the agency, the worthy sergeant, with a degree of modesty which we have no doubt his subsequent experience of "with how little knowledge land may be valued" has subsequently worn off, intimated that, though he could keep the accounts of a troop of horse, he really knew nothing of the management of landed property. To which his lordship said, "You can do what I tell you, can't you?" and, on receiving an assurance that there would be no difficulty in the performance of that part of an agent's duties, he added, "Then that is all I want!"

It will surprise no one to hear that this landowner, a few years ago, was obliged to take several large farms into his own occupation, from inability to obtain tenants.

But to return to the *Mark-lane Express* correspondent, and the effects of the law of distress in stimulating an unhealthy competition for farms:—

"Now, sir, there is a large class of men always ready to avail themselves of this feeling on the part of landlords or agents, and will take farms, regardless of amount of rent, well knowing that land in tolerable condition will bear the whip for three or four years, which is about the average term of tenure of such tenants."

Ay, and many will enter farms with means which the slightest calculation would tell them could lead to nothing but failure, and are ultimately made victims to the law of distress and the practice of competition; and the writer justly asks.

"What chance, then, has a man of capital and honest intention by entering into competition with such men? And this accounts for the slow progress improvements in farming make on some estates, notwithstanding the well-directed efforts of the Royal Agricultural Society of England. But repeal the law of distress—give the tenant a property in his improvements—throw the landlord upon the respectability and responsibility of his tenant for the security of the rent—and I venture to assert that in a few years we shall hear no more of that bugbear—the necessity of importing foreign grain."

Or of that more absurd "bugbear" the necessity of protecting the British agriculturist from foreign competition.

MORE GAME-LAW CRIME.

The makers of our laws, dissatisfied with the extent of crime and misery their game-laws have inflicted upon the rural population, have just passed a new act to prevent night poaching, of which we take the following description from a Monopolist journal:—

"THE NIGHT POACHING ACT.—The Night Poaching Act, which has just passed the House of Commons, greatly extends all the pains and penalties imposed by the 9th Geo. IV., usually called the 'Night Poaching Act.' It is not now necessary that a poacher should be found on 'land, open or enclosed'; if he is found at night, armed, with 'gun, net, or other engine,' for the purpose of destroying game, 'in or upon the alder of any public road, highway, road, or path, or at the openings, outlets, or gates leading from any such lands into such public roads,' he is liable to be apprehended and punished as a 'night poacher.' It will henceforth be impossible for the poacher to evade punishment, for he cannot set out on his predatory excursions without rendering himself liable to be apprehended."—*Gloucestershire Chronicle*.

Now, none can depreciate poaching more than we do; we know it to be the beginning of all crimes of magnitude committed amongst the peasantry; but such harsh and stringent enactments as those above described must and will deepen the character of the crime, but will not diminish its frequency. Poaching will be common so long as the agricultural classes are so partially employed and so wretchedly paid as at present; and we confidently predict that more murderous conflicts and more wretchedness and crime will result from this statute, which is literally a revival of the old forest laws. This act will be a new engine of oppression in the hands of the landed aristocracy, of which they have already more than enough. In connection with this subject we may notice the following passage from the report of the proceedings of the Quainton petty sessions (in Buckinghamshire), where—

"The following sums were awarded for activity to the following constables for past services:—Grendon Underwood, Richard Head Holt, £1 10s., and William Sare, 10s., for capturing a notorious poacher, William Sims, of Shipton Lee, 10s., for capturing a poacher."

This is one of the ways in which the county-rates are made contributory to the maintenance of aristocratic sport and rural crime. From crime to crime, from poaching, attempted to be suppressed by such Draconic laws as that above mentioned, to arson, the crime of fiends rather than of men, the transition is so natural that the following passage from a provincial journal, published in Suffolk, where game preserves and "protectionist" landowners abound, seems a fit pendant to the previous extracts:—

"SUFFOLK LENT ARSIZES.—ARSON.—Leech Borley, for setting fire to the barn and corn-stacks of John Gayford; Wm. Giff, for setting fire to the barley-stack of John Ragnam; Jabez Copsey and Stephen Borcham, for setting fire to a barn in the occupation of James Allen; and John Double, for setting fire to a stack of straw, the property of Isaac Everett, were severally found guilty, and sentenced to be transported for life."

Oh, what a mockery it is, to hear Monopolists canting about their anxiety to protect the labourer from foreign competition, when they deliberately inflict upon him—for the sake of their own mere amusements—miseries of the fearful character indicated by the foregoing scraps of ordinary news!

MONOPOLIST INFLUENCE.

That the influence of the Monopolist landowners is confined to that direct species of control which may always be exerted by those who may have the power of injuring a humble man, and who are known to be unscrupulous in the use of it, is notorious. For instance, in the following paragraph from the local paper we learn the way in which the recently-elected Monopolist member for North Wiltshire gets up Pro-Corn Law demonstrations:—

"PRO-CORN-LAW PETITION.—The petition in favour of the Corn Laws, which is being hawked about for signatures, was sent last week to Mr. Coward, of Roundway, principal tenant of Mr. Sothron, M.P. The occasion of advancing the wages of the labourers from 7s. to 8s. a week was thought a favourable opportunity, and, on its being announced to them, they were requested to sign. To a man they refused. Mr. Sothron's boast, that he would gladly have let his election to the votes of the poor within ten miles of Devizes, may, after this, be set down as mere moonshine. It is said that at Bishop's Cannings the labourers had no choice in the matter; their names being put down by their masters for them."—*Wiltshire Independent*.

We have talked with some hundreds of agricultural labourers on this question, and we have no hesitation in saying, that amongst no class of uneducated men are the evils of the Corn Laws, and of the high prices and the fluctuating prices those laws occasion, more readily understood. Nor is this surprising, seeing the farm-labourers have always borne the first brunt of those evils, and have suffered more deeply from landlord legislation than even the farmers themselves.

In the *New Farmers' Journal* we find a droll explanation of the Huntingdon disaster. In the first place, Mr. Acland, it seems, did not argue the case so clearly as Dr. Sleight, and therefore the majority voted against the doctor! In the second place, Acland and the doctor, between them, talked the farmers out of the room, and therefore the doctor was defeated!—*Gateshead Observer*.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We continue to receive offers of contributions to the *bazaar*, answers to which will be sent by the Secretary. A needlewoman is thankfully informed that what she proposes to send will be acceptable.

"R. F." has enclosed us a whole bundle of extracts from the *Morning Herald* and the *Northern Star*; but, as he has not marked the distinction on the slips, we find it impossible to discover which is which; there seems to be as perfect an identity between the papers as exists between the *Herald* and *Standard*, the alter and idem of the London press.

"D. J."—If foreigners want our manufactures they will buy them; if they do not they will let them alone. To his second question, we answer that improvement in agriculture, as in everything else, can only be the result of free competition.

"J. J."—In the LEAGUE we know nothing about Tories, Whigs, or any other party distinctions. Ours is a national combination for a national object, and appeals for support to all who have national feelings, irrespective of their class, sect, or party.

"J. J. C."—We had some doubts of his lines, and could wish even now some alteration in the form of his stanzas, but probably our readers will excuse slight deficiencies of expression for the sake of the sentiments which the verses contain:—

O England! my country, thy state is alarming,
And dimm'd are thy prospects, once cheering and bright;
The nations around will from thee take a warning,
For dark are thy councils, withdrawn is thy light.

Amid the disasters which now all surround thee,
Can the sweet seraph Hope e'er appear to thy sight?
Amid dangers and fears which, alas! now confound thee,
O yes, sweet Hope appears—behold Cobden and Bright!

Thy famishing millions! brought low by taxation,
By Corn Laws, by plunder, O horrible sight!
Yet, amid all this turmoil, and strife and vexation,
They turn to brave Wilson and Cobden and Bright.

Thy statesmen bewildered! thy rulers decided
To pursue the wrong course quite regardless of right;
Thy sages insulted, defamed, and derided:
Sage Wilson, brave Cobden, and honest John Bright.

Thy rickyards in flames! thy great trade fast declining!
Thy paupers increasing, O, terrible plight!
Thy workmen industrious, in misery pining,
Can expect no relief but from Cobden and Bright.

Oh, Brougham! thy morning of life was most cheering,
The promise thou gavest to shed forth the light
To enlighten our path; but, thy conduct now veering,
We scorn thee, and turn to friend honest John Bright.

Oh Peel! thy "bold measure," as Cobbett foretold thee,
Thy country has brought into pitiful plight;
The result is now seen, which thy father oft told thee
Would follow thy "Bill of Cash-payment," so bright.

Distress and distraction o'er suicide bending!
The result of Peel blunders in currency's fight;
And ruin must finish the course thou art wending,
If not rescued by Villiers and Cobden and Bright.

Oh Villiers! thy conduct doth prove the exception
To men of thy order, in heraldry's sight;
Thou art honest and just, and doth scorn a deception:
Hail, worthy companion of Cobden and Bright.

As honest and fearless are those who now guide us,
We intrust our just cause in the forthcoming fight;
We cast off all tricksters who scorn and deride us,
And trust Cobden undaunted, and honest John Bright.

Then success to bold Cobden, whose mind high aspiring
Now leads the grand contest for "justice and right!"
And his worthy colleagues in the good cause ne'er firing:
Then hurrah for brave Wilson and Villiers and Bright!

J. J. C.
"J. G."—We are not acquainted with Mr. Harwood's address, and had not the pleasure of hearing his lectures on political economy.

"T. P."—The Duke of Cleveland is not called upon to pay his labourers a higher price than their labour would bring in open market. There ought to be nothing of patronage in wages, it is a mere matter of bargain and sale in which the hirer is as much or as little of an obliged party as the hired.

"Free-Trader"—The sentence was awkwardly expressed, but its purport is sufficiently clear; it simply asserts that a chance from a titled to an untitled landlord cannot injure a tenant-farmer.

We gladly comply with the request of our esteemed correspondent who begs us to republish the following from a magazine of very limited circulation:—

AN ANTI CORN-LAW RHYME.

BY THE REV. R. E. B. MACLELLAN, OF BRIDPORT.

"I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat. *** Verily, I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto ME."—Matt. xxv. 35, 40.

Alone, alone, beside the way
A Poor Man in his misery lay;
His cheek was sunk and very pale,
Weak as a child's his wasted limb,

Low words he spoke of plaint and wail,
The light within his soul was dim;
But no one asked what did him ail,
And no one seemed to care for him.

WANT bowed that frame was once so brave,
And dragged it near the loathsome grave;
WANT had debased his godlike mind,
And its proud thoughts to earth confined;

WANT had his spirit's pinions rive,
And kept its soaring hopes from heaven.
Alas! that one a little lower
Than the rejoicing angels made,

Fitted with them on high to soar,
And, in bright garniture arrayed,
With them the courts of heaven to tread,—
Should thus bedimmed, debased, expire,

His mind's, his heart's, his soul's desire,
Merged in one wish—for BREAD, for BREAD!

He pined for Bread. Around him lay
Fair fields with golden harvests bright;
The corn-stalks g'addened, and away
Tossed their brown heads amid the light.

A voice around him seems to go
And poison in his ear instils;
'Tis the sheep's bleating, and the low
Of cattle on a thousand hills.

Oh! 'twas a mockery of hell,
That he upon the parched ground
Should there be slain by Famine fell,
While Plenty smiled and danced around!

He turned his weak and bloodshot eye
On fields and pastures stretching by;
He strained his dull and sickened ear,
The sounds that spake of Food to hear;

Hope lent one brief and flickering ray—
He roused him with convulsive start,
And towards the CORN he crawled, to stay
The vulture gnawing at his heart.

He would have eaten—but upspring
A band, who with fierce haughty tongue,
And brow that gloomed in thunder mood,
And heart that 'gainst all ruth was armed,

And hand whose grasp broad swords uprear'd,
Buck drove him from his food,
And who were they? Upon their head
Bright coronets a glory shed;

He would have eaten—but upspring
A band, who with fierce haughty tongue,
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And hand whose grasp broad swords uprear'd,
Buck drove him from his food,
And who were they? Upon their head
Bright coronets a glory shed;

Titles were theirs of ermined state;
They were of gentle blood, the great,
The proud the highly-born, the grand,
The scutcheon'd Nobles of the land!
God in his kindness forth did pour
All living things that grow or roam,
To be of plenteous food the store—
They kept them from that Poor Man's home.
God on each creature he hath made
Alike his benediction shed,
On every clime and creed and grade:—
They kept it from that Poor Man's head.
God bade the soul-rejoicing light
(Of his own countenance) spread from high,
To make all nature glad and bright:—
They kept it from that Poor Man's eye.
God cast his bounties far and wide,
And bade the famishing eat and sip:—
They rose, they madly drove a-ide
THE HAND OF GOD FROM THAT POOR MAN'S LIP.

A Patriot came. Not with the drum
Or the stirring fife did that Patriot come;
Not with banners flaunting far,
Not with the "circumstance of war,"
Not with hosts and not with arms,
Not with shouts nor loud alarms:
He came with words full soft and smooth;
He came with the spear and the shield of Truth;
He came with pity about his heart;
And love to God was his only dart;
And love to man was his only helm:—
Yet he came to defeat, disperse, o'erwhelm.
Saw the nobles are gone, are melted away
Like noisome mists fore the rise of day!
Nor Noble nor King hath e'er withstood,
Nor can, the march of the True and the Good.

The Patriot nigh that Poor Man came,
And raised from the ground his wasted frame:
As a mother beareth her only child,
With accents loud and whispers cheering,
He bore him from the road-side wild
To the fields where Plenty was then appearing.
He led him there; he bade him roam
In those most gladome lands for ever;
And told him that Man again should come
"Twixt him and his God—oh! never! never!
Heaven shield us well! That Poor Man's face
Did shine as the very sun for brightness;
And his rags put on a celestial grace.
That eclips'd the nontide ray in whiteness.
And he looked and spake as the Son of Him
That dwelleth amid the cherubim.
Yes; there he staid, the Galilean mild,
And thus proclaimed in voice most sad and sweet,
As on the homaging Patriot soft he smiled,—
"I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat.
When to my humblest brother thus ye do,
The act of love and ruth is done to me:
Come, blessed of my Father! come and view
The thrones prepared in heaven for such as ye!"

A correspondent, whose hand-writing is not very legible, requests us to republish the following stanza, taken from a paper whose name we cannot clearly make out, but which we guess to be the *Spectator*. We concur in the sentiments with which the lines were originally introduced to the public.

A NEW PLATONIC DIALOGUE.

[Besides its general satire, the following *jeu d'esprit*, by a writer of mark, very cleverly points the moral of mental submission. We know not that we ever saw the *argumentum ad absurdum* much better exemplified than in the closing stanza.]

"Good gentleman in velvet, no doubt 'tis kind of you
To give my children tracts so neatly stitched in blue;
But as, poor things, they have not a stitch upon themselves,
They'd care more for your wardrobe than for your bookcase-shelves."

"Poor man in rags, blaspheme not; for all we suffer, surely,
Is less than we deserve, and should be borne demurely.
But 'tis, I own, our duty to be poor neighbour's plight,
And so there's exence for you, a sinner's worthless mite."

"Good gentleman in velvet, 't will buy a loaf of bread,
The first we've had these two days, and now we're almost dead."

Here, Mary, crawl and fetch it, for your mother is too ill;
And I'll look to Bill and Tommy, and keep the baby still."

"Poor man in rags, believe me, there's the poorhouse free to you,
That handsome house and grounds, and all so large and new—
There's a doctor there and chaplain, and guardians meeting weekly;
And when last I saw the inmates, they were shining all quite sleekly."

"Good gentleman in velvet, 'tis a life too fine for me
To live like a great man, and no wife nor child to see.
I've heard that there's a place so grand no tongue can tell,
All silver, gold, and jewels—the place that they call hell."

"Poor man in rags, your notions are as scanty, torn, and thin,
As the clothes upon your body; but 'tis all the fruit of sin.
You should go to church on Sunday and hear our worthy pastor—
An estimable man, very fit to be your master."

"Good gentleman in velvet, I once did go to church;
But the man who built it somehow had left me in the lurch:
I found no seat, but stood, the ceremonies viewing,
And wondered what the people who look'd so snug were doing."

"Poor man in rags, and heard you no profitable truth,
To light your soul's dark places and make the broken smooth?
What said the worthy rector, so learned and so kind,
With whom and his good lady on Friday last we dined?"

"He simper'd out long stories of Noah and his ark,
And of Jonah who was swallow'd by some shovel-hatted shark;
And by all his talk of deluges, he made it clear as mud,
That he was safe within the boat, and I was in the flood."

"Poor man in rags, I fear that you want the gospel pearl,
The doctor is a dean and the cousin of an earl:
And heard you then no word that, spoken in due season,
At once was Christian doctrine and gentlemanly reason?"

"Good gentleman in velvet, all who left his church behind,
The church of him the doctor, were spiritually blind;
But the Catholics were worse, for they had an Inquisition,
And called him a Dissenter, him who held dissent perdition."

"Poor man in rags, what truth to wisdom can be clearer?
The voice of Heaven is sounding, and only wants a hearer.
But truth must be believed, and not question'd without shame;
And 'tis thinking for yourself that incurs your Maker's blame."

"Good gentleman in velvet, to learn a little more,
And to pass away my time, for the hunger pinched me sore,
I went to hear a lecture last night on the Corn Law,
And though I own it puzzled me, I join'd in the applause."

"Poor man in rags, what listen to such lying tongues as those—
Those enemies of property and of the world's repose!
Your common sense alone should have told you they were wrong:
And you should have confuted them in face of all the throng."

"Good gentleman in velvet, I'm ignorant and rough,
And d-d-d not answer Parson Whate, although he talked such stuff;

And when they spoke of Corn Laws, and put the squire to shame,
I feared that thinking for myself would earn my Maker's blame."

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the *LEAGUE* forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the *LEAGUE* may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE WEEKLY MEETING of the LEAGUE will be held in the THEATRE-ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN, on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, the 8th of MAY. GEORGE WILSON, Esq., will take the Chair precisely at HALF PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK.

The meeting will be addressed by H. Warburton, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; and W. J. Fox, Esq. Cards of admission may be had on application at the Office of the League, on Monday and Tuesday, between the hours of eleven and four o'clock.

Applications for Private Boxes to be made personally or by letter on Monday.

The cards of registered Members will admit, as heretofore, to Pit and Galleries.—DOORS TO BE OPENED AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, May 4, 1844.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

BAZAAR AND EXHIBITION OF BRITISH ARTS AND MANUFACTURES, TO BE HELD IN COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE, LONDON, JULY, 1844.

The Council of the League, at the earnest entreaty of a number of ladies of distinction, have determined upon holding a Bazaar in the Theatre Royal Covent-garden, London, during the month of July in the present year, in aid of the £100,000 Fund now in course of collection. This mode of assisting the efforts of the Council has been suggested by ladies, who consider it the most appropriate method of expressing their sympathy with the objects of the League, and their approval of its proceedings. In accepting the co-operation so nobly proffered, the Council cannot omit publicly to record their grateful acknowledgments to the ladies by whose exertions alone the Bazaar held in Manchester, in the early part of the year 1842, was begun, carried on, and brought to a most triumphant conclusion, giving an impulse to the public mind on the subject of the Corn Laws of greater and more permanent value than the pecuniary results of that undertaking, unprecedentedly large as they were.

From the commencement of the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, no point has been more scrupulously adhered to than its entire disavowal from all party or political connexion whatever. Of the wisdom of this determination every day's experience furnishes additional evidence; and this, coupled with the oft-repeated determination still to adhere to it under all circumstances, renders the co-operation thus gracefully tendered not an unnatural intrusion into the arena of politics, but an evidence of active humanity and generous zeal which form some of the highest embellishments of human character.

The objects of the League and its proceedings are now matters of daily discussion, so that a momentary reference to them here will be all that is necessary. To give to labour its just remuneration for reasonable exertion, to give to commercial skill and enterprise a fair field for their employment, are in themselves noble objects, and may appear to some the only principles involved in the present controversy; but it ought never to be forgotten, that until the monopoly in the food of the people, with others of a kindred character, are abolished, the best sustained and most judiciously directed efforts for the social and intellectual improvement of the great body of our countrymen must prove abortive. The settlement of this great question involves a nation's prosperity; and the Council hope that the efforts of those who have suggested the holding of the present Bazaar will receive support proportioned to the importance of the movement to which it is auxiliary.

The first particular requiring the attention of those who may be desirous of assisting the promoters of the Bazaar will be, the formation of a *Ladies' Local Committee* in each town, whose names should be immediately transmitted to London or Manchester, distinguishing that of the Secretary, in order that a correspondence may be opened and carried on between such Committee and the Council during the preparations for the Bazaar.

Each town should, if practicable, endeavour to furnish a stall entirely; and the Committee are requested to depute one or more ladies to superintend its arrangements, and the disposal of the various articles during the days of sale.

The Council would also recommend the formation of a *Committee of Gentlemen*, whose names should also be transmitted to London or Manchester, a part of whose duty will be to canvass for contributions of various fabrics to be worked into useful and ornamental articles.

It is respectfully suggested that, if the contributions from each town were to consist in a great degree of articles for the manufacture of which it may be celebrated, this would secure a suitable variety, and, by so doing, contribute to the success of the undertaking. This, the Council are aware, cannot be always accomplished, but they consider it worthy of some attention.

There will, doubtless, be many places where the formation of a Local Committee will be found impracticable, but the Council trust that this will not deter individuals from assisting the ladies at whose instance the undertaking has been commenced, and upon whom, from that circumstance, some slight responsibility rests. The Council will be happy to correspond with such persons, from whom they hope to receive timely notice of their intentions, in order that the necessary directions may be given for the transmission of the contributions to London.

It now only remains for the Council to observe, that any article that the taste or ability of the donor may suggest or dictate will be most cheerfully and gratefully accepted, although the following classification specifies the articles most suitable for such an occasion:

1. Articles usually contributed to Bazaars
2. Articles of Manufacture, British and Foreign.

3. Models of Mechanism, &c.
4. Designs, Architectural and Fancy.
5. Specimens of Coins, Minerals, Birds, Insects, &c.
6. Books and other Publications from Authors, with Autographs.
7. Autograph Letters from celebrated Men and Women of the present and former times.
8. Portraits, Pictures, and Illustrated Works.
9. Philosophical Instruments.
10. Music.
11. Original Poetry and Tales.
12. Pecuniary Contributions.

The Council would, in conclusion, beg respectfully to request, that, as the time for preparation is comparatively limited, immediate attention may be given to the subject, in order that the full and complete success of the undertaking may be secured.

Particulars of the proposed Exhibition of British Arts and Manufactures will be transmitted to the different Committees so soon as the preliminary arrangements are completed.

By order of the Council,

GEORGE WILSON, Chairman.

67, Fleet-Street, London, April 20, 1844.

The above circular is commended to the prompt attention of our readers. We repeat the intimation of the Council, that "the time for preparation is comparatively limited;" very limited, when we advert to the character and magnitude of the great exhibition of national industry that is contemplated. But the zeal and ardour of our friends will only be stimulated by this circumstance. The announcement of the proposed Bazaar by Mr. Cobden at a late meeting has already led to most acceptable proffers of service. On this, as on many previous occasions, we find an earnest spirit waiting to ascertain how efficient aid may be rendered to so good a cause, and, as soon as the suggestion is given, outrunning the slower pace of the practical directions. The League, whenever it requires a more than usually active co-operation from its friends and supporters, can say of them as the conquering Harry of his soldiers—"I see them stand like greyhounds in the slips, ready to start." We have no pressgang of agents and stewards to fill our ranks and enforce discipline. Our vessel is manned with volunteers. We find the advantage of it. The cause is their own, and their hearts are in the work, and they watch any signal for action.

By the Bazaar, opportunity is afforded for a very important species of co-operation, which is not usually available. The meetings at Covent-garden Theatre, as well as many provincial meetings, have been honoured by the presence of large numbers of ladies, whose heartfelt accordance in the just and humane purposes for which the League is constituted was very apparent. This was to be expected, however unusual the fact of the women of this country presenting themselves at public meetings. They came to aid, or be complacent in, no vulgar strife of party, no factious clamour for factious purposes. The direct tendency of an extension of trade, by its freedom, is to extend that relief to the misery of multitudes, and effect that amelioration in the condition of the struggling industrial classes, with which the purer *morale* of their gentler nature is sure to be in sympathy. It would be an insult to imagine that the glistening eye or the applauding hand will satisfy the interest excited in their minds for the great act of justice and the noblest of charities which we struggle to obtain. They have shown, many of them have distinctly and earnestly intimated, that such is not the case. They are generously anxious to assist. And the formation and arrangements of a Bazaar furnish a mode, sanctioned by custom and high example, whereby their aid may be combined with that of their fathers, husbands, brothers, and friends; superseding no exertion on the part of others, but enhancing and enriching the worth of all. It would be alone a sufficient reason for holding the proposed Bazaar, that in no other way, conformably with prevalent usages, can the women of Great Britain so distinctly, expressively, or generally, demonstrate their perception of the value of that concession which Humanity and Justice claim from the sordid class policy of Legislation, and the spirit of Christianity demands of the Demon of Monopoly.

There are others who will also, we apprehend, rejoice in the opportunity for co-operation which this project will afford them. In many classes, from the artisan to the author, there are those who can give other and better things than money, and which for our purpose, eventually, are liberal pecuniary donations. In times of public danger, ladies have offered their jewels to replenish an exhausted treasury. And though the League Fund, however yet inadequate to the mighty task for which it is destined, is not an exhausted but a growing treasury, yet its occasion is the imminent peril of industry, both material and intellectual. Let mind and labour, therefore, record their protest and assert their claims by the contribution of their several productions. There, literature, which is the shrine of thought, shall have its honourable niche; and right welcome shall be the curious toy which the cunning hand of the workman, forbidden to figure in subscription lists, has ingeniously carved in his scanty leisure. There are few, indeed, however limited may be the amount of money which

circumstances allow them to bestow, even upon a cause so important, who may not find means of augmenting the disposable stores of the Bazaar, and contributing to the amplitude and diversity of its display.

We cannot conclude without very earnestly requesting attention to the suggestion of the Council that, if practicable, the contributions from each town should include specimens of the manufactures for which it is celebrated. So far as this hint is realised, the Bazaar will be a demonstration of the utility and grandeur of that power which Monopolist policy undervalues, oppresses, and cripples. Peers, on state occasions, array themselves in their robes and coronets. Industry points to the works of its toil, capital, and intelligence. They prove its right of existence in God's world. They are its trophies of the past, its pledges for the future; and in their presence an anti-trade policy and a starvation-creating legislature should stand abashed.

ANTI-CORN-LAW BAZAAR.—We perceive with pleasure that the friends of Corn-Law repeal are projecting a bazaar on an immense scale in the Metropolis, the proceeds of which will serve to promote the national agitation against the taxation of food. Of all the means adopted to promote objects of public good, bazaars have been found to be the most elegant and agreeable, and frequently the most successful. In their formation they appeal not to ostentatious liberality, nor to the impulse of feeling uncontrolled by judgment. They call forth, rather, private exertion; they exercise at once the taste, skill, and industry of many; and they afford, during the time required for the preparation of articles for exhibition, many opportunities of reflection upon the purposes to which the results of generous labour will be applied. Thus, let a lady commence a task of embroidery, to be devoted to a cause of charity, and her mind will frequently be irresistibly influenced by pity for the poor, and as often as she plies the needle will her thoughts be engaged upon the suffering ones whose sorrow she is labouring to assuage. Such projects, therefore, as the one now under notice, have not their power determined by pecuniary results alone, but they exercise a moral influence which passes from breast to breast, pervading families, and mingling with every sentiment of private life.—*Preston Guardian.*

REVIEW.

Five Lectures on Political Economy, delivered before the University of Dublin. By J. A. Lawson, LL.B. London, Parker; Dublin, Miliken.

In his fourth lecture Professor Lawson examines the effects which human laws and institutions exercise upon the distribution of wealth. He very justly exposes the errors which arise from misapprehending the real nature and significance of wealth. The great and small herds of vulgar thinkers estimate wealth by the amount possessed of gold and silver, forgetting that the value of the precious metals arises not from any inherent or intrinsic value which they possess, but from what has been called their forensic value, that is, from the amount of other kinds of wealth which they can purchase when exchanged.

"It requires but few words to point out the absurdity of the opinion, that wealth, either individual or national, consists merely in gold and silver: it needs not the fable of Midas, to convince us that a man may possess gold and silver enough, and yet languish for the necessities of life: it is indeed true, that any individual possessing a quantity of gold and silver is justly considered wealthy, because they afford him the means of procuring other articles of wealth in exchange; but to suppose that none other are wealthy, and that the best mode of increasing a man's wealth is, to prevent him from parting with any of his gold and silver, and even to compel him to turn everything else he has into gold and silver, involves the most obvious absurdity: and yet this was precisely what the mercantile system proposed to do—to prevent us from exporting gold, and to tempt us to export everything we had, and bring back gold in exchange, was its avowed object; thus rendering us a nation of misers, who had gold and silver enough in our coffers, but would not send any of it to a neighbouring shop to procure the necessities and comforts of life for our families. It was the common fallacy of mistaking effect for cause; a nation has gold, because it is wealthy; but it is not wealthy, because it has gold. The possession of gold and silver is a symptom and index of general wealth, and will increase or diminish with it; but to compel either an individual or a nation to part with every other article of wealth for one that affords in itself no substantial enjoyment, is an extraordinary mode of increasing their supply of necessities and comforts; in the words of Adam Smith, 'To attempt to increase the wealth of any country, either by introducing or detaining in it an unnecessary quantity of gold and silver, is as absurd as it would be to attempt to increase the good cheer of private families, by obliging them, to keep an unnecessary number of kitchen utensils.' Experience at length taught mankind that this end was unattainable by these means, for the precious metals managed to evade their restrictions, and even to the extent that the attempt was successful, it did not increase the national wealth, but the reverse, of which Spain and Portugal were signal instances. The spirit, too, of awakening commercial enterprise struggled to shake off the fetters which checked it, and the result was, that new chains were forged, allowing it, indeed, a more extensive range, but retaining, alas! a firmer hold. Gold was now permitted to be sent abroad, but only in the hope that it might return with interest; and the new criterion applied to determine the merits of every trade was, whether, by means of it, we exported more than we imported; for, if so, it was presumed that the difference found its way back to us in gold; and this, and this only, was our profit upon the transaction: and this was called 'THE BALANCE OF TRADE.' Every branch of commerce, no matter

what useful articles it supplied us with, was considered a losing and a ruinous one, if it did not stand this singular test, and every expedient which tended to bring about this result, no matter how much it deranged our commercial interests, and diminished the supply of useful articles, was at once adopted by Government: exportation was encouraged by bounties, and importation checked by restrictions; in other words, we paid foreigners for taking our goods, and we could not receive the balance from them without paying a penalty to our own Government."

The system thus exposed has still many advocates in both Houses of Parliament, whose declamations and harangues would sometimes almost lead us to suspect a more intimate connexion between St. Luke's and St. Stephen's than is accordant with the notions generally entertained of legislative wisdom. There are persons who oppose the abolition of the Corn Laws on the ground that the country would be drained of its gold to pay for foreign corn. But no man gives gold in exchange for any article unless he has more need of the article than of the gold; in ordinary affairs a man would be hooted who told his neighbours that they ought to keep their money and go without the necessities of life; but this is precisely the lesson which the advocates of the mercantile system wish to teach nations; they tell them to keep their gold and do without foreign corn; and their idea of national prosperity is a plethora of coin and the destitution of everything else. But the wealth, that is, the wellbeing, of a nation depends obviously on the proportion between its production and its consumption, and the distribution of that production so as to meet the wants of all classes of consumers. Everything that increases production or improves distribution advances the wealth of the nation; and there are no other conceivable means by which such an object can be promoted. Professor Lawson applies this reasoning with admirable force to the great commercial question which now engages the attention of the country:—

"The mode in which commerce increases the production is obvious enough: no man will go indirectly to get what he could get directly, unless he has some motive of interest or gain to urge him to it; it is not because we could not make a thing at home that we get it from abroad, but because we could not make it so well or so cheaply at home. Commerce is nothing but an application, on a larger scale, of the common principle which gives rise to all division of labour; we do not each of us make our own coats and shoes; not because we could not manage to do so if we had no other way of getting them, but because we find that we can employ our time at something else, from which we will derive a fund that will get us coats and shoes, and leave us a surplus besides. England imports some corn every year from this country and from the Continent; but that is not because she could not raise enough at home, for I showed you, in my last lecture, that she could with ease support much more than her present population; but simply because experience proves that the same amount of labour and capital that would be required to raise a certain quantity of corn in England will produce, when devoted to some other occupation, a quantity of articles which will procure in exchange a greater quantity of corn than could have been raised by employing it at home for that purpose; if it procured less, it would be better for them to raise it at home, and the trade would at once be discontinued; and if it only procured the same, the trade would never be carried on, for there would be no motive to induce men to incur additional trouble in procuring the article from abroad which they could have as easily at home. It is equally obvious, that those who give England the corn would not give it to her unless they got something for it that they valued more; for, if they did not, they would keep their corn, and let England keep her manufactures and grow her own corn. Commerce, therefore, is not, as has been said, a mere exchange of equivalents,† and, therefore, incapable of rendering any real service to a nation: such a supposition would involve the absurdity of imagining that ships and warehouses would be built without any remuneration, and, therefore, without any motive; nor, on the other hand, is it a means of enriching one country at the expense of another. For, suppose that in England a certain quantity of labour and capital employed in some branch of manufacturing industry would produce twice as many products as the same labour and capital employed in France upon the same branch; and, on the other hand, suppose the same amount of labour and capital employed in raising corn in France would produce twice as much as the same quantity employed in raising corn in England, then England and France, by exchanging their corn and manufactures, will each double its own power of production; France will have double the quantity of manufactures that she would have if she insisted on manufacturing for herself, and England will have double the quantity of corn that she would have if she insisted on growing all her own corn. I only use this illustration to show how each country is benefited by adopting that branch of industry in which its labour is most productive; just as each individual is by embracing some one trade or profession for which he presumes himself to be best adapted, while, if each resolved to confine itself to its own products, its supply of wealth would be diminished by one-half."

* "In Anderson's 'History of Commerce,' a very intelligent work, published in 1763, ten years before the 'Wealth of Nations' appeared, in reviewing the different trades which were carried on at the time, the author determines the advantage or disadvantage of each by this test. Speaking of our commerce with France, he says that the balance of trade was once in our favour, but our commerce with her is now very disadvantageous to us. 'Yet, too many of our people are so regardless of their palpable interest, as to take off very great quantities of their wines and brandies, and more clandestinely, of their gold and silver lace.' In like manner he condemns the trade with Russia as a losing one, and regrets that we cannot do without it, as it supplies a heap of naval stores."

† "The fallacy of this argument consists, as the logician will at once observe, in the ambiguous use of the word *equivalent*, which is the middle term; in one part of the argument it signifies *value in use*, in the other, *value in exchange*."

Incidentally, the professor discusses one of those clap-trap fallacies by which the monopolists have often attempted to dupe the operatives, namely, the absurd assertion that lowering the price of food would produce a corresponding fall in the rate of wages.

"Labourers do not receive their wages from compassion, nor are they raised because the labourer cannot live comfortably on what he has, nor, as would follow from the same principle, are they (fortunately for the labourer) diminished because he could live on less than he has: he is paid because he produces something, and because that product possesses a certain value to his employer; the greater that value is, the more he will be paid, and the less, the less he will receive; if what he wants to purchase with his wages is made dear by a tax, he, like the rest of the community, can get but a smaller quantity of it; and I know of no privilege which he has of going to his employer and saying, 'Soap or tobacco is dearer than it was last week, you must raise my wages.' His employer would answer, 'You do no more work for me now than you did last week, and that work is not considered now more valuable by the community, and out of what fund then am I to raise your wages, who am myself a sufferer by this very tax of which you complain.' The consumers of the commodity produced by the labourer would not be disposed to give more for it than before; on the contrary, as their income too is reduced by having to pay more for the taxed article, they will be likely to diminish their consumption of other things. In truth, the reasoning I am opposing supposes that there is a minimum of wages, and that wages are actually at that minimum, and that if this were reduced lower the labouring population would actually die off, and that by the diminution of their numbers, wages would rise."

We shall again return to these lectures; but in the meantime we earnestly recommend them to the attention of all who wish to comprehend the great principles which are in issue, and the great interests which are at stake, in the present struggle to deliver British industry from the fetters of monopoly.

Walks in South Lancashire and on its Borders. By Samuel Bamford. Published by the Author.

Bamford's name is already favourably known to the readers of the LEAGUE as a poet, and as a sound thinker, and keen observer of the social influences of British industry and its present scale of remuneration. We gladly meet him again chronicling the condition and the feelings of the operative class, viewing external nature with all the enthusiasm of a poet, examining the condition of his fellows with all the sympathy of a philanthropist; and tracing the probable results of such conditions of existence with all the energy of a philosopher. As we have only the first number of his new work before us, we shall not enter into any critical discussion of its merits, but merely give a few extracts which will, we are assured, not only gratify our readers, but also afford them materials for pleasing meditation and useful reflection. We shall first take a graphic sketch of that locality which is the principal seat of the cotton manufacture.

"What a naturally fine country is this south Lancashire! and what an interesting people inhabit it! let us approach nearer, as it were; let us cast an observant eye over the land; let us note the actions, and listen to the conversation of the people, and endeavour to express in writing our impressions as to both the country and its inhabitants."

"From Liverpool to Manchester the land is generally level, and is almost wholly applied to agriculture; but in traversing the country from Manchester to Todmorden, which is on the extreme northern verge of the district, probably not one mile of continuously level ground will be passed over. Betwixt Bury on the western, and Oldham on the eastern verge, some comparatively level tracts are found, as those of Radcliffe, Whitmos, and Falsworth; but they are small as compared with the distance, and all the remaining parts of this northern district are composed of ups and downs, hillocks, and dells, bent, twisted, and turned in every direction. Take a sheet of stiffened paper for instance, crumple it up in your hand, then just distend it again, and you will have a pretty fair specimen of the surface of the northern part of South Lancashire. The hills are chiefly masses of valuable stone and coal; on the north some heathlands overlap them, but their sides are often brilliant with a herbage that yields the best of milk and butter, whilst of all the valleys you shall traverse none where a stream of water does not run at your side, babbling all manner of imaginary tidings, and asking unthought of and unanswerable questions. To be sure, during six days out of the seven, the brooks and lowland waters are often turbid and discoloured with the refuse of manufactures; but, steal along one of these quiet dells on a Sunday morning, go over the shallows where the loaches used to lie basking, and look into the deeps, and quiet pools, and shady spots, where the trout were wont to be found, creep under the owers, and through the hazels, when their golden blossoms are hung in the sun; go plashing among the willows, and over the hippin-stones, and along the gravel-beds, where the pebbles lie as white as hail turned to stone. Go mauling, solitary and thoughtful, for an hour or two amid these lonely haunts, and you shall confess that our country is not rest of all its poetry, and its fairy dells, and its witching scenes."

"Then, the meadows and fields spread fair and green betwixt the towns. Clean, sleek milk-kine are there, licking up the white clover and tender grass. Small farms are indicated by the many well-built and close-roofed homesteads, contiguous to which are patches of potatoes, corn, and winter food for cattle. A farmer's man is never met with here whose cheek does not show that he lives far above want, and that, if he dines not on delicacies, he feeds on rude plenty."

"The smoke of the towns and manufactories is somewhat annoying certainly, and at times it detracts considerably from the ideal of the landscape; but, bad as it is, it might have been a great deal worse, for we may

observe that the smoke only goes one way at one time; that the winds do not divide and scatter it over all the land; it sails far away in streams towards the north, east, west, or south, and all the remainder of sky, and hill, and vale, are pure and cloudless.

"From the top of one of the moor-edges, Old Birkle, for instance, on a clear day, with the wind from the south-west, we may perceive that the spaces betwixt the large towns of Bury, Bolton, Manchester, Stockport, Ashton, Oldham, Rochdale, Middleton, and Heywood, are dotted with villages, and groups of dwellings, and white detached houses and manufactories, presenting an appearance somewhat like that of a vast city scattered amongst meads and pastures, and belts of woodland; over which, at times, volumes of black furnace clouds go trailing their long wreaths on the wind."

Bamford is justly proud of the class to which he belongs, and omits no opportunity of bearing testimony to the high character of the Lancashire operatives, a class of men with whom the rest of their countrymen are far too slightly acquainted.

"What shall I say of the working class?"

"That they are the most intelligent of any in the island—in the world. The Scotch workers are the only ones who approach them in intelligence; they are the greatest readers; can show the greatest number of good writers; the greatest number of sensible and considerate public speakers. They can show a greater number of botanists, a greater number of horticulturists, a greater number who are acquainted with the abstruse sciences, the greatest number of poets, and a greater number of good musicians, whether choral or instrumental. From the loom they will bring out anything that has ever been worked in Europe; in mechanics they are nowhere surpassed, and in mining take rank with the best. They probably turn out a greater amount of work than any other equal number of people under the sun. They are ardent in temperament, which helps them to support their heavy labour, but which also tends to lead them into ill-considered schemes and projects, and into the traps and snares of designing political quacks. Being of honest intention themselves, they have seldom paused to examine the pretensions of those who sought to become their leaders, hence they have been miserably duped. The late Henry Hunt was the first who obtained their blind devotion; some of his distinguished followers also shared his popularity, but of those, Hunt, as is well known, was jealous, and if any copatriot received more attention than the leader liked to spare, he kicked the aspirant, or tried to do so, and there was a feud; his own train, however, at last dwindled into something more like a country stang-riding than a gathering of Radicals."

"After him followed successive contentions about wages. Combinations, conspiracies, and turn-outs, came in their turn, and some of them were stained with blood. Each event had its leader, who, for the time, occupied a share of the public notice. Then came the three glorious days, and Parliamentary Reform, and when O'Connell deemed it needful to whisk off a joint or two from his tail, he did so, and Mr. Feargus O'Connor appeared on our stage. He has tried to enact the English Hunt and the Irish O'Connell over again before us, and he has failed in both characters, not having the nerve of the one, nor a tithe of the talent of either. Latterly, he has been holding forth about the purchase of land by a class who cannot entirely purchase bread; just at present, I understand, he is experimenting amongst the colliers; and thus the miserable deluder is hastening through life to find himself at last deluded."

We quote a passage in which there is much truth, though it is rather harshly expressed:—

"But, the Christianity of our days is, I fear, too etherealized, too intangible for the requirements of mankind. We may climb to the top of Mont Blanc, but we cannot remain there, you know: the air is too attenuated for our bodily life; we must have something of more substance to breathe, or we die. Even so is our modern Christianity: it is far too high-flighted for our common comprehensions; it is so fine-spun that we can't lay hold of it, and feel it, and appropriate it, and keep it, and love it: it escapes us, whether we will or no. The body of our Christianity—if I may be allowed the expression—is so slim and unsubstantial, that the soul dies in it, for the want of earthly, as well as heavenly warmth: it is all faith! faith! faith! our ministers forgetting, or nearly so, that faith without works is dead: forgetting that, 'it is not he that saith, Lord! Lord! but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven;' forgetting, that of faith, hope, and charity—the greatest is charity: forgetting that Dives—whatever faith he had—was damned for his want of works; forgetting that the first thing Christ prayed for, was bread; and that the last thing he blessed on earth was that same essential body sustainer, and soul comforter."

There is a tale commenced in this number which displays considerable power, so far as it has gone; and when we receive the continuation we shall take an early opportunity of bringing it under the consideration of our readers.

THE DEEDS OF MARLBOROUGH.

A few days ago there was an election at Woodstock, the Duke of Marlborough's borough. The duke's son was of course returned, *vice* Mr. Thesiger, refused by his grace. Mr. Humfrey, who appeared to oppose the Marquis of Blandford, addressed the people, detailing to them the deeds of the duke. We carefully extract such doings from the lengthened oration, that at one view the reader may observe the amount of debt due by the people of Woodstock to the worthy Duke of Marlborough. Yes, we give the duke's bill:—

To turning away Mr. SMALLBONES, farmer; the said SMALLBONES having, in his better days, lent money to the Dukes of Marlborough when they knew not where to get a shilling.

To raising the rent of 140 families, who paid 30s. per annum for cottages, but were suddenly charged from 60s. to 80s., and turned out on refusing my terms.

To prosecuting a man named HARRIS, who watered his horse *illegally*, at a pond in Woodstock. The said HARRIS was summoned for pound-breach; fined 1s., with 19s. 6d. expenses. He was sent to goal; when there, his goods were taken in execution; and he is now working on the roads (doubtless thinking of the virtue of the Dukes of MARLBOROUGH).

To the prosecution of a man named WILKES, who found a piece of "buck's-horn" (value 8d.) in Blenheim-park, and was fined in 7s. 6d. costs.

To the prosecution of a man named BARTLETT, who on the public road picked up and took away with him a rabbit half eaten by a weasel. BARTLETT was fined 15s.; in default of payment was sentenced to 14 days' solitary confinement; he had just recovered from the cholera.

To stopping a pension of 10s. a week to a man named GRAHAM, of 90 years' old—a pensioner on my father and grandfather.

To the prosecution of Mr. JARDINE, tradesman, of Woodstock, who, his wife suffering from severe illness, took her into Blenheim-park in a garden chair. "She complained of being shaken, by being drawn over the gravel." Her husband drew her on the grass, when a fine of one farthing was inflicted, with costs, upon her husband, the offender.

To the nailing up of a gate which led from certain almshouses—endowed by a former DUCHESS of MARLBOROUGH—to Woodstock-park, allowing the old almshouse entry into the said park.

And finally, to refusing to pay a man named CASTLES for the coffin of my father, because I did not order it,—my father, notwithstanding, being buried in the same coffin.

Such is the DUKE of MARLBOROUGH's bill—such his claims upon the respect and affections of the country at large, and of the people of Woodstock in particular. The bill has been harshly criticised. Now, we defend it throughout.

As to the DUKE's treatment of Mr. SMALLBONES, that, in a common man, would be an act of vulgar ingratitude, mere plebeian thanklessness: in his grace, it can be nothing more than aristocratic eccentricity—a bit of wayward humour, in no way implicating the goodness of the dual heart.

And then for raising the rent of 140 pauper families; why, the DUKE, in his palace of Blenheim, knows the comforts of a roof, and very properly lays the highest price upon the accommodation.

As for the man HARRIS, what business had he to trespass on the DUKE's water, when sure we are that the DUKE has proved a full right to the horsepond all to himself?

Again, if a man is to be pardoned for carrying away a bit of "buck's-horn," because it is worth only three-pence, is the DUKE himself safe? The bit of "buck's-horn" may be thought by vulgar people to have no value whatever; but no man better than the DUKE knows how to prize a thing which all the world beside deems utterly worthless.

In the next case, one BARTLETT carries away a half-eaten rabbit, theavings of a weasel. Now, there is but little doubt that the defrauded weasel intended to return to its repast. The DUKE knew this, and, by fining BARTLETT, only showed an acute sympathy for the vermin that cumber the land.

As for stopping the weekly pension to a pauper of ninety, the DUKE did perfectly right. The natural life of man is fourscore, and GRAHAM had outraged human nature—the DUKE is a good judge of the offence—full ten years.

Next, Mr. JARDINE draws his sick wife on the soft grass of Blenheim Park, and is fined a farthing, with expenses, for the inquiry. The DUKE, by such charge, shows his delicate value of green provender; no wrothier judge of grass since NEBUCHADNEZZAR!

Again, the DUKE nails up a door, shutting out old women from Woodstock Park. Very proper. What has poverty to do with the sun, the sky, and the fresh breath of heaven? Its only right to the earth is to be found some three or four feet under it.

The DUKE refuses to pay for the coffin of his father. Now, this refusal must arise from some misapprehension of His GRACE, who, we fear, is not sufficiently impressed with the benevolent intentions of his neighbours. What! DUKE of MARLBOROUGH! refuse to pay for the coffin of your deceased sire? Nay, pull out your purse—discharge the bill. For who, when fate shall call you from this vale of tears,—who, we ask, would for a moment regret to pay the like account for you?—*Punch*.

LABOUR THE ONLY SOURCE OF WEALTH.—It is to labour that man owes everything possessed of exchangeable value. Labour is the talisman that has raised him from the condition of the savage—that has changed the desert and the forest into cultivated fields—that has covered the earth with cities, and the ocean with ships—that has given us plenty, comfort, and elegance, instead of want, misery, and barbarism.—*Encyclopædia Britannica*.

THE BLESSINGS OF PROTECTION.—THE BLACK BREAD OF HAMPSHIRE.—Amongst the many claptrap absurdities put forward by the advocates of protection, it has been continually asserted at meetings of agriculturists, that a repeal of the Corn Laws would reduce our peasantry to the condition of the wretches of Poland and Russia, who, they say, are compelled to eat black rye bread. They forget to tell their *gobe manché* audiences that these Polish and Russian labourers eat rye bread because they like it, and that they have enough of it and to spare; whilst even, according to the statement of one of these doughty champions of monopoly, Dr. Mursham, five millions of our labouring population "rejoice" on potatoes, and would think themselves comparatively happy were they even able to procure a sufficiency of that miserable food. It may not be generally known, however, that the peasantry of the county of Hampshire do not all get wheaten bread to eat. We have now in our possession proof that there are Hampshire labourers who fare worse than Poles or Russians, although they work six times as hard. We have been supplied, by favour of a friend (who obtained it from the waggoner of a farmer residing in the parish of Hambledon), with a piece of bread, or rather of a nondescript article called by that name, said to have been prepared on that person's premises for the use of the portion of his labourers who board at the farm-house. We invite the curious to inspect this delicate morsel, which may be seen in the window of our Portsea office, 108, Queen-street. No one who has yet seen it has been able to guess at its probable composition or use. It is nearly black, and in appearance resembles a cinder more than anything else. We should imagine it to be composed nearly, if not all, of bad rye. Nothing can equal the astonishment of persons here, when told that it is bread, and designed for human food. The man from whom it was obtained was eating a part of it on Monday last for his dinner, with a small portion of coarse fat pork, and stated the bread to be quite equal to what he and his fellows were usually supplied with. We are in possession of the name of the man's employer.—*Hampshire Independent*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AMERICA AND FREE TRADE.—Our farmers are weighed down by external taxation. Their powers of consumption are paralysed by the embargoes laid on the productions of their industrious time. Before they can buy at home they must sell abroad. This is a positive necessity, and when they reach it, it remains for expediency and taste, and not for imperative taxation, to decide whether they shall buy home or foreign manufactures. Nothing can be more absurd than our attempting to foster manufactures under a system which has failed in every point of view in other countries, except in the creation of class powers, which in this country would be fatal to our institutions. Nor are the social evils which it has brought on other countries to be more dreaded than their political tendencies. In the old world these evils have been partially evaded by stratagem and by means to which we cannot have recourse. There, labour is transferable from one artificial pursuit to another, and their powers defy competition, owing to the vast capital and appliances of commerce at hand; and the only embarrassment that is felt by the masses are such as arise from a sudden transition from one employment to another. But in this country, nature has dictated very different circumstances, and distinctly exhibits to the view of every rational being, the fact that our people must look mainly, if not wholly, to their lands for their prosperity, and leave the development of their manufacturing capabilities to that natural necessity which the geometrical increase of the population will produce for the introduction of the various pursuits of a more matured state of existence. Every nation must see that we must one day be a great manufacturing country, and they do also see the absurdity of taxing 16,975,115 souls, at the rate of 60 per cent. for 9-10ths of their absolute necessities of life, on the specious plea of protection for their manufactures, which, if, encouraged to the utmost extent, would involve us merely in a very precarious competition with other countries. In agriculture, America can compete with the whole world, and when we consider that this has ever been the true source of national greatness, who will question its results in this country? When we speak of American agriculture, we do not mean the mere raising of potatoes, or the cultivation of cabbages, but we are looking at the production of staples, without which the manufacturing power of Europe would be useless to the civilized world, and the great physical energies of our own country also. Of these we have seen apparent premature developments. We have heard of over production, short prices followed by long credits, and all finally ending in utter bankruptcy. This is what must attend every country that is deluded into the fallacy of crushing the many for the benefit of the few; and that the American farmers have been cruelly sacrificed to the manufacturing bugbear, nobody can deny. And so great is the fraud and imposture laid upon him, that he is sunk so far in the depths of despair that he seems to have forgotten that the remedy is in his own hands. His wants are simply a wider market and a better price for his merchandise. Can any intellectual being be so lost as to want to be told how these desiderata are to be obtained? To such a query the simple answer would be—cut the strings of fallacy which bind your hands—abolish your tariff on the industry of other countries, and thus stimulate their powers of consumption and your own capabilities of production. Let the sixty per cent. which the sturdy farmer pays, as tribute, to the home manufacturer, in the shape of tariff taxation, be expended by the people in articles of comfort in the market, for the consumption of their cotton, corn, and sugar, and the consumers of these products will return us the tax of fifty per cent. placed on our industry—return it to us in the shape of increased consumption, higher prices, and no credits. But the tariff-mongers will say: Oh, you throw open your market to Europe to the prejudice of native industry! Poor little politicians! Who pays for the monopoly? who pays the duties? The native producer, and not the foreign consumer. We shall have no revenue unless we tax the shirts, stockings, and coats of our citizens, says another class of great men with little minds.—*From the New York Republic*.

The advocates of the Corn Laws seem to us to fail entirely in substantiating the fundamental position upon which all their arguments depend, that the present system works well for the agricultural interest. The agricultural interest consists of three classes: first, the agricultural labourers, forming, with their families, a population of upwards of 5,000,000; secondly, the farmers, or agricultural occupiers employing labourers, of whom there were 187,075 in Great Britain in 1831; thirdly, the landowners, of whom there are not above 200,000, including all the petty statesmen and cock-lords, of whom a large proportion are rather labourers than landed proprietors, leaving not above 30,000 or 40,000 to divide among them the great bulk of the landed rental of Great Britain, of £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 per annum. Now, the utmost that can be said of the Corn Laws is, that their operation has been beneficial for the class of landed proprietors, and to a certain very limited extent for the class of farmers. The latter position may well be denied, since there is abundant evidence to show that the farmers of England have not thriven better than other classes under the Corn Laws, and since every plentiful harvest brings with it a loud cry of agricultural distress. However, even if it were established that both farmers and landlords have been benefited by protection, the fact would still remain that nine-tenths of the population who live by the culture of the soil have been reduced from a comparatively flourishing condition when food was cheap, to that which we have had occasion in a former chapter to investigate. A system under which the bulk of the agricultural population live, without hope, without prospect of advancement, or even of providing for sickness of old age, upon weeks' wages about half the amount of what it would cost society to keep them in the prison or workhouse, has certainly little claim to be considered a *protection to the agricultural interest*. Already we see that agricultural wages are at a point at which any attempt at further reduction is met by incendiary fires and prebendal murder. Lower than this they cannot well go; and if the Corn Laws are to be continued under the pretext of benefiting the agricultural population, we ought in common justice to bargain that wages shall be raised. The truth is, the agricultural interest has hitherto meant the interest of those who have parliamentary influence, and can command votes at elections; the interest, in fact, of not one-hundredth part of those who live by land.—*Laing's Essay on the Distress of the Country*.

THE TRUCK SYSTEM.—A case recently reported of a

manufacturer, at Oseott, near Wakefield, in a very small way of business, having been convicted of paying his wages in goods instead of money, has been laid hold of by some of the monopolist newspapers of the riding as a charge against the Anti-Corn-Law League! The absurdity of the charge renders it almost unnecessary for us to say anything on the subject, because our readers would at once discern the very wide difference between a great party committing a wrong, and any single individual of that party so acting; in the one case, where the whole body were concerned, their acts might fairly be charged upon them, but on the other it would be a monstrous perversion of right to fix a stigma on the whole for the fault of an individual. But how stands the fact: a weaver, named Brook, summons his employer, a Mr. Fearnside, for paying his wages in goods. The case is proved, and two Tory magistrates, displaying a good deal of feeling, inflict a penalty of ten pounds, at the same time declaring that "the bench were determined to do the same in any case which could be proved before them;" and not content with this, awarded five pounds to the informer, on the understanding that it should be expended in putting down the system. This Fearnside is, we have no doubt, in his station of life, a respectable man. But what is his station? What his connexion with the League? The evidence against him said, that on 7th Feb. he had working for him—400? or 40? No, but four workmen. Here is a great Leaguer employing four men, and also a workman himself, whose acts are to throw discredit on the great party with which, for evil purposes, it is attempted to identify him. What, then, has he to do with the Anti-Corn-Law League? Is he an elector? No. Is he a member of the committee of his district? No. Is he not, then, an agent of theirs? No. The only connexion, if there be any in the world, between the Anti-Corn-Law League and Mr. Fearnside, is that he, perhaps,—for we are unable to ascertain the fact—subscribed to its funds; but if he did subscribe, so small was the amount of his donation, that the League has not acknowledged it, except among other sundry small sums. The impudence of the attempt to injure the League by such charges as these can only be matter of amusement. Nothing could more clearly show the weakness of its opponents than their thus catching at straws. We hope the Oseott committee will persevere, and, if possible, put down the ruinous truck system in their neighbourhood; but in doing so let them not be blinded by party feelings, or allow themselves to be made the tools of political partisans. [Since writing the above, we have heard the particulars of a case in which the Messrs. Charlesworth, the great coal masters and leading members of the Yorkshire Agricultural Protection Society, have been charged before the magistrates, at Rotherham petty sessions, with similar practices. We have not heard the result, but the only defence that could be set up was that the summons ought to have been issued against their foreman instead of themselves. This was a mere technicality, but which might, in point of law, prove successful, although the act of Parliament against trucking, even by a servant, is very clear.]—*Leeds Mercury*.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.—Measures are to be taken for the immediate establishment of an Agricultural College in Wiltshire. [Agriculture is greatly indebted to the League for this and similar efforts for her advancement.]—*Gateshead Observer*.

LEGISLATION.—The powers of legislation are like a portion of divine prerogative, delegated in trust; and they ought to be wielded with a large impartiality of view, a transparent disinterestedness of purpose, a serene, passionless justice, akin to that with which Deity rules the worlds. Any the slightest admixture of personal and private aims in the discharge of this high public trust; any diversion of legislative power to ends of individual interest is a crime of first magnitude against society. It is treason to the community. It destroys the very idea of community. That is not a community in which such things are done, but a mere juxtaposition of distinct castes held artificially together by force and fear. To think of men making money for themselves under show of governing and legislating for a people! It is not legislation: it is not government; it is neither more nor less than larceny.—*Harwood's Lectures*.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE POPULATION OF THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.—The returns for this county, in this branch of the census, being now completed, we proceed to lay the general results before our readers. The total population of the county, according to the census of 1841, was 1,667,054. That population is thus classified as to occupations:—

| 1841. | | |
|---|-----------|--|
| Farmers and graziers | 16,691 | |
| Agricultural labourers | 30,237 | |
| Total Agriculture | 46,928 | |
| Trade, &c. occupation specified | 640,617 | |
| Ditto, not specified | 9,582 | |
| Total trade, &c. | 649,629 | |
| Total employed | 696,557 | |
| Persons of independent means | 33,207 | |
| Almspeople, pensioners, paupers, and beggars | 9,310 | |
| Other persons, not described | 4,943 | |
| Residue of population, including women and children | 923,005 | |
| Total population of the county | 1,667,054 | |

The decimal proportions may be stated as follows:—

| | |
|---------------------|--------------|
| Trade, &c. | 39 per cent. |
| Agriculture | 28 " |
| Independent | 2 " |
| Residue | 36 2 " |

It is a fact worthy of notice, that the proportion of the population employed is greater in Lancashire than in any other county of England. There is nearly 41.7 per cent. of the whole population of this county employed, and it may well deserve the epithet so often applied to it, of "the hive of industry." It will be seen that the proportions differ very considerably from those in the 27 counties referred to in an article in our number of Wednesday week. The average proportions of those counties were—trade, &c., 28.50 per cent.; agriculture, 8 per cent.; independent, 3.14; residue, 60.36. So that upwards of 10 per cent. more of the population of Lancashire is engaged in trade, &c., than in the average of the 27 counties. This is the more important when it is borne in mind that the population of the single county of Lancaster is more than one-fifth of the aggregate population of the 27 counties. We shall resume this subject in an early number.—*Manchester Guardian*.

WEEKLY COST OF PROTECTION TO SUGAR AND WHEAT.

(From the *Economist* of the 27th ult.)

SUGAR.—Since last week the relative prices of Porto Rico and Jamaica Muscovado sugars have continued exactly the same; and therefore the difference of the cost of our weekly consumption of 77,792 cwt., above what the same would be on the Continent, and paying the same amount of duty to the State that our colonial sugar does, amounts to £70,003 for the whole country, and to £5833 for the Metropolis alone, to be added to the respective balances of last week.

WHEAT.—The price of English wheat is a shade lower this week; but that of foreign wheat is also somewhat cheaper, and the difference is not changed.

It follows, therefore, that the difference of the cost of bread consumed during the last week, compared with what the same would cost on the Continent, has been £289,460 more for the whole country, and £24,038 for the Metropolis, to be added to the respective balances of last week. The account will now stand thus:—

FOR THE WHOLE KINGDOM.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| Balance from last week | £5,735,409 |
| Extra cost of sugar this week | 70,003 |
| Ditto of bread | 288,460 |

Total extra cost from January 1st to this day £6,093,872*

FOR THE METROPOLIS ALONE.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| Balance from last week | £977,945 |
| Extra cost of sugar this week | 5,833 |
| Ditto of bread | 24,038 |

Total extra cost from January 1st to this day £1,007,816

THE FUNDS.

| | Jan. 27 | Mar. 29 | Apr. 30 | May 1 | May 2 | May 3 |
|---------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Bank Stock for no. | 195 1/2 | 195 1/2 | 197 | 197 1/2 | 197 1/2 | 197 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 99 | 99 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann. | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann. | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| Long An. Ex. 1860 | 12 7 1/2 | 12 7 1/2 | 12 9 1/2 | 12 7 1/2 | 12 7 1/2 | 12 7 1/2 |
| Cons. for Aer. | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 |
| Exc. Bills, p.m. | 75 7 1/2 | 75 7 1/2 | 74 6 | 74 6 | 74 6 | 74 6 |
| Ind. Bds. und. 1000 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| India Stock | — | 28 1/2 | — | — | — | — |
| Belgian | 10 1/2 | 10 1/2 | 10 1/2 | 10 1/2 | 10 1/2 | 10 1/2 |
| Brassian | 81 | 80 1/2 | 80 1/2 | 80 1/2 | 80 1/2 | 80 1/2 |
| Chilian | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| Columbian Vene. | 15 1/2 | 15 1/2 | 15 1/2 | 15 1/2 | 15 1/2 | 15 1/2 |
| Danish | 88 9 | 88 9 | 88 9 | 88 | 88 | 88 |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 |
| Dutch 2 1/2 per Ct. | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 |
| Mexican, 1837 .. | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 |
| Portuguese, conv. | 46 1/2 | 46 1/2 | 46 1/2 | 46 1/2 | 46 1/2 | 46 1/2 |
| Buenos Ayres .. | 35 7 | 35 7 | 35 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 25 1/2 | 25 1/2 | 25 1/2 | 25 1/2 | 25 1/2 | 25 1/2 |
| Do. 3 per Ct. .. | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 |
| Peruvian | 29 30 | 29 30 | 29 | 29 1/2 | 29 1/2 | 29 1/2 |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, April 29.—With a fair supply of English Wheat we have had a slow trade for all descriptions of English and Foreign at the prices of this day week. Several cargoes of Foreign Barley arrived since Friday; the supply of English was small, the prices of this day week were well maintained for all descriptions. Beans were 1s. dearer, the supply being short. Peas the same as last week. There was a moderate supply of Oats from Ireland, and short from Scotland and coastways; last week's prices were firmly supported, and in some instances a little advance was obtained.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

BRITISH.

| Per Imperial Quarter. | |
|---|------------------------------|
| Wheat Essex, Kent, & Suffolk .. Red 55 to 60 White 58 to 64 | |
| Lincolnshire & Yorkshire .. | 54—58 |
| Scotch | 52—56 |
| Irish | 50—51 |
| Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire .. Feed 19—21 | |
| Ditto | Short 21—23 Potatoes 21—24 |
| Scotch | Feed 21—23 Potatoes 21—24 |
| Limerick | 19—20 Short 20—23 |
| Cork | 19—20 |
| Waterford, Youghal, & Cork .. Black 18—20 | |
| Silgo | 19—21 |
| Galway | 17—19 |
| Barley, Grinding .. 28 to 30 .. Distilling .. 29—32 | |
| Malt .. 33—35 .. Irish .. 26—30 | |
| Beans, Mazagan | 27—28 |
| Harrow | 31—33 |
| Old Tack | —35 |
| Peas, White | 31 to 34 .. Boilers .. 35—36 |
| Maple and Grey | 27—30 |
| Flour, Best Town-made .. per sack of 280 lbs. .. 46—48 | |
| Norfolk and Suffolk | 41—43 |

FOREIGN.

| Per Imperial Quarter. | |
|---|-------|
| Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed .. 55 to 63 42 to 46 | |
| Rosstock | 51—61 |
| Stettin | 48—56 |
| Hamburgh | 48—56 |
| Odesa Polish | 48—53 |
| Barletta | 48—54 |
| Russian | 48—52 |
| Ditto | 48—50 |
| Spanish | 49—55 |
| Ditto | 52—56 |
| Barley, Grinding | 28—30 |
| Distilling | 30—32 |
| Oats, Archangel | 20—21 |
| Swedish | 21—22 |
| Dutch Potatoes | 19—20 |
| Beans Egyptian | 27—28 |
| Peas, White | 30—34 |
| Ditto Boilers | 32—33 |
| Flour, Canada | 29—31 |
| United States | 30—32 |
| Dantzic | 28—30 |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 22nd to the 27th of April, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|-----------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 6368 | 2297 | 2218 | 733 | 261 |
| Scotch | 577 | 801 | 1037 | 50 | — |
| Irish | — | 558 | 9780 | — | — |
| Foreign | 6358 | 8408 | — | — | — |

Flour, 5689 sacks, 300 bars.

FRIDAY, MAY 3.—There is very little English Wheat offering to-day. The little business doing is at Monday's rates. There is a fair retail demand for foreign at former rates. The supplies of Barley from abroad are large, but there is scarcely any English. Monday's prices are firmly maintained. There is more inquiry for Beans for the country; and the supply continuing small, rather higher prices are obtained. Peas are firm at Monday's rates. We are very moderately supplied with Irish

Oats; and the arrivals from Scotland and coastways are very scanty. There is a steady sale, at rather better prices than Monday. There was no alteration in the duties yesterday.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.
Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 29th of April to the 3rd of May, both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|----------------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 4310 | — | 4480 |
| Barley | 619 | 60 | 19710 |
| Oats | 1060 | 6940 | 460 |

Flour, 3160 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT of the NUMBER of QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE of CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED APRIL 27, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. |
| Weekly Averages .. | 82691 | 33151 | 41333 | 7796 |
| Aggregate Averages .. | 55 8 | 32 10 | 20 0 | 31 2 |
| Duty | 17 0 | 6 0 | 6 0 | 10 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, APRIL 26.

CROWN-OFFICE, APRIL 21.

MEMBERS RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

Borough of Huntingdon.—Thomas Haring, of No. 40, Charles-street, in the county of Middlesex, Esq., in the room of Sir Frederick Pollock, Knt., who has accepted the office of Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer.

Borough of Woodstock.—The Right Honourable John Winston Spencer Church II, commonly called Marquis of Blandford, in the room of Frederick Thesiger, Esq., who has accepted the office of her Majesty's Solicitor-General.
City of Exeter.—Sir William Webb Pollett, Knt., her Majesty's Attorney-General.

BANKRUPTS.

G. PARK, Charles-street, Commercial-road, Stepney, cow-keeper. [Turner, Chancery-lane.
S. BACHE, Milford Cottages, Commercial-road, Peckham, builder. [Buchanan and Grainger, in the hall street.
B. W. BLAKE, City-road, merchant. [Hill and Mathews, Bury-court, St. Mary Axe.
H. HAIGH, Ratcliff-highway, engineer. [Watts, Bermondsey-street.
J. W. ROBEY, Upper John-street, Fitzroy-square, builder. [Walton and Forbes, Warford-court, Finsbury-street.
W. ROGERS, Newport, Monmouthshire, draper. [Bevan, Bristol; Bennett, Manchester.
T. BAKE, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Manchester, common brewer. [Dearden, Manchester; Johnson and Co., Temple.
W. ASHWIN, Birmingham, steel penmaker. [Rawlins, Birmingham.
R. HARRIS, Liverpool hotel keeper. [Norris and Co., Bartlett's-buildings, Holborn; Norris, Liverpool.
R. D. NEWMAN, Leeds, cornfactor. [Dunning and Co., Leeds; Smithson and Co., Southampton-buildings, London.
J. SIMPSON, jun., and W. TOFF, Wakefield, Yorkshire, a nail manufacturers. [Gregory and Co., Bedford-row, London; Taylor and Westmoreland, Wakefield.

DIVIDENDS.

May 17. T. Tindall, Hastings, Sussex, linendraper—May 18. J. B. and W. Robinson, Macclesfield, Cheshire, ironmongers—May 18. W. Vassour, Rochdale, Lancashire, wool merchant—May 21. R. and J. Campion, Whitby, Yorkshire bankers—May 7. J. Murray, and W. Brown, Liverpool, millwrights—May 17. T. and A. Tompkins, Congleton, Cheshire, silk manufacturers—May 20. W. Pringle, Morpeth, Northumberland, carrier—May 23. Michael Scarth, Bishop Wearmouth, Durham, miller—May 22. R. Smith, Worcester, attorney.

CERTIFICATES.

May 17. N. Blake, Edgware-road, linendraper—May 17. H. Wood, Fleet street, bookseller—May 18. R. Maryon, Chiswell, Essex, blacksmith—May 17. J. L. Heathorn, Abchurch-lane, shipowner—May 18. W. Emmis, Brompton, Middlesex, builder.

TUESDAY, APRIL 30.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

W. G. CLIFF, Chapel-yard, Co. Lane, High Holborn, coach broker.

BANKRUPTS.

J. MACLEAN, Somerset-street, Whitechapel, carpenter and builder. [Burnell, Fenchurch-street.
S. WILCOCKSON, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, linendraper. [Hardwick and Davidson, Weavers'-hall, London; Sale and Worthington, Manchester.
C. JOHNSON, Rochdale, Lancashire, lime dealer. [Woods and Jackson, Rochdale; Norris and Co., Bartlett's-buildings, Holborn.
C. NICHOLS, Wakefield, Yorkshire, bookseller. [Willis and Co., Tokenhouse-yard, London; Taylor and Westmoreland, Wakefield.
G. F. WRIGHT, Ironbridge, Salop, innkeeper. [Clarke and Gosling, Austin-frars, London; Maicy, Wellington; Stanley, Birmingham.
J. PERRY, Birmingham, maltster. [Suckling, Birmingham.
G. E. PHILLIPS, Plymouth, saddler. [Elworthy, Plymouth; Stogdon, Exeter; Surr, Lombard-street, London.
J. PEMBERTON, Knotrop, Yorkshire, soap boiler. [Williamson and Hill, Gray's inn, London; Bond, Leeds.
G. MORREY, Stratford-upon-Avon, publican. [Robinson, Ironmonger-lane, London; Stranger, Stratford-upon-Avon.
J. GOULD, Sheen, Staffordshire, cheese factor. [Smith, Birmingham.

DIVIDENDS.

May 23. W. Goston, Gilbert street, Oxford-street, pawnbroker—May 21. C. Tapp, Wigmore-street, Marybone, coachmaker—May 23. W. Arnold, Northampton, draper—May 21. W. B. de la Velleboisnet, Coleman-street buildings, City, merchant—May 21. C. Williamson, Regent street, St. James's, hotel—May 23. A. Stocken and W. Utton, Halkin-street, Belgrave-square, coachmakers—May 23. E. Hodson, Thrapston, Northamptonshire, linendraper—May 8. J. Bunker, Lower Shadwell, merchant—May 23. E. Bernal, Liverpool, coal merchant—May 23. J. Wright and J. Davies, Liverpool, woolen manufacturer—May 21. J. Stott, Wuerdler, Lancashire, woolen manufacturer—May 21. J. Brown, jun., Tyder, Monmouthshire—May 21. W. A. Whitfield, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper—May 21. J. Botcherby, Darlington, Durham, linen manufacturer—May 21. R. and R. D. Dunn, Wakefield, Yorkshire, corn factors—May 21. J. Knight, Preston, Lancashire, mercer—May 23. J. and H. Goddard, Market Harborough, Leicestershire, bankers—May 23. J. Rose, Spalding, Lincolnshire, ironmonger.

CERTIFICATES.

May 22. F. Hillam, Cambridge-terrace, Edgware-road, ale and porter brewer—May 21. C. Tapp, Wigmore-street, Marybone, coachmaker—May 21. I. Lumley, Cornhill-road, Surrey, victualler—May 22. T. E. Lubbeck, Butcher-hall lane, Newgate-street, victualler—May 21. E. Levy, Oxford-street, and A. H. Levy, Rotherhithe, fruit merchants—May 21. C. Davil, Rotherhithe, Exeter, grocer—May 23. J. Crump, St. Paul's, Gloucestershire, corn dealer—May 21. R. Lowe, Sunter-lane, Durham, common brewer—May 21. J. Douglass, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, rope manufacturer.

London: Printed by ROBERT PALMER (of Providence-place, Upper Kensington lane, Lambeth, in the County of Surrey) and JAMES CATTON (of Number 25, Strand, in the County of Middlesex), at their printing office, Number 10, Crane-court, in the Parish of St. Dunston in the City of London, and published by ANTHONY WATSON PARSONS (of Number 21, Norfolk-street, Strand, in the County of Middlesex) at the Office of THE LEAGUE, Number 57, Fleet-street, in the County of St. Dunston-in-the-West.—Saturday, May 4, 1844.

* In the *Economist* of the 13th ult. this total was wrongly given, and the error, consequently, was carried into the subsequent number of that paper; the total as it now stands is correct.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 33.]

SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1844.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

THE COMING ELECTION.

ADDRESS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE TO THE ELECTORS OF SOUTH LANCASHIRE.

"Free Trade is of no Party, but for the Equal Good of all Parties."

GENTLEMEN,—A vacancy has most unexpectedly occurred in the representation of this important division. We feel it incumbent upon us to address you on this deeply momentous occasion, when your voice is to be given either for or against the great commercial and manufacturing interests of this county, and of our country at large.

For several years the attention of the public has been turned to a consideration of the question of Free Trade, with an extending belief that on its solution depend the security and prosperity of our national interests. In this county especially has the principle of monopoly been repudiated, and that of perfect freedom of industry recognised as the only safe basis of legislation. It is to the electors of the most important division of this county that we now appeal. The monopolists ask your support, to enable them, by law, to make certain articles of common and extensive consumption dearer than they would be if not interfered with by the law; for example, they would maintain a Corn Law, so that, when we have deficient harvests in this country, we are shut out from supplying ourselves from abroad, except at most extravagant prices, under which vast multitudes of the poorest of our population suffer grievous privations; they would maintain monopolies also in the articles of sugar and coffee, by which prices are raised about one-third, and a large portion of the people are cut off from their fair and natural supply. It is not, however, in the increase of price that the most destructive features of these monopolies are seen, but in their operation upon trade—in their limiting trade; in their shutting some foreign markets against us, and injuring all; in their direct results in diminishing the demand for labour, and reducing at once the profits of capital and the wages of the workman.

Lancashire is the great home of the manufacturing industry of Great Britain; it is in this county that its greatest triumphs have been gained; it is here that the struggle for its emancipation must be manfully carried on. We offer you a principle and a policy the very opposite to that on which monopolies are based. Free Trade is recommended to you, not as a system by which particular interests will prosper at the expense of other interests, but as a system by which all industry, and skill, and capital are left free to find their own channels of employment and reward, without the mischievous intervention of laws passed to keep down one class that another may rise upon its ruin. Free Trade in all things, and especially in articles of food, would be to us more trade, more employment, more wages, more revenue, without increase of taxation; less of poor-rates, without hardship to the poor; more of social harmony, and more of security to all than are even possible under a policy of restriction, which all experience condemns as absurd in principle, and most unjust and mischievous in practice.

But we do not deem it needful in this brief address to enter at length into the arguments on behalf of Free Trade. We are convinced that a very large majority of you agree with the opinion we have formed on that question, and that the voice of each individual elector be taken un-influenced by other motives, there would be a decision all but unanimous in its favour. What are these other motives? Among these, perhaps, the strongest is the adherence

to party ties and party leaders. We have long ago abandoned party names and party warfare; they are for the most part a delusion, and serve only to lead the people away from the substantial, to pursue, at best, an imaginary good. Free Trade is strictly of no party, and yet of all parties; it is a beneficent and just principle offered to all, promising good to all, without the sacrifice of any, and may be espoused by the intelligent and the honest of every party.

This election has come upon us wholly without warning; but it does not find us unprepared. The seed has been sown widely, almost universally, in this county; it has sprung up, and gives promise of fruit in minds which heretofore have viewed each other with hostile feelings. The past is gone: let us avoid its jealousies; let us forget its errors, except to shun them. A season of terrible distress has visited us since our last exercise of the electoral franchise. We have seen trade prostrated, capitalists ruined, farmers and shopkeepers sinking, multitudes of honest artisans of every kind beggared, the hives of industry a scene of threatened tumult and danger, and every man asking of his neighbour, "What is the cause of these calamities?" And the future is before us, less clouded for the moment, but promising greater perils, if our course be marked by no greater wisdom than the past.

ELECTORS! we ask you to think on these things. Government can only be what you make it. It is a being of your own creation. Send honest and enlightened men to Parliament, and you will have a Parliament that will pursue an honest and enlightened policy. Be no longer the sport of party names; they can never save you. Be united, as a great commercial and industrious, and intelligent community, and your free voice, given at this election, shall go far to determine the duration of that system under which your country has suffered, and is still suffering, such heavy misfortunes.

In conclusion, we implore you at this election to weigh well the principles of the candidates who offer themselves for your suffrages, and to vote only for the man whose votes in Parliament will be given in favour of the abolition of all monopolies, and for the full adoption of the great and just principles of FREE TRADE WITH ALL THE WORLD.

By order of the Council,

GEORGE WILSON, Chairman.

Manchester, May 7, 1844.

In the foregoing address the Council of the League faithfully adheres to the course hitherto pursued, not only of avoiding the remotest semblance of dictation, but of abstaining from direct and specific recommendation to the electors in the choice of a candidate. It simply offers friendly and earnest co-operation for any electoral struggle on behalf of its own great object of Free Trade. The charge of interference may be made now as it has been made before; but the shadow of foundation for any such charge is effectually precluded. The action of the League is not directed towards the elevation of persons or parties, but the legislative triumph of a principle.

It would be a neglect of duty in the Council not to appeal to the electors of South Lancashire on this occasion. The League is native born to the district. Its founders, its most active leaders, and its earliest members are mixed up with the electoral body by the various relations of neighbourhood and business or social intercourse. They cannot be called "strangers." The taunt often repeated during the London election, "persons whose homes are in Lancashire," becomes, in this instance, not an objection, but a recommendation. Instead of pointing a sarcasm, it indicates a right, and should bespeak a kindly hearing. It is the League at home. The oneness of locality may, perhaps, render more apparent than at a distance the identity of interest. The anomaly would be a strange one for the cause which has been successfully pleaded in London, to be nonsuited in Lancashire.

Free-Traders throughout the district are requested to weigh well the importance of their conduct in this crisis. The worth of particular elections is not so much at present in the numerical strength they bestow as in the moral influence they exercise. No contest which has yet occurred, unless that in the metropolis be an exception, can in the slightest degree approach to the interest which the public mind will feel in the South Lancashire election. It is related to counties as that of London was to towns and cities. The result will be a verdict on the Free-Trade question from a jury, towards whose deliberations and decision the whole country will look with lively concern. The return of a Free-Trade candidate will scatter dismay and panic through the hosts of Monopoly. It is a prize worth the utmost efforts that can be honourably made. "Up to your duty," all who can contribute towards a result so brilliant and decisive.

Remember you are a county, the first contested county, in this great struggle. You have had better means than any other county electors in the kingdom for a sound judgment on its merits. How the prosperity or the depression of trade and manufactures affects your agricultural interests is to you

matter of experience and observation. You can tell much better than speculative men in their seclusion, or the partisan writers of a hireling press, whether it would be a real good for agriculture, or for anything else, that Manchester and Liverpool should be desolate, and have to be sought for in the map as the petty villages from which manufacturing enterprise has raised them to their present wealth and magnitude. Better than the landlords of the southern counties can you tell whether your industrious neighbours are customers worth having—customers in whose thriving you have an immediate interest; as, in the injury and ruin wherewith Monopoly threatens them, you would suffer with a severity for which no misnamed "Protection" could possibly compensate. Your position is midway between such constituencies as that of the metropolis and those of what are called the purely agricultural counties. You are on a commanding eminence, to which both classes will look; and as your decision on behalf of Free Trade will confirm that of the one, it will stimulate the other to the acquirement of better information, and the conquest of cherished prejudice. All eyes are on you. Be truthful, vigorous, and—triumphant!

With you, first, the question is thoroughly isolated from party. The proffered co-operation of the League comes to you entirely irrespective of the distinction of Whig and Tory. The Council deem it an advantage that they have had the opportunity of volunteering the best aid they can render before you have made choice of a candidate. A trustworthy Free-Trader is all they ask. His party is nothing to them, nor, in their apprehension, to you or to the country. However that may be, they leave it to those who still feel an interest in worn-out lines of political demarcation, only desiring its paramount place for the one great practical question of the day. That question they will not compromise, and they trust that in future no constituency will compromise it for the sake of any party predilections or antipathies whatever. A Tory Free-Trader is as welcome as a Whig; a Whig Monopolist as objectionable as a Tory. "Give us Free Trade" is what we ask of the Legislature, collectively and individually. The party which will do that is our party; the leaders who will conduct to that are our leaders. We have no side aims, concealed purposes, or ulterior objects. Free Trade is first and last of what we seek; and you, men of South Lancashire, may render most essential services towards its attainment.

This is no request for you to become martyrs in your own interests; though it may and does imply in you the energy of heroism, and that moral courage which leads the way in a new path of wise and beneficent policy. Free Trade is the interest of all classes. It is the national want. In all the variety of your occupations and connexions, we believe the unrestricted interchange of commodities will prove a benefit. Amongst you, more than in most other districts, are the pursuits of agriculture and manufacture followed contiguously. You represent the blended interests of the community. There is consequently more of genuine sympathy and less of that factitious jealousy which has been elsewhere cherished. The senseless charge of either of the great industrial classes seeking the ruin of the other, will find no credence in your neighbourhoods. You know better. Should the calumny be repeated, that the League desires the destruction of agriculture, you will silence it with the scorn it merits. With fair play and a secure holding, your farmers know that they are able, side by side with your manufacturers, to defy the world's competition. It is for yourselves, then, that you will struggle; for yourselves and your country; for the cause and rights of honest industry all the world over.

The speech of Mr. Villiers at the recent meeting of the League in London well described the effect of the metropolitan election on remote nations. Everywhere it animated the friends of Free Trade, and inspired the expectation of the general adoption of a more just and generous policy. In the interval, that effect may have cooled and subsided; you will revive it with tenfold power. The return of a Free-Trade candidate for South Lancashire will mark progress. It will show the onward march of our principles, and be hailed in all countries as the brightest omen of coming success. Strive for it, then, with cordial union, regardless of class or party. It is an object too good and great to be sacrificed either for fear or favour. Be united, and it is within your grasp. It only requires, in the old and homely, but expressive phrase, "A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together!"

EXETER ELECTION.

The following case of oppression and intimidation will provoke an indignant comment from every right-minded reader which we need not anticipate. We shall keep a careful record of all such cases brought to our notice, and take care to expose the petty tyranny of those "Tritons of the minnows" who can mimic nothing of aristocracy but its tyranny, and who can ape fashion in nothing but oppression. Such persons are too contemptible to be hated, but unfortunately they are also too mischievous to be utterly despised.

Mr. Chas. Snowdon's statement, taken by C. Richards, solicitor, 8, Bedford-circus, Exeter, May 2, 1844.

Mr. S. stated that on Saturday, the 20th of April, he was in the employ of Messrs. Hayman, coach-builders, Exeter. Mr. Snowdon served his apprenticeship of seven years with Messrs. H., and has worked at different periods altogether, since, one year and five months in the saddlery and harness department, without the slightest complaint ever having been made against him. On the 20th of April last Mr. Wm. Tancock, the foreman over the saddlery department, called Snowdon into the front saddlers' shop, and asked him if he had promised his vote, to which he replied, "I have." Tancock then said, "Do you intend to vote?" Snowdon said, "I do." Tancock then said, "Shan't you change your mind?" Snowdon said, "I shall not—I see no occasion for it." Tancock said, "I am very sorry for it, Mr. Hayman thinks it is sadly against his interest, and, if you intend to vote that way on Monday morning, you must leave to-night." Snowdon said, "As that is the case I certainly shall vote." Wm. Ballwinson and Edward Rowe (an apprentice), neither of whom are voters, were present in the shop and heard the foregoing conversation. Mr. Snowdon went to work on Monday morning, 22nd of April, as usual (the day of election), and saw Tancock, who again said, "Messrs. Hayman will not keep any one who votes that way;" and Snowdon said, "I shall vote." Tancock then paid Snowdon his wages and discharged him.

Snowdon has been out of employment ever since, and is not now in prospect of any work, but would not like to leave Exeter if it could be so arranged.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Thirteenth Week, ending Saturday, May 11.

Last week we had the pleasing satisfaction of exhibiting Mr. Goulburn, in his official capacity, as an embryo or novitiate FREE-TRADER, and demonstrating to the House of Commons and the country, that the beneficial results of the partial Free-Trade experiment in the new tariff were so unequivocally displayed at the Custom-house and in the Exchequer as to justify further progress in the same direction. This week we have the additional pleasure of seeing Sir Robert Peel acting as the NATIONAL LECTURER on Economical Science; and conveying to the whole country recondite matters in a popular form, rendering that intelligible to the meanest capacity, from which, but a few years ago, even very clever men shrunk, in despair of being able to comprehend.

For all who are familiar with the FREE-TRADE agitation cannot but recollect how "CORN and CURRENCY" were regarded as linked together by a bond far more mysterious and inscrutable than that by which the Siamese twins were knit. Talk to people about "Corn," and they would shake their heads, and say, "Ah, true, but then there's the Currency!" Reverse the matter, and talk about "Currency," and they would again shake their heads and reply, "Yes, but there's the action of the Currency on Corn!" Within these two awful words, Corn and Currency, there appeared to lie an impenetrable mystery, which baffled even the acutest intellects. This was the great difficulty which beset the Anti-Corn-Law League in the outset of its career. People would have it that the subject was mysterious and beyond their comprehension; and it was only by iteration and reiteration—by "line upon line, and precept upon precept"—that the imaginary difficulties disappeared, that the clouds of fancy rolled away, that foolish fallacies were dissipated, and fraudulent arguments shattered to pieces, and the simple truth about corn stood revealed in all its easily comprehended simplicity. And now we have the aid of Sir Robert Peel to do a similar thing for currency. His speech, delivered by him with all the weight of his station as head of the Government, will do much to unravel the tangled skein in the national mind. It is now beginning to be clearly understood that the only cause of the near relationship of corn with currency is the simple fact, that corn is the main article of subsistence; and therefore the thing with which we buy, and the article of which we buy the most, must have a greater affinity than any other. Were it not for this greater necessity, this greater consumption, we might just as well talk of "Currency and Sugar," or "Currency and Tea," or "Currency and Hats," as of "Currency and Corn."

The speech of Sir Robert Peel, on Monday night last, occupied (calculated by a critic's stop-watch) exactly three hours in delivery; for he rose at ten minutes past five, and sat down at ten minutes past eight o'clock. During all this time the House was full; and, with the exception of a few whose stomachs always get uneasy at the hour of dinner, which is recognised as seven o'clock, there was no weariness, no inattention. In truth the speech, as a work of art, was an admirable one. A very clever reporter, who was taking notes of it, said to the writer, "This is like reporting mathematics!" meaning thereby that there was such a continuity both of style and argument, that not a sentence could be omitted without spoiling the sequence. It was not a profound speech; it was a practical one: for Sir Robert Peel expressly declared that he would avoid all subtleties, refinements, and acute puzzles, and deal in a common-sense way with the matter in hand. As a statesman, with a practical measure before him, he evinced in this skill and sagacity. For it is all very well for your MILLS and your TOOKES—clever men, undoubtedly—to sit in their closets, and try, with their piercing eyes, not only to reach the verge of the hori-

zon, but even to see over it; but a Minister of the State, making a great change, has conflicting interests to reconcile, vested interests to conciliate, and passions to soothe, otherwise his measure will be overthrown. It was Burke who remarked, "A statesman differs from a professor in a university: the latter has only the general view of society; the former, the statesman, has a number of circumstances to combine with those general ideas, and to take into his consideration. Circumstances are infinite, are infinitely combined; are variable and transient; he who does not take them into consideration is not erroneous, but stark mad—metaphysically mad. A statesman, never losing sight of principles, is to be guided by circumstances; and, judging contrary to the exigencies of the moment, he may ruin his country for ever."

Gold, as it has been received from the earliest, so is it likely to be acknowledged till the latest period, as the great and universal medium of exchange amongst civilized men. Whatever aid may be derived from the junction of silver, or the assistance of copper or other metals, gold must still retain its place as the sovereign of metals, the monarch of money, the universal standard, to which all nations must bring their transactions, and regulate by it their commercial intercourse. Gold, therefore, must be a prime article of import and export in all countries with a particle of foreign trade; its value will rise and fall, like the value of other articles, according to the rate of supply and demand; but wherever intercourse is free, that value will remain tolerably steady, because those who make profit by the merchandise of bullion are ever on the watch to restore the balance by export or import.

But paper money is a modern creation, whose uses have hitherto blinded us to its abuses; a power which we can instantly summon to our presence and service, but, like the novice with the enchanter's book, have hitherto shown how little able we are to control. Paper money, unlike gold, has scarcely any intrinsic value; it can be promptly and cheaply manufactured; and it has conveniences which render its use essential in the services of mercantile life. Its value is based on FAITH; its use is derived from "suspicion asleep;" and hitherto all experience has shown that we can in no manner sustain its credit, or prevent it from doing mischief, except by effectually controlling its issue, and securing its prompt convertibility into CASH. For a "bank note" is a PROMISE TO PAY, taken on the faith that the man or men who has or who have put it out, have lands, goods, ships, gold, or valuable securities with which to redeem their credit. These notes are exchanged, like gold, for labour, materials, or pleasurable enjoyment; they pass from hand to hand as payment for an equivalent in bread, meat, liquors, or other valuable considerations; but the last hand into which they come must also have the power to reconvert the "promise to pay" into cash, or else the bank note loses its value, and a practical fraud has been committed.

There are a number of people who think that the trade in bank notes should be as free as the trade in anything else; and that no more danger will arise from a free manufacture of paper money, resting on mutual credit and confidence, than from the free manufacture of any other article. But experience tells against this opinion; and within the last half century three nations have felt, in tremendous force, the evils arising from the abuse of paper money. These nations are France, Britain, and the United States: France, during the first revolution, when the over issue of the state paper money, called *assignats*, caused fearful havoc; Britain, during the war, when the Bank Restriction Act, though giving, in the first instance, an unnatural expansion of trade, and a fictitious prosperity, entailed evils on us under which we are suffering at the present moment; and the United States at different periods, but especially within the last eight or nine years. Their experience ought to sink deep into every commercial nation the lesson which has been taught through so much suffering—a lesson which proclaims emphatically that, though paper money may be, like fire, a necessary agent and a useful servant, it is also, like fire, a terrible master,—as a river carefully held within embankments, it may serve as a convenient medium of transit, but when it rises as a flood, it sweeps everything valuable away exposed to its resistless fury.

In order fully to understand Sir Robert Peel's speech, we must bear in mind that he is the author of the bill of 1819, by which the Bank of England was compelled to return to cash payments; and in his speech of that year, so far back as twenty-four years ago, he uttered precisely similar sentiments, the only difference being that the opinions of 1819 appear more matured, if not more decided, than in 1819. The act of 1819 was a measure essentially required by every consideration of public duty, and by the dictates of common sense, as well as of common safety. It ought, indeed, to have been accompanied with a measure of FREE TRADE; and freedom of industry, resting on a currency secured from unnatural expansion and contraction, would have spared us nearly all the commercial evils we have since endured.

With these introductory remarks we may proceed to give as brief a summary as possible of the speech of Monday last. The first portion of it was occupied in enunciating those "elementary principles" on which Sir Robert Peel considered the whole of this important subject to rest, and the statement of which, on great occasions, was useful, in recalling to the public mind the true nature of the basis of a system involving every transaction of which money forms a part. In 1833 the charter of the Bank of England was renewed, and continued till 1853, with the proviso that at the end of the first ten years, Parliament might interfere, on a six months' notice, to be given through the medium of the Speaker. That period expires in August next, and the Government, availing itself of that opportunity, now came forward, in the discharge of a great public duty. He asked for no decision that night; he would merely move his resolutions *pro forma*, and leave the matter to the calm consideration of the House and the country, satisfied that this great question would not be prejudiced by party predictions or hasty conclusions. The first principle he laid down, was the importance of being agreed as to what constitutes the measure of value, and what the standard. What was the meaning of a pound sterling? Was it a mere imaginary quantity, or a definite signification? According to the ancient monetary policy of the realm, a pound meant a certain defined weight in gold, of a certain fineness, and a note representing a pound on paper must, therefore, signify a promise to pay a certain amount in the precious metals.

From the fatal period of the Bank Restriction Act, in 1797, the public mind had not been directed to the monetary controversy till 1810, when the difference between the value of paper and gold raised that great controversy on the subject, in which the names of the first Earl of Liverpool, Francis Horner, David Ricardo, and others, are noted as having announced sound views at a time when the wildest speculations were afloat. Some of these latter he quoted, and raised great laughter by the absurdity of the sentiments. One writer talked of the sense of currency as compared with commodities; another that currency was neither gold nor silver, but a something set up in public imagination; and so forth. If he were to judge from the terminable pamphlets, and even handsome octavo volumes, which now issued from the press, he must draw the conclusion that at the present day there was as little agreement on, or comprehension of, the nature of the standard of value. Producing one volume, the letters of the Birmingham "Gemini," he once more excited loud laughter, by intimating his opinion that no town but Birmingham could produce such a work, and no one man could write such an amount of nonsense as it contained; for instance, "Gemini" laughed at the idea of using the same standard of value as was in use 300 years ago, for the increase of population and property required a different one; a proposition about as reasonable as to say, that, on account of the increase of railroads, the foot measure should be increased to a foot and a half. What was the true reason why the ounce of gold was fixed at £3 17s. 10½d.? Because that was the exact relation which gold bore to silver; and it would be found that in the bullion market the relation between gold and silver was the same as it was a century and a half ago. In truth, gold and silver would defy all legislation, in order to alter their permanent value in commerce. Some argued for a double standard of gold and silver; but, with the increasing supply of gold from Russia and elsewhere, he doubted the policy of this. Bullion was a commercial article, regulated by commercial laws; it was distributed according to reasons the causes of which we could not dive into, but which enabled each country to command so much of it as its necessities required. And coin must be held to be identical with bullion, and to be subjected to the same general law. Exceptions might be taken, which we might find difficult to explain, just as Sir Isaac Newton found phenomena adverse apparently to his great theory; but these did not invalidate the general principles. In a new state of society it might be very expedient, either to erect a double standard, to abolish bank-notes altogether, or to adopt Ricardo's proposition, of paying notes in gold bars of a certain specified weight and fineness; but in our present condition the measure of value, gold, which we have had for the last century (with the exception of the period of the Bank Restriction), was the most expedient. Seeing, then, that most of the great writers on the subject were in favour of a single standard; and that in practice our standard was gold, with silver as a mere ancillary coin; he thought it the most convenient course for the public safety, as well as the most consistent course, to adhere to it. Money he would define to be "the coin of the realm;" and bank-notes to be promissory notes payable in the same coin. He would not encumber himself with the consideration whether or not deposits, checks, and bills of exchange performed the functions of money. He looked upon promissory notes payable on demand as having a wholly distinct character. They were a substitute for money, passing from hand to hand, operating on prices as money does, and performing all similar functions. Their use was to economize the use of metallic money; and if by bank-notes we dispensed with five or six millions in the precious metals, we only sent them to other countries or to other uses. It had been supposed that an issue of bank-notes did not affect the foreign exchanges; but facts had settled that long ago. A century ago the Bank of England had found that a reduction of its circulation had rectified the exchanges; and there was a remarkable Parliamentary Report, as far back as 1804, on the state of the exchange between England and Ireland, which afforded an instance, that by a reduction of the circulation of the Bank of Ireland the exchange was restored to par. The first Lord Liverpool had pointed out that it was a common artifice to confound paper credit with paper circulation. The unquestionable characteristic of paper money was its convertibility into coin at the will of the holder; and having established this, we need not be afraid of any quantity of bills of exchange. Some great writers, as Adam Smith and Ricardo, took the fact of immediate convertibility as the sufficient security of a paper circulation. But they overlooked an important consideration. Immediate convertibility was no security against excess of issue; and, therefore, no security against loss. Country bankers, holding the opinion that they had no direct control over their issues, and regulated by rise in prices, and consequent active speculation, were under the influence of a system by which they were led to increase their circulation at the very time when they ought to diminish it. Immediate convertibility, therefore, stimulated by unlimited competition and without control, was no security; of which the United States, in the derangement of its monetary concerns and the destruction of its public credit, afforded a recent and striking proof. In addition to immediate convertibility, there must be some check on or control over issue. He agreed generally with Lord Althorp, that a single bank of issue, under the control of the Government, might be rendered far more mischievous than beneficial; and, considering it true policy to work with such instruments as we have, he proceeded to state the intentions of the Government.

The Bank of England is to retain its present privileges; but there is to be a complete and distinct separation between its two departments of issue and banking, which are to be managed by different officers, and under a different system. The issue department is to be under the controlling influence of the new powers of supervision and publication which are to be conferred; the banking department is to be unrestrained, and left to free competition; the issue department is to be based on public securities to the amount of £14,000,000; and there is to be a weekly publication, full and complete, of accounts, comprising the notes in circulation, the quantity of bullion, and the extent of fluctuation. This weekly publication of accounts is a most important feature. It will entirely break up the old vicious habit of concealment which used to be carried to a most ludicrous extent. Turning to other banks, he proposes to draw a distinction between the business of issue and of banking; the one to be controlled, the other to be thrown away.

open to competition. No new bank of issue to be constituted; but existing banks of issue are to retain their privileges, though they are not to be allowed to exceed a certain rate of circulation, to be ascertained by averages of their previous issues, and are to be subjected to the weekly publication of their liabilities. Joint-stock banks are to be enabled to sue and be sued; the acts of directors are to bind the concerns, but shareholders are to be freed from the responsibilities of the law of partnership, to which they are at present exposed, of being liable for the acts of individual shareholders. At present joint-stock banks are prohibited from accepting bills under six months; they are henceforth to be placed on a perfect equality with other banks in this respect. But if the privilege be abused, by the multiplication of small bills, he gave distinct notice that he would be ready to come down to Parliament to ask for power to put a stop to the abuse. All banks of issue are also to be compelled to make a periodical publication of the names of all partners, so that the public may have opportunity of knowing from time to time who are responsible; which, with weekly publications of issues, would be a great public benefit. But he would not call for balance sheets, as these were delusive; nor set a minimum to the value of shares; nor require that existing banks should invest a portion of their paid-up capital in Government securities. But with banks to be hereafter established they were free to act as they pleased. No new joint-stock bank can be constituted without the sanction of the Government, in order to registration, with a defined form of trust deed, and a regular audit of accounts.

Returning to the Bank of England, he explained, once more, that the security for its future issues is to be £14,000,000, of which £11,000,000 is to be the debt owing to it by the Government, and the remaining £3,000,000 on Exchequer bills and other Government securities. The Bank may increase its circulation beyond the £14,000,000; but it must be with consent of three members of the Government, and all profit on that increased issue is to be transferred to the state. The legal tender clause is to be continued; the charter to run for twenty-one years, with liberty at the end of the next ten years for Parliament to interfere, on notice given, should the public mind, on experience, determine to have only one bank of issue; and though, by the new plan, the profits of the Bank on its issues will be considerably reduced, the amount paid by Government for the management of the national debt is not to be increased, a proposition with which the governor and deputy-governor have expressed, on behalf of the directors, their cordial acquiescence.

Sir R. Peel does not intend at present to meddle with the banking system of Ireland or Scotland, and will say nothing at present about "small notes," being unwilling to raise a storm about his head, or to encumber the present measure with details which may be reserved for future consideration. The only exception to this is the extension of the restriction to Ireland and Scotland of erecting new banks of issue, and subjecting future joint-stock banks to the new regulations. He concluded by referring to the past monetary crisis in this country, which his measure will tend to control and prevent, by giving steadiness to the measure of value, diminishing inducements to fraud, speculation, and gambling, and giving a healthy action to commerce.

On Monday, before the House resolved itself into committee on the Bank Charter, Lord John Russell rose, and in a few words alluded to the present critical state of the affairs of India, expressing his opinion that the transactions between the Government and the East India Company ought, without delay, to be brought under the consideration of Parliament, and he concluded by a kind of appeal to those members who had notices of motion on the paper for the following day to give way, in order that Mr. Hume might have precedence for his motion for copies of the correspondence between the Board of Directors and the Cabinet respecting the recall of Lord Ellenborough. At the House seemed to concur in the suggestion, Mr. Cobden and Lord John Manners, whose motions stood first upon the notice paper, gave way, and in consequence the motion of the hon. member for Stockport did not come on for discussion on Tuesday. Our readers will remember that this motion was for an inquiry into the effects of Protective Duties on the National Revenue.

As there is sometimes a little disappointment felt when some important motion, which appears in the papers to be fixed for a particular day, fails to come under discussion, we think it may not be amiss to explain the mode of proceeding in the House in reference to such matter. The rules preclude a member from giving more than fourteen days' notice of a motion. Formerly it was the practice to write the notices in a book which lay upon the table of the House, and, as the names were called in the order in which they were inserted, there was always a great rivalry to be first on the list. Hon. members went down to the House before prayers, and took their seats as near as possible to the table, and just as the Speaker took the chair a general scramble occurred, in which not unfrequently half-a-dozen hands were grasping the notice-book at once. These unseemly exhibitions led to a reform; and the practice now is for members to write their names on separate bits of paper, which are put in a ballot-box, and each name is called by the Speaker as it is drawn by the clerk. There are frequently a dozen and sometimes a score of notices for the same day; and if the first on the list should involve a long debate, the rest are liable to be dropped; in which case the notices must be renewed in the same way as before. It should also be added, that these notices of motions are restricted to Tuesdays and Thursdays only; Mondays and Fridays being at the disposal of the Government, and Wednesday being, by general assent, a kind of half-holiday.

HIGH PRICE OF LAND.—Since the sale by public auction, at the Mart, London, by Messrs. Harvey and George, on April 11th, of about 300 acres of valuable marsh grazing land, the property of Henry King, Esq., of East Ham, Essex, much of which realised upwards of £100 per acre, the remaining part of that gentleman's marsh land, situate in East Ham, has been sold by private contract, comprising about 200 acres freehold, and land-tax redeemed, which has realised upwards of £21,000; thus together making a total of about 500 acres of land, possessing no local advantage beyond that of grazing cattle, which has realised upwards of £50,000. The land is of first-rate quality, and most of it within six miles of Smithfield. The 200 acres have been bought by a brother of the late Lord Russell.—*Special Enquirer.*

MEETINGS.

GREAT MEETING AT COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.

The usual weekly aggregate meeting of the members and friends of the Anti-Corn-Law League took place on Wednesday evening in Covent-garden Theatre. Henry Warburton, Esq., M.P. for Kendal, in the chair.

The doors were thrown open at seven o'clock, and in a very few minutes every seat in the spacious building was occupied. At half-past seven o'clock the Chairman, attended by several influential members of Parliament, and other supporters of the cause of Free Trade, entered the theatre amid the enthusiastic cheering of those assembled. At this time, among others on the platform, we observed the following gentlemen—(Mr. Bright, M.P. being unfortunately absent through a severe domestic affliction):—

Henry Warburton, Esq., M.P., in the chair; Hon. C. Pelham Villiers, M.P., Benjamin Smith, Esq., M.P., Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., the Lord Provost of Glasgow, John Wilson, Esq. (Dundee), Professor Lieber, Robert R. Moore, Esq., Hon. Edward P. Bouverie, Colonel Tuckett, W. A. Wilkinson, Esq., P. A. Taylor, Esq., W. S. Burton, Esq., William Hawes, Esq., William Graham, Esq., John Evans, Esq., Dr. Cooke Taylor, T. Sharwood, Esq., G. Dunn, Esq., — Chapman, Esq., J. Coulthard, Esq., C. J. Broome, Esq., T. Poulter, Esq., John Lalor, Esq., William Leaf, Esq., Major Reid R-vell, Press Granger, Esq., Rev. E. Muscutt, J. B. Scott, Esq. (Manchester), Thomas Allen, Esq., James Carke, Esq., Thomas Brown, Esq., Mr. John Gibbs (Aylesbury), R. G. Welford, Esq., William Elliott, Esq., Samuel King, Esq., W. A. Smith, Esq., Michael Seward, Esq., Samuel Watson, Esq., A. Coquihoun, Esq., J. Chambers, Esq., John Brown, Esq. (Wareham), Richard Forrest, Esq., Henry L. Keeling, Esq., Rev. Richard Fodman, Rev. H. Miram, Lawrence Rawstron, Esq. (Manchester), Henry Rawson, Esq. (Manchester), Samuel Harrison, Esq., James Brotherton, Esq., William Henry Burke, Esq., J. T. Burke, Esq. (Tottenham), Thomas Turner, Esq. (Bridgewater), H. R. Marriott, Esq., W. Thornbrough, Esq., W. Green, Esq., John Macfarlane, Esq. (Edinburgh), S. Holbein, Esq., R. O. Fuller, Esq., Robert Bagshaw, Esq., Rev. W. J. Masie (Manchester), &c.

The CHAIRMAN having advanced to the table, said:—I believe my first duty as chairman is to call upon the Secretary to read the minutes of the last meeting, which I now desire him to do.

Mr. SAUL then read the minutes of the last meeting.

The CHAIRMAN again came forward, and spoke as follows:—Gentlemen and ladies, this is the first of the meetings of the Anti-Corn-Law League assembled in this place which I have had the honour of attending. You are not to suppose from that that I am a novice in my opposition to the Corn Laws (cheers); because, if anybody has traced the progress of the opposition to the Corn Laws, he will find that ever since the year 1826, when I first entered Parliament, I never ceased in my hostility to that measure, and down to the most recent periods I have continued to give to it my unswerving opposition. (Great cheering.) As this is the first meeting at which I have had the honour of meeting the League since I was returned for the borough of Kendal (cheers), I take this opportunity of thanking the League for the sympathy which they evinced upon that occasion for my return. (Cheers.) Not that their aid was necessary, because I am happy to say that the electors of Kendal, of their own accord, entertained such strong opinions upon Free Trade, and such abhorrence of the Corn Laws, that I believe any candidate opposed to those Laws, without the aid of the League, coming forward upon Free-Trade principles would have succeeded; but, nevertheless, as they were kind enough to show their sympathy for my success, and to attend Anti-Corn-Law meetings whilst the election was proceeding, I take this opportunity of returning them in public my best thanks for their conduct upon that occasion. (Great applause.) Now, you have been so often lectured upon the history of the Corn Laws, and all their abominations, that it is rather difficult to find any new topics connected with this subject on which to address you; I will, therefore, go back to my first recollections of the subject—to the carrying of these Corn Laws in 1815. You all know the history of it (hear, hear); and I recollect the state of public opinion at the time. (Hear, hear.) The feeling at the time was, that, as the ports of the Continent by the substitution of peace for war had generally been thrown open, the price of imported corn would be much lower than it had been during the war. (Hear, hear.) The general belief of all thinking men then was that the new Corn Laws were passed in order to throw an impediment in the way of the introduction of foreign corn. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen who were charged with supporting a change of the law upon these grounds defended themselves against any such imputation; but I only speak of what I know to have been the state of public opinion at the time, not among the working classes, nor among the middle classes only, but among all thinking and reasonable men, from the lowest to the highest grades of society; not men taking part merely in an agitation, but calm philosophers, men of thought and intellect, equally with the masses participated in the abhorrence felt for the conduct of the Legislature upon that occasion. (Cheers.) I remember the whole of the agitation against the new law; and, as far as an individual in private can join in an agitation against a measure, I joined in that (cheers); and from that period down to the present time I never ceased to declare my abhorrence for that law. (Renewed cheers.) The conduct of the landlords at the period referred to reminds me of a saying attributed to a general, "Give me men, and I'll get money; and give me money, and I'll get men." (A laugh, and cheers.) So with regard to the great landed proprietors; their vast possessions give them influence over the acts of the Legislature, and they make use of that influence in the Legislature in order to add to their property. (Cheers.) The conduct of the landlords and of the general, it seems to me, is very much on a par. There were slight alterations in the law at various periods, as in 1826. At length, in the year 1840, I think it was this League arose (great cheering); first among the manufacturers in the great manufacturing district of Lancashire; and gradually it extended itself among the whole of the middle classes in every town in the empire. (Great applause.) I am very glad to find that the conduct of the League has excited an antagonist principle, and that you not only have an Anti-Corn-Law League, but that you have Protection Societies also establishing themselves among the farmers in the different agricultural districts. I am glad of it, I say, because I know that the more this subject is discussed the better for our cause: only once reduce it to argument, and

there cannot be a doubt which side will triumph. (Loud and continued cheering.) We see the great landlords, who, I must say, attend these meetings in much larger numbers than the farmers, occasionally let out their real intentions; they say, "No surrender—no surrender to arguments; let us stick to our rights and privileges." (Cheers.) Well, no doubt they have the power, no doubt they are strong in the Legislature and out of the Legislature—they are strong in having numbers on their side who are sufficiently under their influence to give them a majority in the Legislature; but in spite of this, looking at the progress which the question has made, I have no doubt that ere long the result will be such as you wish it to be. (Cheers.) Why do I say so? Why, only look at the conduct of the Legislature some three years ago. There was a gentleman brought in a bill to allow bonded corn to be baked under bond and made into biscuits; a majority of the Legislature voted against that measure, which, to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, would not have given an additional pound of bread, the object being only to bake it under bond to go abroad. Yet even so trumpery a measure as that, because it was supposed that to the extent of some few pounds the law might possibly be evaded, was supported by but a small minority. Now, when I look to what has been the effect of agitation since, when I consider that we have at least under the new Corn Law, obtained some abatement of the duties, I cannot but anticipate a great hereafter. (Loud applause.) Then look at the recent budget. It has been said that hypocrisy, by its counterfeiting virtue, pays homage to virtue (cheers); so it is with regard to these half or quarter measures that have been proposed in the budget. What are they but so many acknowledgments upon the part of those in power, that the principles which you and the League advocate are correct? (Cheers.) There's the article of wool for example. In wool, in the year 1802, there was a perfect free trade. It was imported in 1802 subject to no duty whatever. Then, I think, in the intermediate years, it was subject to increasing duties till, in the year 1819, all foreign wool imported into this country was made subject to a duty of 6d. per lb.; that is, 6d. per lb. on some of the lowest descriptions, being equivalent to a duty of 200 per cent. I don't mean to say that that was the duty on all wool, though it was on a very large quantity; on many descriptions it was equivalent to 100 per cent., and on the average of wools it was equivalent to a duty of 50 per cent. Well, that was the way in which the manufacture of wool was encouraged by the landlords at the time when peace was universally established upon the Continent, and when woollen manufactories were being established in almost every civilized country in Europe—that was the way, I say, in which the manufacture of wool was at that time encouraged in this country. (Cheers.) Two or three years afterwards, in 1825 I think, the effect of these high duties beginning to be felt, they were certainly very materially reduced. The duties imposed then were, for the best description, 1d. per lb., and upon the most inferior 3d. per lb.; still these very low duties upon the different descriptions amounted to not less than 25 per cent. Now, I am very glad to observe that, with regard to this wool, your doctrine of "total repeal" has been carried into effect. (Loud cheers.) There has been no shred or vestige of duty left with regard to wool imported—a protection to the home growers of the article. I hope, therefore, that we may in future quote this as a precedent why the total abolition of duty should in all cases be preferred to retaining even a small protective duty. (Great cheering.) Again, we have a very material improvement certainly in the reduction of the duty on foreign coffee (cheers), which has been reduced from 8d. to 6d. per lb., the duty upon British colonial coffee being 4d. per lb. That is no doubt a step in the right direction; and, as I told you before, it is homage paid to your principles. It admits that all the principles which you have been advocating are right ones, only it stops half way (loud cheers); and it rests for you, by continuing your peaceful agitation, to carry, I hope at no distant period, a still further repeal of the duty upon that article, so essential to the comforts of the labouring classes. (Loud cheers.) Well, the duty upon foreign sugar is to be subjected to a reduction from 63s. to 34s. per cwt., the duty on sugar imported from the British colonies being 21s. A protective duty will therefore be still left upon that article of 10s. a cwt. I think we may expect a considerable reduction of price in consequence of even that partial reduction of duty; because it is stated that, whereas the whole of the sugar imported from the British possessions amounts to 200,000 tons a year, the whole quantity grown in those countries from which, under the proposed change of law, sugar will be permitted to be imported, is about 90,000 tons, being nearly half of the whole quantity that is imported from the British possessions. (Cheers.) Now, as the price of sugar is much higher in England than it is in countries which are open to the introduction of sugar from all parts of the world, the probability is, that the greater part of that 90,000 tons of sugar will be imported (though subject to a higher duty than British) into this country (cheers); and as there has been a difference of not less than 20s. in price between British colonial sugar and that of foreign colonies while the absolute monopoly of the British colonies was preserved, and as there will only, when that 90,000 tons is admitted, be a difference of 10s. in the duty, I think it is quite certain that the admission of that 90,000 tons, or some portion of it, at a differential duty of 10s., will have the effect of materially reducing the price of sugar to the British consumer. (Cheers.) Here, therefore, is another instance in which I think there is cause for congratulation that you have not only got an acknowledgment of the principles which you advocate, but that, in the reduction of the price of sugar to the consumer, you are about to reap part of the benefit of those principles. (Loud cheers.) I say this, because I do think that, considering all the opposition that the landlords and the West Indians give to the principles of Free Trade, we ought not to bear too hardly upon a Ministry which even partially carries them into effect. (Cheers.) I do not go into the question whether upon a former occasion, by opposing those very principles, they did not supplant their predecessors (cheers); what I say is, do not let us mix ourselves up with agitating for the reduction of such duties with any party questions. (Great cheering, which lasted some time.) Let us endeavour by our reasons, and by the power of truth with which we propose them, to gain bread from all

parties to the doctrines of Free Trade. (Cheers.) By that course, I am persuaded, we are most likely, in some reasonable period of time, to carry into effect our own principles. (Loud cheers.) The greatest opponents that we have, unfortunately, had upon many occasions to the carrying into effect of these principles, as I have always stated both in and out of Parliament, are a section of the working classes. If the middle and working classes were unanimous in opposing all differential duties, and in opposing the sliding scale—if, I say, they would unite with us cordially—the thing is done. (Loud cheers.) I cannot really conceive by what process of reasoning any portion of the working classes can persuade themselves that they are benefited by monopoly. It really comes to this sort of argument: "The greater the quantity of any commodity there is to divide among the whole community, the less a particular part of that community will have." (Cheers.) Or, just as if I were to say to you, "The larger the room, the larger the space in which this assembly is collected, the less room is there for any one of you." (Cheers and laughter.) One proposition is just as absurd as the other—there is no difference at all between them. If there were a larger quantity of corn, a larger quantity of sugar, and a larger quantity of coffee to divide among the millions of which the population of the united empire consists,—and if there is every year more, and every year a greater facility for introducing more,—is it not as clear as daylight that this greater abundance would reduce the price, and that the ability to purchase any given quantity would be brought more within the reach of every member of the community? (Loud cheering.) What effect can the introduction of a greater quantity of coffee, or of sugar, or of corn, have in depressing money wages? A great authority—Sir R. Peel—upon one occasion, said that "wages were determined by the competition of all the labour of the world;" and that is the case. When you come to talk of the price by which any article of general consumption is regulated, it is manifest that it depends upon the competition of the whole world what that price shall be; and it is the same with labour as with any other commodity. (Cheers.) Well, then, there's another fallacy which I am sorry to say finds its advocates amongst a portion of the middle classes—though not with many, I acknowledge, because I believe that the great mass of the middle classes are with you. (Cheers.) Some of that class think that a very large portion of the prosperity of the middle classes depends upon the high rents of gentlemen with large fortunes. Now, I think it is very easy by an arithmetical argument to settle that question. (Cheers.) What proportion of the whole population do you suppose the gentlemen of easy fortunes, who live upon their rent, and their incomes without following any description of labour, business or profession—what per centage of the whole population do you suppose them to make up? Three and a quarter per cent! (Cheers.) Three and a quarter per cent of the whole population of the united empire; such, at least, is the result as tested by the population of twenty-seven counties, partly agricultural and partly manufacturing, of which the details have been thoroughly investigated; and I think we may presume that, as the gentlemen in easy circumstances form 3½ per cent. of the whole population of those 27 counties, there cannot be much difference in this proportion as regards the population of the whole empire. (Cheers.) The supposition then that the prosperity in business of all the middle classes of this country, of the shopkeeper and the trader, can depend upon the custom of only 3½ per cent. of the whole population, even admitting them to have larger fortunes than the rest of the community, is too absurd to require a moment's refutation. (Great cheering.) The argument of the persons who reason in that way is very much like that of the boy who robbed his master's till, and who when charged with the theft, and brought up for judgment, said, "Well, didn't I lay out my thievings at your shop?" (Great cheering and laughter.) Precisely of the same kind is the argument employed by those gentlemen who would persuade us just to let the landlords rob us a little now, in order that we should get back a portion of it by charging them higher prices when we get them as customers. (Cheers.) But there is another fallacy which has a certain portion of truth in it. It is said that the agriculturists (meaning thereby, I presume, rather the landlords than the farmers,) and the manufacturers and the traders of the country have all one common interest; and, therefore, the inference is this, that if by any alteration of the Corn Laws you render one class a little poorer, you by necessity render the other classes a little poorer. If we all well and thoroughly understood our own interests and acted upon them, I admit we all would have a common interest. So England and France—they have a common interest and ought to remain at peace—they sacrifice the interests of both, if they foolishly go to war; but no one would with reason contend that France cannot reap some advantage in which England does not participate, or that England cannot reap some advantage in which France does not participate. (Cheers.) No doubt, in the long run, if we follow a wise course of policy, that policy which benefits one country will benefit the other; but if you mean to say that you can't rob one party in order to give the robbery to another, I must deny the proposition. (Cheers.) Take a case in which the whole public generally has been greatly benefited—the case of railroads. When you consider the great number that travel by railroads, you cannot doubt that the public has been greatly benefited by them; but do you mean to say that those who had money invested in turnpike trusts, or that the innkeepers who had great establishments upon the roads, have not been injured by the construction of railroads? (Loud cheers.) Just so with regard to the question of the Corn Laws. It is very true that we have all a common benefit in our mutual prosperity; but it does not follow that you can't take from one in order to give to another, and thereby injure one to the benefit of the other. (Cheers.) The argument is couched in ambiguous language, and, therefore, leads to misapprehension. (Cheers.) I am very happy, however, to see that a very considerable and an important section of the landed interest, headed as it is by such great names as those of Lord Spencer (cheers), and Lord Fitzwilliam (cheers), and Lord Radnor (cheers), and Lord Ducie (cheers), and Lord Kinaird. (Cheers.) I hope I have made no omissions. (A voice: "Westminster.") Ay, and the Marquis of Westminster. (Loud cheers.) I was about to say that I am very happy to see that a section of the landowners, headed by such men as those, are beginning to perceive what their real interest is. (Cheers.) Why, even their own

organs have lately promulgated that it is in consequence of the stimulus which the great decline in the prices of agricultural produce has given to the farmer—that it is in consequence of this stimulus that the whole farming world is now thinking of nothing but agricultural improvements; that draining is going on, and they are introducing manure from the other hemisphere. (Cheers.) What is that but a proof that monopoly, in the case of landlords and farmers as in everything else, leads to idleness and to ignorance, and prevents the people finding out those real advantages which their position would otherwise give to them? (Cheers.) What is it but this, which, gradually presenting itself to their minds, is convincing them that their real defence is not to be found in protective duties, but in their own industry and in the enlightened study and pursuit of agriculture. (Cheers.) I am sorry to say, that there are certain parties who very much wish to see a decline in manufactures. They think that by reducing the magnitude of towns—by rendering the population of the manufacturing towns less than it is—it would be possible to make of England a very Arcadia. (Cheers and laughter.) They think that all the simplicity of country life is to be introduced into the interior of towns, provided that, by certain measures which they are endeavouring to carry gradually, they can discourage manufacturing industry. Now, how is it possible that a country like England can engage in such a career as that? (Cheers.) Why, our happiness in a great measure depends upon our political power. If our political power is diminished don't you suppose that we have enterprising neighbours who will step in and endeavour to wrest from us many of those advantages which we now possess as a manufacturing country? (Cheers.) When you look at the large masses of the population engaged in the various branches of manufactures, how are you to discourage them without introducing a dreadful state of pauperism into the country? (Cheers.) How will your workhouses be filled, if by any measure of legislation you throw discouragement upon the great branches of manufacture in which this country so pre-eminently excels? (Cheers.) One of our modes of providing occupation for labourers is, to allow them, if they will, to expatriate themselves to distant colonies; and you are constantly called on, not merely to allow them to expatriate themselves, but to defend them in the distant parts of the world to which they have expatriated themselves. How are you to afford them the protection you do in those distant parts unless the profits of the manufactures which you export to distant countries enable you to pay the expense of that protection? (Hear.) You have entered on that course; other countries have also entered upon it, and if we lag behind they will wrest from us that superiority which we now enjoy. (Cheers.) The sense of that superiority forms part of the English character, and every man I now address would feel himself degraded if he saw this country reduced to the state of a second-rate power. (Cheers.) Therefore I say, whether you look at the comfort of our people or the articles that they consume; or whether you look at their high-mindedness, it is essential that the greatness of the manufacturing and commercial power of this country should be preserved; and the most effectual way to preserve it is for us so to persevere until we are successful in our advocacy of the doctrines of Free Trade. (The Hon. Chairman resumed his seat amid the most enthusiastic applause.)

Mr. VILLIERS then came forward amidst enthusiastic cheering. Silence having been at length obtained, the honourable gentleman spoke as follows:—Ladies and gentlemen, the reason why the Chairman has requested me to address you on this occasion is not for the purpose of inflicting a long speech upon you, which I have too often done before—(cries of "No, no"); but for the purpose of accounting for the absence of some friends whose attendance was expected. As you are aware, Mr. Bright, the member for Durham, intended to have the honour of addressing you this evening, he is, I regret to say, prevented from so doing by a serious domestic affliction which has visited his family. (Hear.) Others of our constant friends are also absent, and amongst them the Chairman of the Anti-Corn-Law League, who would otherwise have been here; but they are, you will be happy to learn, now remaining in Lancashire for the purpose of assisting and devoting their whole power and energy to promote the success of a Free-Trade candidate, who is drawn into the field there by the recent death of the sitting member. (Loud cheers.) It would be, I am sure, useless for us to say with what interest and anxiety we shall watch the result of that election. (Cheers.) A more important event in the progress of our cause could not have occurred. (Hear, hear.) It is hardly equalled by the contest which took place in the city of London during the last autumn. (Hear.) You remember what vast importance was attached to that election, and what an impression was produced by its result, not only in the country, but almost throughout the world: for when we consider the single question that was at issue upon that occasion, and the parties by whom it was decided, it is not too much to say that wherever British commerce had made England known, the importance of that event was felt. (Cheers.) That Free-Trade victory was accepted as a sign in all foreign countries of the approaching fall of this protective and restrictive system, and one, as proving the spirit of the people, far more to be trusted than the admissions of our Ministers of the wisdom in the abstract of the opposite principle. (Hear.) It showed a sense among the citizens of this metropolis of the humiliation to which the commercial classes had been subjected in modern days. It formed the prominent topic of speculation in all the leading journals of Europe and America, and those who wished well to England hailed the event with joy. People abroad, who view us from a distance, who know our history, who see the sources of our power, see distinctly the enormous folly of which we are guilty in fettering our trade, and enemies like to see our progress as a nation checked; they like to see our peace threatened from within by a constant cause of discord and distress. (Hear.) [Mr. Villiers was here interrupted by the appearance upon the platform of Mr. Moore, who was received with loud applause.]

Mr. VILLIERS resumed. Wherever the beauty and value of the great principle of Free Trade between the various people of the earth is acknowledged, the event of that election was hailed as a cheering sign of a better example coming from this country to the world. (Hear, hear.) In support of that opinion he would read a short extract from the address of one of the ablest men in the United States, an advocate of Free Trade, and lately a

candidate for the presidency of the States (Mr. Calhoun). [Hear, hear.] It was in his retiring address, when speaking of Free Trade, he said—"I, who upheld it against monopoly and plunder in the worst of times, and braved the menaces of administrations when backed but by a single state (South Carolina), will not, cannot abandon the glorious cause now, when its banner waves in proud triumph over the metropolis of the commercial world." And he concluded by saying—"No; I shall maintain immovably the ground I have so long occupied, until I have witnessed its great and final victory, if it shall please the Disposer of events to spare my life so long. It will be indeed a victory—the harbinger of a new, and brighter, and higher civilization." (Cheers.) He read that to show in what esteem the example of this country is held in the world, and what power the electors of this kingdom have yet, if they will only do themselves justice and use their privilege with that spirit and judgment which became them as men. (Hear, hear.) My particular object in alluding to the city election is that a precisely similar struggle is now about to be entered upon in Lancashire. (Cheers.) The constituency there, certainly, is partly agricultural and partly commercial, which it was not in London; but that would only make victory doubly useful, should it be attained. (Hear, hear.) I do not say these interests are in conflict, for the man is not fit to be loose who can suppose that the agriculture of Lancashire can have a higher interest than the prosperity of the manufactures and commerce of Lancashire (cheers); but there is a powerful class there, as elsewhere, whose hearts I fear are less in the weal of their country, with its commerce and manufacture, than in continuing their own domination. (Hear, hear.) Their influence is great, no doubt, and would be used in the mode with which the country is now familiar; their object is to resist what they style the encroachments of commerce, which seems to spring from a jealousy of those results of industry and commerce which threaten them with rivals in wealth and station. But really there is something in the name and circumstance of Lancashire that would seem to preclude the possibility of defeat on this occasion. When one reflects on its progress, the occupation of the people, its commercial importance to the whole kingdom, and the question it has to decide, namely, whether commerce should be free, one should feel at a loss for an apology to the world if the electors on this occasion should disappoint the expectations of the country. (Hear, hear.) I will not even contemplate such an event. (Cheers.) Notwithstanding the severity with which the conduct of the commercial classes is sometimes treated on these occasions, I do not believe, when they are not blinded by the party zeal which misleads us all at times, that they are more treacherous to their order, more servile to the upper classes, or less intelligent with respect to their real interests than other men (cheers); and I expect success the more on this occasion that there is only the question of the future commercial policy of the country at issue, and that no party spirit or feeling is necessarily mixed up with it. (Hear, hear.) Free Trade has nothing to do, as the Chairman justly said, with party. It never has been so viewed—its oldest advocates have never made it subservient to party. (Hear, hear.) I remember when I first attended a public meeting in Lancashire that I saw there, and was pleased to see, gentlemen of influence, of strong Conservative views, joining in the proceedings, and as eager for Free Trade as any man present. (Hear, hear.) I remember, a few years ago, the late Mr. Courtenay, who had been President of the Board of Trade, who was a strong Tory, but most hostile to the existing Corn Laws, and a great advocate for Free Trade,—he told me that he contemplated standing for a metropolitan borough, and intended to announce his views on Free Trade; and he asked him (Mr. Villiers) what he thought the Anti-Corn-Law Associations, or the leading friends of Free Trade, would do upon the occasion, and whether they would give him support; and he (Mr. Villiers) consulted several gentlemen who were then taking an active part in the agitation on the subject, and they were all of opinion that, such was the paramount importance of the adoption of that policy, they should not consider that his politics on other subjects was the slightest objection to him. (Hear, hear.) He would not believe, then, that divested as the question was of all party feeling, that the manufacturers and capitalists of Lancashire would, upon this occasion, prove themselves so faithless to their country, so false to their real interests, and so forgetful of what was due to those for whose benefit they held the franchise, as to support any man who would perpetuate by his vote that curse and grievance of the country—the monopoly in food. (Cheers.) Lancashire is now the seat of that gigantic business from which England has received such a vast accession to her resources, and has been enabled so wonderfully to extend her trade with the world; her continued prosperity is essential to support our vast revenue, and to provide for those masses of the people who are without employment; and it is impossible to contemplate without horror and alarm anything calculated seriously to injure or impair that great interest. (Hear.) Grounds for alarm on this account, however, are rapidly increasing. Her position has been gained and hitherto maintained by the superiority of her manufactures, and by the facilities and cheapness of their production, enabling millions at home and abroad to have access to their consumption. (Hear, hear, hear.) They are now exposed to an eager rivalry abroad, which is hourly profiting by the restrictions which we impose on ourselves; each day, therefore, it becomes more important that we should relieve the trade from all senseless trammels, and suffer fresh customers to approach our shores; and thus, by extending the demand for our production, give increased value to the ill-requited labour of our working classes. (Hear.) We maintain our position now by ruinous competition among capitalists, and by incessant toil among the working classes. Lancashire, then, the great seat of production and trade, the great sufferer from restriction, is now asked to pass an opinion on this system. (Hear.) The capitalist, the manufacturer, the employer of labour, are now called upon to prove their sincerity in what they have alleged and what they have professed. (Hear.) They complain of restriction, that it limits the demand for the produce of their capital, reduces the rate of profit, and compels them to reduce the wages of labour. They say, let us deal with those who will deal with us; let the field for the employment of capital be widened, and we will be able to improve the condition of our working people. (Hear.) We object, under the present system, say they, to limit the hours of labour by act of Parliament, for that would only limit the number em-

ployed, or lessen the wages of those who work (hear, hear); but let us exchange more freely with other countries, and the people will work less or receive more. (Hear, hear.) I say that the goodwill of the capitalists to the working class will be proved by their votes at this election; working class will be proved by their votes at this election; poor or dependent men cannot resist intimidation or corruption; but those who are in any way connected with trade and manufactures will have an opportunity of recording their vote in favour of freedom to trade. Will they vote for a Monopolist? I believe they will not. (Cheers.) The excuse was never less for the continuance of this system. It is no novelty. Sad and ample experience has been had of it; it is everywhere discredited by experiment (hear, hear); and, as the chairman has truly said, many honourable men among the proprietors are now coming forward to acknowledge the error and injustice of the law; and, what is more important, no week now passes that those for whose interest we all feel sympathy—I mean the capitalists who cultivate the soil—do not avow that this law has done them no good—is of no advantage to them, and that they are as ready as ourselves for the immediate adoption of Free Trade. (Loud cheers.) No answer has been made to the statements of those farmers who have spoken here; they defied reply; they stated facts, and proved what has long been seen by others, that the tenant-farmer cannot benefit by a Corn Law. (Cheers.) I believe, and hope, and expect that the commercial classes will really do their duty upon this occasion, and I am glad now to give way for one of the class of farmers to address you, who will assure you on their part that they may do so without fear. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN then said, a Buckinghamshire farmer, Mr. Gibbs, of Aylesbury, is now about to address you. (Cheers.)

Mr. Gibbs, on coming forward, was received with loud cheers. He said—Ladies and gentlemen, I believe that the stage of this theatre has furnished this large metropolis with a great deal of information and amusement for very many years past. A variety of different characters have stood before you; but I think that in myself you behold at least a fresh one to-night. (Loud cheers and laughter.) I have been introduced to you as a Buckinghamshire farmer. (Renewed cheers.) I am a Buckinghamshire farmer, and a native and resident of the principal town of the county, under the immediate influence of the great duke whose name has so often been brought before you. (Cries of "How is the duke?") I have been introduced to you as Mr. Gibbs, and, though it is rather a delicate matter to introduce oneself (laughter), I find it necessary to give you some further introduction. (Hear, hear.) I must lay aside the usual coyness observed on similar occasions, and as a plain-speaking, unlearned man, address you in my own way. (Cheers.) I must moreover claim a greater degree of privilege, or what is generally called greater latitude, than those speakers who have preceded me, and who are much better acquainted with the routine of public speaking than myself. (Hear, hear.) I propose to commence by giving you a short history of myself: first, to encourage young and wavering tradesmen; and, secondly, to prepare older ones not to expect anything but plain Buckinghamshire facts in plain Buckinghamshire language. (Laughter and cheers.) Allow me to say, then, that about 33 or 34 years ago I became a commercial man and a man of business, under rather adverse circumstances; and I ought to tell you that, though I have been introduced as a farmer, I am not a large farmer—that I am only farming sufficient to keep a small family; I stand before you in a character which has hitherto been considered as one of your greatest enemies—I am rather a large land-agent. (Cheers.) My constant employ is to dispose of the stock of farmers—to help the unfortunate out of their farms that somebody may succeed them, who soon wants my assistance again. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) But I will not go from the subject. I commenced my public and commercial life about the same time with very bad prospects; I was situated in a country town, where, what a learned man has called, "the country monster's foot" covers the whole borough, and where the little privilege which is to be obtained in the way of business is only given to those who will deserve it by means such as I never yet stooped to. (Laughter and applause.) I ought not, perhaps, to go back to my ancestors—but I may be allowed to say that my father was what was called in his day, a Jacobin. (Cheers and a laugh.) I have myself been proud of the name of Radical, which is a little more softened term. (Cheers.) I began—as I have stated—I ought not to speak thus in praise of myself—and, thank God, I have hitherto resisted temptation—I have kept my integrity—I have preserved my character without a quarrelsome or mischief-making disposition—and in no one case have I ever yet sacrificed my political principles for any profit which might arise to me in my business (cheers); and I can say now with confidence, that there is not a great Tory Protectionist in Buckinghamshire who wants his property turned into cash, but I have his full confidence independent of my politics. (Applause.) Gentlemen, bear that in mind if you please. (Hear, hear.) I have also tried what Solomon has recommended, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." I may tell you, and many of you, I am proud to say it, know that my elder son, having had better advantages than myself, is now editor of the *Aylesbury News*, and has done much more towards converting Buckinghamshire farmers to Free-Trade principles than the great duke and all his party have during the last forty years in favour of protection. (Loud cheers.) Having thus introduced myself, I feel the truth of one of Solomon's proverbs, "Out of the plenitude of the heart the mouth speaketh." Your kind countenances have removed the only objection I felt: it was diffidence, and I think I have now got rid of it. (Loud cheers.) I will now give you some of my opinions, supported by facts (and the *Times* allows the League to be supported by facts), to bear out my assertions, and which will be better than all the oratory that I might be master of. (Cheers.) I have always viewed the conduct of the Monopolists in a broad light, and I have lost sight of many of those little petty reckonings which some people are apt to see when they are speaking upon the Corn Laws and their effects. (Hear, hear.) God Almighty in his providence has well supplied the earth; and man, through his ingenuity, has introduced steam, by which he has obliterated distance and brought the world as it were all together. I believe all men reckon right when they say that trade in corn, like every other article, ought to be free; that they who can live by

their estate or by the culture of their land should live; and that they who cannot should sell, the same as I should in my own business. (Hear, hear.) I know no reason why any man should ask for protection. (Hear, hear.) Some time since, when at a distance of some miles from home, on taking up our own newspaper I saw an advertisement to the effect that a meeting of agriculturists would be held in the County-hall at Aylesbury to pray for agricultural protection. I immediately wrote and enclosed, by the night's post, an advertisement, stating that a meeting of tailors would shortly be held in the same place, to pray also for protection. (Laughter.) The agricultural meeting certainly did take place, and a most excellent meeting of tailors too, at which speeches were made to show that they were quite as useful in *clothing the back* as the others were in *feeding the belly*. (Laughter.) I thought that they, equally with the agriculturists at any rate, had a right to protection. I did not select the trade by way of ridiculing it, but as one which had as much right to parliamentary protection as that of the farmer. (Hear, hear.) I don't know why the farmer has a greater right to it. Is he a more useful man? Is he a more useful member of society? Has the one a greater right than the other to go to Government and ask for protection? Suppose my business were to fall off, and I were to go to Government and ask for a rise of £10 per cent. on my commission, what should I be called? (Laughter and cheers.) But, gentlemen, I must confine myself to the real state of the question—to the condition of the small farmer and the farm-labourer. (Hear.) No man is more mixed up with them, or knows more of their pecuniary affairs, of their gains and losses, than myself. The small farmers have, for the last few years, gone on tolerably well; some of them who have deprived themselves of the common comforts of life may have made a little money; others, who have thought proper to take the comforts as they came, in moderation, as long as prices were up, kept level; but during the last year or two the scale has been going the other way. Those who have not been provident enough to lay by have already moved off. The labourer cannot be paid for the simple reason that the farmer is unable to pay him. The labourer is working with a large family for from 8s. to 10s. a week, and has, possibly, to pay 1s. 6d. or 2s. out of that sum for rent; then how could he be expected to make a decent appearance at all? (Hear.) I, for one, believe that a repeal of the Corn Laws would at once improve the condition of the labourer. (Cheers.) A gentleman with whom I rode in a railway carriage this afternoon (I found out by accident he was a Monopolist) took a double line of argument on this question, and blew hot and cold in the same breath. He first said the repeal of the Corn Laws would sink the labourer, while he admitted that the demand for labour would be increased. Now, plenty of labour means plenty of work, and we are all old enough to know that it is scarcity which governs prices, and that the manufacturer would have fresh zest given to his business by an increased demand for his commodities. (Hear.) The effect of this was seen some time since in my own country when Manchester was flourishing, and we sent scores of families down to Manchester, where there was plenty of work, and where they were better situated altogether. (Hear.) One of the great evils of Buckinghamshire is its surplus labour. There may be seen numbers of industrious, well-meaning men standing together in the market place with their arms folded, and asking for a day's work. I pity these men. I do not blame them. If they pick or steal a hare (or only half a one, as you have heard of lately) they are sent to prison for two or three months by the very man who calls himself the proprietor of the hare. (Cheers.) I would not sanction poaching, but I think every man is entitled to a hare who can catch it without trespassing. (Laughter and cheers.) Gentlemen, I was going on to speak of the state of the farmers in Buckinghamshire. In certain villages, belonging almost exclusively to the great Duke, he has got little agents and great agents, and agents who always report every circumstance which occurs—so much so that when the popular newspaper turned the people's attention to Free Trade it was prohibited according to orders. Very lately a farmer's wife let out that Mr. So-and-so walked through the village in which she resided every Saturday morning to see who had got the paper; she added that she liked to look at it herself, but when she saw the gentleman approaching she put it in the dresser drawer and shut it up. (Laughter.) Speaking of the moral state of Buckinghamshire farmers, with a few exceptions, I am pleased to say that the question of Free Trade is now being thoroughly agitated among them. In the first place it was ably introduced by our worthy friend Mr. Cobden (cheers), and to his great pleasure and my great surprise, we were able to carry, at a county meeting, a regular good Free-Trade resolution. (Cheers.) Since then an impudent fellow has presumed to call a public meeting of the electors of Aylesbury in their own election-room, under the pretence of assisting a protection-to-labour society, I think it is called; I refer to Dr. Sleight—or Dr. "Sly" if you please. (Laughter.) We Free-Traders issued, in consequence, a counter advertisement, stating that he might come to our election-room, but we would take the liberty of moving any resolution which might fairly arise out of the proceedings. Upon electing our chairman (of course we did not allow Dr. Sleight to name him) we had the majority. The chairman said the meeting should take the regular course. The Doctor spoke in his usual flowery way—a vast quantity of words without any substance. I and those who went to the meeting unprepared gathered from his observations sufficient sense to get him voted out of the room, and some present were so unconvicted that they what is called bonneted him as he made his exit. (Loud laughter.) Gentlemen, I don't know that I can go much farther into the state of our farmers and labourers: I have spoken of the distress of the latter, and I have done so with sorrow, that honest, well-intentioned men have no work, no out-door relief, but such as the workhouse (which they call a prison) affords; the only other alternative they have being either to steal or starve. (Cheers.) Now, who would not lend a hand to help them? (Cheers.) Though a repeal of the Corn Laws might not give them more ploughing, I believe it would give them more weaving and sledgehammer work, and that employment would be found for all. I believe also that it would materially improve the condition of the farmer. (Cheers.) I myself am a farmer, and would to-night not only sign a petition for a repeal of the Corn Laws, but take a hundred acres of

arable land at the present price and sign a lease for them with the same dip of ink. (Loud cheers.) I am of opinion that a repeal of the Corn Laws, and Free Trade generally, would, by instilling fresh life into the manufacturing districts, take off our surplus labour, and enable the poor labourers to fill their bellies; and that all that corn which we have to spare would be eaten to sustain human nature, instead of being, as it is sometimes, cast into the sea. (Loud cheers.) I have several proofs of this from the farmers themselves. I had hoped to have introduced to you this evening a landowner, keeping his own estate—a regular yeoman—not a green-coated or a red-coated yeoman, as is often understood. I regret, however, that accident prevented his accompanying me. But I was going to tell you that the farmers were not so much opposed to a repeal of the Corn Laws as is generally imagined. They all admit the necessity of the question being settled, and declare that, until it is, they have no sound foundation to go upon. (Loud cheers.) I believe they admit the necessity of change, though they do not see the utility of a repeal of the Corn Laws. I will give you a proof of it. You know facts are stubborn things, as stubborn as the League itself, which will never give way. (Cheers.) So late as Monday evening last I met a respectable farmer, about my own age; he introduced himself by saying, "You are, I suppose, aware that I must leave my farm; I am come to ask your assistance in getting me out." The question naturally turned on the state of agriculture, and the great question of the repeal of the Corn Laws. He stated with reserve (and I think my memory serves me right), that about twenty-five years ago he took an uphill farm on the Chiltern Hills, near the borders of Buckinghamshire. He took the farm on the strength of an act of Parliament, at that time recently passed, which proposed to secure to him 10s. per bushel, or £20 per load, for his wheat. He took the farm, made an effort among his friends, and invested his capital. The first year's crop, under this erroneous supposition, averaged scarcely 6s. per bushel. (Hear, hear.) I cannot go into detail like some of those who have preceded me, but I have studied the question sufficiently to corroborate what has often been said, that by every act passed on this subject the farmer has lost something like 30 per cent. on the return of his farm, which must ruin him in about three years. While I was speaking to the farmer I have alluded to, there was brought in a requisition to the League, numerous signed, praying they would furnish the borough of Aylesbury with a Free-Trade candidate: without hesitation, he affixed his name to it, and I believe there are hundreds more who would do the same. (Hear, hear.) I believe in the neighbourhood of Aylesbury the several classes in the agricultural villages around are reading, hearing, assembling, and agitating by the best means in their power; they are being converted by hundreds: soon the scale will turn, and it will be surprising then to consider how the question should have been so long in being decided. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I had intended, if I did not intrude (cries of "Go on"), to speak of a few of the means used by the protective monopolists in our neighbourhood. I believe the motive which impels them to exertion is not a public one, is not an uninterested one. (Cheers.) It comes to this: "God bless you, keep up my rental in order that I may pay my mortgages." I will adduce an instance which came to my knowledge yesterday. A widow, who lately became so, who occupied a farm under our great duke, made application to renew the tenure under which her husband held; there was no objection raised to that, but they must take her son as a joint partner, in order that he might vote for as well as pay rent to the landlord. (Cheers.) There is a place called Aston Clinton near Aylesbury, about four miles from us, recently purchased by the same proprietor, and on every little piece of land of four or five acres, and which amounts to £8 or £9 annual value, he has set up a cowshed or something of that sort, to make it worth £10, thereby getting in that place alone twenty or thirty votes. (Cheers.) No man whose cause was just would or could stoop to accomplish such an object by such means. I ought not, perhaps, to introduce an author who is not political, but, when I think of the many deceptive means employed to ensnare unwary voters, I am strongly reminded of two lines from Dr. Watts, which may be admirably applied here:—

"Satan's a sower, who betrays
Unwarded souls a thousand ways."

Then there is another little distich (I do not know to whom I am indebted for it) which, speaking of the servile conduct of these time-serving men who will stoop to anything so that they carry their object, may be applied with equal felicity:—

"When the Devil was sick,
The Devil a monk would be;
When the Devil was well,
The Devil a monk was he."

(Cheers and laughter.) The chairman, in his opening speech, alluded to some subjects to which, perhaps, I may again be allowed to allude. He spoke of the proud position in which he stood, by the support he received from his own constituents, independent of what was afforded by the League. I am very sorry to stand here just in the reverse position. I do hope, at the first opportunity that offers, that we shall find support of which we shall make the best use. The chairman referred to two or three items upon which the duties had been relaxed, and especially on wool. Now, the farmers in our market, on Saturday last, said, "Why, Robert Peel has repealed the whole duty on wool." They call it "wool" in Buckinghamshire. (A laugh.) Now, that was a staple article a few years ago, and was looked upon as next to corn in importance. Some large graziers, who kept farms, were dependent on wool for their rent—I am not saying that the remission of a little duty will injure them; but to have heard the conversation over the market table, where I took care to have the subject mooted,—why, their jealousy was so great that they said there was no more dependence to be placed upon Peel, and they would have no more of him. (Cheers and laughter.) They said, he had first diminished the duty on corn, and now he had removed it altogether from wool. For my part, I believe the Premier, in his heart, to be a Free-Trader, and that if he will only act openly, and come out untrammelled, he will give all we expect and no more than we want. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I have exceeded my own intentions: there are other subjects which might have been touched upon—the sweet subject of sugar, and the sour subject of vinegar, for example—but I must now retire.

expressing my obligations to you for the kind attention which you have afforded me. (Cheers.) I believe that success is at hand. An improvement in our circumstances has filled us with fresh zeal. I have been the "Uriah" of free opinions in the neighbourhood I come from; and I shall be proud to become the "Uriah" of the League, and to put myself, if necessary, in the forefront and in the heat of the battle. (Cheers.) I have stood it pretty well hitherto, for their shot is not lead, and their words will not kill an honest man. (Loud and continued cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Fox will next address you.

Mr. W. J. Fox on presenting himself was received with reiterated and most enthusiastic bursts of applause, which having subsided, he addressed the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I address you this evening under the disadvantage of not having been present at the early part of the proceedings, from a cause which I must make a plea for your indulgence as regards what I do address to you, namely, personal indisposition, which presses on me even in sight of so inspiring and magnificent an assembly as the present. And what can be imagined more inspiring or magnificent than these meetings? (Hear.) The long series of them that has now been held with unabated attention and zeal—meetings of individuals gathered together to listen either to those elementary and simple truths which every one knows, or to the recondite speculations and laborious researches of political economy not often found to gain the attention of multitudes—meetings in which every heart glows with as burning a sense of the wrong we denounce as ever nerved those who took the field to contest against injustice with muskets on their shoulders and swords by their sides, and yet which has blended this sense of wrong with a prudence as wise and a forbearance as dignified as ever marked the best school of philosophers (cheers)—meetings which have made this place an asylum of truth and justice, at a time when those qualities have been banished from the mansions of the men whose stations ought to have made them the leaders of the people, and when they have been violated in those legislative halls which ought to have been their sacred shrine, where their blessings were worked out for the entire mass of the community. (Cheers.) I confess that for myself I sometimes weary of the statistics of this question, interesting as they are. The list of deaths which a rise in the price of food has occasioned—the long muster-roll of pauperism kept up by the continued pressure from year to year—commitments for crime bearing their constant proportion to the fluctuations in the price of food—calculations of the number of poor children that die above those of the rich in consequence, not of the hard bearing of natural causes, but of artificial laws in aggravation of the disparity of condition,—these, and all the other fearful items in that account, although they are of a nature to harrow up the soul, yet the continuous detail drives us back upon that one plain simple truth in which the whole question is involved, and which contains all its merits, I mean the fact that "the labourer is worthy of his hire." (Loud cheers.) There is the beginning, and the end of the argument in my view of the matter. It is a question of justice—of simple, impartial, universal justice. (Hear.) The doom of mankind is toil, and the labourer is worthy of his hire—worthy of it undiminished by trick, rapacity, or oppression;—worthy of his hire for whatever it will fetch in the world's market;—worthy of his hire to lay it out with whomsoever he may please, and for whatsoever he will;—worthy of it undiminished by any interference except that only which takes from him his proportion of the national expenditure, of that which is fairly necessary for the carrying on the Government, and for the defence of the community. (Loud cheers.) Indeed, all other matters, although upon many accounts it is worth while to go into their consideration, are but incidental to this great controversy: here is its essence. We affirm that the labourer is worthy of his hire: the monopoly that levies taxation for class profit and not for national objects, in fact, denies that proposition, tramples on it, spurns it as if it were a mere cobweb, and not a primary law of human society, and one of the first dictates of nature and of Providence. (Cheers.) It is an accident that the manufacturer thinks the violation of this law diminishes his profits—it is an accident that the landlord thinks that the violation of this law enlarges his rents. Were it directly the reverse—did justice to those who toil, by allowing them the full results of their toil, injure the manufacturer and benefit the landlord—I should still say precisely the same—let justice be done. The difference in the class makes no difference in the principle; we must not regard these temporary and subordinate considerations; here is the first obligation of society and of law—the recognition of a title as sacred, nay, more so than that by which any species of property whatever is held, by which any titles or estates are bequeathed or inherited. (Loud cheers.) I see why none should regard them, because in the whole history of mankind, at least of peaceful legislation, I believe no class was ever ruined by justice unless it deserved that fate by crime. (Hear, hear, hear.) So linked together is the order of things in nature that the dictates of equity are never violated with impunity: they who have gone on in that road should look about them and return as soon as possible; and they who hold property, and depend on the enactments of society for the security of their possessions, of all people should be tender of the labourer's right, and regard that as specially sacred, for without it their title-deeds are but so much parchment. A man's right in his limbs is beyond and above any one's right in his land. Those who will not allow him to say his soul is his own must at least allow that his body is his own; and what he wins from his fellow-men in the supply of their wants, or from Nature in its fertile returns to the application of human toil, is his by the first of all titles; and those who trample on it endanger the entire order of society, and do that which, if carried out to its consequences, would break down all safety in property, annihilate all successions in honours, and shake thrones to their very foundations. (Cheers.) It is important in one point of view, however much to be regretted on account of its evils in another respect, that this first ground of justice cannot be reached for the purpose of hostile invasion but by passing over other grounds; and that those who interfere with the right of the workman to what he earns in the sweat of his brow, also meddle with the tradesman, the merchant, the capitalist, and the large manufacturer; and in the wrong inflicted on these a spirit has been raised, an organization produced, a machinery set up and put to work, which shows those who toll their way to the peace-

ful acquisition of what is due to them in combination with other classes of society suffering similar injuries, and having to assert analogous rights. (Cheers.) It is well even for the enemies of justice, for its violators, that there is this breakwater between them and the toiling multitudes; that they have to deal, in the first instance, with the League, combined of all classes, and having for its leaders men of station, ability, wealth, and extensive influence; that they have to deal with this combination, and not merely with the labouring multitude disunited from others, and who in such a state of society, if they were left to fight the conflict with the aristocracy by whom they are injured, would give us only the prospect of confusion and desolation; who would either break out into that violence which would make one great ruin of much of the beauty and ornament of our country, or else, turned aside from their legitimate mode of obtaining subsistence, would spread over the land like swarms of locusts, devouring every green thing, incapable of being driven back or cooped up by all the severities or imprisonments of the poor-law system which a landed aristocracy could apply. (Cheers.) There is little occasion for me to attempt any array of details, when not only at the early meetings of the League in this place you have heard the commercial part of this question so ably and amply argued, but when at its more recent meetings, at three or four in succession, you have heard the agricultural division of it as thoroughly entered into—at once from members of the landlord and those of the tenant class of agriculturists—you have heard statements showing that some amongst them are alive to their own interests, that they see that honesty is the best policy, and sympathize with those who are claiming their rights against the body to which they nominally belong, and have voluntarily proffered here the results of that inquiry which in another place was asked for and superciliously refused. (Cheers.) You have had your open committee on this portion of the subject. Evidence has been adduced here which might well settle the question, and opposed to which certainly we find no particle of contradictory evidence from the rival and antagonistic society. In fact, all the arguments of what calls itself the "Agricultural Protection Society" appear to have evaporated in the production of one tract in three months, and that tract chiefly characterized by the disgraceful peculiarity of being the most dishonest publication that has issued from the press for many a long year. (Cheers.) While there is not a position in it bearing the semblance of reasoning that has not been over and over again discussed, refuted, and exploded on these boards,—while it is fallacious in its logic, untrue in its history, false even in its contemporary facts, it is above all glaringly and outrageously false in its attempt to pervert the highest authority of this country—the patriarch of its political economy—to bring him into court as a witness in the cause of monopoly. (Cheers.) An attempt so impudent as this I believe never to have been made in any court of justice for any cause, however desperate. In the face of the whole tendency of his system, in the teeth of his well-known principles reiterated from book to book and chapter to chapter of his great work, the "Lords and gentlemen of the committee of the Agricultural Protection Society" have called—not a false witness into court—but have called Adam Smith into court as their witness, putting their false words into his mouth. (Loud cheers.) This is beyond the plea of mere literary license. There is not a gentleman connected with the press here or anywhere else who would be capable of committing such a fraud, or, if such an one was found, who would not be discharged from his employment for so doing, and be denounced by his fellow-labourers. (Hear, hear.) It is an attempt to impose in this great cause the highest authority on one side as an authority on the other. That individual members of that committee should say they disown the pamphlet, and wash their hands of it, as I understand some of them have said in private, is not enough; there is much more than this due to the sense of public justice and decency. It is a violation—we will say nothing of Christian morality—but it goes very far indeed to touch the honour of a British gentleman that his name is in any way mixed up with such a subornation of false testimony. (Loud cheers.) The proceedings of these meetings have attracted animadversion in one particular which is, perhaps, better worth adverting to than anything which has been urged by the Protection Society. It has been said, and in quarters seemingly not unfriendly to our objects, that too much of a tone of exaggeration has been indulged in here as to the benefits that may accrue from Corn-Law repeal. We are alleged to have represented the results of such a measure as constituting a perfect millennium on earth, as healing all the evils and wretchedness of society, and creating such a state as the poets might sing of as the return of the golden age on earth. Now, how much reason for this imputation may have been given I do not know; but I think the general representation here of the repeal of the monopoly laws has been rather as a cure for an evil than as the production of all this amount of virtue and happiness. Our first business is to struggle with the acknowledged mischiefs that are abroad in society; to apply something like mitigation to the aggravated horrors that have existed in manufacturing towns at particular seasons, and that are found to a large extent in great cities at all times; to assist the great body of society by enabling them to help themselves; and it is surely no objection to a medicine to say that, though it may cure a disease, it will not confer the gift of immortality. (Hear.) But, besides this, there is, I think, demonstrably a large amount of practical good which may be most confidently anticipated from the extension of Free-Trade principles. It is said that, were these barriers thrown down, there would be a great amount of speculation—there would be an immediate amelioration of the working classes; but that it would be found that behind these artificial barriers there are natural obstructions which cannot be passed, and that the world, or our own country, would still exhibit in a short period of time very much the same amount and degree of suffering as had been temporarily relieved by this legislative measure. Now, I demur to there being such natural barriers to be speedily reached after the first influx of good from the practical establishment of Free-Trade principles. Where are those barriers? So long as there is but the most insignificant fraction of the land of Europe which is well cultivated, what an indefinite increase of progress is to be found there at our very doors! Then there are interminable forests and prairies to the world's end which are ready to yield their produce to the hand of the cultivator. We reach not the natural limits of man's progress whilst there are climates

abounding in rich fruits and in natural products of various descriptions, which may be readily exchanged for the products of the human labour and ingenuity of other countries. We are in no danger whilst the tropical regions are in all their richness—whilst there are lands so fertile that sometimes their pork is spoiled by being fattened too much on peaches—while there are millions yet destitute of that convenient clothing and of those dwellings which should be the lot of every inhabitant of this world—while out of its 900,000,000 not 200,000,000 are yet reached by the manufacture of articles deemed essential to a comfortable existence—while in all countries there is a fund of power which may be stimulated to action, and while free interchange has its full room for coming ages and ages, to promote the good of each from the resources of all,—we may look onwards, I think, to such an advancement as we need feel no discouragement if there be some eventual limit thereto; we may anticipate that the triumph of Free Trade would give an impetus to the world analogous to that which Europe experienced at the great period of the Reformation, when it shook off the fetters of feudalism in which it had been so long cramped and enslaved—of that feudalism which is mimicked now by the men who make their landlords' titles a trade and not a dignity, and who keep up that trade by means which depress all other classes whatever. (Cheers.) It is in this direction that I look for the true greatness—for the real independence of our country—that sort of independence which the patriot will desire, and, in desiring which, he will have the satisfaction of feeling that he is cherishing no narrow purpose, but that his patriotism is in harmony with the most extensive philanthropy. Independence is universal dependence—the mutual interchange of good, in whatever quarter that good can be realized. (Hear, hear.) Of all schemes of national independence, the most puerile and paltry, as well as the most fallacious, is that which is sought for through the medium of protective duties on the importation of food. Modern Greece won independence by the remains of its original freedom of spirit, and the traditions of its ancient glory. (Hear.) Switzerland achieved her independence by tenacity for its simple and pure manners when they were outraged by its subjugators. (Hear.) The United Provinces won their independence by their regard for the rights of conscience and liberty of religion. The little republic of San Marino, amidst Europe's convulsion, maintained its independence by moderation. The United States of America won their independence by resistance to taxation without representation. (Cheers.) By a variety of pure principles have noble actions been called forth, and national independence achieved or preserved, leaving it for the proud nobility of England, with their Norman titles and their long pedigrees, to dream of securing national independence through the agency of custom-house officers. (Loud Cheers.) Oh, when the author of our national song delighted in the contemplation—the proud contemplation—of British independence—when Thomson sang of his country—

"Still more majestic shalt thou rise,
More dreadful from each foreign stroke,
As the loud blast that tears the skies
Serves but to root thy native oak;"

he little thought that anybody would ever have imagined that that oak was most safely rooted in the dangle of protective duties. (Loud cheers.) Let the independence of Britain be a relying upon her own skill, not attempting to creep under any safeguard of this description; applying the capital she has amassed, exercising the intellectual acuteness and vigour which has ever distinguished her inventors, and displaying that indomitable power of labour which marks her multitudes, she makes herself independent of all, by rendering to all those services which they cannot do without; and in the necessity of such services for their well-being amply will she reap in return from them what is most important to her well-being, and thus regain and exercise what Milton calls "her ancient prerogative" of teaching the nations how to live. (Loud cheers.) I believe we have present in this meeting, and the time of year makes it to be expected that it should be so—a more than usual proportion of friends from different parts of the country (hear); and I cannot conclude without a few remarks having special reference to them. I wish them to take back into the country, as the practical lesson which the League at this moment is most desirous of enforcing, the necessity of attending to the registration. (Hear, hear.) Never yet have the people worked the machinery of the Reform Bill; from its first enactment it has been managed by parties for party purposes; but never by the people for their own benefit. (Hear.) You must remember that the bill which makes this machinery necessary, has destroyed the old opportunity of popular enthusiasm carrying a point suddenly at an election. It is of no use now that you are enthusiastic; when the time of election comes, if the registration has been neglected, you are only like the unarmed warrior, who, whatever the intensity of his interest in the conflict, and how great soever the power he might have had with his weapon of turning the tide of battle, can only look helplessly on, a forlorn spectator, with no small self-accusation in his own bosom. (Cheers.) In no place, even where the registration has been most attended to, has anything like the entire number of qualified persons been put on the list. The investigation which has been carried on in London shows that there are tens of thousands whose claims have every probability of being established. Look after this, friends from the country, and see to it in your own localities. Remember that the elections which occur now, from time to time, are not a true test of what our question will be when its forces are in the field. We look to the elections that pass now as to their moral, not as to their numerical results. We have no dream in the present Parliament of adding such a number of Free-Traders upon these particular occasions as can make any impression whatever on the divisions there. Our time will come by-and-by. Now, the occasions are to be taken when victory, as it was in London, is great by its moral strength, by the electrical stroke which it gives the country. Such another occasion has occurred in South Lancashire, and that county will be fought, and fought with a spirit proportioned to the emergency of the occasion. There the friends of Free Trade—Leaguers or not Leaguers—will take the field, though the county may be partitioned between large landlords, every one of whom stands aloof or looks on with hostility, yet the battle will be fought with an energy that will make them tremble for the fate of the county, if it does not bear away the prize before their eyes. (Cheers.) Think of these things, I say again, as you return into the country. Have the hundred eyes of

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Argue for the registration lists, and that will give you the hundred arms of Briareus for the elections, every one striking a deathblow at monopoly. (Renewed cheers.) I know how much there is to contend with in these matters. The *Western Times* told us the other day of a young man in a workshop at Exeter in which there were ten workmen: the foreman announced to them authoritatively that they were all to vote for the Attorney-General; five of them being Tories obeyed the mandate of the master; the other five were of a different description, four of them did not vote at all, but one voted according to his conscience, and he, we are told, was discharged (cries of "Shame"), though bearing the best of characters, and having a poor mother dependent on him for subsistence. (Loud hisses and groans.) Such is protection at election times! (Hear, hear.) And then some monopoly-lord looks tenderly on; and while the son, perhaps, is compelled to have recourse to the dietary of the poorhouse, the mother, if she is fortunate, may obtain a pittance from "the Benevolent Society for the Protection of Poor Needlewomen." (Cries of "Shame.") Such is the result of the interference with which, in all localities, and among almost all classes, the friends of truth and justice in this Free-Trade question, and in so many other public contests, will have to struggle. I confess I cannot contemplate without disgust the amount of crime which is perpetrated by those who pass for respectable, moral, and even religious members of society, but who seem to think that all principle is superseded by the struggle of an election, and by the prospect of seats in Parliament. Why, the landlord who purchases land, reckoning that he buys votes at the same time—whose tenants polling according to his order are a portion of the rent that is paid for the farm—who exercises the cruelty of his authority by a threat of dismissal from the holding of those who are not obedient—who, directly and indirectly, applies the screw to tradespeople and labourers—who is connected with those operations by which integrity is broken down, and the poor man taught the first lesson of guilt in an offer so large as to dazzle and bewilder him, and who, perhaps, is led by this into a long course of corruption and iniquity—that conduct which makes the noblest of institutions (the representative) the means of manufacturing baseness, to support which too often would merit the stigma of being a subverter of ruffianism, and missionaries of demoralization,—this is a guilt for which, in my view, no palliation can be offered by the greatness of the prize, or the frequency of the custom. Compared with this, I do not hesitate to say that the poor outcast who walks the Strand for the wages of infancy contributes less to the amount of public vice than many persons who are dignified as "nobles," and would less pollute by her presence the circle of a court or the presence of royalty. (Prolonged and vehement cheering.) I have another thing to say to our friends from the country; and that is, let them take care of the tricks which are practised here. There is thimble-rigging and ring-dropping in other places besides Epsom or the pothouses of the metropolis. (Laughter.) Let them beware of *kvavish* humanities. I would not utter one syllable to steel any man's heart against a grief that should be felt, or to close his pocket from liberal almsgiving; but when it is attempted to blind the country to the claims of justice by introducing some show of alleged charity—when comparatively imperfect, pitiful, and paltry donations are set up in the room of giving to every one that which is rightfully their own (hear, hear)—when the enumeration of these is made boastfully to turn us away from the real and only cure for the country's misery, and the distress of so large a portion of its inhabitants,—why, then, I say it is time to cry "Beware!" and to expose the sophism and the duplicity, whatever aristocratic names may adorn the lists. It is a false and bastard charity; I mean that which, while it gives to this or that particular class of the poor something just to lighten the day's pressure, denies them that good by which they could serve themselves from year's end to year's end, a charity which would cut down the hours of work in the mill, and at the same time the worth of wages in the market (hear, hear); a charity which gives guineas to individuals while it draws millions from the community (hear, hear); a charity which bestows a square half inch of court-plaster to the scratch-on-the-finger of society, while it drives the iron of oppression into the very soul of the country (hear, hear); a charity that gives hundreds of children a penny bun, while it makes millions of men pay 9d. for the 6d. loaf (hear, hear); a charity that, having created a configuration of misery and wretchedness, brings its silver thimble to put its drop of water on the flames. I say that this charity is unworthy of absorbing the regard of right-minded men; it is a sort of faddling man-millinery of humanity that should not stand in the way of the greatest philanthropy of all, that which renders impartial justice to every man who labours. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Let them give over talking sensibility and voting monopoly; let them render justice to the poor—and they will then take care of their own children; they will pay their own workwomen, select their own schools, do that for themselves, and do it very much better than any self-appointed patron can; and will realize, in the comfort of their dwellings, and in the progress of their condition, that which they deserve by their toil, but which no charity ever has supplied or ever can. (Cheers.) Those who are present at such a time as this from the country, perhaps, have some of them come to London in connexion with many of the institutions that are now holding their anniversaries. They have come to talk of subjects more sacred than that which occupies us here; but I would say to them that, if such have been the topics of their attention and the tone of their minds, I desire no better state of mind for our meetings, because I believe that the doctrines of Free Trade are essentially connected with the giving place on earth and diffusing good will among mankind. (Cheers.) What indeed is a greater bar to the progress of religion in the land than monopoly? It interferes with devout associations even in those natural scenes that excite them almost instinctively in the human bosom; in all the richness of harvest, when golden fields are waving in heaven's light, and you see the peasant or the poor labourer look on, and when thankfulness to Providence should arise in his heart, there comes the shadow of the dark cloud of Monopoly brooding over the scene, and interposing between him and the sunshine of God's bounty. Feelings have not their full, free, and fair play, even on the most sacred points; nor can they, for we may be assured that there will be no rest; there can be only one incessant struggle until the claims of justice are conceded by the possessors of power. In promoting this they will be co-

operating with a moral and religious work, one which deserves to be classed with those which made illustrious such names as those of Howard and Clarkson, for bringing emancipation to slavery, the light of heaven into the dreariest and darkest regions of wretchedness, the song of gladness to the tongue of the widow and the orphan, and kinder feelings of social order where now all is strife and contention. As a good work, then, let them promote it by their concurrence while they are here, and by their co-operation when they return to their several places of abode. (Cheers.) And now, for myself, I have to thank you for the cheering sympathy which may seem in some measure to have rendered unnecessary the apology with which I commenced; but whether in sickness or in health there is no cause which lays stronger grasp upon the heart and mind than does this great cause of justice and humanity. It is one for which the exertions of a life would be well spent, and dying breath could scarcely be poured forth more appropriately than in a last protest against that injurious system which denies to man the rights of his labour, the charter of his being, and the bounty of his Creator. (Mr. Fox retired amidst enthusiastic applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then stated that the usual weekly meeting would be held on Wednesday evening next.

At the suggestion of Mr. Gibbs, three cheers were given for Free Trade, and the meeting separated.

FROME.

In accordance with announcement an Anti-Corn-Law demonstration was held in the Market-place, Frome, on Friday, the 3rd instant, at three o'clock in the afternoon, which was numerously attended. Messrs. Cobden and Bright had been announced to attend; but the latter gentleman, from a loss of voice, had been professionally instructed to abstain from speaking at public meetings, especially in the open air. Mr. Moore, however, supplied the place of Mr. Bright. Previous to the public meeting a preliminary meeting of the electors was held in the Assembly-room, at the George Inn, where Mr. Cobden strongly enforced the necessity of attending to the registration; and Mr. Moore having followed upon the same point, the meeting adjourned to the Market-place. Upon the motion of Mr. Coombes, seconded by Mr. Gregory, Mr. Wood was unanimously called to preside.

The CHAIRMAN said, he felt unworthy the honour they had been pleased to confer upon him; but, since they had appointed him to preside on that occasion, he would take the duty willingly, and, to the best of his ability, see that every speaker should have a fair hearing. He explained the cause of Mr. Bright's absence; and said, as Messrs. Cobden and Moore would, no doubt, occupy their attention for a considerable time, he would at once call upon the Rev. Mr. Ferney to read the letters received from gentlemen who had been invited to attend the meeting.

The Rev. Mr. Ferney then read letters excusing several gentlemen, from personal or relative affliction, attending the meeting, amongst whom were the Earl of Cork, Hon. Capt. Boyle, Sir Henry Strachey, W. Gore Langton, Esq., Col. Bouverie, &c.

Mr. COOMBS came forward amidst great cheering. Having explained the object of the visit of the deputation, who appeared before the meeting as "Free-Trade missionaries," and what was meant by Free Trade, he said he would direct their attention to Frome:—

"Has Frome prospered by the Corn Laws? It was once the distinguished seat of woollen manufactures, and it was a quiet town. Why are things now worse than formerly in Frome? You want a member. (Cries of 'No, not we!') Well, I see better for the future. (Cheers.) You want a member who is in favour of monopoly; a member who votes for little trade, instead of more trade. Is this calculated to maintain the character of your town? I may be told your trade has not dwindled away. To this I can only reply, that in the last 300 years the trade has not increased. Frome has little to boast of. (Hear, hear.) Other towns do not stand still. Your member does not say you shall not make goods; but he says you shall not sell them, or if you sell them you shall not receive payment for them. You must teach your member to vote for Free Trade, for the interest of Frome is not against it."

He then proceeded to show that the Corn Laws were opposed to the interest of the labouring classes, and contrasted the average amount of their wages with that paid to artisans in the manufacturing districts. He next contended that these laws had not benefited but injured the tenant-farmer: the question was therefore exclusively a landlords' question; they were the only class who received any benefit from them. Landlords denied this:—

"I have proved that the Corn Laws do neither farmer nor labourer any good, and the landlord says they do not benefit him. There must be something wrong here. Let us find out the evil and put the saddle on the right horse. Does not rent depend on produce? Is not the evil weapon made as to the quantity of wheat grown on the soil? If you were to cut to take a farm whilst corn sold at 80s., think you it would be valued as when wheat is at 40s.? (Cries of 'No, no!') If the lack of this town became as valuable as front streets, how long would the present occupiers remain in the land at the same rent as now? Why, till quarter-day. They would have notice to quit, and the rents would be raised. So it is with the land. If Government make wheat high, the rent will be raised. (A voice, "That is not the landlords' fault.") A gentleman says the landlords are not to blame for raising their rents. I was not so complaining of the raising of rents; every one has a right to get as much as he can for his property. What I complain of is, that the landlords say they get no benefit by the Corn Laws."

Mr. COBDEN, at considerable length, here showed the evils of competition for farms which led to the landlord getting the uttermost farthing, and sometimes more for a farm than it was worth. It was, therefore, the interest of the farmer, in order to diminish competition, that trade and commerce should flourish, so that he might find a better source of employment open to his sons than running after farms. Mr. COBDEN ably exposed the fallacy that Free Trade would throw land out of cultivation. Having touched upon several other branches of this subject, which he discussed and illustrated with great force and clearness, he said he should be happy to hear any question calculated to elicit information; and, thanking them for the kind hearing he had obtained, would beg leave to retire. (Mr. Cobden sat down amidst great cheering.)

A Mr. CANDY here put several questions to Mr. Cobden, which he answered to the satisfaction of the meeting.

ROBT. R. R. MOORE, Esq., came forward, and was enthusiastically received. He replied to the questions of Mr. CANDY, dwelling particularly on the subject of machinery: he showed that where most machinery was em-

ployed there the greatest increase had taken place in the number of labourers, and that higher wages were paid now than before machinery was employed. He denounced the monopoly of it, and desired that the whole people should be benefited by this great boon, which did the working man's drudgery, and diminished his labour. He exposed the West India monopoly in sugar; and, having entered into the question of general monopoly at great length and with much ability, he concluded a most eloquent address amidst the plaudits of the whole assembly.

The Rev. Mr. GRIFFITHS then moved—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the principles of Free Trade are in unison with the beneficent designs of the Creator, and calculated to benefit all classes of the community, especially the working class, and that, therefore, all laws which interfere with the free exchange of the commodities of this country for the productions of other nations ought to be abolished."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Brown, and carried with only two hands held up against it.

Votes of thanks to Messrs. Cobden and Moore, and to the chairman followed, together with three cheers for the League; despite the efforts of the deputation to prevent it, a hearty groan or two for Monopoly succeeded, and the meeting separated.—*Abridged from the Bath Journal.*

MITCHAM ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.—The annual meeting of this association was held at the Nelson's Arms, Merton, on Tuesday evening, the 7th instant, for the purpose of receiving the committee's report. On the motion of Mr. Holt, seconded by Mr. Penfold, Mr. Richard Aitkin was called to the chair. The Chairman, after opening the meeting with some suitable observations, called upon Mrs. Barter to read the report, which, having been duly moved and seconded, was unanimously adopted.—Mr. Saul, of the League, then rose and explained the effects of monopoly upon the interests of the different classes of the community; and with considerable effect pointed out that the working classes were specially interested in its removal. They were really the producers of all the consumable articles that were brought to market. To produce either manufactures or agricultural commodities labour was as necessary as raw materials or capital. It was therefore the interest of the operative to have a Free Trade, and unrestricted outlets to the productions of his skill and industry. The demand for goods and the demand for labour must be in the same proportion; and according to the demand for labour would be the amount of its value in wages. Corn was the raw material of labour. The strength of the operative could not be sustained without it; it was as necessary as the cotton or wool upon which his fingers might be employed. The Corn Law was not so injurious in raising the price of bread as in destroying trade and taking away the means of the people to purchase the necessities of life. The speaker concluded a lengthened and argumentative address amidst loud cheers.—Dr. Epps next addressed the meeting in his usual and pleasing style, showing the effect of the war in raising rents, and proving that the Corn Laws had been detrimental to the interests of the farmer, and were only sustained for the benefit of the aristocracy. He argued that an improvement in trade and manufactures would draw off the surplus population from the agricultural districts, diminish the competition for employment, and cause wages to rise. He concluded amidst great applause.—Thanks were unanimously voted to the speakers, and, on the motion of Dr. Epps, seconded by Mr. Saul, to the Chairman. Several subscriptions were announced on the spot, to which others are expected to be added.—*Morning Advertiser.*

GALASHIELS.—On Monday forenoon Mr. Prentice arrived at Galashiels, and immediately proceeded to Dryburgh Abbey, the beautiful residence of the Earl of Buchan. On Tuesday night a large Anti-Corn-Law meeting was held in the Relief Church, Galashiels. His lordship having been called to the chair, was received with the warmest plaudits. He said if any one had a direct interest in high prices he had, for most of his tenants paid corn rents; but he would not let his interest prevail over his conscience. He thought no cause could be advanced by severity and abuse, of which too much had fallen from gentlemen who had, in that neighbourhood and lately, advocated protection to agriculture. He knew that Mr. Prentice would address them in another way, and that they should hear nothing from him but sound and legitimate argument. His lordship's few remarks were loudly cheered.—Mr. Prentice commenced his speech by congratulating the meeting that they had the Earl of Buchan in the chair, "not," said he, "because he is of a family one of the most ancient and illustrious in the Scottish peerage, for rank alone is not entitled to much respect; but as an advocate of civil, religious, and commercial liberty,—I do congratulate you on having in the chair the descendant of the great and good Lord Cardross, who, after the conflicts of Drumclog and Bothwell Brig, in 1679, generously afforded his protection to the men who had fought in defence of the religious liberty of their country. I do congratulate you on having in the chair the son of Henry Erskine, who was the brightest ornament of the Scottish bar, an ardent friend of civil liberty, and who, if he had lived till now, would have been like his son, a warm friend to Free Trade,—and I do congratulate you in having in the chair a nobleman who stands out from amongst his own order to advocate commercial liberty, and the cause of justice and humanity." Mr. Prentice proceeded, in an address of considerable length, to show the manner in which the Corn Laws affected the interest of farmers. He was greeted at its conclusion with three hearty cheers. Three cheers for the Earl of Buchan and three for the League followed, and then the meeting separated.

Mr. Falvey, of the Anti-Corn Law League, is still actively and usefully engaged in Essex. During the past week he has delivered lectures at Romford, Billericay, Rayleigh, Rochford, Dunsbury, Braintree, and Halstead.

HUNTERSFIELD.—The electors in the township of Honley have this week been supplied with packets from the Anti-Corn-Law League. There is a large number of electors in this township. Of course the information will be read by a goodly number of the inhabitants, so that they will have a chance of learning the cause of the suffering from want of work, depressed wages, and high-priced food, which they have so long endured.—*Leeds Times.*

Five large bales of Anti-Corn-Law League pamphlets were landed at Wighton on Wednesday, per Warrington, consigned to Mr. W. M'Master, Castle Douglas, for distribution in the county.—*Dumfries Courier.*

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, May 8, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | |
|---|---------|
| William Devas and Son, 24, Lawrence-lane .. | £50 0 0 |
| G. M., Cambridge .. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. White and Son, 68, Cheapside .. | 2 2 0 |
| John Stewart, 68, do. .. | 0 10 6 |
| Robert Beck, 79, do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| W. H. .. | 1 0 0 |
| William White, 107, Cheapside .. | 10 10 0 |
| J. B. Banks, 3, Honey-lane, do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| William Banks, 3, do., do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| John Jameson, 3, do., do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| Mr. Ewer .. | 0 5 0 |
| Place and Wood, 10, Cateaton-street .. | 3 3 0 |
| Robert Cooper, 8, do. .. | 2 0 0 |
| John Wilson, 8, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| J. Wyld, 1, Aldermanbury .. | 0 5 0 |
| W. and A. Daniels, 3, do. .. | 2 0 0 |
| John Muckle, 2, Monkwell-street .. | 0 5 0 |
| J. B. .. | 0 5 0 |
| James Walsley, 12, King-street, Cheapside .. | 1 1 0 |
| Joseph Burr, 12, do., do. .. | 1 0 0 |
| A liberal Tavernkeeper .. | 1 0 0 |
| George Adey, 10, Manchester-terrace, Liverpool-road .. | 5 0 0 |
| C. J. W. Russell, Grove, Stratford .. | 0 2 6 |
| X. Y. Z. .. | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Fawcett, 17, Percy-street, Tottenham-court-road .. | 0 7 6 |
| Richard Brook, Chiddington, Tunbridge .. | 1 0 0 |
| M. A. A. by William Axford .. | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph Taverner, Old-street, St. Luke's .. | 1 0 0 |
| G. Doddmeade, Peckham New Town .. | 0 3 0 |
| Edward Buckingham, Rochester Gardens, Camden Villas, Camden-town .. | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Cole, 2, Somers-place West, New-road .. | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Fielder, 8, Brewer-street, Somers-town .. | 0 5 0 |
| Samuel Chator, 9, Brewer-street, Somers-town .. | 0 5 0 |
| The Rev. Geo. Crabbe, Bredfield, near Woodbridge .. | 2 0 0 |
| Rhodes and Son, New-square, Minorities .. | 5 5 0 |
| J. Parker and Son, 96, Minorities .. | 5 5 0 |
| A Free Trader .. | 2 2 0 |
| John Field, 3, Union-row, Tower-hill .. | 1 0 0 |
| James Ferguson, 23, Minorities .. | 1 1 0 |
| Michael Birdseye, 17, Houndsditch .. | 1 1 0 |
| John Robins, jun., 20, do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| Robert Wood, 24, do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| Robert Wild, 45, do. .. | 5 0 0 |
| G. Harfield, Minorities .. | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Browning, 111, do. .. | 1 0 0 |
| George Bradford, 99, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Joseph Pasfield, 92, do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| William Greig, 81, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Henry Catchpole, 77, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Carter, 16, do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| George Whybrow, 4, do. .. | 0 10 0 |
| J. Solomon, 31, Houndsditch .. | 0 2 6 |
| Abraham Brandon, 49, do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| John L. Mare, 108, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| J. T. Riley, 111, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Philip Taylor, 148, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| John Bullett, 62, Minorities .. | 0 10 0 |
| Edward Cook, Goodman's-yard, do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| John Cook, do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| George Foulkes, 59, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| J. Snelling, 55, do. .. | 1 0 0 |
| George Bone, 44, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Warren Danford, 84, High street, Aldgate .. | 0 10 0 |
| Daniel Squier, 75, do., do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| Charles Mann, 35, do., do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| George Nicholson, 39, do., do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| Moses Son, and Davis, 14 and 15, do., do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Duke, 9, Jewry-street, do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| William Bernard Ogden, 8, St. Mildred's court, Poultry (2nd subscription, in addition to £1 1s. paid before) .. | 2 2 0 |
| J. C. .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Wood, 17, Cumming-street, Pentonville (2nd subscription) .. | 5 0 0 |
| John Giddy, 6, Gloucester-street, Hackney-road .. | 1 1 0 |
| John Collett, Esq., M.P., 7, Upper Belgrave-street .. | 10 10 0 |
| H. Whitehead, 7, Whitehead's grove, Chelsea .. | 2 2 0 |
| J. P. and S. .. | 1 1 0 |
| Mrs. Cassells, 7, Wilton-crescent .. | 0 5 0 |
| E. Darwin, 43, Great Marlborough-street .. | 1 1 0 |
| C. Darwin, 43, do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| James Brady, 16, Gloucester-place, Kentish-town .. | 1 1 0 |
| Jacob Post, 15, Lower-street, Islington .. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Midleton, 9, High-street, P. ntonville .. | 0 5 0 |
| George Woodfall and Son, Angel-court, Skinner-at. (second subscription) .. | 5 0 0 |
| Liverpool, { J. and W. Robinson, 16, Gorse-piazas .. | 5 0 0 |
| 20th Remit. { James Lewin, 48, Cattle-street .. | 2 2 0 |
| Charles Seaton, 52, Bold-street .. | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Teeves, 67, Market-street, Cavendish-square, London .. | 1 1 0 |
| Hyde Sons, & Sowerby, Dukinfield, near Manchester .. | 100 0 0 |
| T. Birge, jun., and Brothers, Mosley-street, do. .. | 50 0 0 |
| Tennants, Clow, and Co., do. .. | 50 0 0 |
| Michael Craven, Horsforth, near Leeds .. | 5 0 0 |
| John Hill, Market-place, Evesham .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Ansell, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Richard Jowland, Vine-st., do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| John Melen, Port street, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Cameron, 9, Bonnyfield, Corry Whillie, by Fort William, N.B. .. | 1 0 0 |
| H. Hannerman and Sons, Manchester .. | 100 0 0 |
| James Gray, Kates Mill, Slatford, near Edinburgh .. | 1 0 0 |
| W. H. Orr, banker, Saltcoats, N.B. .. | 1 1 0 |
| William Auld, merchant, do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| Wm. Burns and Son, chemists, do. .. | 1 0 0 |
| James Giffen, do. .. | 0 10 0 |
| Wm. Aitken, merchant, do. .. | 0 10 0 |
| Hugh Baird, do. .. | 0 3 0 |
| Gilbert Gordon, agent, do. .. | 0 3 0 |
| George Jamieson, do. .. | 0 3 0 |
| Peter Mather, Ardrossan .. | 0 3 0 |
| A Friend to the Cause, Saltcoats .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Orr, do. .. | 0 3 0 |
| William Coulter, do. .. | 0 2 0 |
| Alexander Baird, do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| Archibald Davie, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Banks, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| James Thomson, do. .. | 0 2 0 |
| Robert Pryce, do. .. | 0 3 0 |
| Allan Speira, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Alexander Baird, jun., do. .. | 0 3 0 |
| James H. Buck, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| Robert Jaffry, do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| John M'Brice, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Daniel M'Alister, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| R. Craig, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| John How, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| Robert Baird, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| A Friend, do. .. | 0 0 6 |
| C. Smith, Stevenston .. | 0 2 0 |
| John Mackie, do. .. | 0 1 6 |
| Andrew Gretlan, do. .. | 0 2 6 |

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Thomas Shaw, Saltcoats .. | £20 2 6 |
| Wm. Brown, do. .. | 0 1 6 |
| Thomas Smith, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| George Service, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| Wm. Boyd, do. .. | 0 0 6 |
| R. Service, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| D. Ronald, do. .. | 0 3 0 |
| James Steverat, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| A Friend, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| William Burns, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| Dr. Currie, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| James Dunlop, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Alexander M'Brice, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| W. Crawford, do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| Matthew Dowie, do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| William Reid, do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| R. Stevenson, do. .. | 0 0 6 |
| Peter M'Glachan, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| A. M'Honche, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| James Rhedden, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| Archibald M'Killan, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| William Armour, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| James Ellis, do. .. | 0 7 6 |
| Adam Barry, Ardrossan .. | 0 2 6 |
| James M'Kie, Saltcoats .. | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Gilmour, Stevenston .. | 0 1 6 |
| James Brown, Saltcoats, N.B. .. | 0 5 0 |
| John Gibson, do. .. | 0 1 6 |
| Matthew Auld, do. .. | 0 2 0 |
| William Service, do. .. | 0 1 0 |
| Thomas Roxburgh, do. .. | 0 6 0 |
| John Ellis, do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| John King, do. .. | 0 5 0 |
| W. B. Orr, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Small subscriptions, Pontefract .. | 0 17 0 |
| James Proctor, York-street, Manchester .. | 100 0 0 |
| Daniel Proctor, do., do. .. | 25 0 0 |
| Henry Winkworth, do., do. .. | 25 0 0 |
| Mr. Seddon, watchmaker, Chester-road, Hulme, Manchester .. | 0 5 0 |
| Hilton and Ford, Harpurhey, near Manchester .. | 1 0 0 |
| Workmen of Henry Holroyd, Colne, Lancashire (2nd subscription) .. | 0 14 8 |
| John Blackiston, Belmore-street, Lymington, Hants .. | 2 0 0 |
| R. L. Rice, Houghfield, do. .. | 1 0 0 |
| George Scott, The Walk, do. .. | 1 0 0 |
| George Keppell, Ashley, near do. .. | 1 0 0 |
| Frederick Thackeray, Aubrey House, do. .. | 1 0 0 |
| Nicholas Adams, High-street, do. .. | 1 0 0 |
| Stephen Winter, Hordle, do. .. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Badcock, High-street, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| F. Gauntlett, do., do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| W. Mennell, do., do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| J. Burton, do., do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Smith, do., do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Benjamin Millidge, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Murray, Quay, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| R. Rice, High-street, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. May, Temple-bar, Old Town, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Robert Barnes, High-street, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Genite, Church-lane, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Mr. Bath, Quay, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| G. Bran, Old Town, do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Ralph Ponsahon, High-street do. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. .. | 0 10 6 |
| Miss Elizabeth Pease .. | 5 0 0 |
| James Cudworth, West-terrace .. | 5 0 0 |
| Thomas A. Cockin .. | 5 0 0 |
| H. Whitwell, West Lodge .. | 3 0 0 |
| W. Lister, ironfounder (2nd subscription of £1) .. | 1 0 0 |
| John B. Pease, North Lodge .. | 1 0 0 |
| George Graham, Union-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| William Cudworth, West terrace .. | 1 0 0 |
| Joshua Jenkinson, Railway-office .. | 1 0 0 |
| R. Fearnley, High North-terrace .. | 1 0 0 |
| S. Barnard .. | 1 0 0 |
| A Clerk .. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend .. | 1 0 0 |
| R. Thompson .. | 10s. } 1 0 0 |
| W. Fossick .. | 10s. } |
| W. Robson, High-row .. | 0 5 0 |
| A Friend .. | 0 4 0 |
| James Smith, High-row .. | 0 3 0 |
| A Common .. | 0 2 6 |
| W. Watson .. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend .. | 0 2 6 |
| A Friend to fixed duty at least .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Kipling .. | 0 2 6 |
| H. Barlow, sen. .. | 0 2 6 |
| Rev. R. C. Pritchett .. | 0 2 6 |
| George Hinde, Horsemarket .. | 0 2 6 |
| Monsieur De Baate .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Readman .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Harris, C.E. .. | 5 0 0 |
| Edward Oxley .. | 5 0 0 |
| Elias Smith, for Self and Friends .. | 1 0 0 |
| Small sums .. | 0 11 0 |
| George Smith, cotton spinner .. | 60 0 0 |
| R. and W. Ashcroft, attorneys .. | 20 0 0 |
| A Preston Friend .. | 10 0 0 |
| John Wainman, 3, Goolder-square .. | 1 1 0 |
| Richard Parkinson .. | 1 1 0 |
| John Carter .. | 0 2 6 |
| John Hamer, publican .. | 0 5 0 |
| George Henshall, do. .. | 1 1 0 |
| James Smith, printer, Underbank .. | 1 1 0 |
| Henry Hunt, cotton spinner, Park .. | 10 0 0 |
| C. H. and J. Dawson .. | 10 0 0 |
| James Ratcliffe, Wheatley, near .. | 5 0 0 |
| Samuel Howarth .. | 2 10 0 |
| Workmen at P. Frith and Co.'s .. | 0 5 6 |
| Workmen at Iris office .. | 0 4 0 |
| Per John Wragg, Sully-street .. | 0 2 0 |
| Small sums, per George Johnson .. | 0 4 6 |
| Per B. Etchells, Lydgate .. | 0 6 0 |
| F. Wilson, Heeley .. | 0 2 0 |
| A few Workmen at Ashforth and Barnes', Bridge-street .. | 1 8 6 |
| A few Workmen at Lockwood, Brothers, Spital-hill .. | 0 3 6 |
| N. R. Holman, Bridge-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Morton, Duke-street .. | 0 5 0 |
| Silver Platers at Cornish-place .. | 1 2 6 |
| Thomas Trickett, Storrs .. | 1 0 0 |
| Professor Gregory, King's College .. | 1 0 0 |
| William Phillip, 68, Loch-street .. | 1 0 0 |
| John Bullock, 22, School-hill .. | 1 0 0 |
| James Forsyth, baker, 22, Denburn .. | 1 0 0 |
| Edmund Chadwick, Queen-street .. | 1 0 0 |

* * * We have received a further list of subscriptions from BRISTOL, particulars of which will be given next week.

ERRATUM.
In LEAGUE No. 32, for "H. Bertram Evans, 32, Hertford-street, May-fair, £4 4s." read "W. Bertram Evans."

LANDLORD'S LIBERILITY.—We hear that Edward Holland, Esq., of Dumbleton, with that generosity and good feeling which so abundantly distinguish him, has abandoned his reserved right to the game upon all his farms to the several tenants thereof. The fact deserves to be made known, not only to the honour of Mr. Holland, but that, by so liberal an example becoming public, other landlords may be induced to imitate it. — *Worcester Journal.*

DIRECTIONS TO BE OBSERVED BY ALL PERSONS ENGAGED IN THE REGISTRATION OF ELECTORS FOR CITIES AND BOROUGHES.

ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

The battle of Free Trade and the rights of industry must be fought in the registration courts; and we therefore publish the following condensed summary of the laws relating to the elective franchise, with plain directions for the guidance of those who have claims to be registered as voters. A corrupt Parliament is the result of previous corruption in the electoral body; to purify the Legislature we must, therefore, commence with the purification of the constituency; and the directions we subjoin explain the means that must be employed for this desirable purpose.

REGISTRATION OF ELECTORS.

The importance of the most earnest and unremitting attention to the registration of parliamentary electors cannot be too highly estimated. No law, however oppressive, can be removed from the statute-book but through the Legislature, which enacts all laws.

The National Anti-Corn-Law League, established to obtain the abolition of the Corn and Provision Laws, has, during the six years of its existence, laboured incessantly to inform the public mind on this momentous question. During that period millions of the people have petitioned the Parliament for the repeal of these laws, and have petitioned in vain. The House of Commons has refused even inquiry into their pernicious effects.

The Council of the League now turns from Parliament to those who make the Parliament; it appeals to the constituencies. To give effect to that appeal, the number of the friends of commercial freedom in the electoral body must be greatly increased. This can only be done by a more searching and close attention to the registration. Every Free-Trader should put his hand to this work; but, to do it effectually, he must make himself acquainted with the points necessary to be attended to, and the practical details of the law on the subject. To enable him to do this is the object of the following pages.

ELECTORS FOR CITIES AND BOROUGHES.

OF THE QUALIFICATION.

Since the passing of the Reform Act, electors for cities and boroughs consist—

First:—Of those who possess the franchise created by the Reform Act. This class consists exclusively of the £10 occupiers.

Second:—Of the possessors of the franchise by *ancient right*. These are *freeholders* and *burgage tenants*, *freemen*, *liverymen*, or *burgesses*; voters by various rights of inhabitancy, such as *potwallers*, *inhabitant householders*, and *inhabitants paying scot and lot*.

TEN POUND OCCUPIERS.

Any person occupying, either as owner or tenant, any house, warehouse, counting-house, shop, or other building, or any of them, together with any land occupied therewith, will be entitled to be registered, provided the premises are either separately, or together with the land, of the clear yearly value of ten pounds.

Joint occupiers may be registered if the yearly value of the premises, when divided, will give to each the sum of ten pounds.

If a house be divided into separate rooms, each person occupying a room, and having the entire use of that room, provided it be of the required annual value, and also properly rated, may be registered. But a mere lodger, provided with board by his landlord, will not be so entitled. His occupation must be an entire and separate occupation, with the exclusive use of his room and the key to the door of it. He must also have the power of entry to the outside or street-door in common with his landlord.

THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS ARE NECESSARY TO ENTITLE THE VOTER TO BE REGISTERED:—

1. He must have occupied during the twelve months previous to the 31st of July. A successive occupation of different premises, each of ten pounds' yearly value, will be sufficient.

2. He must have been rated for the premises to all rates for the relief of the poor made during the twelve months. Joint occupiers must each be separately rated.

If the premises are partnership property, it is enough if the rating be in the name of the firm.

Any person not on the rate-book, being a separate or joint occupier, may claim to be rated; and on paying or tendering all arrears (if any) then due, he will be entitled to be rated.

If the overseer omit to enter the claimant's name on the rate-book, the person claiming will be deemed to be rated from the time the rate was made on which he claimed to be inserted.

3. The voter must have paid, on or before the 20th of July, all poor rates and assessed taxes due from him in respect of the premises during the twelve months previously to the 6th of April then next preceding.

When the rates or taxes are paid by the landlord in consequence of his receiving a higher amount of rent, the payment may be considered as having been made by the tenant.

No remission by the parish, or delay granted by the collector, will dispense with the necessity for payment. The full amount of rates and taxes must be paid, whether any demand has been made by the collector or not.

4. The voter must have resided for six months before the 31st of July within the city or borough, or within seven statute miles thereof. The distance to be measured in a straight line.

Occasional absence will not prevent a party from being considered a resident.

ANCIENT RIGHTS.

1. FREEHOLDERS and BURGAGE TENANTS in cities and towns, being counties, retain their *ancient right* in perpetuity, when the freehold is held for a life or lives, and the property is of the yearly value of ten pounds; and where it previously existed, the right is extended to persons within the new boundary.

To be registered, such persons must have been in possession of the property twelve calendar months previous to the 31st of July, unless acquired by descent, succession, will, marriage, or promotion to an office or benefice.

They must have resided within the city or town, or within seven miles thereof, for six months previous to the 31st of July, the distance to be measured by a straight line from the place where the poll has usually been taken.

In cities and boroughs, not being counties, the ancient right is preserved only where the property was in possession of the voter on the 1st of March, 1831, or accrued to him between that day and the 7th of June, 1832, by descent, succession, marriage, will, or promotion. No property since acquired can confer the right.

2. FREEMEN, LIVERYMEN, or BURGESSSES retain their right in cities or boroughs—

If admitted on or before the 1st of March, 1831—

If admitted since in respect of servitude—

If admitted since by right of birth, derived from any person who was admitted, or entitled to be admitted, in respect of birth, on the 1st March, 1831, or who has been admitted since in respect of servitude.

To be registered, this class must have a complete title on the 31st July, and must have resided six calendar months before the 31st of July, in, or within seven statute miles of, the city or borough, as before named.

3. INHABITANTS GENERALLY: POTWALLERS, INHABITANT-HOUSEHOLDERS, INHABITANTS paying SCOT and LOT.

A scot and lot voter must have been assessed to all rates made for the relief of the poor within six months before the 31st of July. He must have paid all rates demanded of him. Non-payment will not disqualify unless a demand has been made.

The rights of all these voters by inhabitancy is only preserved to such as were qualified on the 7th of June, 1832, and only so long as they remain qualified according to the former usage of the borough.

These rights will be lost if the voter's name is omitted from the register for two years successively, unless the omission is in consequence of the receipt of parochial relief, or of the voter having been absent on the King's service in the army or navy.

Six months' residence within the same distance required as in the case of freemen, &c.

REGISTRATION.

LISTS TO BE MADE OUT BY OVERSEERS ON OR BEFORE THE 31ST OF JULY.

An alphabetical list of £10 occupiers entitled to vote in boroughs.

Another and separate list, in each parish, of all other persons (except freemen and liverymen) entitled to vote in boroughs in respect of ancient rights.

These lists are to be signed by the overseers, and affixed on the doors of every church and chapel within each parish during a period including the two first Sundays in August.

LISTS TO BE MADE OUT BY TOWN CLERKS.

An alphabetical list of all freemen entitled to vote to be fixed on or near the town hall, or some public situation, during a period including the two first Sundays in August.

Town-clerks and overseers are to keep copies of all lists made by them respectively, for the perusal of any person, without the payment of any fee.

Every person should see for himself that his name is inserted in the list of that class of voters to which he belongs. If he have a twofold qualification, he should see that his name is on both lists. This is of great importance, as the voter may lose one qualification between the registration and election, and may still vote for the other.

Any person whose qualification consists of a successive occupation of different premises should be careful to observe that each set of premises is inserted in the list. If this should not have been done, he must send in a claim to the overseers, as below, describing all the premises.

CLAIMS BY PERSONS OMITTED FROM THE LISTS.

Persons omitted from the overseers' lists should give notice, on or before the 25th of August, to the said overseers, in the following form. If the claim be for a successive occupation of different premises, each of such separate premises must be described:—

To the overseers of the parish [or township] of — I hereby give you notice, that I claim to have my name inserted in the list made by you of persons entitled to vote in the election of a member [or members] for the city [or borough] of —, and that the particulars of my qualification are stated in the columns below.

Dated the — day of —, one thousand eight hundred and —.

| Christian name and surname of the claimant at full length. | Place | Nature of Qualification. | Street, lane, or other place in the parish [or township] where the property is situate, and number of the houses, if any (when the right depends on property). |
|--|-------|--------------------------|--|
| | | | |

(Signed)

A. B.

Persons omitted from the list of freemen should give notice to the town-clerk in the following form:—

To the town-clerk of the city [or borough] of —.

I hereby give you notice, that I claim to have my name inserted in the list made by you of persons entitled as freemen to vote in the election of a member [or members] to serve in Parliament for the city [or borough] of —, and that my qualification is as freeman of —, and that I reside in — street, in this city [or borough].

Dated this — day of —, one thousand eight hundred and —.

(Signed)

A. B.

Notices of claims must be delivered on or before the 25th of August.

OBJECTIONS TO PERSONS ON THE LISTS.

It is of importance that every voter should carefully examine the lists made by the overseers and town-clerk, to ascertain if any person has been inserted who is not entitled to vote. If there be any such, he is to give to the overseers or to the town-clerk a notice of objection, in the following form:—

To the overseers of the parish [or township] of (or to the town-clerk of the city [or borough] of) —.

I hereby give you notice, that I object to the name

of — being retained in the list of persons entitled to vote in the election of a member [or members] for the city [or borough] of —.

Dated this — day of —, one thousand eight hundred and —.

(Signed) A. B., of [place of abode.]

On the list of voters for the parish of —.

The notice must also be given to the person objected to, as follows:—

To Mr. —.

I hereby give you notice, that I object to your name being retained on the list of persons entitled to vote in the election of members [or a member] for the city [or borough] of —.

Dated this — day of —, one thousand eight hundred and —.

(Signed) A. B., of [place of abode.]

On the list of voters for the parish of —.

In all notices of objection, the christian name and surname of the person objected to, exactly as it appears in the list, should be written at full length. The christian name and surname, and place of abode of the objector, who must be a voter, must also be written at length, or the notice will be void.

If there be more than one list of voters, the notice should specify the list to which the objection refers; and if the list contains two or more persons of the same name, the notice should distinguish the person intended to be objected to.

The above notices must be given on or before the 25th of August. Copies of the notices should be kept by the person objecting.

Notices of objection may now be sent by post; but care must be taken to have a duplicate copy of such notice, stamped by the postmaster. Such duplicate will be good evidence of the service of the notice. The notice must be posted, so that the person objected to may get it on or before the 25th of August, or the objection will fall to the ground.

It is of importance that none but well-founded objections should be made, as the revising barrister has now the power, in cases of frivolous objections, of awarding the payment of costs to the amount of not more than 20s. in each such case.

GROUND OF OBJECTION TO £10 OCCUPIERS.

That the person does not occupy as owner or tenant; in other words, that he occupies by permission only.

That the property is not of the required value.

That the person has not occupied for twelve months before the 31st of July.

That he had not been rated twelve months before the 31st of July.

That he had not, on the 20th of July, paid all poor rates or assessed taxes payable before the 6th of April.

That he has not resided six months, before the 31st of July, within seven miles of the borough.

GROUND OF OBJECTION TO A SCOT AND LOT VOTER.

That he has not been rated to all rates made for six months before the 31st of July, or has not paid any of such rates demanded from him.

That he has not resided during the time or within the distance required.

GROUND OF OBJECTION TO A FREEMAN OR BURGESS.

That he was not duly admitted by the 31st of July; or, if the freedom is in right of birth, that it has not been derived from or through a freeman admitted before the 1st of March, 1831, or admitted since that period in respect of servitude.

That he has not resided during the time or within the distance required.

DISQUALIFIED ON ACCOUNT OF PERSONAL INCAPACITY.

Persons under twenty-one years of age; persons of unsound mind; persons convicted of felony, perjury, or bribery; commissioners and officers of excise, customs, and stamps; collectors of house and window duties, unless appointed by commissioners of the land-tax; all persons employed by the Post-office; police magistrates, police officers, and all persons employed in the Thames and Metropolitan police.

Also all persons who have received parochial relief within twelve months previous to the 31st of July.

PUBLICATION OF LISTS.

The lists of claimants and of persons objected to, made out by the overseers, are to be fixed on the doors of churches and chapels, in their respective parishes, during a period including the two first Sundays in September.

The lists of freemen claiming, or objected to, to be affixed by the town-clerk, during the same period, on the townhall or other conspicuous place.

Overseers and town-clerks must keep copies of each of their own lists for perusal by any person, without fee, from the 1st to the 15th of September.

SALE OF LISTS.

By the new Registration Act, passed in the session of 1813, overseers and town-clerks are required to keep copies of their lists for sale to any person demanding them, at the following scale of charges:—

| | |
|--|---------|
| Not exceeding 100 names | 0s. 6d. |
| Exceeding 100, and not exceeding 200 | 1 0 |
| 200, and not exceeding 300 | 1 6 |
| 300, and not exceeding 400 | 2 0 |
| 400, and upwards | 2 6 |

REVISING BARRISTERS' COURTS.

These courts are held between the 15th of September and the 31st of October—the particular day when, and the place where, may be ascertained from the newspapers of the county, or from the town-clerk or overseers of the parish where the qualification is situate.

It is of the greatest importance—

1. That every person claiming to be registered should attend the barrister's court in person, to prove his qualification.

A person objected to must, in like manner, appear to prove his qualification, or his name will be struck out of the list.

The person objecting must, in like manner, appear, or the objection will fall to the ground.

2. A voter is competent to give evidence in support of his own claim. If he should not be able to attend, any other person acquainted with the facts will be sufficient to prove his qualification. Without such proof, the claim will fall to the ground.

The law requires that copies of the revised register of

each city and borough shall be kept for sale. Any person, on application to the town-clerk, may obtain a copy of the whole, or of any particular parish at the following price:—

| | |
|---|---------|
| If not exceeding 1000 names | 1s. 0d. |
| Exceeding 1000, and not exceeding 3000 .. | 2 6 |
| 3000, and not exceeding 6000 .. | 5 0 |
| 6000, and not exceeding 9000 .. | 7 6 |
| 9000, and upwards | 10 0 |

NOTE.—By the new Registration Act, any person considering himself aggrieved by the decision of the revising barrister may appeal to the Court of Common Pleas against such decision. Several points have been thus recently brought before that court, and the following relating to cities and boroughs have been decided:—

1. "That any number of rooms in a building, such rooms being each of £10 annual value, and let separately to different occupiers, is sufficient to confer a qualification."
2. "That the name of such occupiers, being inserted in the rate-book jointly with that of the landlord, is sufficient rating, and the payment of the rates by the landlord is sufficient payment on the part of such occupiers."
3. "A servant occupying a house not used for the purpose of his employer's business, but occupied by him for his own use, the rent being paid by him in his services, is held to be tenant, and entitled in respect of such occupation."
4. "The payment of rates by the landlord, in consideration of services performed by the occupier, who is rated, is held to be a sufficient payment by the occupier himself."
5. "A cowhouse or stable, of sufficient value, will give a qualification."
6. "Property situated in a borough, and of a description that will not give a qualification for the borough, will, if it be such as is required for county voters, confer on the owner the right of voting for the county."
7. "In cases of successive occupation of different premises, the voter must have all such premises as are required to make up the twelve months' occupation inserted in the list of voters."
8. "Delivering to the postmaster's managing clerk the duplicates and objections, for the purposes of posting, stamping, and comparing, is a delivery, for the purposes of the Registration Act, to the postmaster."
9. "Where a servant rents a house belonging to the master, but which he is permitted to occupy only for the more efficient discharge of the duties of his situation, there is no relation of landlord and tenant, and he will be disqualified from voting in the borough in which such house is situated."

SOUTH LANCASHIRE ELECTION.

As we are obliged to go to press before any definitive answer can be obtained from the committee of management in Lancashire, it is not in our power to announce the name of the Free-Trade candidate, but it will be known long before this paper (a copy of which will be sent to every registered elector of the division of South Lancashire) reaches the hands of our readers. As this is a contest not for a man but a principle, the organization of the Free-Traders has gone on continuously irrespective of the person on whom the choice may ultimately fall. We trust that this spirit will continue, and that this principle will be maintained throughout the approaching contest. Free-Traders must work, not only collectively, but individually, for every man should feel that his own interest and, what is more, his own personal honour is involved in the issue. We call upon every voter for his individual and spontaneous co-operation with the Free-Trade committee, and to give his undivided energies to ensuring success during the next week. Each has something more than his vote to give: he can look after the votes of his neighbours, he can persuade the doubtful and confirm the wavering.

All communications or suggestions likely to be useful in the election should be sent, with the least possible delay, to the Central Free-Trade Committee, King-street, Manchester; those who know of voters residing in their neighbourhood, but having their qualifications at a distance, should transmit the names of such persons with as much accuracy as is attainable. We trust that no Free-Trader who has a vote for South Lancashire, who is within the seas of Britain, no matter what may be the distance or what his occupation, will be absent on the polling day; and we earnestly hope that an effort will be made by all to poll early, so as to prevent the issue of the contest from being doubtful for a single moment. This is the great crisis of the cause with which the name and fame of Lancashire must for ever be identified. The nation looks to the men of South Lancashire to hold the lead in the struggle which they were the first to commence and are the most strenuous to maintain. Up, then, men of South Lancashire, your character is staked on the issue.

Strive till the monster-tax expires;
Strive for your altars and your fires;
Strive for the green graves of your sires,
God, and your native land!

"CARRYING CORN TO EGYPT.—Trojan always kept in the public granaries of Rome a supply of Egyptian corn equal to seven times the *canon*, or yearly gift to the poor citizens; in which prudent course he was followed by all his successors, till the store was squandered by the worthless Elagabalus. One year, when the Nile did not rise to its usual height, and much of the corn land of the Delta, instead of being moistened by its waters, and enriched by its mud, was left a dry sandy soil, the granaries of Rome were unlocked to feed the city of Alexandria. The Alexandrians then saw the unusual sight of ships unloading their cargoes of corn in their harbour, and the Romans boasted that they took the Egyptian tribute in corn, not because they could not feed themselves, but because the Egyptians had nothing else to send them.—*Sharpe's Egypt under the Romans.*

WESTBURY.

On Saturday last, pursuant to advertisement, Mr. Cobden, accompanied by Mr. Moore (as a deputation from the Anti-Corn-Law League), visited the ancient town of Westbury, where a public meeting was held for the purpose of enabling these gentlemen to explain the principles of Free Trade. The meeting was presided over by the Right Hon. the Earl of Radnor, who was supported by some of the most influential gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Considerable excitement prevailed in the usually quiet town of Westbury in consequence of the visit of the above distinguished advocates of commercial freedom. Early in the morning a band of music entered the town from Lavington, a distance of nine miles, with colours flying, bearing the mottoes, "Our Queen and our country," and "Freedom and happiness to every British subject," with the union flag, &c.

Shortly after three o'clock Lord Radnor, accompanied by the deputation of the League and several other gentlemen, entered the field, preceded by the Lavington band, and were received with loud cheering by the assembled multitude, which by this time must have amounted to nearly 2000. Among other gentlemen present were—

J. L. Phillips, Esq.; W. Matrauers, Esq.; F. Smith, Esq.; R. Edmunds, Esq.; W. Pawcett, Esq. (Salisbury); N. Overbury, Esq.; L. Overbury, Esq.; Messrs. A. E. Sanders, P. Anstey, J. W. Wilkins, Mr. Butcher, the Rev. R. Harris and Mr. Howe; Dr. Willett, Mr. Singer, Mr. Price, and Mr. Hewett.

There were also present several clergymen, amongst others the Rev. Messrs. Cartwright, Strickland, and Dyer, the two latter of whom, although declining to accede to the invitation of the chairman openly to defend the Corn Laws, nevertheless were extremely active as prompters to Mr. Webb, who at their instigation attempted, not to defend protection, but to attack the manufacturers and malign the League.

The Noble CHAIRMAN (who, upon rising, was received with great applause) stated that, although unconnected with that part of the county of Wilts, he was, nevertheless, deeply interested in the promotion of the agricultural interest, and was, therefore, most anxious to promote the cause of Free Trade. (Cheers.) It had been asked why Mr. Cobden should come down into the country to attempt to enlighten the agriculturists upon the subject of the Corn Laws, agriculturists being so much better able to understand and support their own interests? The reason was this:—Some years ago manufactures flourished for a season in an extraordinary degree. All at once that state of prosperity came to an end, the change being contemporaneous with an increase in the price of corn. Upon inquiring into the cause of this distress the manufacturers discovered that the only payment which other countries—America for instance—could give for manufactures was in corn, the importation of which was prevented by law. At that period corn was very abundant in America; and if England could have received the wheat of America that country would have been able to pay her debts, and have kept our manufactures in a thriving condition. The manufacturers having made this discovery, immediately began to agitate for a repeal of the Corn Laws, and were promptly opposed by the occupiers of land. Upon further inquiry it turned out that the agriculturists themselves were as deeply injured by the Corn Laws as the manufacturers; and, therefore, the gentlemen of the League thought it right to endeavour to convince the agriculturists of the fact, and Mr. Cobden and Mr. Moore had, to their great credit, at the expense of excessive labour, gone into different parts of the country for that purpose. It was his (Lord Radnor's) firm belief that those gentlemen were right, and that the Corn Laws were prejudicial to the agricultural interest; but were they not so, whatever his own interest might dictate, if they were injurious to the people in general, he trusted he should advocate their repeal. (Loud cheers.) But fortunately for him, his whole dependence being on land, he believed his interest would be promoted by the repeal of those laws. It was more especially for the protection of agriculture that the League wished to repeal the Corn Laws. The Protection Society recently established professed to answer the arguments put forward by the League in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws; but they had been unable to do so, as those arguments were based on the truest philosophy and the soundest principles of political economy. Mr. Cayley had recently published a pamphlet in defence of the Corn Laws, under the sanction of the new Protection Society, which had the noble Duke of Richmond for its head, and the Duke of Buckingham and Chancery as vice-president; and if ever there was a signal triumph to a cause, that pamphlet gave it to the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Hear.) He (Lord Radnor) had in his place in Parliament asked the Duke of Richmond whether he countenanced that pamphlet; and, although that nobleman was careful not to admit that he had done so, yet he asserted that it was a very good pamphlet. In nearly every instance where Mr. Cayley had professed to cite passages from Adam Smith and other authors, there were misquotations: for the future no person, whether favourable or opposed to the Corn Laws, could place any confidence in that pamphlet. Mr. Cayley, alluding to the riots in this country in the year 1830, stated that they were owing to the price of corn having been so low for the four or five previous years that the farmers had driven away their labourers, who, being unable to buy the cheap bread, embarked in those riots; but the fact was, that during the period mentioned in the pamphlet, corn, instead of being cheap, had actually been dear. (Hear, hear.) His lordship here went on to refute several other of Mr. Cayley's statements, and continued:—To show that foreign countries were not averse to the principle of Free Trade, he would state that in 1826 a proposition was made by the Prussian Government, to the effect that, if we would modify our Corn Laws, they would lower their duties on the reception of our goods. (Cheers.) After deliberation by the Cabinet, at the head of which was Mr. Canning, the Prussian Government was informed that the proposition could not be entertained, as it would interfere with the financial regulations of the country. It was said that foreigners would take our gold; but we must get our gold first from a foreign country, and in exchange for goods sold to that foreign country. (Cheers.) Another objection was, that it was of no use to agree to take foreign goods as foreigners would not receive ours without heavy duties. But what was the fact with respect to France? The duties had been relaxed on French goods, and the result was that between 1830 and 1842, the value of English manufactured goods exported to France rose from £475,000 to upwards of £3,000,000. (Loud

cheers.) He had detained them longer than he ought to have done (cries of "No"); but he had felt anxious to explain how it happened that he presented himself there on that occasion, and what was the ground on which he had claimed their attention. Above all, he had been desirous of expressing his opinion as clearly and distinctly as he could, and to caution them against putting faith in the pamphlet which came forth with such high authority, which purported to be the emanation of the society, but which he was convinced none of the members of the society had really examined; their only blame was that they had allowed it to come forward without any examination. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. COBDEN then addressed the meeting at considerable length, and with his accustomed ability.

Mr. MOORE followed in an eloquent and admirable speech; at the conclusion of which,

W. MATRAUERS, Esq., moved the following resolution:

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the principles of Free Trade are in accordance with the obvious designs of the Creator, and conducive to the best interests of mankind; and therefore, all monopolies, whether of corn or other commodities, which interfere with the full exchange of the manufactures of this country for the productions of other nations, ought to be immediately abolished."

The Noble CHAIRMAN then announced that if any gentleman had any observations to make on what had been said, or an amendment to move on the resolution which had been proposed, he should be most happy to hear him.

Mr. WEBB, of Trowbridge, stepped forward, and said he had one question to propose. He held in his hand a paper bearing date the 14th of April instant, headed "Home Trade compared with Foreign," and which stated that, according to Mr. McCulloch, the total value of the woollen manufactures of the country was £21,000,000, of which there was purchased in the home market £17,209,768; and the declared value of that exported was only £3,790,232. Now, he would ask, which were the largest figures. (A voice in the crowd, "How should we have a home trade unless we had a foreign trade.") Now, he would tell them about the foreign trade in a few minutes; he had a secret which the gentleman had not brought forward. He was at that moment £2000 worse than if he had never sent a yard of goods over to Jonathan's land. ("You should have taken corn for it.") Why, he would have had their corn, or their pork, or anything else, if they would have sent it. ("The Corn Laws prevented them.") Mr. Webb, amidst much laughter, proceeded to argue against a foreign trade and machinery.

Mr. COBDEN rebutted Mr. Webb's assertions as to the valuelessness of a foreign trade; it was unfair in that gentleman to complain of its insignificance while he helped to put restrictions upon it. He (Mr. C.) had been into the largest manufactories in Westbury and examined the wools, and he found that they came from Odessa or Saxony, or somewhere else abroad; they did not confine themselves to working up home wool; they were as much dependent on the foreign trade as though the factories and the men were all in Germany or in Russia. (Cheers.) Did not Mr. Webb, he asked, make up foreign wool himself? He (Mr. Cobden) would be bound to say that he was clothed from top to toe in foreign wool. (Loud laughter.)

Mr. MOORE believed that machinery was the greatest blessing ever given to mankind, and that the worse people's circumstances were the more they owed to machinery. Look at Ireland: wages there were 4½d. a day, but they had no machinery, and no manufactures; and there all the people were looking for employment on the land, and bidding down one another in wages. Mr. Webb had asked them to look at the ploughmen; and how were they paid? Why, according to the evidence given before the commissioners for inquiring into the employment of women and children in agriculture, the labourer was paid in Somersetshire from 8s. 3d. to 9s. 6d. per week. Now, ten acres of land would employ two men a year, and at 8s. a week their wages would not amount to £50 a year. Mr. Cobden's works, at Stockport, covered ten acres of ground; he used the most perfect machinery, and employed 600 persons, paying £20,000 a year in wages. The whole objection as to machinery was answered by that one statement. Machinery put men out of work! Look at the cotton trade. Eighty years ago but 40,000 persons were employed in it, whose wages amounted to £200,000; now, the same manufacture employed 1,500,000, and their wages amounted to £22,000,000. If there were no machinery, would there be the same demand for goods there now? Did not men like to buy everything cheap? And what made things cheap but the power, the economy, and the skill of machinery? Mr. Moore detailed many other striking facts, illustrative of the benefits resulting from machinery, and concluded an able speech amidst loud cheers.

Mr. WEBB next read an extract from a letter from Thomas Howarth, of Rochdale, which appeared in the *Times* of the previous Wednesday, in which he stated he was prepared to prove that one hand now produced as much as three produced 20 years ago, and that now they were only paid 8½d., whereas they formerly received 1s. 6d.

The Noble CHAIRMAN, after noticing some parts of Mr. Webb's previous speech, said that, with respect to the extract Mr. Webb had read from the *Times* as to the machinery that performed three times the quantity of work it did 20 years ago, for which 1s. 6d. was paid then, and only 8½d. now, it appeared to him (the noble lord) quite the contrary. Three times 8½d. was 2s. 1½d., and therefore, according to that statement, the man who before earned 1s. 6d., now earned 2s. 1½d. (Cheers and laughter.) If machinery was objected to, where was it to stop? Was not a spade a machine, and a plough, and a knife and fork? Were they to go back to the days when persons ate with their fingers? It would not do to declaim against machinery without stating the limit to which it was to be put.

Mr. MOORE said that Lord Radnor had given an answer to one portion of the argument: he (Mr. Moore) did not intend to contradict the statements contained in the letter which had been read, but rather to show how they proved his case. The hand loom weavers, 20 years ago, got 8s. a week. Mr. Howarth said that the power-loom weaver now turned out nine cuts at 1s. 2d., which gave him 10s. 6d. a week; so that he now had 2s. 6d. more than the hand-loom weaver 20 years ago.

A WEAVER: See how many hands that turned out; that is the way to put it.

Mr. MOORE: There was no satisfying some people.

First it was argued that fewer hands were employed; and then he showed that, instead of 40,000 hands, 1,500,000 were employed. Next he was told that wages were down; and he showed that, instead of £200,000, the wages paid amounted to £22,000,000. They were then told that machinery lowered wages; but he had proved that the power-loom weaver got 2s. 6d. weekly more than the hand-loom weaver in the best of times. Now they cried out, how many are put out of employment? [Some further discussion followed.]

The Noble CHAIRMAN then read the resolution, and, having put it to a show of hands, both for and against, said the motion was carried with only two dissentients. (Loud cheers.)

N. OVERBURY proposed a vote of thanks to the noble lord for his services in the chair; the resolution was seconded by A. E. SANDERS, Esq. of Lavington.

Mr. COBDEN said it was unnecessary to put such a resolution formally. The meeting could not fully appreciate the value of the services rendered by the noble lord in taking the chair on such an occasion. He gave the meeting a sanction by his presence, such as no other individual could give. He (Mr. Cobden) felt that they were indebted to him for all the noble lord had previously done, for what he had done that day, and for what they expected he would further do for them: he (Mr. Cobden) would lead them in giving three hearty cheers, such cheers as should be heard over at Trowbridge. (Loud laughter.)

The cheers having been most enthusiastically given, The Noble Lord said he was much obliged for their kindness. He had the object of the meeting much at heart, and was ready to do what he had done that day, and a great deal more, in order to promote it. They ought not, he thought, to separate without presenting their thanks to Mr. Cobden and Mr. Moore for the trouble they had taken in coming there, and the addresses they had delivered.

Three cheers were then given for Messrs. Cobden and Moore, and the assemblage dispersed.

At the conclusion of the meeting a number of gentlemen dined together in a room at Mr. Jones's factory, which was tastefully decorated for the purpose. Lord Radnor presided, and appropriate toasts were given, and supported in most able speeches by his lordship, Messrs. Cobden, Overbury, R. E. Sanders, and Paul Anstey.

BRISTOL.

A meeting of the Bristol branch of the Anti-Corn-Law League was held at the public rooms, Broadmead, on Friday se'night, and was numerously attended. The chair was taken by George Thomas, Esq.

The CHAIRMAN opened the business by saying that the observations he had to make would be very few, as he should be followed by the Rev. Thomas Spencer. (Cheers.) A tea meeting had been held lately, at which £630 had been subscribed, for the purpose of furthering the objects of the Anti-Corn-Law League; those objects being to instruct the people of this country in matters connected with their welfare. There was no question more important to the community at large than that of obtaining employment for the working classes. They knew that previous to the last two years there was a great difficulty in so doing; and he was fully persuaded that that difficulty was created solely by the folly of our legislators; had it not been for their unwise enactments there would not have been such masses of people asking for employment without obtaining it as there were at the present time. He was satisfied that all legislative interference with industry of any kind created evils instead of lessening them. He thought the Legislature, too, had seen this, when they attempted to find a remedy for the existing evils by an unnatural attempt to regulate the hours of labour. (Hear.) If they were to unshackle the trade of this country, and to take off the restrictions that were now imposed on it, there would be no necessity for any interference with the hours of labour, for the working classes would regulate them themselves. The chairman then exhorted the friends of Free Trade to continue their efforts; for though there was not much to complain of in the present prices of provisions, yet the evils of the Corn Laws were working silently, causing much mischief to this country. All men in business must be aware that, when they had a good connexion, if they neglected it they would be sure to lose it, and that it caused them a great deal of trouble to get it back again. England had been losing her former connexions, and her prohibitory laws had stimulated nations that were her best customers to turn to manufacturing for themselves, instead of exchanging their produce for her own manufactures. (Hear.) Another reason why their exertions should not be relaxed was, that should we have a bad harvest the same evils would be experienced as in 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1831; therefore, he impressed on them the necessity of renewed activity. He referred to the activity of the friends of the League in London, and concluded by calling on

The Rev. THOMAS SPENCER, Rector of Hinton Charterhouse, who, on rising, was received with much applause. He commenced by saying that the question of Free Trade was one of the great questions of the time in which we live; a question on which every man was called on to form an opinion, and to adopt a decided course, either for or against it, according to his conscience. Freedom of trade, as far as he knew the rights of man, was a birthright which no power could justly take away. Many persons interested themselves about the condition of the slave, and bemoaned the hardships of his lot, but took no part in the question of Free Trade. Those persons committed two great blunders—in the first place, their charity was always abroad, never at home; and in the next place, they did not understand the evil they tried to remedy. (Hear.) Let any Government begin with interfering with trade, to make laws affecting wages, to make the people educate their children in a manner prescribed by law, and they would only have to go a little farther to bring the people into a state very little superior to that of a vassal or a slave. (Cheers.) It was never sufficiently alluded to, that slavery was only the carrying out of the principles of restriction; if the principles of Free Trade were to be carried out, men would be ashamed to interfere with the rights of those whom they are called to protect. (Hear.) The speaker then alluded to the occupations of men; and proceeded next to illustrate the question of Free Trade from the history of Cain and Abel, arguing that though both pursued different occupations, yet both were equally dependent on the soil for maintenance—Cain being most intimately connected with it, he being a cultivator; Abel in a re-

motor degree, as he was only a keeper of sheep. But it was necessary that a good understanding should subsist between them, as, if laws such as our Corn Laws had been made to prevent the free interchange of their respective commodities, each would have suffered by it, and they would have been deprived of the comforts which each could have afforded the other. (Hear.) After further illustrating the question, the speaker explained the proper province of Governments, which was to protect the property and persons of the people, and not to be interfering in matters which were foreign to the welfare of the nation. Governments ought to leave perfect freedom in all matters concerning religion, politics, charity, and trade. Religion was also connected with the question of Free Trade. Formerly it was thought to be nothing but a mere squabble between Manchester men and the landed proprietors, and, if anybody interfered, he was told that he was interfering with what did not concern him; now, Free Trade was allowed by those who had considered the subject to be well adapted to bring about the accomplishment of that blessed precept of Christianity, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will towards man." (Hear.) Throughout the world each country produced something which another could not, and all countries possessed the common power of conferring benefits, and gave abundant evidence of the power and glory of Him who called forth the treasures of India, the fruits of Spain, the sugar of the West Indies, and the different productions of America and England, all of which the Divine Being, who made all and who ruled over all, has given to man that he might enjoy them. (Cheers.) To the lovers of peace Free Trade ought to be found acceptable. It was a great peacemaker. A spark thrown into the quarrel which existed between this country and America some years ago, would have set fire to the gunpowder, and there would have been an explosion. What prevented them from coming to open war. He would tell them: the manufacturers of England had their best customers in the United States, the operatives were dependent on the manufacturer for employment, and the tradesman on the operative, while the farmer was dependent on them all, and the landowners received their rents from the farmers. Thus all classes in England were interested in preserving peace with America, because of trade. (Hear.) On the other side of the Atlantic there were a number of men with wise heads and large purses, who said:—"If we are the best customers to England, England is also our best customer; if we take her cloth and her cutlery, does she not take our cotton and tobacco? What, then, is the use of quarrelling with them; we might as well cut our own throats as do that." (Great cheering.) It was also frequently said that it would not be for the advantage of England to make the nations round her richer, but that it would be better for her if they were poor; and some persons felt annoyed at America taking £50,000,000 from this country. That could be easily proved to be the contrary. Suppose a person keeping a shop,—would he prefer living in a poor place, where nobody was worth 6d., or would he not rather live where his neighbours had pounds to lay out with him? (Cheers.) Would it not be better for England if France were richer, and Spain quiet? It was far more honourable for a nation to seek to elevate itself, at the same time giving a helping hand to her neighbours, than to wish to rise in consequence of their degradation. (Cheers.) Free Trade was favourable to religion in another respect: persons who interested themselves in missionary proceedings were not sufficiently aware that the traders of England were mainly instrumental in ensuring the success of missions, the scenes of which lay at a distance of more than ten thousand miles away from home. It had been found that in proportion as the missionary had a practical sense of Free Trade, so did he prosper. John Williams, who was usually called the martyr of Erromanga, from his having been killed by the natives of that island, was a man of good sense. When he went to the various islands in the South Seas to prosecute the objects of his mission, he did not begin by preaching, but he first endeavoured to get the attentive ear and the willing mind of the untutored children of nature: he wished to get them favourably disposed towards him; and therefore, whenever he went among them for the first time, he always took cloth and other articles of British manufacture, to barter for such things as they had to offer in return. They found the cloth very useful to them, they set an equal value on the knives, and other hardware articles; they learnt a great deal by observing the movements of the vessel which brought Williams to them, and found that they derived many benefits from their intercourse with him. (Hear.) They were prepared to listen to what he had to say to them about other things; and Williams, like a discreet man, after he had ministered to their physical wants, poured into their open ears the words of truth and gladness that are in the Scriptures. Mr. Spencer instanced cases of a similar nature which happened in South Africa to the Rev. Mr. Moffat. The success of the mission there was getting doubtful, when the opportune arrival of a British ship, laden with articles of British manufacture, gave a new aspect to affairs, and the mission prospered (hear), just in proportion as they were enabled to supply the people with clothing. (Hear, hear.) The advocates of Free Trade were also frequently told that the principles they recommended might be right in the selves, and might work for the good of mankind, but that they never could be acted on in this country because of the enormous national debt. How could we, it was asked, with a heavy debt of £800,000,000, trade on equal terms with a country which had no debt, or had one comparatively small? Now, he thought the argument would prove the reverse. Suppose two men set up in business, say in the drapery line. One man is provident, cautious, and frugal, and has managed to keep out of debt; for, speaking generally, our debts were contracted through our own misconduct. The other man has not been so prudent, nor has he managed so well as the other, having got into debt, and incurred a mortgage on his premises for nearly the whole amount of their worth. He goes to the mayor of the town, and asks for some protective law in favour of himself, because he is not able to sell goods on equal terms with the man who has no mortgage, and, therefore, he ought to have a higher price than such. But no man thinks so but himself. The public do not think so; they would buy the goods according to their value, and have nothing to do with the private concerns of one whose stock is mortgaged. (Hear.) The wisest course of the mortgaged man would have been, instead of wishing to raise his prices, to lower them, and thus, by increasing the number of his customers, to be better able to compete with the man who had no mortgage. Mr. Spencer then

considered the Free Trade question as a question of charity connected with justice; and severely censured those persons who had no objection to give their £3 or £10 towards the temporary relief of the poor; but when asked to give their support in endeavouring to find employment for the starving people by means of a repeal of the Corn Laws, invariably refused, because, they said, the question assumed a political aspect, and they never meddled with politics; yet, when an election came round, they would exercise their chief political right, and give their vote generally for the wrong candidate. After remarking on the folly of considering the question as one in which the manufacturers were alone interested, Mr. Spencer concluded his lecture, of which the above is but an outline, by alluding to the opinions held on the subject by the clergy. Whatever those opinions might be, they were bound, if opposed to Free Trade, not to give them expression, as their prayer-book contained prayers to the Almighty that he would bless this land with peace and plenty; so that they, in effect, prayed for Free Trade, as that was the only means whereby we could obtain what was asked. (Cheers.) He thanked the meeting for the kindness and patience they had manifested during his address, and sat down amidst great cheering.

A vote of thanks was then proposed to Mr. Spencer for his able lecture; which, having been seconded by the chairman, was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Spencer briefly returned thanks. He should not have been there that evening had he not promised their worthy chairman some weeks ago that he would attend. He was suffering from indisposition, and should be obliged to retire from active life for a time to recruit his strength. He begged to thank the meeting for the reception they had given him.

The meeting then broke up.—*Bristol Gazette.*

KINGSBRIDGE.—On the evening of Wednesday the 1st inst., the Rev. Thomas Spencer met the friends of Free Trade at Burgoyne's Commercial Hotel, where the assembly-room was crowded to excess, there being present above 600 persons. Some of the opulent classes, and a great many ladies, who seemed to take the warmest interest in the proceedings, were present; but the most remarkable feature of the assembly, as indicative of the "signs of the times," was the presence of many of the most intelligent and influential of the yeomanry of the surrounding district, who frequently joined in the warm applause by which the reverend lecturer's convincing arguments were received. The proceedings were commenced by R. Peck, Esq., who moved that Mr. Nicholas Gillard take the chair; this was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Miles. Mr. Gillard, who is a staunch advocate of Free Trade, then took the chair amid loud applause. The lecture was a most convincing refutation of the general arguments against Free Trade, whose benefits to all classes were clearly pointed out. Mr. Spencer was attentively listened to, and warmly applauded throughout and at the close. On the motion of Mr. Peck, a vote of thanks was unanimously given him for his able lecture. The chairman announced that a lecture would shortly be given here on the same subject by G. W. Soltan, Esq., of Plymouth, and that in all probability the town would shortly be favoured with a visit from Messrs. Cobden and Bright; the latter announcement was received with a burst of applause.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEMORIALS.

LEEDS.—As we anticipated, the electors of Leeds have given a most decisive testimony in favour of Free Trade, a decided majority of the entire constituency having already appended their signatures to the memorials to the borough members, calling upon them to support the motion which the Hon. C. P. Villiers proposes to submit to the House of Commons during the present month, for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law. The canvass is not yet completed, but, so far as it has proceeded, the result is highly satisfactory, and may be thus stated:—

| | |
|---|------|
| Total number of names on the register of Parliamentary electors | 6239 |
| Deduct double entries | 1193 |
| Do. electors dead since last registration | 70 |
| | 1,63 |
| Total number of electors who can vote | 4976 |

The numbers who have signed the memorials is 2578, being a majority of the entire constituency of 90, and more by 509 than voted for either of the sitting members at the last election, the numbers who then polled being, for Mr. Beckett, 2073; for Mr. Adam, 2013. But it must not be supposed that all who have not signed are in favour of monopoly; on the contrary, a considerable number of them distinctly state themselves to be Free-Traders, but, for various reasons, excuse themselves from signing the memorials. Upwards of 50, who have left the town, cannot be seen, and, as one-half of these are probably Free-Traders, the testimony of this constituency is beyond all dispute already given in favour of perfect freedom of trade.—*Leeds Mercury.*

WIGAN.—A memorial to the members, C. Standish and P. Greenall, Esqrs., requesting their votes in favour of Mr. Villiers's motion for the abolition of the Corn Laws, to be signed by registered electors only, is now in course of signature.

ANTI-LEAGUE PETITIONS.

GARSTANG.—Nicholas Drinkall, a small farmer, living in Bulk, has been employed by Mr. W. Garnett, the rejected candidate, to obtain signatures to the protection petition in Bulk. Honest Nicholas, in the course of his peregrinations, called on Mr. John Hargreaves, formerly of Leonard-gate, who requested to look at this product of monopolist wisdom, and, observing that it purported to be the petition of the inhabitants of Bulk, asked how the names of several persons who neither lived in, nor owned a lot of land in that township, came to be inserted in it. Nicholas, not in the least abashed, replied, "Oh, it makes no matter; if I can only catch them in Bulk, that's quite enough; I shall get paid for't job all same." So far so good. Master Drinkall was candid enough in this instance, but he did not condescend to explain how it came to pass that, in several cases which were pointed out to him, half a dozen separate petitions had been signed by the same individual. This, we are assured, is an undoubted fact.—*Leicester Guardian.*

BURNLEY.—A respectable correspondent at Burnley writes as follows:—"An instance of trickery and decep-

tion in obtaining signatures to a Pro-Corn-Law petition, has just come to light. The agent of one of our great monopolist landowners, accompanied by another person, were a few days ago engaged in obtaining signatures to a petition for 'Protection to British agriculture,' in a district near this, called 'Pendle Forest.' Among those on whom they called was a shoemaker in the village of Higham; when he inquired what the petition was for, he was told that it was 'to obtain a reduction of the duties on foreign commodities, and to extend our commerce; and with this understanding he signed the petition; but on discovering, during the day, the deception that had been practised upon him, he went and demanded of the aforesaid person that his name might be erased, which was done on the following day. Four respectable persons, neighbours to the man imposed upon, will make affidavit to the truth of this statement.'—*Leeds Mercury.*

STANDISH.—On Monday, the 29th ult., a person bearing the cognomen of "the parish clerk of Standish," was busily engaged in that neighbourhood in collecting signatures to a petition, as he said, "to keep up land." The worthy, it appears, had been pretty successful in his undertaking in the environs of the parsonage, but, on coming more out into the open air, he found some difficulty in obtaining signatures; and one of the farmers, we understand, candidly told him that it was quite against his principles to make bread either scarce or dear, therefore he could not conscientiously sign the petition, for he wanted cheap land that the people might be enabled to obtain cheap provisions.—*Liverpool Mercury.*

REPRESENTATION OF EDINBURGH.

The following resolution of the Council of the League has been transmitted to the secretary of the Edinburgh Anti-Corn-Law Association:—

"At a meeting of the Council of the National Anti-Corn-Law League, held this day (30th of last month), it was resolved unanimously that the best thanks of this Council be, and are hereby given to the chairman of the annual meeting of the Edinburgh Anti-Corn-Law Association, held in that city on the 29th ult., and to the movers, seconders, and supporters of the resolutions then adopted, for this additional evidence of their firm adherence to principles, the recognition of which the League was embodied to secure. By order of the Council, GEORGE WILSON, Chairman."

AGRICULTURE.

THE CROPS AND THE CORN TRADE.

The laws which prohibit the importation of foreign grain into this country, except when we are visited by a serious dearth, render any marked peculiarity of the seasons which may affect the crops and the corn trade matter of anxious public concern. But if the weather and the aspect of the season be watched anxiously by the consumer, how much more cause has the farmer for regarding the prospects of the coming harvest with anxiety! Subjected to a law which places his business in an artificial state, the British farmer often finds that plenty brings him no prosperity, and that the comparatively high price occasioned by a deficiency has been estimated, so far as his outgoings are concerned, to be the ordinary and permanent selling price of his produce.

We shall see how this artificial state of things tells against the industrious agriculturist.

The present season has hitherto been a most remarkable one; after a very mild winter we had a cold and wet March, which has been followed by upwards of six weeks of very dry hot weather. Already has great apprehension been excited as to its effect upon the spring corn. The *Mark-lane Express* says:—"So protracted a drought at this season of the year may be regarded as altogether an unusual circumstance, and it is not improbable that more or less of mischief has already been done; this much is certain, that, unless the country be speedily refreshed by copious warm showers, barley, oats, and peas will receive serious injury."

The Bedfordshire report, contained in the same journal, says:—"The spring cropping has done badly of late, more particularly upon the chalky soils; there is much barley which cannot be sown till we get rain, and much of that which is put in will only partially vegetate, consequently will be very irregular, and, if the rain hold off much longer, must be a very bad crop." Again, we learn that "the land is too dry for planting mangel wurzel and potatoes." So, upon all except the very best lands, "the trefoil is going off into the flower, but will produce, in all probability, a very scanty crop of hay." Moreover we learn "that the young clover recently sown with the spring corn scarcely anywhere comes up; the chances are greatly against the young seeds planting at all well this year." The same view is taken in Messrs. Sturge's circular, dated the 1st of May, where they say, "Should the drought continue a fortnight longer, accompanied, as at present, by easterly winds, the growing crops of oats, beans, peas, and barley must sustain serious injury." Already ten days have elapsed since the above was written, and no rain has fallen, while a dry north-east wind and a hot sun have steadily prevailed. To the observant farmer this state of the weather promises inconvenience and loss; oats, beans, peas, roots, and hay, all, in short, upon which the farmer depends for feeding his stock, on his ability to feed which his future crops of grain again depend, will certainly be scarce and dear, possibly they may prove almost total failures. Very much the same thing occurred in the year 1826, when the spring corn, hay, and leguminous products were so seriously deficient, that

the Monopolist Government of that day admitted those commodities from abroad at low rates of duty. Now, under such circumstances as the present prospect of what we may call the stock-feeding crops afford, the farmer will lessen his stock of fattening cattle and sheep, because the high prices of provender leave him but slight chances of profit from feeding stock; this will react upon the breeders, who will find their lean stock a drag in the market, while the consumers of meat will have that important necessary of life considerably advanced in price. The absence of his usual amount of stock will reduce the fertility of the wheat land for, perhaps, several years to come; and the foundation of a future deficiency of the most important kind is laid, and thus the perpetual fluctuation to which British agriculture has been subjected is kept up.

If the trade in grain had been free the deficiency in our own growth of cattle food would have been made up by importation; oats, beans, and peas would come in from various countries; linseed and oilcake, rye and lentils from abroad, would in some measure have supplied the vacuum occasioned by the deficiency of our root crops, and the steady, regular amount of gain which the farmer ought to calculate upon from feeding stock would be obtained. At the same time the fertility of the future wheat land would be kept up. For the profit of the farmer the price of the inferior grains and pulse which feed his stock can never be too low, as that will enable him to furnish a considerable supply of meat at a comparatively low price, which will have the effect of extending the consumption of animal food amongst the labouring classes. And we must remember that the more stock the farmer keeps the larger will be his crop of saleable corn—his barley and wheat. For instance, suppose a farmer, by feeding ten head of cattle, could clear, after paying for the food consumed and the labour of attending to them, a profit of £5 each, or £50; he would be benefited and not injured by a state of prices which induced him to feed twenty head for the sake of a profit of £2 10s. each, or £50 for repayment of food and labour, inasmuch as in the latter case, having obtained as much profit from feeding at low as he could do at high prices, he would have double the quantity of manure to apply to his money-returning crops. It is therefore plain that in dry seasons like the present, when provender is scarce in this country, the prohibition to import foreign provender is a direct and permanent loss to the farmer. If, on the other hand, our cattle crops here are abundant, the same valuable results accrue to the farmer with less aid from importation.

But then the dry season which destroys spring corn and pulse is favourable to wheat. Thus we find from the *Mark-lane Express*, that the reports of the appearance of the wheat "are upon the whole far from unfavourable;" while the Bedfordshire report, to which we have before alluded, says, "the wheat has gone on admirably, and at present shows no sign of being thirsty." Messrs. Sturge say, "the growing wheats are generally spoken of as very promising." In Scotland also the wheat is said to be "looking beautiful." Our own observations—which have been chiefly confined to the clay districts round London—confirm this view of the wheat crop, for where the land is in moderately good condition, there is a full, but not too luxuriant, plant, which, with a warm summer, will certainly produce a very abundant crop. From the fineness of the autumn a large breadth of wheat has been sown, and not a few farmers—chiefly yearly tenants—have been trying to make up for the low prices of last year by putting into wheat all the land on which there appeared to be any hope of obtaining a crop. Everything, therefore, tends to render it probable that the next harvest's produce of wheat will be large, and the price low. The farmers, therefore, who have been induced by the Corn Laws to place their main dependence on their wheat crop, and to look for only a small acreable return—and who form, perhaps, seven-tenths of all English farmers—will, therefore, become distressed from the effect of an abundant harvest. While they have been frightened by the bugbear of foreign competition, which could not by possibility have injured them, their Protectionist landlords and legislators have produced by means of home competition the very consequences they affect to dread from foreign importation. In such a season, therefore, as the present promises to be, the farmer is doubly injured by the Corn Laws: first, in losing the profit on his stock and the fertilizing power to which stock-keeping gives occasion, by the exclusion of cheap provender; secondly, in causing an unnatural home competition amongst wheat-growers, and so reducing the price of wheat lower than under a Free Trade could occur, while rents and burdens remain according to the promised act-of-Parliament price.

WHERE ARE THE "FARMERS' FRIENDS?"

The ludicrous figure which the dukes, marquises, earls, baronets, members of Parliament, and squires cut in the eyes of their own adherents is forcibly illustrated by the following comments of the agricultural journals on the

Ministerial proposal to take off all duty on the export and import of wool. Even the alarmist monopolists can scarcely raise a cry against the practical effect of this measure, but they exclaim against the "principle of Free Trade" which it sanctions, and call their parliamentary advocates, who bluster so fiercely in the country, and become so tame and docile in the metropolis, to account for not vigorously resisting the measure. Thus the *Mark-lane Express*, after referring to the Free-Trade party and other real parties in the House of Commons, says:—

"But where is the country party? Where were they last Monday night? Where were they when the wool-growers were threatened with diminished protection, as the corn-growers had been before? Echo answers, 'Where!'"

And then the following picture of the political monopolists is drawn by one of themselves:—

"Well, there was a time—but no matter—there were 'farmers' friends,' who stuck to their 'order,' from which nothing seduced them; but they are gone. There is now no voice from Lincolnshire, none from Leicestershire, none from the South Downs of Sussex, none from any other wool-growing district."

And, again—

"We are to have a reduction on coffee—good. On sugar some changes in the differential duties—good. We do not object to either of them, *ipso*. Something, however, lurks behind: these are straw, Free-Trade straw; Free Trade in corn is to follow, provided rents can be kept up. The whole question is that of rents and patronage. 'Humbly the farmer as much as you like, but keep up our rents—let us have the sweets of place and patronage from the Government of our own creation. We will sacrifice British wool as we have sacrificed British corn, provided we can do so without loss to ourselves.'"

This is certainly drawing from life. The farmers have much reason to complain of being called upon to put themselves into an Anti-League fever, when the dukes, lords, and squires who raised all the hullabaloo, quietly sit by and see their own Minister doing—by slow and imperfect measures, but certainly—the League work. Oh, false Buckingham! oh, faithless Richmond! oh, recreant Christopher!—where are you? Can't you get up even a few sham motions? Monopoly is in danger; the case of wool has been a standing one against the Corn Laws, and the present instance furnishes a new precedent in favour of Free Trade; for the wool markets are actually rising in consequence of the anticipated abolition of the "protecting" duty. Thus we find it recorded in the very same paper from which we have extracted the howl against Free Trade, that at Leeds inquiry for British wool amongst the manufacturers had increased during the week succeeding the announcement of free trade in wool. Again, we see that at

"LIVERPOOL, May 4.—SCOTCH.—The announcement of the duty being entirely taken off all foreign wool has had a good effect on our market, and we experienced a good demand for laid Highland wool at former rates."

And afterwards the same reporter says:—

"FOREIGN.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer has taken the trade rather by surprise in taking the duty entirely off wool; there are conflicting opinions as to the effects, but ultimately the most favourable results must be the consequence, as we shall now be able to get our supply of low foreign on as good terms as the Belgians and Americans."

In a commercial community like Liverpool, which allows itself to be represented or misrepresented by two such monopolists as Lord Sandon and Sir Howard Douglas, there must, indeed, be conflicting opinions; and the blockheads have for the present—if the parliamentary representation affords a fair test—the ascendancy.

"IT IS A LABOURERS' QUESTION."

Monopolist Landlords omnes.

The lords and squires who have got up the "Protection" meetings in the rural districts have anxiously and eagerly asserted that the question of Corn Laws or Free Trade is a labourers' question. That is a position we do not deny. On the contrary, we have asserted it with unflinching constancy, and we have invariably endeavoured to bring the facts as well as the arguments, *pro* and *con*, to the attention of the labourers themselves. This view of the question has always formed an important one in all the addresses of the Free-Trade speakers when in the rural districts, and nothing more broadly the dishonesty of the advocates of Monopoly than the fact that, though in their packed meetings they talk glibly about the labourers' interest in the question, they take especial care to prevent the labourers themselves from discussing the subject in their own way. Our readers will recollect a paragraph we extracted from a Wiltshire paper, in which the mode of getting up labourers' Pro-Corn-Law petitions was exposed; and from the same source we this week obtain some further illustrations of the same topic. First, we find the following:—

"CONDITION OF THE LABOURERS.—We are glad to find that the working classes in this county are beginning to inquire into the causes that have brought them into their present deplorable condition. We understand that the letters of Mr. Arkell, which have for some weeks appeared in this paper, have had a singular effect on the labourers in many places. The meeting at Pewsey, which is recorded in another column, is a striking proof of this. Should the feeling spread, and if properly cultivated it must do so, class legislation and its train of evils, including the tax on bread, the most cruel of all imposts, will soon be driven from this once happy land."—*Wiltshire Independent*.

Perhaps some of our readers may require to be told that Mr. Arkell is a tenant-farmer of Wiltshire, who has for many weeks past published long letters in favour of free trade in corn. That these letters have an effect upon the minds of the labourers will surprise no one who learns that Mr. Arkell is an excellent farmer, an improving farmer, one who really cultivates his land, and of course is the real friend of the labourer. As evidence of Mr. Arkell's ability in his occupation we may mention that he last year obtained the Royal Agricultural Society's prize of £50 for the best essay on draining. The following passage from his last letter may be taken as a specimen of his matter and his manner:—

"Some of your masters will, I dare say, advise you to be quiet and let things alone, and not trouble yourselves about voting at elections or striving for a repeal of the Corn Laws or anything else, but still to leave your affairs to them. I say do no such thing; as your duties as servants towards those persons who employ you for hire are of one kind, and your duties towards your God and your country are quite of another kind. While you are on your master's service, you are bound in conscience and in justice towards him to labour with your hands, and not grudgingly alight his work or neglect his interests, but to perform that which he fairly requires of you, and to behave yourselves as the Scriptures advise servants to behave towards their masters—civilly and respectfully. And as freeborn Englishmen your masters have no more to do with your rights and

privileges than you have with theirs: slaves are under their masters' will and leave a all time and in all seasons; but freemen who are bound to maintain themselves in sickness and health, are not at all obliged to listen to the advice of their masters, unless they find the interest of the master goes with their own, and that he is both honest and firm in the cause he espouses."

This cuts away the ground from the Monopolist squires, who fancy they can put the screw upon their tenants, and compel them again to put their screw upon their labourers, for the purpose of getting up a show—and it is a mere mirage—of public support of artificial scarcity. Yet this must be the way in which the labourers will discuss the question, for they have no high rents or high wages under the present system of monopoly to blind them from perceiving its true bearings. Again, Mr. Arkell says:—

"I see that the people of Wiltshire are about to hold an open-air meeting in the fields for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and which I think is both wise and just, as you will then see the feelings of the great body of the people upon it. Let there be open meetings in every town and village throughout the county; and if in any villages the authorities of the parish should not allow of an open-air meeting, collect yourselves together in some friend's house, field, or barn, as it matters not where you meet, so that you behave yourselves peaceably, and keep away from the property and persons of those who are opposed to you. Let angry feelings should arise between your masters and yourselves. It is the right which the constitution of the country gives us all, both masters and men, that enables us to meet freely together and discuss our grievances and oppressions; and those are the real enemies to their country who are for the putting down of such public meetings, or for suppressing the voice of the people by force. I firmly believe that a total and an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws would be the greatest good to yourselves which could be brought about in the shortest time."

And how do the Monopolists treat such appeals to the labourers, when really and fairly made? Let the following paragraph, from the local newspaper, answer that question:—

"PEWSEY.—On the 22nd ult. a meeting was held at the Royal Oak Inn, Pewsey, for the purpose of considering the state of the labouring classes in this country. It was numerously attended by the tradesmen, mechanics, and labourers of the place. Mr. Arkell's letter 'To the Labourers of Wiltshire,' which appeared in the *Wiltshire Independent* of the 18th, was read, and a discussion on its contents occurred. Such was the satisfaction at the truths it contained and the sentiments it expressed that an address to Mr. Arkell (thanking him for it, and requesting him to continue to expose the grievances arising from bad government), signed by upwards of 50 persons, was unanimously agreed to. To such an extent is tyranny carried in this village, and so great is the fear which the 'little great' entertain lest the distresses of the poor and the rights of labour should be discussed, that it has been endeavoured to prevent any future meetings of the kind by persecuting those persons who attended this. Some workmen have already been discharged from their employment, and loss of custom has been threatened to tradesmen if they attend any more such gatherings. Notwithstanding these untoward circumstances the industrious classes at Pewsey talk of forming a society for mutual instruction."—*Wiltshire Independent*.

This is the way the Monopolists deal with the labourers when they seek themselves to investigate that which is so loudly proclaimed on all hands to be their own question. Do the Protectionists really imagine the monopoly which requires to be upheld by such professions and such practices can long be maintained? Such acts and such sayings will not be lost upon the industrious classes of Wiltshire. Now, Pewsey is a large agricultural village, in the midst of a tract of most fertile land, which is cultivated in a very slovenly way; and where, while the farming labourers are most wretchedly paid and most irregularly employed, there are hundreds of acres which, by mere draining, might be made to double their present produce. Instead of adopting such rational means of improving their land, the Monopolists resort to such schemes as are alluded to in the following paragraph to bolster up a rotten system:—

"PRO-CORN-LAW PETITIONS.—We noticed, last week, the tricks the Monopolists were having recourse to in order to obtain signatures to their petitions in favour of the Corn Laws, that is to say, for dear bread, and low wages. They continue at their dirty work, using fraud where they cannot succeed by finesse. The means adopted to swell the 'monster' requisition to Mr. Solheron, which we exposed at the time, are being brought into play to give these petitions the semblance of popularity, and the grossest frauds are unblushingly perpetrated, names being put down in numbers without the consent of the parties, and, in many instances, against their consent! We are acquainted with cases where this dishonest course has been pursued, and are in possession of the names of the parties implicated, who may rely upon it the rascals, however cleverly done, will not escape detection."—*Wiltshire Independent*.

We trust the writer of the above will publish the names of the individuals alluded to, that they may be held up to the scorn and contempt of the community. It seems that from the "Central Protection Society" down to the Monopolists of an obscure Wiltshire village—from Mr. Cayley down to the getters-up of rural petitions—the Monopolists can only maintain the appearance of support or the semblance of a case by the grossest acts of fraud and misrepresentation. The Monopolists must be moonstruck not to see that they are working out most speedily their own discomfiture. In the following passage Mr. Arkell records the receipt of the Pewsey address to himself:—

"This morning I have received an address from about fifty of the tradesmen of Pewsey, Wiltshire, thanking me for the letter which I addressed to you this day fortnight, and the bearer of it informs me that he was discharged from his work because he entertained notions of Free Trade, and was at the meeting held at the Royal Oak Inn, Pewsey, on Monday last, when this address was got up and the letter publicly read over! Here is tyranny with a vengeance! And who can wonder at the bare bones and ragged backs, when a poor journeyman tailor cannot venture out to a meeting at the Royal Oak Inn, Pewsey, without being discharged from his labour?"

When Monopoly is thus attempted to be maintained, it is as plain as the sun at noonday that the end draweth nigh.

ARE THE TABLES TURNING?

Our readers have heard much of the competition for farms which exists amongst farmers, and we have frequently shown how the landowners, by availing themselves of that competition, have obtained rents higher than are warranted by the state of their farms and the conditions upon which they are let. But of late many circumstances have come to our knowledge which show that, apparently, the competition exists with undiminished intensity; yet it is only amongst an inferior class of farmers, or for farms which offer considerable advantages. Indeed we incline to the opinion that the tables are turning upon the landlords; and that they can no longer get men of capital and skill to enter upon their farms as yearly tenants, or as

rents estimated on act-of-Parliament-promised, but not real prices, or under burthensome and restrictive covenants. We know that a nobleman, who has long enjoyed the same of being one of the worst and most arbitrary landlords in England, has lately granted several fourteen and twenty-one years' leases, upon terms which are said not to be unreasonable, and by which he has abandoned all interest in the game. This is significant. Let the fortunate farmers thank the League for their security from oppression and spoliation. Still there is an active demand for good farms upon fair terms; and every owner of land who is willing to grant a long and a rational lease may have the choice of many skilful and responsible farmers. When, therefore, we find a landowner compelled to resort to public advertisements to obtain tenants, we may be sure that there is something vicious in the way in which he deals with his property. This seems to be the case with the Earl of Hardwicke, to whose advertisement of three farms to let a correspondent draws our attention in the following facetious note:—"Earl Hardwicke will thank Mr. Cobden to find him tenants! Lord H. is so ESTIMABLE a LANDLORD, that he feels obliged to advertise for tenants, as the applicants are so very numerous that he knows not how to choose!!"—whereupon he encloses the advertisement, which runs thus:—

"To let, Wimpole Valley Farm, consisting of about 350 acres of land, situate in the parishes of Wimpole and Arrington. For information apply to Captain Hart, R.N., Arrington-bridge. Also, Evereden Hill Farm, of about 100 acres, in the parish of Evereden. Also, Hedge Hill Farm, of about 80 acres, in the parish of Bourne.—For information apply as above."

It will be seen that his lordship's agent is a captain in the navy, who, like the drill sergeant we mentioned last week, has probably been appointed to the agency on account of his quarter-deck habits of obedience to command, rather than from his knowledge of the management of landed property. This ignorance in the choice of agents is one of the most fatal evils which beset our landed aristocracy. A drill-sergeant or a led captain, a stud-groom or a favourite footman, can, as most landowners imagine, easily be converted into stewards and land-agents; but with what calamitous results to their tenants and to agriculture let the English farmers declare! Lord Hardwicke has been a sailor, and we should like to know what he would think of a proposal to appoint the first obsequious land-surveyor he met with, to pilot a ship! Yet this would not be a whit more absurd than to select a sea-captain as a land-agent.

At all events, the simple fact that a landowner is obliged to advertise for tenants for three farms is decisive evidence that from some cause or other his property is mismanaged.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Notices to Correspondents deferred till next week.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one-quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE WEEKLY MEETING of the LEAGUE will be held in the THEATRE-ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN, on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, the 15th of MAY. GEORGE WILSON, Esq., will take the Chair precisely at HALF-PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK.

The meeting will be addressed by James Wilson, Esq.; Rev. John Burnett, of Camberwell; Mr. Turner, of Othry, Somersetshire, farmer; and other gentlemen.

Cards of admission may be had on application at the Offices of the League, on Monday and Tuesday, between the hours of eleven and four o'clock.

Applications for Private Boxes to be made personally or by letter on Monday.

The cards of registered Members will admit, as heretofore, to Pit and Galleries.—DOORS TO BE OPENED AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, May 11, 1844.

The Council of the League, in pursuance of its great object—the Emancipation of British Industry from the Commercial Restrictions to which it is subjected—has resolved to combine, with the Free-Trade Bazaar about to be held in Covent-garden during a part of this summer, an Exhibition of the Products of British Arts and Manufactures. It has long been desired by all who take an interest in the intellectual and mercantile progress of the nation that England, like France, should have a periodical exposition of the artistic condition of the different branches of industry, so as to afford the means of judging how far intellectual refinement has kept pace with the advance in physical comforts. As the League is the only great body before the country which has no connexion with party politics, it is peculiarly fitted to undertake the task, and is, indeed, to some extent bound to do so; for it is believed that very few Englishmen are aware of the wonders that have been wrought by British skill and industry, particularly in the ornamental manufactures; and still fewer are aware of the vast and varied advantages we possess for commanding pre-eminence in the world's markets if they were opened to our free competition.

No existing edifice could enable the Committee, under whose superintendence the Exhibition has been placed, to display all the processes of the various manufactures; they trust, however, to be able to show their unrivalled results, and to illustrate them by specimens of the articles in their various stages of manufacture. In Cotton, for instance, the

progress of the industry exercised upon the material will be illustrated by specimens of the change wrought in every stage, from the growing plant to the finest lace.

An effort will also be made to exhibit, historically, the progress of art in various manufactures; thus the Potteries will give specimens of all the stages of their progress from the coarse butter-pots of Plot's age to the beautiful porcelain of our own day.

The beneficial effects resulting from the removal of protection will be illustrated in various manufactures, but more particularly in that of silk, which has made such wondrous progress since it has been partially emancipated from the withering influence of the pretended protective laws which discouraged ingenuity and prohibited invention. In this branch of industry specimens will be exhibited of the products of British looms which more than rival the boasted productions of France and Italy. New inventions in machinery, engineering models, new patterns and designs in the various branches of artistic production, are among the objects which it is the desire of the Committee to collect and exhibit. They wish to direct public attention both to what British industry has already effected, and to what it holds out a promise of further accomplishing; gold and silver medals and certificates of honour will be given to the exhibitors of the best articles in design and execution in each branch of British manufactures, and the adjudication of these prizes will be intrusted to gentlemen of acknowledged eminence both in general taste and in knowledge of the several branches specially submitted to their judgment.

It is the object of the League to render this exhibition truly national, and they therefore respectfully solicit the aid of all persons engaged in manufactures to render this exposition worthy of a great nation. Skill and industry belong to no party, are connected with no politics, and take a share in no controversies; whatever other opinions a man may hold, he cannot be insensible to the advantages that must result from bringing together the practical triumphs of British mind, so as to afford incontrovertible proof of British eminence in the arts that adorn, as well as in those that sustain, human existence. A national good is sought, and it is hoped that it will be supported by all who lay claim to national feeling.

As such an undertaking cannot be successfully carried into effect without the general and zealous co-operation of those who are largely engaged in the various departments of British industry, the Committee request that all who are willing to give their aid will communicate their intention by letter, addressed to "The Directors of the National Exhibition of British Arts and Manufactures, 67, Fleet-street, London." At the same time it is the pleasing duty of the Committee to acknowledge that they have already received valuable tenders of assistance from eminent manufacturers in various parts of the country; and that they have every reason to expect that the exposition will be worthy of the British Nation.

THE BAZAAR.

We are glad to perceive that the ladies are again actively evincing their interest in the efforts of the League, for freeing our commerce and industry from the laws which at present repress them, and thereby produce so large an amount of poverty, want, and misery. They have determined on holding a Bazaar in Covent Garden Theatre, London, in aid of the £100,000 fund. This is a mode of assisting the great cause of Free Trade to which all may contribute without inconvenience. Needlework, toys, drawings, music—all will go to advance the emancipation of our countrymen and countrywomen, of boys and girls, from the thralldom of under-feeding. This is the true philanthropy. Lord Ashley and his friends seek to reduce the hours of work, for such as can find employment, at the expense of diminishing their wages. The enemies of monopoly are struggling to increase the means of employment, and thus to raise wages; a result which could not fail to adjust the hours of labour to the wishes and wants of the working class, by increasing their independence. The ladies, consequently, who have set the bazaar on foot, to improve the resources of the Free-Traders, have engaged in a work of Christian benevolence and public good. We trust to see numerous contributions from Kendal in the lists of presented articles,—and not from Kendal alone, but from the country at large. Committees should be formed at once for the purpose of collecting donations for transmission. There are few but might send something—some superfluous article of unused finery, some trifle of handiwork, some example of skill, in art or science, some specimen for the curious, or some useful or ornamental thing. Even the cottagers of Shap might do themselves and their fellow-creatures a service by combining to forward a few loaves of the black rye bread, and a sample or two of the tough blue-milk cheese—tenacious as Indian rubber, when new, and hard and brittle as flint, when old—which constitutes part of their common daily food. This would, at all events, exhibit the sort of luxuries for which agricultural labourers are indebted to "protection;" and the people of London would have an opportunity of learning how little better the peasants of Westmoreland can afford to live, within view of the palace of the Lowthers, than live the serfs of Russia, who have been so often referred to by the landlords as the most oppressed and degraded beings of their kind. The articles would sell, as curiosities worth preserving.—*Kendal Mercury*.

We noticed last week, at some length, the intended Bazaar and exhibition of British arts and manufactures to be held in Covent-garden Theatre in July next, in aid of the £100,000 fund now in course of collection by the Anti-

Corn-Law League. The ladies in many towns, considering this a proper occasion to express their sympathy with the objects of the League, have gracefully tendered their services to aid the Council in carrying out their object. This humane and generous co-operation, it is believed, will be proffered from almost every town in the kingdom; and in the hope that the ladies of Southampton will furnish a stall on the occasion, worthy of the town and the cause for which it is required, we would suggest to some of our "fair friends" the course recommended by the Council to be pursued. The first particular requiring attention is the formation of a "Ladies' Local Committee," and the transmission of their names to the League office, London, distinguishing that of their secretary, in order that a correspondence may be opened between the Committee and the Council during the preparations for the bazaar. The arrangements should then be made with the view that Southampton should furnish a stall entirely, and the committee will be requested to depute one or more ladies to superintend its arrangements, and the disposal of the various articles during the days of sale. We trust that some of our townswomen will immediately take the first preliminary step in the matter, as the time between this and July is but short for preparation. They should recollect that the bazaar held in Manchester in 1842 was begun, carried on, and brought to a most triumphant conclusion, entirely by ladies; and that it gave an impulse to the public mind, on the subject of the Corn Laws, of greater and more permanent value than the pecuniary results of that undertaking, unprecedentedly large as they were.—*Hampshire Independent*.

REVIEW.

A Selection from the Speeches and Writings of Lord King, with a Short Introductory Memoir by Earl Fortescue. London, Longman and Co.

"It is a misfortune to be in advance of one's age," said Grattan; "but the wisdom of an enlightened statesman, like the words of the prophet, die not with the holy man, but survive him." Lord King was one of the few who foresaw from the beginning all the evils that would result from the iniquitous Corn Laws, and raised his warning voice to expose their mischievous consequences. His denunciations fell on dull ears; the commercial classes were either apathetic, or were deluded by the grant of some petty monopoly by which each hoped to gain at the expense of the rest; and the operative portion of the community, feeling severe pressure without being able to discover the precise cause of their sufferings, sought for relief in remedies which excited alarm, not only in the ruling powers, but in those who, to some extent, suffered as well as themselves, and yet preferred endurance to the perils of political agitation. It was and is the artifice of the Monopolists to set the class of employers against the employed; to divide the capitalist from the operative, and set the manufacturer in opposition to his workmen. In Lord King's day this was accomplished by appealing to the mercantile pride of the wealthier class; opposition to monopoly was stigmatized as "radicalism," and "radicalism" was hooted down as something low and vulgar. Now that the mercantile classes have discovered the gross deception that has been practised upon them, and have formed a League for the recovery of their rights, the Monopolists have adopted a different course of policy, and commenced a system of coquetry with the operative classes. We have Lord Ashley lending his aid to the disciples of Feargus O'Connor and Robert Owen, fraternizing with Chartists and Socialists, and proposing various schemes for relieving the pressure upon industry, but studiously avoiding the most obvious and simple—a diminution of its burdens and a removal of its fetters. It was from his knowledge of such artifices that Lord King wrote the following remarks, which in their prophecy have been fulfilled to the letter:—

"It requires, on the most moderate calculation, somewhere about a quarter of a century to overturn a bad system wherever the private interests of powerful classes are concerned. For instance, the great City job, the Bank Restriction Act, continued in force for nearly that period of time, and its worthy condutor the great land job, the Corn Bill, may probably require the same time before its iniquity can be fully explained to the dull English understanding, and be made to take its proper place in the records of the wisdom of Parliament.

"The statutes at large are a most useful as well as voluminous collection, and perhaps nothing could contribute more to the instruction of the rising generation than a museum or infirmary of all the pernicious abrogated statutes, where, amongst all the numerous specimens of the folly of over-legislation, that monster, the Bank Restriction Bill now dead, and the Corn Bill hereafter destined to the same fate, will furnish the most prominent and instructive specimens.

"It is wonderful, says Dr. Franklin, how preposterously the affairs of this world are managed. Naturally, one imagines that the interests of a few individuals should give way to the general interests; but individuals manage their affairs with so much more application, industry, cunning, and address than the public do theirs, that general interest must commonly give way to particular. We assemble parliaments and councils, to have the benefit of their collective wisdom; but we necessarily have at the same time the inconveniences of their collective passions, prejudices, and private interests: by the help of these, artful men overpower their wisdom, and dupe its possessors; and if we may judge of the acts, arrêts, and edicts, all the world over, an assembly of great men is the greatest fool upon earth; unless, as the case may be, this is too charitable a supposition, and that the assembly of great men in question, instead of being the greatest fool, is the greatest knave upon earth."

His brief summary of the effects of the Corn Laws is equally simple and striking:—

"In fact, the existing Corn Laws are a pure unmitigated evil; they prohibit the supply of foreign corn except when the price of grain shall have risen to an extravagant height in the home market; they cause an unnecessary waste of labour in the cultivation of poor lands; they enhance the cost of food; they diminish the profit of stock; they tend to drive capital abroad; they are highly detrimental to trade, by limiting the beneficial exchange of foreign raw produce with the manufactured produce of British industry; and, lastly, they are unjust, inasmuch as they deprive the people of the supply of the first necessary of life at the cheapest market."

As a true lover of his country, Lord King lost no opportunity of denouncing the gigantic and iniquitous monopoly which both renders food scarce, and, at the same time, limits the amount of the employment required to procure sustenance. He showed that it was a law which both raised the price of food and diminished the ability to buy. This is ably put in part of his speech at the opening of the session in 1826. Speaking of the corn monopoly, he stated:—

"It was the most gigantic job ever practised. It was difficult to say which was greatest, the unfeeling avarice which suggested it, or the bold impudence which stated that it was for the public good. It was the most enormous job ever heard of in the whole history of misrule. The West India job only made us pay more for our sugar. The East India job, when Leadenhall-street was in the fulness of its power, and monopolised all the trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope without a rival, was in comparison nothing to the job of the Corn Laws. Many references had of late been made to that branch of the legitimate house of Bourbon which ruled in Spain, and which had been held up as the most foolish of all God's viceroyants on earth; but what had they done equal in folly to our Corn Laws? They had given to one man the monopoly of the trade of Buenos Ayres; they might have given to one city the monopoly of all the trade of Mexico and Peru; but the Spanish monarchs, who were held up as a sort of scarecrows to bad governments, and were of more use dead than living, had granted no monopoly half so monstrous or half so mischievous as the monopoly of food. This was a job of the hundred interest; and he would repeat, that it was the most gigantic job to be found in the whole history of misrule. It was not possible the Corn Laws should be continued. Both justice and policy required their repeal. He believed that to be the only assembly on the face of the earth in which it was necessary to prove the advantages of cheap food. Their lordships were sharp-sighted enough on some occasions, and had speedily perceived the necessity of a law to punish those who broke machines. But why were the breakers of machines to be put down? because machines save labour: all our wealth, all our productive power, depended on the employment of machines: and if they were valuable, how was it that cheap food was an injury? If food was cheap, labour was cheap; but the Corn Laws compelled us to have recourse to more labour to produce food; this must be the case while we were obliged to cultivate bad soils, when we might obtain food from good soils: and the Corn Laws ought to be put down like machine-breakers. It was stated by some that the difference of prices was so great upon the Continent, as compared with this country, that ruin must be the consequence of allowing an unrestricted importation to take place. But he would deny the fact. If they could show him that there was a considerable difference in the prices, which he did not believe, then he would say, that in proportion as the landlord gained, the consumer lost, and that by persisting in restrictive measures, in order to keep up the price, they proclaimed their own avarice and injustice. Their lordships were all aware that that celebrated voyager, Mr. Lemuel Gulliver, on giving an account of that august assembly to the king of Brobdingnag, had told him that they were always occupied for the good of the country. Now if, instead of such an account, he had informed him that they were always occupied in contriving to keep up the price of corn, then, indeed, his majesty's answer would have been a just one, when he observed that we were the most contemptible race of little reptiles, and our rulers the most selfish and unjust. As to the prosperity of the country, he believed the one thing needful with respect to it was a revision of the Corn Laws. Indeed, he felt the conviction of its necessity so strongly, that he felt himself bound to move an amendment expressive of an opinion to that effect. His lordship, accordingly, concluded with an amendment, pledging the House to take into consideration at an early period the propriety of revising the Corn Laws, as the best means of securing the prosperity of the country."

His history of the origin of the Corn Laws, forming part of a speech delivered in the same session, contains some amusing hits:—

"Turning to history, he must remind their lordships of the period when the Corn Laws were passed. That event took place in those dark ages of legislation, in those times of ignorance, when it was gravely declared that a one pound note was equal in value to a sovereign. Then it was, when our political sun was in obscurity, that a law was passed to make corn and bread dear. Tradition said, that after a very expensive war the landlords objected to pay their share of the expense. They liked the war very well, but they did not like to be called upon when the bill came to be settled. They then took counsel how to avoid paying their part of the bill. Two ways occurred to them of accomplishing that object. The first was by defrauding the public creditor; the second by taxing the consumers of corn. Now, it happened that to the first course the Government objected; the public creditor was therefore saved, but the consumer of corn was sacrificed. It appeared that at this time a close alliance had been formed between the Government, the landlords, and the clergy. The object of the Government was high taxes, the object of the landlords high rents, and the object of the clergy high tithes. Now, he believed that, with regard to rents and tithes, the landlords and the clergy were as obdurate as ever; but he was persuaded that the Government would break the compact if they could. They would willingly abandon this mode of taxing for one which would work more easily and with better effect. But it was said, how is it possible to ob-

tain high taxes without high prices? To this he would answer, that high taxes could be paid with much greater ease if the high prices were got rid of; for the Corn Laws formed a grievous addition to the other burdens of the country, and, if the public had not to pay so dear for corn, the weight of the other taxes would be more easily borne. This dead weight, thrown on the first necessary of life, reminded him of an awkward method which had been resorted to in its production. A practice, it was said, once prevailed in Ireland, of fastening the plough to the horse's tail, and in that way making him drag it along. Perhaps the noble earl opposite (Lord Limerick) would stand up in defence of that ancient and venerable practice; but he would advise the noble earl to consider the difference between a field ploughed by the miserable Irish horse of antiquity, with the plough at his tail, and another ploughed by a well-harnessed and a well-fed horse, who could put his shoulder to the work. If he looked well to this point, he would find that the horse yoked as horses were elsewhere, ploughed with great ease six inches deep, while the jaded animal with the plough at its tail could barely scratch the ground. Now, it was precisely the same thing with the Corn Laws. Like the plough at the horse's tail, they were a dead weight on the public, and drained the energies of the country. If their lordships were really desirous that it should be enabled to support a great amount of taxation, they would lose no time in repealing those laws."

His warning to the hereditary legislators contains a historical allusion of deep import:—

"What right had that House, or any legislative assembly, to devise means to raise the price of food? It would be a breach of trust, if it could be supposed that so monstrous a proposition was acted upon by any parties in Parliament, as to make corn dear for their own advantage. Such a course, if persisted in, was calculated to bring on one of those political convulsions, in which a lawless power might step in, as was once done in another place, and say to one, 'You are an extortioner,' to another, 'You are a tithemonger.' Get you gone, and give place to honest men."

We have some difficulty in selecting a characteristic specimen of his zealous advocacy of the principles of Free Trade, because, in nearly all his speeches, the subject is brought forward and felicitously illustrated. We take one passage, not so much for the superiority of its reasoning as for its manageable length:—

"He knew many noble lords who were averse to Free Trade,—many who were averse to free air (of which there was not then much in that House),—and many who were averse to free conscience. He was a friend both to free air and to Free Trade. He also looked forward to a better state of things, when men would enjoy free conscience. Many noble lords were averse to Free Trade, and at the close of the last war, propositions had been made to exclude all raw produce. One said, exclude butter; another said, exclude corn; another said, exclude wool;—that was the *codex regius* of the honourable members for Somerset and Suffolk, who joined in the cry, that this country ought to be a nation of sellers, and not a nation of buyers; but those who maintained that doctrine did not state how a nation could sell without buying something in return from the nations to which they sold. A question had been asked, whether this country could produce sufficient corn for its own consumption. No doubt this country could. But then another question arose,—at what price could we produce that corn? How much labour and capital would be lost in producing this corn? When the good corn-land should be exhausted, bad land must be brought into cultivation, at a great sacrifice of capital and labour. A noble earl had said, that he wished to renounce all paradoxes in the discussion of this question; but that noble earl immediately afterwards had said, that a low price of corn would be productive of general distress. That statement appeared to him paradoxical. He could not see how a low price of corn could be productive of distress to the consumer. On the contrary, he thought that excluding foreign corn, and thereby compelling the consumer to pay a higher price than he could procure foreign corn for, was a tax upon his labour. They were told that it would be a great misfortune to be dependent upon foreign supplies. He was satisfied that those who made those statements were actuated solely by a wish for the prosperity of the consumer, uninfluenced by other personal considerations. Those persons said, 'Oh, if you allow foreign supplies, we must live like Dutchmen, dependent upon the other nations, who might, if they pleased, combine and stop the supplies.' In answer to that argument, he would refer their lordships to the period when Napoleon's power was at its height, and when he had opportunities (such as would probably never again exist) of injuring this country. What was the fact then? Foreign corn was supplied to this country upon paying a good price. Whilst it was the interest of the nations of Europe to sell their produce, there was not the most distant chance of a combination. One noble lord had urged, as an argument against this measure, that the landowners paid the tithes; but he begged leave to inform the noble lord that the tithe was as much paid by the consumer, as it the clergyman, after the loaf was purchased at the baker's shop, were to cut off one-tenth part of it. He liked this bill, because it made an inroad upon the Corn Laws. He was glad to get at them in any way, or by any means; and he trusted that next year the call of the country for an alteration in those laws would be irresistible."

His exposure of the deceitful pretence of protection is very powerful:—

"He did think, that under the word 'protection,' if carefully considered, they could have a history of the folly of people, of parliaments, and of governments all over the world. Under this word 'protection,' governments had in all times oppressed the industry of the countries over which they presided. Under the pretence of protection, the industry of France had been oppressed from the time of Colbert downwards. The history of Spain consisted of nothing but protections. Little Holland alone, in its best times, was not so protected; and while it was not its history might shame the greatest monarchies in the world. In England, we had been protected from the days of Charles II. down to the time of the present lord protectors. At one period of the history of the country bounties were the principal feature of our

Corn Laws. At that period we paid others for being good enough to eat our food. Now, on the contrary, we had turned round, and imposed restrictions on foreign corn. When we wanted manufactures we excluded them; now that we wanted corn we excluded that. There was, unfortunately, one point in which these two principles agreed—the country paid and suffered for both of them. Here he would leave the subject of protection; he might be asked, however, whether it would be possible to admit the principle of Free Trade? He begged to inquire whether it was possible for the country to go on without it? He was persuaded that the prosperity of this country depended upon unrestricted commerce. What was Free Trade but a saving of labour? And what was restriction but a waste of it? The principle of the prosperity of a country was the perfection of the economy of labour, producing the greatest quantity of goods with the least amount of labour. That state of things could not be established without admitting foreign produce in return for our manufactures; and at this moment we were competing with the foreigner who had cheap corn on his side, while on our side we had machinery and capital. Capital was daily increasing abroad, and machinery was in the course of introduction; so that, unless we had corn as cheap as our neighbours, we must in the end be beaten in the contest. Those who decried the principles of Free Trade, meant that every country should do everything for itself. America, according to them, should not cultivate her soil, but make cottons and hardware. France ought, by the same rule, to neglect the culture of the vine and the olive, and strive to surpass England in making iron. England, instead of endeavouring to buy corn with cotton and hardware, should forego the use of steam and machinery, and employ all her artisans to dig up the heaths of the country. The principle of these gentlemen pushed to its full extent would prevent division of labour, and would compel every man to procure everything he wanted for himself. But, foolish as was the principle when pushed through all its consequences, it was not equal to the wisdom of a young statesman of three-score, called the pope; his holiness beat all the sages of our country hollow, and deserved to be held up as a model for imitation. Sensible of the necessity of employment, he issued a decree to prevent the importation of all iron implements for tillage; and no doubt his holiness boasted that he had provided employment for all the starving peasantry of the Campagna di Roma, and so, perhaps, he did, but it was by adding to their trouble. His holiness was not aware that such labour was a painful waste; and, but for the decree of his holiness, more would have been obtained at a less cost. His conduct was like the memorable scheme of digging holes and filling them up."

We have extracted so largely from Lord King's speeches on the Corn Laws that we have not left ourselves room for quoting any of his admirable remarks on other topics. In all his speeches he exhibits a profoundness of view and a clearness of statement worthy of John Locke, from whom he was lineally descended, united to the contempt for humbug and courage in its exposure such as his ancestor, Peter, the first Lord King, manifested at Sacheverel's trial. We feel grateful to Earl Fortescue for this very reasonable publication. The biographer has himself been a faithful soldier in the war against Monopoly, and before he went to the House of Peers rendered the name of Ebrington the type of pure philanthropy and sound philosophy. He is in himself a proof that all useful benevolence is based on economic science; and, small as his share has been in the present volume, it is sufficient to prove that he has a good claim to Cicero's boast, *Defendi rempublicam adolescens, non deseram senex*. May the descendants of the author and of his hero be enabled to make the same declaration after having similarly served the same cause.

English Songs, and other Small Poems. By Barry Cornwall. London: Moxon.

Mr. Moxon has rendered acceptable service to all lovers of pure poetry by this cheap and beautiful edition of Barry Cornwall's songs and dramatic fragments. No lyrical effusions of modern times are so deeply imbued with the spirit of the Elizabethan age; they are just such inartificial strains as might be expected from Shakspeare, or Fletcher, or rare Ben Jonson. The sentiment gushes forth in a stream unchecked by verbiage; thought seems to mould its own expression, and no adventitious ornament interferes with the language of the heart. While the dazzling brilliancy of Moore's lyrics reminds us of the exotics in the conservatory, these songs are like the wild flowers of our fields, bearing the impress of spontaneous growth and unconstrained productiveness. They appeal to the heart without passing through the medium of fancy; we feel them rather than admire them; they bring us to that happy state which Sterne believed it impossible for critics to attain: we are pleased without inquiring why, or caring wherefore. Barry Cornwall—we cannot part with the name although it be a fiction—is full of generous sympathy with his kind; he has a heart for the outcast not less than for the prosperous, or rather human suffering seems to be the strongest tie of brotherhood that he recognises; his scorn for the oppressor rarely rises to indignant bitterness; but his tenderness for the oppressed gushes forth free and unrestrained, giving a loveliness to tears and a beauty to sorrow. Take the following as an example:—

"WITHIN AND WITHOUT.

A London Lyric.

(WITHOUT.)

"The winds are bitter; the skies are wild;
From the roof comes plunging the drowning raid;
Without—in tatters, the world's poor child
Sobbed abroad her grief, her pain;

No one heareth her, no one heedeth her;
But Hunger, her friend, with his bony hand,
Grasps her throat, whispering huskily—
'What dost Thou in a Christian land?'

(WITHIN.)

The skies are wild, and the blast is cold;
Yet riot and luxury brawl within;
Slaves are waiting, in crimson and gold,
Waiting the nod of a child of sin.
The fire is crackling, wine is bubbling
Up in each glass to its braded brim;
The jesters are laughing, the parasites quaffing
'Happiness,'—'honour,'—and all for him!

(WITHOUT.)

'She who is slain in the winter weather,
Ah! she once had a village fame;
Listened to love on the moonlit heather;
Had gentleness—vanity—maiden shame;
Now, her allies are the Tempest howling;
Prodigal's curses; self disdain;
Poverty; misery: Well—no matter;
There is an end unto every pain!

'The harlot's fame was her doom to-day,
Disdain—despair; by to-morrow's light
The ragged boards and the pauper's pall;
And so she'll be given to dusty night!
Without a tear or a human sigh,
She's gone, poor life and its 'fever' o'er!
So let her in calm oblivion lie;
While the world runs merry as heretofore!

(WITHIN.)

'He who yon lordly feast enjoyeth,
He who doth rest on his couch of down,
He it was, who threw the forsaken
Under the feet of the trampling town;
Liar—betrayed—false as cruel,
What is the doom for his dastard sin?
His peers, they scorn?—high dames, they shun him?
Unbar yon palace, and gaze within.

'There—yet his deeds are all trumpet-sounded;
There, upon silken seats recline
Maidens as fair as the summer morning,
Watching him rise from the sparkling wine.
Mothers all proffer their stainless daughters;
Men of high honour salute him 'friend';
Skies! oh, where are your cleansing waters?
World! oh, where do thy wonders end?'

As a contrast, we take the cheering song after labour:—

"SONG, AFTER LABOUR.

'Labour's strong and merry children,
Comrades of the rising sun,
Let us sing some songs together,
Now our toil is done.

'No desponding, no repining!
Leisure must by toil be bought.
Never yet was good accomplished,
Without hand and thought.

'Even God's all holy labour
Framed the air, the stars, the sun;
Built our earth on deep foundations;
And—the World was won!'

We know not the date of the powerful poem called "The Rising of the North," but it is fraught with solemn warning of the danger that laws restricting food, and condemning the industrious to seek vainly for employment, may produce at some crisis, such as monopolies are sure to produce at periods of uncertain recurrence:—

"THE RISING OF THE NORTH.

'Hark to the sound!
Without a trumpet, without a drum,
The wild-eyed, hungry millions come,
Along the echoing ground.

'From cellar and cave, from street and lane,
Each from his separate place of pain,
In a blackening stream,
Come sick, and lame, and old, and poor,
And all who can no more endure;
Like a demon's dream!

'Starved children with their pauper sire,
And labourers with their fronts of fire,
In angry hum,
And felons, hunted to their den,
And all who shame the name of men,
By millions come.

'The good, the bad come, hand in hand,
Linked by that law which none withstand;
And at their head,
Flaps no proud banner, flaunting high,
But a shout, sent upwards to the sky,
Of 'Bread! bread!'

'That word their ensign—that the cause
Which bids them burst the social laws,
In wrath, in pain:
That the sole boon for lives of toil,
Demand they from their natural soil:
Oh, not in vain!

'One single year, and some who now
Come forth, with oaths and haggard brow,
Read prayer and psalm,
In quiet homes; their sole desire,
Rude comforts near their cottage fire,
And Sabbath calm.

'But Hunger is an evil foe:
It striketh Truth and Virtue low,
And Pride elate:
Wild Hunger, stripped of hope and fear!
It doth not weigh; it will not hear;
It cannot wait.

For mark, what comes:—To-night, the poor
(All mad) will burst the rich man's door,
And wine will run
In floods, and rafters blazing bright
Will paint the sky with crimson light,
Pierce as the sun!

'And plate carved round with quaint device
And cups all gold will melt, like ice
In Indian heat!
And queenly silks from foreign lands,
Will bear the stamps of bloody hands,
And trampling feet:

'And Murder—from his hideous den
Will come abroad and talk to men.
Till creatures born
For good (whose hearts kind Pity nursed)
Will act the direst crimes they cursed,
But yester-morn.

'So, Wealth by Want will be o'erthrown,
And Want be strong and guilty grown,
Swollen out by blood.
Sweet Peace! who sitt'st aloft, sedate,
Who bind'st the little to the great,
Canst Thou not charm the serpent Hate?
And quell this feud?

'Between the pomp of Croesus' state,
And Iruis, starved by sullen Fate,—
'Tween 'thee' and 'me,'—
'Tween deadly frost and scorching sun—
The thirty tyrants and the one—
Some space must be.

'Must the world quail to absolute kings,
Or tyrant mobs, those meaner things,
All nursed in gore—
Turk's bowstring—Tartar's vile Ukase—
Grim Marat's bloody band, who pace
From shore to shore!

'Oh, God! since our bad world began,
Thus hath it been—from man to man
War to the knife!
For bread—for gold—for words—for air!
Save us, O God! and hear my prayer!
Save, save from shame—from crime—despair,
Man's puny life!'

But the poet does not always look on the operatives with alarm. He knows that there is a poetry in manufacturing, as well as in the other forms of industrial life. The proof is in the following spirited lines:—

"THE WEAVER'S SONG.

'Weave, brothers, weave!—Swiftly throw
The shuttle athwart the loom,
And show us how brightly your flowers grow,
That have beauty but no perfume!
Come, show us the rose, with a hundred dyes,
The lily, that hath no spot;
The violet, deep as your true love's eyes,
And the little forget-me-not!
Sing—sing, brothers! weave and sing!
'Tis good both to sing and to weave:
'Tis better to work than lie idle;
'Tis better to sing than grieve.

'Weave, brothers, weave!—Weave, and bid
The colours of sunset glow!
Let grace in each gliding thread be hid!
Let beauty about ye blow!
Let your skein be long, and your silk be fine,
And your hands both firm and sure,
And Time nor chance shall your work untwine;
But all, like a truth, endure!
So—sing, brothers, &c.

'Weave, brothers, weave!—Toil is ours;
But toil is the lot of men:
One gathers the fruit, one gathers the flowers,
One soweth the seed again!
There is not a creature, from England's king,
To the peasant that delves the soil,
That knows half the pleasures the seasons bring,
If he have not his share of toil!
So—sing, brothers, &c.'

Our limited space will not allow of our extracting all the passages we had marked; but we the less lament their omission, as we are sure that many of our readers will make themselves possessors of this cheap and beautiful work. The author intimates that he has laid down the lyre; we should remonstrate with him did we not believe that a poet of such noble feelings and generous sympathies cannot remain silent; his impulses are too powerful not to find voice; his fire is too bright to be obscured at pleasure.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MONTHLY CORN CIRCULAR.—The following is the corn circular of the Messrs. Sturge for the present month:—"The past month has been unusually fine and dry, and agricultural operations have proceeded under very favourable circumstances; most of the spring sowing, except on very late and stiff soils, being already completed. Hitherto the want of rain has been comparatively little felt, but should the drought continue a fortnight longer, accompanied as at present by easterly winds, the growing crops of oats, beans, peas, and barley must sustain serious injury. The young wheats are generally spoken of as very promising, but we do not consider their appearance upon the whole so favourable as might have been anticipated from the late fine weather, more particularly the spring sown, few fields presenting so luxuriant an aspect as was witnessed in the same districts at this time last year, not having started or thickened on the ground so much as usual; still there is sufficient plant, with few exceptions, to produce an abundant crop, if we have a favourable summer. Notwithstanding this beautiful weather, the drooping state of the London and several other leading markets, and the liberation of about 70,000 quarters of foreign wheat, the price of this grain has been firmly sustained in this district, with a free sale for Polish Odessa and other descriptions of fine wheat, which may be chiefly attributed to our having received a short supply of English from the farmers and dealers who frequent this and the neighbouring country markets. Although there is no probability of much reduction before the approach of another harvest, under any circumstances, consequently but little danger of loss, yet the prospects at present, it must be admitted, do not afford sufficient encouragement for a liberal importation of

foreign wheat; and, unless there is an early and considerable advance, it is doubtful if the whole arrivals from abroad, including near 200,000 quarters now in bond, will much exceed half a million of quarters before harvest, as the demand for Sicily and Naples appears likely to absorb the greater proportion of the shipments from the Black Sea and Mediterranean ports, on much better terms than would be realized in this country, with our present currency and duty. France is also taking from the Baltic a considerable share of the wheat that at an earlier period was destined for England. The British market will, however, during the ensuing three or four months, be so much influenced by the weather, and a variety of other contingencies which it is impossible to foresee, that there are no means of arriving at certain or correct data on which to ground an estimate of future prices; but the small stocks universally admitted to be held by millers, bakers, and dealers, favour the probability of an advance rather than the contrary. The reports of the corn trade at Dantzic have recently been somewhat gloomy, and that market at present appears decidedly the most favourable for foreign purchases, and orders for good mixed wheat would probably be executed at 32s. to 33s. per imperial quarter, free on board, with a freight of 3s. and 4s. per quarter; English red wheat sells at 7s. 2d. to 7s. 8d.; white, 7s. 6d. to 7s. 10d. per 62lbs. at Birmingham; Polish, 7s. to 7s. 4d.; Dantzic, 7s. 6d. to 7s. 9d.; hard, 6s. to 6s. 6d. per 60lbs., at Gloucester; and of Polish Odessa there is little or none remaining unsold."

THE CORN LAWS.—The proprietary right which a man has in the fruit of his own labour, or in what he may have acquired by the price that he has given for it, seems to have in it as much the character of a first principle of justice as the proprietary right of a landlord in the soil which belongs to him. And yet what is the effect, or rather what is the express aim and intention of a Corn Law? It is not to defend the latter from any inroad made upon him from the former; but it is to enable the latter, the landlord, and this is for the declared purpose of keeping up or raising the value of his property, to make what, but for law, would be felt and resented as a most violent inroad on the natural rights of the manufacturer or merchant. That a man shall work up goods in this country, either by his own labour, or by labour which he has paid for—that he shall place them in a ship which he has freighted—that he shall carry them beyond seas, and, after having disposed of them in a foreign market, shall, with the price which he has gotten for them, load his vessel with a cargo, from the sale of which he anticipates a profit in his own land—that if this cargo should happen to be corn, on the moment of its touching the shore, it shall be seized upon and wrested from its owner, as if it had been made up of stolen goods found in his possession, and now to be restored to its lawful owners—why, it does thwart and come into painful collision with every natural apprehension of justice, when, instead of being thus laid hold upon for the indemnification of those to whom it properly belongs, it is forcibly torn from the proper and rightful owner, and that for the enrichment of another party who has no claim upon it whatever. Instead of a robbery by him against the landed proprietor, it has far more the appearance and character of a robbery upon him, and in behalf of the landed proprietor. One cannot wonder, in these circumstances, at the sensation so prevalent and powerful of a great wholesale outrage inflicted upon one class for the benefit of another; or that such exasperation should be now abroad, both against the Government which legalises this iniquity, and against the order in society who profit by it; and that, not because of its conflicting with the principles of sound economical science, but because of its felt and palpable violence against the original and inalienable rights of humanity. * * * The crowded manufactories of Britain have enhanced the price of British corn just as the wants of the teeming population in London have prodigiously added to the value of all the produce that is yielded by the estates in Middlesex—that is, have raised it above the produce of the other counties by all the expense of conveyance from the places at a greater distance. It were a strange return on the part of the landholders of Middlesex to London, for all the benefits of their contiguity to the great metropolis, should they prefer a demand for a tax on all the produce brought from other parts of England—and this that they might furthermore add the tax, too, to a price which has already risen so much in their favour. But this is the very character of the demand preferred by British landlords in the matter of the Corn Laws. There is in it a barefacedness which, of itself, is sufficiently irritating; but when to this we add the outcry of starving multitudes for food, and the quieter, but not less influential, demand of merchants for relief to their glutted warehouses, and a profitable outlet for their idle and overgrown capitals—we cannot but wonder that a system of such unnatural violence and constraint should have stood so long against the righteous indignation of all the parties who feel themselves aggrieved by it. And yet, after all, we are strongly persuaded that the gloomy fears of our landlords, just as much as the sanguine hopes both of our manufacturers and our general population, will turn out to be visionary.—From an article said to be written by Dr. Chambers in the first number of the North British Review.

TO THE FARMERS OF KENT.—"Brother Farmers, —It seems that we must shortly be prepared to take our stand under one or the other of the banners now fully unfurled. FREE TRADE or PROTECTION are the watchwords which will divide the population into two great opposing armies. Your homely proverb of 'Look before you leap,' is now, if ever, needful. Let us consider the subject, then, by 'Looking on this picture, and on that.' In the first place, when we are called on to make a change, we ought to examine our present system, to see how it works, and whether a change be necessary or not. I put it, then, at once to you, whether the present system has worked well for you? Has farming, as a profession, been a profitable one? Are we now in a prosperous state? I presume there will be but little difference of opinion as to the reply to these queries. As far as my opinion extends, and my rather extensive reading, the profession of farming has been the reverse of profitable. It has starved the labourer, and beggared the farmer. If we look at the fluctuation of prices, and the miserable effects of the yearly tenancy-at-will system, we see the causes of the farmers' embarrassments. Trade (and farming is but a trade) requires the outlay of capital to ensure profit. What security have the tenants-at-will to expend capital? Or who will lend the farmer money, while he has no security? Security of tenancy, by equitable leases, is the first requisite. This attained, capital will flow in; and, directed by skill and industry,

the British farmer will commence his course of prosperity, fearless of all foreign competition. I repeat it, that with *leaves, skill, and capital*, the British farmer can beat the whole world, his customers being at home, his manures (now wasted) being almost inexhaustible and close to his land, his country abounding in capital, at the lowest rate of interest ever known in the world. Farmers, think of these things! Above all, train up your sons to scientific farming, and to business-like habits, and you will cease to be ruined by 'protection.'—I am, yours, &c., A MAN OF KENT.—*Kent Herald*.

EXCLUSIVE BURDEN ON LAND.—It is very common for the Monopolists to allege that poor-rates are a burden which falls heavier on the farmer than on other classes of the community. In order to show how utterly this assumption is at variance with fact, we may cite the case of the township of Tunstall, in the Sunderland Union. This township contains the village of Tunstall, with neighbouring farms, comprising several hundred acres of land, yet the whole charge for the maintenance of the poor of this district for the year ending the 25th of March, 1844, was only £12 17s., actually less than was levied for this purpose on the occupant of a *potato warehouse* in one of the back streets of the parish of Sunderland! and less than a tithe of the amount that some of the larger rate-payers have to contribute as their share to the parochial funds. We may add that, to our certain knowledge, there are several agricultural parishes in this county where the poor-rates are even higher than in Tunstall. The question naturally occurs, why should the agricultural parishes in this county be so lightly burdened with poor, when the farmers in Dorsetshire and other agricultural counties are so heavily taxed for the support of the poor? The answer is obvious. The children of the inhabitants of Tunstall, whose services are not required to till the ground, find situations as apprentices in the neighbouring commercial towns, and are not left to grow up as a burden on the land; and if the present hateful and injurious restrictions were removed from trade, we have no doubt that the surplus population of those counties which are further removed from the seats of manufactures and trade would find employment in the towns by the increase of commerce, which would inevitably result from its becoming free.—*Sunderland Herald*.

BRITISH FREE TRADE.—England, while preaching Free Trade to all other countries, takes good care not to practise it herself. She looks one way and rows the other. She has arguments enough at hand to show why the United States should admit the fabrics of her pauper labour free; but when asked to *reciprocate* such an arrangement—oh, that is quite a different affair! Johnny Bull don't understand what *reciprocity* means. He has cut the word out of his dictionary, and turns a deaf ear whenever it is mentioned. To show this let us appeal to facts. Facts are stubborn things. One authentic fact is worth all the visionary theories in the world. We showed a day or two since, by a table taken from the report of a committee of the American Institute, of which Mr. Jas. Talmadge was chairman, that on forty-seven articles, comprising the great staple products of the United States, among which are cotton, wheat, Indian corn, flour, hemp, beans, tobacco, rice, whisky, beef, pork, lard, bacon, butter, tallow, cheese, feathers, fish, oil, &c., England levies, even under her new reduced rates, an average duty of 289 per cent. The duties upon lumber and many other articles are prohibitory. We also showed by another table from the same report that on thirty-six articles, embracing the principal fabrics and manufactures of Great Britain, such as the manufactures of woollens, cottons, linens, hemp, silk, flannels, baizes, carpeting, paper, books, leather, earthenware, glass, hardware, iron, steel, tin, brass, copper, jewellery, drugs, salt, &c., the duty levied by our present tariff averages only 32 per cent. We also showed that by the English tariff the discrimination in favour of her colonies is 102, giving to British bottoms the entire carrying trade. This is *reciprocity* with a vengeance! Can any man, with these facts before him, who is not insane or a dishonest politician, contend for Free Trade and the repeal of our tariff? And ought not every American to blush at the folly of his weak brother when he hears him quoting the doctrines of Englishmen upon "Free Trade"?—*Daily Cincinnati Atlas (America)*.

FOREIGN CORN TRADE.—Mr. Wawn, the active member for South Shields, has obtained a parliamentary return of the number of ships laden with foreign corn entered inwards at the ports of the United Kingdom between the 5th of January, 1843, and the 5th of January, 1844. The return shows that 655 British vessels, and 1220 foreign vessels, have been employed during that period in the corn trade. To Sunderland, 2275 qrs. 3 bushels have been imported in British ships, and 2989 qrs. 7 bushels in foreign ships, the ports of landing being Altona, Brake, Bremen, Cotingseil, Dantzic, Stettin, and a small quantity of flour from Quebec. The shipowners complain of lack of trade, and doubtless their complaints are just. They suffer severely from a scarcity of employment; the value of their vessels has been depreciated from 50 to 100 per cent., freights have been ruinously low, and in many instances they have conveyed cargoes from place to place, not only without profit, but at a positive loss to themselves. Yet, some of the shipowners of this and the neighbouring ports support and approve a course of policy which gives a portion of the trade which they ought to possess to the foreigner; for (as the *Morning Chronicle* well observes) there is no man with the slightest acquaintance with mercantile operations who does not know that corn is struck out of the catalogue of articles looked to as returns for exports, simply because no merchant can calculate upon what duty he may have to pay when he lands his cargo. And hence, when there is a prospect of importing corn at a low duty, the first ship is taken up which can be found in the nearest port from whence it is profitable to import grain, in order that the golden opportunity may not be lost. In this manner the shipowner is the victim of the sliding scale, and he too frequently exhibits the anomaly of applauding a measure which is injurious to his own interest and detrimental to the country at large.—*Sunderland Herald*.

BLACK BREAD.—The Irish generally assure the stranger, when they show him their oat-cakes, that these are a particularly wholesome, nourishing, and strengthening kind of food, which can be true only when they are compared with the watery, tasteless, and meagre potatoes upon which the Irish have to subsist. The English, generally very curious about our black bread, and to whom the word "black" seems to convey a kind of horror, often repeat that with them people would never

think of giving such a mess to any but horses; forgetting that with us nobody would think of giving *oats* to any but horses, and forgetting how many millions of hungry poor there are in this empire who would be most thankful for this despised black bread, and whom it would certainly nourish much better than the oat-paste, which they call cake, and the nourishing qualities of which they praise so highly.—*Kohl's Ireland*.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO PERSEVERANCE.—We have been labouring, along with a number of our friends, for thirty years, at least ever since the peace of Paris, in and out of Parliament, to obtain the repeal of the duty on the importation of foreign wool; and at one time with so little success that this impolitic impost was advanced from one penny to sixpence a pound; but at last we have the pleasure to see the wool-tax swept away, root and branch. The advantage will, we have no doubt, be felt not only by the manufacturing, but also by the agricultural interest, in the increased consumption of wool, to which the removal of the duties both on import and export will give a salutary impulse. The shipping interest, as well as the interests of trade and agriculture, will be essentially benefited by the repeal of the duties on the importation and exportation of wool, the latter of which amounts to one shilling per cwt. The trade being thus entirely free, England will, from its capital, its manufactures, and its commercial marine, become the great wool market of the world.—*Leeds Mercury*.

The Duke of Richmond has "recorded a vow in Heaven," never to cease from agitation until the League is put down. The Yankees have a story of a racoon, which, seeing an unerring marksman take aim at him, exclaimed—"Stop! I know you, Major Scott: I give in!" Even so Mr. Cobden. He has written to the Duke of Richmond, intimating to his grace that he "gives in." The lad at the League office has "put up the shutters," and the Anti-Corn-Law agitation is at an end!—*Gateshead Observer*.

The bakers of Coblenz have lately been prosecuted for combining to keep up the price of bread, and, being convicted, have been condemned to two months' imprisonment, and a fine of 1000f. each.

THE FUNDS.

| | May 4 | May 6 | May 7 | May 8 | May 9 | May 10 |
|----------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|---------|
| Bank Stock for ac. | — | 104 | 106 | 106 | 105 | — |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann | 98 | 98 | 98 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann | 98 | 98 | 98 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 |
| Long An. Ex. 1860 | 12 7 16 | 12 7 16 | 12 7 16 | 12 7 16 | 12 11 16 | — |
| Cons. for Acc. | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| Exc. Bills, pm. | 75 7 | 75 7 | 75 7 | 75 7 | 75 7 | — |
| Ind. Bds. und. 1000f | — | — | 92 | — | 92 | — |
| India Stock | — | 249 | 247 8 | — | 249 | — |
| Belgian | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | — |
| Brazilian | 80 1 | 80 1 | 80 1 | 80 1 | 80 1 | — |
| Chilian | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | — | — | 102 1/2 | — |
| Columbian Venes. | 15 | 14 1/2 | 14 1/2 | 14 1/2 | 14 1/2 | — |
| Danish | 88 | 88 | 88 | 88 | 88 | 100 1/2 |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 |
| Dutch 2 1/2 per Ct. | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 |
| Mexican, 1837 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 |
| Portuguese, conv. | 35 7 | 35 7 | 35 7 | 35 6 | 35 6 | — |
| Russian Ayres. | 21 1/2 | 21 1/2 | 21 1/2 | 21 1/2 | 21 1/2 | 21 1/2 |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 35 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 |
| Do. 3 per Ct. | 35 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 |
| Peruvian | 29 1/2 | 29 | 29 | 29 1/2 | 29 3/4 | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, May 6.—There was a fair supply of Wheat this morning from Essex, but short from Kent; it was taken off early at fully the prices of this day week. There was a pretty good demand for Free Foreign in small quantities at last week's rates. With large supplies of Barley last week's prices were supported, but the trade was not brisk. The price of Peas was fully maintained. Beans were a dearer. The same advance was established on Egyptian in Bond. The supplies of Irish Oats last week were moderate, and only a few vessels arrived fresh to this morning's market. We are very scantily supplied with English and Scotch. The trade was not brisk, but at an advance of 6d. on the prices of last Monday was obtained for all descriptions. S. H. Lucas and Son.

BRITISH.

| | Per Imperial Quarter. |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Wheat Essex, Kent, & Suffolk | Red 55 to 60 White 58 to 64 |
| Lincolnshire & Yorkshire | — 54 — 58 — 57 — 60 |
| Scotch | — 52 — 56 — 54 — 60 |
| Irish | — 50 — 52 — 52 — 55 |
| Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire | Feed 20 — 22 |
| Do. Ditto | Short 22 — 24 Potatoes 22 — 25 |
| Scotch | Feed 22 — 24 Potatoes 22 — 25 |
| Limerick | — 20 — 21 Short 21 — 24 |
| Cork | — 20 — 21 — 21 — 21 |
| Waterford, Youghal, & Cork | 19 — Black — 20 |
| Sligo | — 20 — 21 |
| Galway | — 18 — 19 |
| Barley, Grinding | 28 to 30 Distilling 29 — 31 |
| Malting | 32 — 34 Irish 26 — 30 |
| Beans, Mazagan | — 28 — Tick 30 — 32 |
| Harrow | 32 — 34 Small — 36 |
| Old Tick | — 36 |
| Peas, White | 31 to 34 Boilers 35 — 36 |
| Maple and Grey | — 27 — 30 |
| Flour, Best Town-made | per sack of 280 lbs. 46 — 48 |
| Norfolk and Suffolk | — 40 — 42 |

FOREIGN.

| | FREE. | IN BOND. |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|
| Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed | 53 to 63 42 to 45 | — |
| Rostock | 51 — 63 42 to 45 | — |
| Stettin | 48 — 56 40 — 43 | — |
| Hamburg | 48 — 56 39 — 42 | — |
| Oleana Polish | 48 — 53 36 — 38 | — |
| Barletta | 48 — 54 32 — 38 | — |
| Russian | — soft — 48 — 52 — | — |
| Ditto | — hard — 45 — 50 — | — |
| Spanish | — Red — 49 — 55 — | — |
| Ditto | — White — 52 — 56 — | — |
| Barley, Grinding | 26 — 28 — | — |
| Distilling | 28 — 30 — | — |
| Oats, Archangel | 20 — 21 13 — 14 | — |
| Swedish | 21 — 22 14 — 15 | — |
| Dutch Potatoes | 27 — 28 17 — 18 | — |
| Beans, Egyptian | 30 — 34 — | — |
| Peas, White | 32 — 35 — | — |
| Ditto Boilers | 32 — 34 — | — |
| Flour, Canada | per barrel of 196 lbs. 29 — 31 | — |
| United States | — 30 — 32 22 — 24 | — |
| Dantzic | — 28 — 30 — | — |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 29th of April to the 4th of May, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 5011 | 1453 | 8756 | 703 | 42 |
| Scotch | 351 | 7 | — | — | — |
| Irish | — | 6 | — | — | — |
| Foreign | 7945 | 27904 | — | — | 115 |

Flour, 6063 sacks, — bars.

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending April 30, 1844.

| | Qrs. | Price | | Qrs. | Price |
|--------|-------|-----------|-------|------|-----------|
| Wheat | 4195 | 56s. 3d. | Rye | 61 | 30s. 3d. |
| Barley | 2523 | 80s. 11d. | Beans | 885 | 28s. 3d. |
| Oats | 22628 | 20s. 5d. | Peas | 433 | 30s. 11d. |

FRIDAY, May 10.—With the exception of a large arrival of foreign Barley, our supplies of grain are very moderate. Though the demand is not brisk, the prices of Monday are well maintained for both English and foreign Wheat. With but little business doing, Barley, Oats, Beans, and Peas fully support late prices. S. H. Lucas and Son.

Account of Corn, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 6th of May to the 10th of May, both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 4910 | — | 6990 |
| Barley | 1311 | 78 | 20810 |
| Oats | 2860 | 7020 | 1430 |

Flour, 2630 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT OF THE NUMBER OF QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED MAY 4, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. |
| | Aver. price. | Aver. price. | Aver. price. | Aver. price. |
| Weekly | 88398 | 55 3 | 28077 | 31 8 |
| Average | 43541 | 20 1 | 7140 | 31 9 |
| Aggregate | 55 6 | 32 7 | 20 1 | 31 8 |
| Duty | 17 0 | 6 0 | 6 0 | 10 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MAY 3.

CROWN-OFFICE, MAY 2.

MEMBER RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

Borough of Horsham.—Robert Henry Hurst, of Horsham, in the county of Sussex, Esq., in the room of the Honourable Robert Campbell Scarlett, now Baron Abinger, and one of the Peers of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

F. FORD and F. R. BROCKLEHURST, Bow-lane, wholesale stationers.

BANKRUPTS.

H. ALDEN, Oxford, stationer. [Baylis, Devonshire-street, City.
J. GIBBONS, High-street, Marylebone, carpenter. [Rye, Golden-square.
R. BARHAM, Emsworth, Hampshire, linendraper. [Sole and Sole, Aldermanbury.
J. DIAMOND, George-street, Tower-hill, merchant. [Crosby and Compton, Church-court.
J. GROVER, Regent-street, Lambeth, stone merchant. [Beetholme, New-inn, Strand.
S. JEVONS, Lincoln, shoemaker. [Billing, King-street, Cheap-side.
A. SILLITOE, Sudbury, Suffolk, innkeeper. [Chilton and Co., Chancery-lane.
J. H. ROBY, Manchester, coffeehouse keeper. [Bridges and Mason, Red Lion-square; Foster, Manchester.
J. HARLING, Thornber-edge, Yorkshire, grazier. [Cowburn and Norris, Settle; Cariss, Leeds.

DIVIDENDS.

May 24 R. Tebay, Winchester, Southampton, plumber and glazier.—May 24. C. B. Bayley, Abingdon, Berkshire, draper.—May 24. J. Jay, London-wall, City, builder.—May 24. H. Orbell, Romford, Essex, victualler.—May 24. T. B. Lawford, Fenchurch-street, City, wine merchant.—May 25. W. H. Woodall, Bishopsgate-street-without, City, woollen draper.

CERTIFICATES.

May 24. C. B. Bayley, Abingdon, Berkshire, draper.—May 24. W. Butcher, Great Marlborough-street, St. James's, commission agent.—May 24. J. D. Hinxman, Harley-street, Cavendish-square, wine merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

W. BIRRELL, East Teaton, Kennoway, farmer.—D. M. WRIGHT and Co, Glasgow, merchants.

TUESDAY, MAY 7.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

G. CAVE and R. CAVE, Banbury, Oxfordshire, drapers.
H. TAYLOR, Bilston, Staffordshire, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

E. HOLMES, King-street, Chancery, warehouseman. [Pain and Hatherley, Great Marlborough street.
H. SIMMONDS, Southwark, hop factor. [Piercy and Hawkes, Three Crown-square, Southwark.
W. H. NASH and W. GARDINER, Exeter, drapers. [Sole and Sole, Aldermanbury.
T. COX, Porchester-street, Connaught-square, fruiterer. [Penne and Kelly, Bedford-row.
C. WILLIAMS, Sutton-street, York-road, Lambeth, furrier. [Jones, Parliament-street.
T. W. BAKER, Woolwich, builder. [Brooks, Great James-street Bedford-row.
J. BIRD, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell, watch manufacturer. [Hodson and Gibbs, King's road, Bedford-row.
J. MOORHOUSE, Rotherham, Yorkshire, cattle dealer. [Taylor, John-street, Bedford-row; Badger and Coward, Rotherham; Blackburn, Leeds.
W. F. NICHOLSON, Halifax, worsted spinner. [Jacques and Edwards, Ely-place; Stocks and Macauley, Halifax; Payne, Edgemoor, and Ford, Leeds.
H. PEACOCK, Stockton-upon-Tees, Durham, grocer. [Amory, Sewell, and Moores, London; Clayton and Dunn, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
S. MERRITT, Liverpool, linendraper. [Johnson, Son, and Weatherall, Temple; Wood, Manchester.
W. HIND Preston, Lancashire, common brewer. [Fowler, Liverpool; Kirk, Symond's Inn, Chancery-lane.
F. DAVIS, Tipton and West Bromwich, Staffordshire, linendraper. [Sale and Worthington, Manchester.
J. ARNOLD, Farndon, Chester, and H. ARNOLD, Derby, cheese factors. [J. and J. Richardson, Burton-upon-Trent; Hicks and Co., Bartlett's-bullings, London.

DIVIDENDS.

May 30. R. Pettit, Exning, Suffolk, livery stable keeper.—May 30. F. Shaw, London-wall, builder.—May 31. I. Lumley, Cornwell-road, victualler.—May 29. H. W. Smith, Tothill-street, Westminster, woollen draper.—May 31. H. Hitchin, Halifax, Yorkshire, ironmonger.—May 31. A. W. Hillary, Rwanhall, Cumberland, iron founder.—May 31. R. S. Colpitts, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, grocer.—May 31. I. Sealby, Keawick, Cumberland, edge tool manufacturer.—May 30. T. Benson, Darlington, Durham, grocer.

CERTIFICATES.

May 30. R. Beckley, Green-street, Hanover-square, grocer.—May 30. J. Martin, Bexley heath, Kent, victualler.—May 31. W. Chapman, York-place, New-road, surgeon.—June 4. T. Hodgson, Harrow, Middlesex, butcher.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

W. ALLAN and J. ORME, Dundee, music sellers.—G. MILLER, Glasgow, victualler.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 34.]

SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1844.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

MR. MACAULAY'S LETTER TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

With the recently-published letter of Mr. Macaulay, as part of a correspondence between a representative and his constituents, we have little to do. As an exposé of the course to be pursued, in order to obtain the repeal of the Corn Laws, it concerns us much. It is in this point of view that we make it the subject of comment. The letter was obviously intended as something more than a communication to Edinburgh electors. It is not a family epistle, but a public document, a sort of Whig manifesto; and though the writer has no authority to speak on behalf of a great political party, yet he evidently assumes that others are in sympathy with him, and that, if he may not say his "name is legion," it is nevertheless a respectable number. Moreover, he expounds a philosophy of political action; and if in that he is right, the League is wrong, for the text of his homily is compromise, a word which we hold in abhorrence.

"We have," says Mr. Macaulay, "two questions to consider—a question of political economy, and a question of practical prudence. The first question relates to ends, the second to means."

"The first question is this—On what footing would it be best for the country that the Corn Laws should be placed?"

"The second question is this—By what line of conduct are we most likely to succeed in placing the Corn Laws on a good footing?"

To this statement we have no material objection. And, as Mr. Macaulay professes to answer the first question by "perfectly Free Trade," excluding the idea of a fixed duty, as well as that of a sliding scale, we will regard that point as not necessary to be argued. His declaration is distinct. "I have come to the conclusion that it is not desirable to lay a tax on foreign corn for the purpose of raising revenue. It is clear that such a tax would, in this country, take out of the purse of the consumer a sum many times greater than the sum which would come into the purse of the State; and this I think is an insurmountable objection." We think so too; and as it is "not desirable" that "insurmountable objections" should ever be surmounted; as honest statesmen never do get over objections of that class; we should have been better satisfied had Mr. Macaulay not evinced a disposition, in the subsequent part of his letter, to perform so anomalous a feat. But alas! his answer to the second question is little else but a string of arguments for surmounting the insurmountable, which he not very unreasonably anticipates may be viewed as "the cant of party, the shuffling of a man who wishes to compound matters between his convictions and his interests." He calls this "detraction" beforehand; while it only exists in the whisperings of his own mind; to prove it so, rests with himself.

Without indicating any particular compromise as

likely to be offered, or worthy to be accepted, Mr. Macaulay proceeds to panegyric compromise in the abstract, and designates it the means by which "all the important reforms in our legislation have been carried." This, then, he thinks should be our aim. Instead of Corn-Law repealers, we should be Corn-law compromisers. Our fight should be for a partial failure. The struggle should not be for justice, but for a compound of justice and injustice, the proportion of the ingredients to be varied according to circumstances. Putting principle out of question; looking only at the policy of the thing; we hold this to be very contemptible. What agitation for a compromise could ever keep alive? Without agitation, what chance of change? If, instead of the League converting Mr. Macaulay as to the end, Mr. Macaulay were to convert the League as to the means, all that could possibly result would be the extinction of the agitation and the undisturbed perpetuity of the Corn Laws.

But, says Mr. Macaulay, compromise effected the abolition of the Test Act, sixteen years ago. The repeal was attended by the introduction of another test, the official pledge "on the faith of a Christian;" but, nevertheless, the measure was gratefully accepted by Dissenters, for "they knew that it made an irreparable breach in an unsound system, and that such a breach, when once made, would gradually be widened." We demur to this statement. The Dissenting grievance was got rid of altogether. The Church test was abolished, which was all the great body of Dissenters wanted then; or, we presume, would desire now. The Anti-State-Church Conference, which sat recently, imposed a voluntary test, which excluded all Jews, and some who call themselves Christians. The case, as cited by Mr. Macaulay, is not in point. Had it been more so, would it have furnished encouragement? The breach has not been "gradually widened." There is no better chance for now "removing the grievances of the Jew" than at that time. The event is nearer, just as all events that are to come are brought nearer by the lapse of time. No otherways. Mr. Macaulay's instance breaks down in both views. It was not a compromise; nor did it accelerate the more extended application of the principle of religious equality.

And is it not true that, as to the removal of Dissenting disabilities, a compromise was, after the first triumphant division, suggested by the Whig leaders to the Dissenting committee? That such compromise would have delayed the full accomplishment of the object for years? That the committee refused to entertain it? That they resolved to go for everything or nothing, and so got everything? Mr. Macaulay's first case is not an example for his counsel but for ours. It warns us against his guidance.

The Reform Bill is an instance pretty much in the same predicament. With the exception of the Chandos clause, on which the Whig Ministers were beaten by a Radical blunder, they carried out their own views of Parliamentary reform. The national movement which enabled them to carry those views would equally have enabled them to carry a larger measure, had they chosen. They were not stopped by a compromise, but by their own convictions. The friends of more extensive reform have not since found in this instance, any more than in the other, that "such a breach, when once made, would gradually be widened." On the contrary, the Reform Act has been, and is, the great barrier to further organic changes. We say nothing now of the expediency of such changes. Be they good, bad, or indifferent, the argument is not affected. Mr. Macaulay says the Reform Bill was a compromise, by which the attainment of such changes is facilitated. We reply, that it stands in their way, and was no compromise, but all that the Whigs intended.

Much of Mr. Macaulay's reasoning turns on the alleged weakness of the League, and the prediction that the Free-Trade cause will not have a majority of the constituent body at the next election. We battle not with the spirit of prophecy. The League is working out this problem practically. We are polling the constituencies now.

The results are more decided than Mr. Macaulay finds to his liking. His own constituency is too uncompromising for his taste. He very needlessly takes offence at their earnestness on behalf of his own professed opinions. The Edinburgh people say they will have a member who votes for that which Mr. Macaulay declares wise and right. And such a determination he complains of as a persecution! To hold him fast to the wise and right in legislation is intolerant and intolerable. He will be a martyr

first. His "mind is made up to the consequences." Of martyrs who have died rather than compromise their principles, there are many "illustrious examples" in the page of history. A martyr who will perish rather than not compromise, is a novel specimen of magnanimity in the annals of persecution.

Our strength is not sufficient to satisfy our professed fellow-believer in Free-Trade principles. How does he help us to augment it? He sees what is wanting. His own splendid talents and high position would enable him to do very much towards supplying the deficiency. There is no lack of zeal in his constituents. They are ready to back him in the full exercise of his great powers to give efficiency to his avowed convictions. He is almost thrust forward in the path towards his professed object. And then he turns round to pick a quarrel with his followers. He will not help along, nor will he be helped along, towards the right. He knows that the creed of compromise is the worship of weakness, and so he becomes its missionary. His admonition to Edinburgh is, that it should look at Exeter. In the same spirit he would expatiate on North Wiltshire to the electors of South Lancashire. No Free Trader is wise or warranted in exaggerating successes or extenuating reverses. We quarrel not with Mr. Macaulay for not being as rhetorical in our cause as he usually is in his advocacy. But we look at the animus of his lamentation over our insufficient strength. If it were too little, his letter would tend to make it less. This is not just towards his constituents. They have a right to his best services, to his zealous labours, for a consummation which he agrees with them in deeming "devoutly to be wished." The more he sees of weakness in a good cause, the more imperative his duty of hearty co-operation; the more inexcusable his wet blanket of compromising counsels.

It is argued that "a change in the views" of the agricultural population "must be gradual." If by this Mr. Macaulay means that landowners and farmers may be won—first to consent to a sliding scale a little lower than the present; then to another sliding scale somewhat lower than that; afterwards to a fixed duty of rather a high figure; in process of years to a lower fixed duty; and thus, eventually, about the period of the millennium, to a free trade in corn—we can only say that his prophetic inspiration as to futurity seems well matched with his observance of the past, and of human nature. The prophecy and the philosophy may go together. Except in his own imagination, the practical question is everywhere between the present law and Free Trade. No class wants this prolonged unsettlement. The farmers are sick to the heart of change and experiment. By common consent "protection" is on its last legs, whether they serve it for a long time or a short. If Free-Traders be but true to themselves and their cause, they will get everything as soon as they can get anything. The next move will be final, unless it be perplexed by some dirty littleness of political party. Sir Robert Peel evidently perceives this, and, with his characteristic caution, holds himself unpledged accordingly. Mr. Macaulay foresees that "the day may come when the difference between the supporters of Free Trade and the supporters of a fixed duty will be a serious practical difference." For that day he reserves to himself the privilege of voting against what he professes to think the best. In plain terms, his Free-Trade principle is bound for sacrifice on that altar at which Whig partisanship and agricultural monopoly shall, by the device of a fixed duty, ratify their covenant of compromise. Sir Robert Peel is not the fool to let that day arrive; or, if he should, the knavery on the other side will take little by its motion but speedy discomfiture and disgrace.

Very different is the co-operation we receive from the people of Edinburgh from that which is afforded by their representatives. From the former, it is munificent, hearty, consistent, decided, and energetic. To the latter we may say "Thank you for nothing," except the attempt to sow doubts, fears, and disunion, fomenting the weakness they magnify, and postponing the result they profess to desire. Our question can only be carried by becoming the national question, on which all elections turn, and to which all party objects are postponed. That is exactly what Mr. Macaulay protests against and endeavours to obstruct. He seems ready to compromise with everything, except uncompromisingness. Even that he will allow to be good "in the abstract;" very well in a Free-Trade lecture, but not "the business of a member of Parliament."

We have dwelt the longer on this document be-

cause false friends and a compromising spirit are much more perilous to our cause than the hostility we encounter. With Mr. Macaulay individually, his constituents know how to deal. Our task has been to analyze his false philosophy and pernicious counsel. The exposure may serve every popular struggle for the legislative recognition of a just principle as well as this agitation for Free Trade. Little of real or enduring good do we ever expect from the voices or hands of Reformers whose hearts bear not inscribed the motto of *Kiat Justitia*.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Fourteenth Week, ending Saturday, May 18.

The Factories Bill is now in the House of Lords, where it is likely to be safe from those "untoward" accidents which its predecessor encountered in the House of Commons; and this seems, therefore, a suitable opportunity for briefly reviewing the history of its progress.

The current opinion in political circles respecting the defeat of the Government on the first Factories Bill is this:—A number of the usual supporters of the Government were entangled with their constituents by pledges on the "Ten Hours;" and Lord Ashley himself had refused a subordinate office in the Administration when it was first formed on account of the determination of Sir Robert Peel not to sanction the "principle" of such a limitation of the hours of factory labour. The Government, however, having adopted the "principle" of limiting the labour of females and young persons to Twelve Hours (thereby practically limiting all factory labour to that period), a very fair opportunity was afforded of trying the question of the "Ten Hours." Sir James Graham, it is said, calculating on the undivided support of the Liberal party in the House, caused it to be intimated to the supporters of the Ministry, that, if they felt themselves in any difficulty about the "Ten Hours," they might support Lord Ashley, because the Government, reckoning on the support of what is termed "The Opposition," would have a sufficient majority to carry them through all attempts to substitute "Ten" for "Twelve" hours. On this understanding a great number of the regular Ministerialists left town, as the Easter holidays were nigh at hand; and the Government, not anticipating either a mutiny or a surprise, "dwelt careless, after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure."

Certain members of the Opposition, who, like the children of Dan, as recorded in the book of Judges, were "seeking an inheritance," spied out the "careless and secure" attitude of the Ministers, and resolved to strike them a fatal blow. In this movement, according to the prevalent opinion, there was craft on both sides. It is attributed to Sir James Graham, that he calculated that, by permitting his "Ten Hours" supporters to vote as they pleased, he would conciliate them as friendly adherents, while by recording their *harmless* vote for the Ten Hours, they would gain great credit with their constituents; and, at the same time, all the odium of opposing a popular demand would fall on the "Opposition," which, acting according to principle, could not but support the Government in resisting a limitation of the hours of labour. Those members of the Opposition who joined Lord Ashley were not disposed to let Sir James Graham buy them "in the dearest" and sell them "in the cheapest" market. All of a sudden, they resolved to support Lord Ashley; and the moment being favourable, in consequence of the absence of a great number of members, a serious, though a temporary, blow was struck. The public, unprepared for such a result, were startled by the announcement that the Ministry had been defeated; but, though the defeat of the Government was a damage to them, the temporary triumph of the Ashleyites was a damage greater still; for it has conveyed to the public the idea, that the atmosphere breathed in the House of Commons is saturated with insincerity, and that both the press and the constituencies are used as the mere instruments of men who, instead of looking to high objects and straightforward principles, are impelled by the vulgar feeling that anything is fair which will gain them notoriety, distinction, or power.

We recorded the fact, at the time, that when it was found that Ministers were likely to be defeated, every effort was made to alarm the country gentlemen by the suggestion that the restriction to "Ten Hours" must inevitably involve the repeal of the Corn Laws and all other monopolies. This was the leading idea in the speeches of Sir James Graham and Sir Robert Peel, on that occasion; but the "country gentlemen" who supported the "Ten Hours" were (as Mr. Galley Knight has since confessed) in a kind of intoxication, and would not listen to consequences. Ministers were, therefore, twice defeated on the question of "Twelve Hours;" though, on a third division, the House also rejected Lord Ashley's proposition of "Ten Hours," this awkward result being brought about by what we may term the *casting votes* of some five or six members favourable to the adoption of eleven hours.

The result must be in the recollection of our readers. The Government withdrew their bill, and introduced a new one, almost identical with it, on which they proposed to take "the sense of the House" after the Easter holidays, when they knew that a much greater number of members would be in town. And Lord Ashley (by what influence we know not) was induced to postpone his proposition until the bill had arrived at the third reading—that is, when the measure had got through all its difficulties, had been debated on all its stages, had got over the tedious discussions, clause by clause, in Committee, and was merely waiting on the question, "That this bill do pass," when one debate and one vote would settle the whole matter.

During the progress of the bill, there were some curious exhibitions both of character and of argument. Mr. Roebuck boldly raised a discussion on the proposition that it was impolitic for the Legislature to interfere with adult labour at all. This drew an excellent speech from Sir Robert Peel, which, if it had been spoken in favour of Mr. Roebuck's motion instead of against it, would have

been quite consistent. But both he and Sir James Graham were constrained to admit that, in limiting labour to twelve hours, they differed in degree from the advocates of the ten hours—that degree, however, as they showed, being exceedingly important. But the speeches of the political economists, such as Lord Howick, Mr. Hawes, and others, who advocated the "Ten Hours," presented a far more startling array of self-contradictions. The condition of the manufacturing population required improvement; to bring about that improvement, they would limit the hours of labour; and, if that limitation were injurious, they would compensate for the injury by compelling the repeal of the Corn Laws and all other monopolies. In other words, they would "put the cart before the horse;" in order to pave the way for the enlargement of our foreign market, they would run the risk of first destroying it; in order to *redeem*, they would take their chance of *ruining*.

The most consistent motion on the subject was that made by Mr. Thomas Duncombe, who moved that the bill be referred to a Select Committee, for the purpose of taking evidence. Mr. Duncombe cautioned the House against deceiving itself; he was for the "Ten Hours," but he warned them that the working classes did not think that the limitation would lower their wages. On the contrary, they imagined that a limitation of the quantity produced would inevitably raise wages. He asked, therefore, for a Select Committee in order to inquire into the conflicting allegations on both sides; there was no hurry with the bill; let them call master manufacturers and operatives, in order to give evidence: and thus, in this kind of judicial way, something like the TRUTH might be arrived at. A number of Free-Traders supported this motion. Mr. Ward, Mr. Villiers, and Mr. Cobden spoke in favour of it; and the sum of their arguments may be stated thus:—We cannot vote for the Ten Hours, because, on principle, we are opposed to restriction, and we dread the responsibility of adopting the fatal policy of still more restricting our productive industry in its present restrictive field, and struggling as it is with foreign competition. But our sympathies are with the working classes; if they could subsist comfortably on eight hours' labour instead of ten, we should be exceedingly glad. We see, however, no way to this but through FREE TRADE; by enlarging the field of consumption, we add to the value of the working man's time and labour, and give him a greater power to help himself, without your interference; but as there are conflicting opinions on this, let us have a Select Committee, before which masters and men may alike be examined; and, as impartial legislators, we shall then have some chance of arriving at TRUTH, of discovering and weighing what is best for the community, instead of blindly adopting either a "twelve" or a "ten" hours bill.

This reasonable proposition was rejected; and the bill having been carried through the Committee of the whole House, with considerable discussion on details, was brought at last to its third reading, at which stage Lord Ashley brought on his motion. This was on Friday week; and the noble lord, in his speech, went over nearly the same ground as before, alleging the injury which long hours caused, the want of time for moral, social, and domestic duties, and combating the allegations that any serious injury would be inflicted, either on capital or wages, by the limitation. He concluded with a remarkable quotation, that he had succeeded in "lighting such a candle in England, as, by God's blessing, would not be easily put out" (a somewhat incendiary mode of misapplying the words of a great man), and then proposed his motion, which was to limit labour in factories to eleven hours up to 1847, and then to make ten hours permanent.

Sir James Graham opposed the motion in a very able speech; and the debate then went on *pro* and *con* until past twelve o'clock. At that hour the House was crowded; and it could be easily seen that a large number of members had come up to town who had not voted on the question before. An adjournment was proposed; but this was a disappointment to those who had come down to vote; and there was consequently a loud clamour for a division. But the adjournment was carried, and on Monday night the debate was resumed. Nothing could exceed the sameness of the arguments urged on both sides; the difference being that, while the opponents of the "Ten" hours went upon logical principles and arithmetical calculations, the advocates of it talked widely and wildly about this great nation, which had paid twenty millions for the emancipation of our black slaves, being able also to pay handsomely for the freedom of our white population. One of the most striking speeches was that made by Mr. Ward, who traced through all its ramifications the probable effects of what Sir R. Peel truly called an "enormous experiment." Mr. Hawes attempted a vindication of himself and friends for having, in the face of their political economy, voted for the Ten Hours; Lord John Russell did the same thing; Mr. Bright exposed the worthlessness of Lord Ashley's chief informants, and the incredible nature of their allegations; and Sir Robert Peel showed that the reduction of the two hours would strike of £36,000 a week from wages, would lay a tax of upwards of sixteen per cent. on the labourer, and that the loss would fall, not merely on the manufacturer, abridged in his profits, but on the shopkeepers, traders, and merchants of the country. He also intimated that he would resign, if beaten on what he considered to be a matter of so much importance to the welfare of the country. The result of all this was seen in the division. A majority of ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHT supported the Government, the numbers being 297 to 159; and the announcement caused great cheering and laughter. Lord Ashley looked exceedingly crest-fallen on rising to quit the House: but we believe he was suffering from indisposition.

If the debates on this Factory Question do not immeasurably advance the question of FREE TRADE in the national mind, then are the people of this country the obtusest under the sun. But it has already advanced the question; and in nothing more than in showing the working man that the two extra hours about which so much has been said are essential to the maintenance of the Corn Laws.

TESTIMONIAL TO ROBT. R. R. MOORE, Esq.—An elegant silver inkstand will be presented to Mr. Moore on his next visit to Exeter with Mr. Cobden. It has been purchased by a subscription among the admirers of his eloquent advocacy of Free-Trade principles during the late contest in this city.

MEETINGS.

AGGREGATE WEEKLY METROPOLITAN MEETING OF THE LEAGUE.

The customary weekly meeting of the League was held at Covent-garden Theatre on Wednesday evening last; and notwithstanding the fineness of the weather, and advance of the season, which is usually deemed unfavourable for such gatherings, the building was completely crowded.

The chair was occupied by J. Bright, Esq., M.P., who addressed the meeting in an able speech, having reference almost exclusively to Lancashire and the important election now pending in that county, every allusion to which elicited enthusiastic bursts of applause, showing that in the present contest the citizens of London reciprocate the deep interest which the men of Lancashire not long since manifested in their noble struggle for Free Trade. The meeting was subsequently addressed in powerful speeches by J. Wilson, Esq., Mr. Turner (a tenant-farmer from Othry, Somersetshire), and the Rev. J. Burnet.

Among the gentlemen present were—

John Bright, Esq., M.P., in the chair; the Hon. C. Pelham Villiers, M.P., Major-General Briggs, James Wilson, Esq., Rev. J. Burnet, John Travers, Esq., Wm. Leavers, Esq., Dr. Cooke Taylor, George Offer, Esq., R. S. Johnson, Esq., John Lambert, Esq. (Salisbury), Samuel Wilson, Esq. (Colonel Tucker), Isaac Mollett, Esq., R. Woodgate, Esq., R. Jupp, Esq., Francis Stokes, Esq., Pressa Granger, Esq., Charles Gresh, Esq. (Birmingham), Thomas Gammon, Esq. (Birmingham), Martin Thackeray, Esq., Henry Gunning, Esq., T. Bailey, Esq. (Calne), Thomas Bealey, Esq., David Blyth, Esq., Robert A. Blyth, Esq., Walter Little, Esq., Samuel Tomkinson, Esq. (Liverpool), Thomas Rozerson, Esq. (Liverpool), Mr. Turner (Othry, Somersetshire), W. D. Starling, Esq., Rev. Richard Fletcher (Manchester), W. Geevin, Esq., J. B. Scott, Esq. (Manchester), F. Scheer, Esq., Edward Foster, Esq. (Cambridge), J. P. Burnard, Esq., J. Brownell, Esq., Leslie, Esq., J. W. Langtree, Esq., John Pike, Esq. (Oxford), John Pike, Junr., Esq., John Poulton, Esq., Mr. John J. Eyles (Southampton), John Watkins Drew, Esq. (Southampton), James Sharp, Esq. (Southampton), Wm. Lang, Esq. (Prestonmouth), &c.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read by Mr. SAUL, upon the motion of Mr. Geach, of Birmingham, seconded by General BRIGGS, they were unanimously confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN, on approaching the platform, was received with loud and long-continued demonstrations of applause, which having subsided, he addressed the meeting as follows:—Ladies and gentlemen, it was intended that the Chairman of the Council of the League should have presided over the meeting this evening, but, when I explain the cause of his absence, I am quite sure the meeting will be satisfied that he is as usefully employed where he is as he could possibly have been if he had been present here to-night. (Hear.) He is engaged at this moment in the preparations which are being made in South Lancashire for the very important contest about to ensue there (applause); and knowing, as I do, how extraordinary are his qualifications for conducting an election contest, I am quite certain that there is no man connected with that contest who could be worse spared than could George Wilson. (Loud cheers.) And when I look around upon this crowded meeting, and think how often many of you have been here, and how often this building has been thronged with an enthusiastic audience, assembled, not for the purpose of being delighted with the charms of oratory, but that you might proclaim to the world your full conviction that the Anti-Corn-Law League is right in the position it has taken up,—I am quite certain there are thousands of hearts within these walls at this hour who are anxious that the great contest about to commence in Lancashire should end in a signal triumph for the Free-Trade cause. (Loud cheers.) There are certain small boroughs in which any, or from which any, independent voice is scarcely to be expected. We view this contest, then, as one of infinitely greater importance than contests in a dozen or a score of boroughs like Woodstock or like Abingdon. ("Hear" and cheers.) And this meeting sympathizes with that contest; this meeting is anxious to convey to the electors of South Lancashire its sense of the importance of that contest; and I fear that even we, anxious as we are, do not regard this struggle with all the interest which it merits. (Hear.) I have met persons in the south of England who, when speaking of Lancashire, spoke of it as if it were a county of no more than ordinary importance, as if they knew only this—that there were a number of grasping and avaricious, and some of them rich, manufacturers there, with rather a dense population of working-men—brutalized, ill paid, and degraded; that Lancashire was a county in which there were several considerable towns of a very dull character, connected by railroads (laughter); that, in fact, every feature of the county afforded rather pain than pleasure; and that it was to be looked at as a county only valuable for what could be got out of it, and as one which the tourist and lover of the picturesque should on all occasions carefully avoid. (Loud laughter and cheers.) Now, I was born in that county, and have lived there for something like thirty years, and I know much of its population, and much of its trade, and much of its resources; and I am quite convinced, I am perfectly sure, that there is no other county in England which can compare with it in its real importance as affecting the welfare and the power of this great empire. (Loud cheers.) It is the most populous county in England (hear, hear); it is the most manufacturing county; as far as its productive power goes, it is the richest county in England. (Hear, hear.) And what has it done? Time was when it presented a very different aspect from what it now presents. Some 240 years ago it was considered a wilderness. Camden in his survey, after having travelled the country from York to Durham, proposed to enter Lancashire, and his mind was filled with apprehension at the prospect. His remark is—"And first, of the people of Lancashire, whom I approach with a kind of dread"—in these latter days, too, there are some people who look upon Lancashire with dread—(laughter and cheers);—"may it forebode no ill. However, that I do not seem wanting to this county, I will run the hazard of the attempt, hoping that the Divine assistance which has favoured me in the rest will not fail me in this." (Hear, hear.) He mentions some towns—Rochdale, which he first came to from York; Bury, Blackburn, Preston, and Manchester; but he speaks of these only as being towns of any trade, and that principally connected with the woollen manufacture. He mentions Liverpool—"Litherpool," or abbreviated "Lerpool"—as a small place on the seacoast, and as the most convenient point

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for setting sail to Ireland; but of Ashton, Bolton, Oldham, and Salford, with other towns now existing in Lancashire, he does not say one word; and there is no reason to believe that these towns were known at that time. (Hear, hear, hear.) It may be worth while for a few moments to examine or to see how wonderful has been the increase of the value of property in that county. In 1692, one hundred and fifty years ago, the whole value—the whole annual value—was £7,000. In 1811 the annual value was £6,192 0/0. (Loud cheers.) Thus there has been an average increase throughout that county in 150 years of not less than six thousand three hundred per cent. (Renewed cheering.) Now, the land-owners should look to this, as showing how trade is advantageous to them. (Hear, hear.) Lancashire has, for its size, just as much land in it as any other county—that must be clear to all. (A voice—"No, no.") I recollect a person standing upon a piece of rising ground, and, looking over the surrounding country, remarking to an inhabitant of the district, who stood near him, that they seemed to have a great deal of land in the neighbourhood, which remark occasioned the individual some surprise; and I suppose it might be made with equal truth in every neighbourhood. (Hear, hear.) Lancashire has landowners; that county is divided into districts called hundreds—(A voice—"Yorkshire.") [Some interruption followed this remark, which appeared to emanate from the same individual who before interrupted the speaker, and several persons were desirous of having him turned out; but Mr. Bright observed, "Oh no, he does not understand me," and then proceeded.]—Of these hundreds three may be considered agricultural, and three manufacturing. The improvement in the value of the agricultural portions of the county has amounted to three thousand five hundred per cent. in that period (hear, hear), while the manufacturing districts have improved to the amount of seven thousand per cent. (Cheers.) There is one estate in the neighbourhood of Manchester—the Chorlton Hall estate—which shows a remarkable increase in value. In the year 1590 it was sold for £320. In 1614—that is, fifty-four years later—it was sold for £300, its value not having increased at all in that time. In 1794 that same estate was sold for £70,000 (loud cheers); and of the township in which that estate is situated, and of which I believe it forms a chief part, I may remark that in 1815 the annual value of that township was £19,000; in 1829, £66,000; and in 1811, £137,000. (Tremendous cheering.) In a space of time less than 200 years, the value of that township has increased, or the estate, rather, has increased from £300 to £137,000. (Applause.) There is another district of Lancashire which it may be well to spend a moment in speaking of, and that is the district called the Forest of Rossendale, containing some twenty-two or twenty-four square miles. In the early part of the sixteenth century, there were only 80 persons living in this district; now there are more than 21,000. (Cheers.) The land for farming purposes in that district now lets for ten times as much rent per year as it did 100 years ago; and there are men now living who can recollect the time when, in their youth, they farmed certain farms which are now paying seven or eight times as much rent as they were paying at that time. (Hear, hear.) The district in which Liverpool is situated—the West Derby hundred—was formerly assessed to the land-tax at £35,000 a year; its annual value now is £2,124,000 per annum, being an advance of more than 5900 per cent. (Cheers.) Liverpool, 150 years ago, was valued as a smaller place than Wigan; it was a mere fishing village some 200 years ago, and now is the largest seaport probably in the whole world. (Hear, hear.) Now, who is it that has made this wonderful change in Lancashire, and what is it? (Loud cheers.) Is it the landed proprietors who have effected this great change? (Loud cries of "No, no.") Forty-four years ago, Dr. Whittaker, the antiquarian, in his history of Whalley, described the landed proprietors of Lancashire to be much in the same state that they had been for 200 years before. He says, "They are men fond of married life"—(laughter)—meaning a great deal of quiet and domestic comfort:—"they are possessed of little curiosity or ambition; they reside much at home; they pursue domestic amusements, which are more gross than costly; and he states that he 'only met with one literary character, who was possessed of the family estate.'" (Laughter.) Well, then, the landed proprietors, if they were men of this character, have not made Lancashire what it is. (Hear.) There are in that county a number of very old houses, and houses where the old families resided; these families are for the most part extinct; they have been passed in the race by a new class of men; their mansions are now inhabited by thriving manufacturers, and the old families have been almost swept away from the southern division of the county; not that there was any war against them, for they had the same chance as other men; but, "born to broad acres," they did not think it necessary to cultivate their minds; they did not think it necessary to use much exertion. Other men sprung up among them—the inventions of Watt and Arkwright gave these other men great opportunities, which these men neglected to seize upon; and thus they who were once the magnates of that county are now nowhere to be found, and a new class of men have sprung up to lead this dense population. (Loud cheers.) It is the industry, the diligence, the perseverance of that population which have combined to make Lancashire what it is. Its minerals are invaluable; but they were underneath its surface for ages and for thousands of years past; and it was only in these latter days, and in the rank of a new generation, that there were found men ready to bring them to light and to transform them into that wonderful machinery which some men so greatly despise—a machinery which is the agent by which the population of these districts stretch out their hands to every region of the earth, and pour them profusely into the laps of their own population. (Tremendous applause.) And that little, soft, flaky substance which is taken from the pod of the cotton tree, and which, some 70 or 80 years ago, was first imported into Lancashire—that is the material, the fibre upon which they have worked—that is the material which has given to that county its greatness and its grandeur. (Loud cheers.) Lancashire, then, is the child of trade and of industry in their most remarkable and magnificent forms. (Cheers.) That trade was not long ago an infant and struggling into life; it is now great and powerful, and, in no longer period than suffices for the child to become a man, it has sprung up into a giant of enormous proportions; and yet that giant, powerful as it is, lies well-nigh prostrate under the letters, and

shackles which a benighted, an ignorant, and a thoughtless policy has bound around its muscular form. (Loud and continued applause.) The question now for the electors of South Lancashire is, shall these shackles be continued for ever? ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Shall they by their voices at this election rivet anew the fetters which have already been imposed upon their trade, or shall they manfully snap them asunder; shall they allow the great and extraordinary character which that trade has assumed to become less great, less powerful, and less energetic—instead of, by giving a still greater impetus to that trade, affording a more extended blessing to the population of that county and of this vast empire? (Loud cheers.) If these electors knew how much depends upon their votes at this election, would there be a man in that county or any other who would go there and ask them for their suffrages in favour of that most pestilential of all curses—the Corn Law and its attendant monopolies? (Tremendous cheering.) If these electors were conscious (and I believe many of them are) that the distresses of the last five years owe their origin to that law—if they knew that it is that law which has precipitated their honourable merchants from prosperity to ruin, which has hurled many a thriving shopkeeper and manufacturer from a comfortable home to misery, and it may be to expatriation, which has desolated thousands of cottages in this country, and carried sorrow and misery into the hearts of millions of our people—if they knew that, and I believe they do know it—do you think they would give their voice on this occasion in favour of a perpetuation of the most blind and most bigoted folly that ever entered into the mind of the legislature of any country upon earth? (Loud and continued cheering.) And if these electors could see this meeting, if every man of them could stand before you, pass across this platform, and have the eyes of 4000 or 5000 of his countrymen upon him—eyes that were looking into his very heart and conscience to see if he had any care for his country and his country's good—I ask you if there is any one of these men who would have the callousness and the hardness to go to the hustings and poll for the perpetrators of this frightful evil? (Loud cheers.) But I have hopes—better hopes than these—hopes that the result of this struggle will be glorious for this great cause. (Cheers.) Free Trade is gaining everywhere. It may be for a while that you have not successful elections—it may be that you do not find in Parliament a minority now which very soon may become so large as to threaten speedily to form a majority—it may be that there are of the public press who sneer at our efforts, who would, if they durst, wholly deny that we are making any progress, and who would, if they could, extinguish our efforts—it may be that all these things may come before you; but the wave which is in motion is gradually swelling onwards, and, in public no less than in private life, wherever we meet and wherever we mix, we find that the delusion of "protection" is being exploded and dispelled, and that the truth of Free-Trade principles is becoming everywhere paramount and apparent. (Loud and long-continued cheering.) Moreover, there is one subject for congratulation in looking at this contest which is now going on in South Lancashire. The candidate—the Free-Trade candidate—is, perhaps, the most extensive merchant in this country, and almost in the whole world. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) He is a merchant of long standing, of long experience, great wealth, and of high character. His property is large, both in commercial undertakings and as a proprietor of the soil in this country. (Hear, hear.) His business is mainly connected with the United States of America. I like him as a candidate for that. (Cheers.) He has lived for years in America. He has an extensive establishment there; he knows how gloriously, how abundantly, Providence has given to that country the means of supplying and reciprocating the wants of this, and how wonderfully, on the other hand, our ingenuity and our manufacturing capital and skill are calculated, in return, to give abundant blessings to that country. (Loud cheers.) He is one of the very men who stand, as it were, on the shore of this island the representative of the working manufacturing millions; he is their agent to hand, as it were, over the Atlantic all that they make and manufacture to clothe the inhabitants of the vast regions of America. (Cheers.) And he stands there, also, to receive in return that which America on her part offers, and that which we in our turn ask for; and were it not for this law—which he will only go to Parliament to assist in uprooting for ever—were it not for this law, he would not only bring cotton and rice and tobacco and other articles from America, but that which is more valuable than them all—food—substantial food for the people and for the many thousands of his countrymen who are suffering under the deepest privation. (Loud and continued cheering.) I think, then, that, from the response which has met the sentiments I have uttered here to-night, we may conclude that there is within the walls of this theatre a deep and an earnest feeling for the success of this great struggle (cheers); that we, who are more immediately connected with them, may, in the meetings which we hold there, in the speeches which we make, in the letters which we write, communicate to the 18,000 electors of that county, who are now intrusted with this most momentous decision, that the citizens of this metropolis, represented by their thousands in this meeting, pray them, implore them, beseech them, exhort them, by all that is sacred and all that is valuable, to cast aside all their old trammels of prejudice and party feeling; that they will step nobly and manfully forward, and that the flag under which they fight shall be that inscribed "FREE TRADE WITH ALL THE WORLD, AND PERFECT JUSTICE TO THE INDUSTRY OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY."

At the conclusion of the hon. member's brilliant address (which had been repeatedly interrupted by demonstrations of applause), the house rose en masse, and cheered vociferously for several minutes, during which Mr. Bright resumed his seat. After a pause, he again advanced to the table, and said: The meeting will now be addressed by Mr. James Wilson, whom I have the pleasure of introducing to you as one of the very best political economists of the day; by Mr. Turner, a tenant-farmer, residing in the parish of Othory, in the neighbourhood of Taunton (cheers); and by the Rev. John Burnet (loud cheers), a gentleman whom, I believe, is well known to you all. I will now call on Mr. James Wilson to address you.

Mr. JAMES WILSON then came forward amidst loud cheers, and addressed the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, for those who have

taken for many years a deep interest in the progress of this question, there is, perhaps, no sight that could possibly be so gratifying as that which we are in the habit of witnessing at these meetings. At the same time we must always bear in mind that the whole country, and the large bulk of the electors of this kingdom, and unfortunately, perhaps, a larger portion of its legislators, have not so conclusively made up their minds on this subject as we have; and we must recollect that they have still lingering in their minds with reference to this subject a great number of delusive fallacies which it is our duty to endeavour by every reasonable means to remove as far as we can. One of those fallacies which, perhaps, more than any other at this particular moment, is injuring the progress of the Free-Trade cause is a charge of inconsistency in the statements which we are in the habit of making. It is an accusation which is reiterated in the Legislature and throughout the country, and is found in the mouth of every person who supports the opposite opinion; and which charge I think, without some explanation has, perhaps, sometimes a degree of apparent reasonableness. Upon that account it is that we should take more pains to remove that fallacy. I am not in the habit of looking upon these meetings as opportunities for amusement, but rather for instruction, if we can possibly derive it. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, if I should aim only to elucidate one or two points which to me may appear to be making against the progress of our question in the social circle at the present moment, I trust you will excuse that effort rather to confine my remarks to what may afford instruction, than to that which might minister to excitement or amusement. The particular inconsistency to which I allude as having been charged against us is, that we are in the habit, when we address large multitudes of the manufacturing or mercantile classes, of representing the effects of the Corn Laws as disastrous to trade in consequence of the high prices for the first necessary of life which they inflict on the consumer; and that when we address, on the other hand, the agricultural and farming population, it is said we are in the habit of telling them that Free Trade will not injure their interests in actual price, and perhaps much less in relative price. Now, these are the statements which I am willing to admit on the face of them do bear some appearance of inconsistency; and yet I believe there is nothing more capable of being proved than that both are correct. It should always be borne in mind that "dearness" and "cheapness" may be produced from two distinct causes. Dearness may be produced, on the one hand, by scarcity, and, on the other, by a large consumptive ability on the part of the community. If dearness be caused by scarcity, then prices keep above the relative means of the community of purchasing the article. If, on the other hand, dearness be only the effect of a large demand for a commodity, it argues, in the first place, great consumptive ability and the wealthy condition of the consumer, in order to have brought about that dearness. Cheapness, on the other hand, may be produced from two causes. It may be the result of plenty, and it is then a blessing to every one; but, on the other hand, it may be produced, as we have seen during the last two or three years, from inability on the part of the consumer to purchase the first necessary of life. Now, what I contend is, that the principles of restriction and monopoly have a tendency to create the dearness, which is objectionable, because it arises from scarcity; and that Free Trade, on the other hand, if followed out, would ultimately, perhaps, produce dearness, but only in consequence of increased wealth and greater means of consumption; that restriction has also a tendency to produce cheapness, but not that which is derived from plenty, but from diminishing the means and ability on the part of the consumer. Therefore, I say, that the very tendency of our Corn Laws, and the very object and aim of our restrictive commercial legislation, generally, are to limit quantity. If they restrict quantity, the first operation may be, I admit, to raise prices; but the next tendency of limited quantity is, to reduce trade: this is followed by decreased employment; the next tendency is, restricted means of consumption; and the next and last effect is, an impossibility among the people to consume, and, consequently, a decreased price. (Loud cheers.) Upon this ground, therefore, I contend that the Corn Laws, or any commercial restriction, never ultimately did benefit to any party for whose particular advantage it was intended. In the first place, therefore, I say this system produces a high price, which is delusive because it cannot be maintained; it tempts people into bargains which cannot be fulfilled; contracts are entered into which end in nothing but disappointment; the means of the community are rapped to the foundation by destroying the ability and interest of the consumer. How clearly and palpably do we see this take place with regard to the very restriction of which we are now speaking—the Corn Law. It has a tendency to limit the quantity of food, and consequently cause high prices; but the next tendency is to destroy trade. The farmer in the meantime has made his contract for rent, calculating upon the high price which the Legislature has promised him; but in the progress of events the trade of the country is destroyed; the means of the consumer are limited; and at last the prices fall, to the disappointment of the farmer, and to the ruin of all that are around him. (Cheers.) On the other hand I contend, that had we a free trade in corn—and every other article—but had we a free trade in corn only, the first tendency would be to increase the quantity, and that would perhaps diminish the price. But with an increased quantity you would have an increased trade; and with an increased trade a greater amount of employment for your ships, more demand for your sailors and millers at home, an increase in internal communication, in the distribution of that additional food in all the different parts of the country; and then increased employment caused by producing those goods which you must necessarily have to give in exchange for the corn or the sugar which you may import from other places. Therefore I contend that, with Free Trade, although the first tendency may be to reduce prices, yet that the ultimate effect is to make better prices than can possibly be sustained under a system of restriction. Perhaps there is no greater error into which we are all apt to fall than that of attributing too much importance to mere prices. We are constantly told, when we talk about reduction of duty, that it will be an injury. People say, "It will only make a farthing or a penny a pound difference; and what is that in the consumption of an individual?" Now, if it made no difference at all, and sugar re-

maintained at the same price as it is, but if at the same time you can show me that there will be a great additional quantity of sugar in the country, it cannot but be a benefit to the whole community. In short, if you can import a larger quantity of sugar, and pay the same price for that increased amount which you did for the smaller quantity, nothing, to my mind, is so strong an evidence of the advantage which that additional import of sugar will afford to the community; because it proves that, with the increased trade which has been created by this import of sugar, you have actually augmented the wealth of the community so much that they can afford to pay for the large quantity the same rate which they paid for the smaller. (Cheers.) We have seen some of these principles illustrated during the last twelve months in a rather a remarkable way. We began last year with extraordinarily low prices in every thing. Agricultural produce of all descriptions was very cheap; manufactured goods of every kind were extremely low; and raw materials of every sort were almost cheaper than were ever known. In consequence of this extreme cheapness, according to our principles—which for many years now have acted almost as true as a barometer does in indicating the state of the weather—in consequence of that cheapness we had a revival of trade, which had a great influence on prices. During the last year you have had a very considerable increased import of many of the first and most important raw materials, and one which bears on a question which is before the Legislature at this moment, and is a most triumphant evidence of the truth of our principles. The Duke of Richmond complains very severely that Sir Robert Peel should propose to reduce the duty on wool (laughter): that nobleman cannot be persuaded but that the introduction of foreign wool, more freely than it has hitherto been, must tend to diminish the price of the fleeces which are cut from the backs of his flocks in the north of Scotland. (Hear.) Now, if the Duke of Richmond had taken any trouble whatever (and he certainly has not pretended to do so) to look into the statistics of the trade of this country, he would have found that it was just in proportion as the price of wool was high that we imported largely from abroad, and that, in those very years when our imports were the smallest, the price of home-grown wool was lowest. In 1819, wool was subject to a duty of 6d. per lb., and then our import of foreign wool was only about 19,000,000 lbs. Mr. Huskisson induced the Government and the Legislature of that day to reduce the duty to 1d. per lb.; the consequence was, that in a few years the import of wool increased from 19,000,000 lbs., until, in the year 1836, it amounted to 64,000,000 lbs. (Hear.) During that period the price of home-grown wool, instead of falling in consequence of this increased import, actually rose from 13d. to 19d. per lb. Since 1836 (and this is very remarkable), during the bad years of trade the imports of foreign wool fell from 64,000,000 lbs. to 40,000,000 lbs. in 1842; and during that period the same wool fell, in the absence of 20,000,000 lbs. foreign competition, from 18d. to 10d. per lb. Now, during the last year, we have had a little change. I hold in my hand a return of the comparative trade of the three first months of last year, with that of the corresponding period of the present year. I find the wool we imported last year in the first three months, 4,500,000 lbs.; but in the first three months of this year, 9,500,000 lbs.; and at the present moment the English grower, in the presence of the increased quantity of 5,000,000 lbs. during the present spring, receives 25 per cent. more in price than he did last year. (Cheers.) So true are these principles, that they even appear, the more we examine the condition of this and every country, to operate almost as a *certain index* from month to month. But I will refer the noble duke, and all those who are against the reduction which the present Ministry have proposed on wool, to a fact which will be a solution of this question. We last year imported 4,500,000 lbs. of wool, and the price of that article was then about 10d.: we have imported 9,500,000 lbs. this year, and the price is 13d. (Hear, hear.) But I turn to another feature in the same account: I look to the export of our woollen manufacture, because, after all, there comes the question. We contend that you cannot buy abroad without selling. If you increase your purchases you must of necessity increase your sales. One thing is quite obvious, that you do not get anything from abroad for nothing, and if you can buy you may be quite sure that you must sell. (Loud cheers.) I find that in the first three months of last year, when we were importing very little wool, that that article fell very low in price, and that we exported of woollen manufactures only to the amount of £1,300,000; but this year, when we have imported 9,500,000 lbs. at a much higher price, it turns out that this £1,300,000 exports of woollen manufacture last year are now increased to £1,700,000. (Hear, hear.) This, therefore, is the explanation. Your increased imports were the cause of your enlarged exports, with a corresponding additional price (Hear, hear, hear.) I should like to ask the Duke of Richmond, and those who agree with him in opinion upon this subject, to what condition they would bring the trade of this country if they were to carry out their own principles of restriction? If they say, "We will confine the trade of this land to that which is produced at home," the consequence would be that every day we should have a smaller and smaller stock of commodities to exchange; and if so, it must follow that we must have a smaller and smaller quantity of business, a less amount of employment, and consequently a proportionate increase of poverty in the country. (Hear.) On the other hand, if you will act upon your own principles, the longer and the further you work them out the more perfect they become. The more you import the greater your amount of exports; there is no end to it. The more you add to the wealth and comforts of the human race all over the world, the better are they able and the greater is their willingness to add to your riches and comforts. (Cheers.) There is a system which, if acted upon, becomes more and more difficult at every stage; while ours is a principle which at every step becomes more and more capable of benefiting the human family. (Renewed cheers.) There appears to be a most extraordinary perverseness in the principles upon which all governments are and ever have been carried on with regard to commerce, and a perverseness which it is most difficult to account for. It is not that the principles for which we have been contending are new; for every great statesman, philosopher, merchant—nay, I will even say landowner—all men of any vastness of mind, for centuries past have repeated in their writings and speeches the very words that are now pronounced from these boards, meeting after meeting. (Hear.) And proofs of this fact on every hand. I yes-

terday accidentally met with a speech delivered in the House of Lords eighty years ago by Lord Chatham, who employs language which might have been appropriately used upon this stage. In reference to this very subject—extent of our trade—he says:—"I do not despair of my country; and I have no objection to state what, in my opinion, would restore the kingdom to its once flourishing condition. Give freedom to commerce, and lighten the pressure of taxation, and you will have no complaining in your streets. As commerce is always a change of equivalents, a nation that will not buy cannot sell; and every restriction upon import is an obstacle to export. On the other hand, the more we admit the productions of foreign countries, the more extensive becomes their demand for our commodities. Let the absurd system of our Corn Laws be gradually and cautiously abolished, and allow the cheap agricultural produce of the north of Europe, and of the continents of America and Africa, to be freely introduced, and we shall obtain an unlimited vent for our manufactures. A rigid and efficient system of retrenchment, allowing us to take off the taxes upon salt, upon soap, upon leather, upon iron, and a few other articles of subsistence, our advantages from position, from coal mines, and from the skill and energy of our people, are so considerable, that, were it not for unwise laws and overstrained taxation, Britain, for ages to come, might continue to be the great workshop of the world." (The reading of this extract was frequently interrupted, and followed by loud cheers.) So that these principles have been reiterated by almost every man whose name is celebrated in history as a statesman or philosopher; and yet, down to this very day, we find the greatest perverseness manifested by almost all governments upon the face of the earth. What greater evidence can we have of the absurdity of their conduct than this fact, that the principle upon which almost every government and legislature acts is—that *the thing of which the country has the greatest deficiency shall be most rigidly excluded* (hear, hear), and that *that of which they have the greatest abundance is allowed to be imported as freely as you please*. (Hear, hear, hear.) We have a most extraordinary example of this palpably absurd mode of acting in the case of France. Perhaps it will be as good an instance of the folly of this principle upon which governments act as we can have; for we can always judge of anything with more calmness, coolness, and less prejudice when seen in others than we can when we have to look to ourselves. About three or four years ago a friend of mine was sent by our late Government to France to make a commercial treaty with that country. They agreed to admit our hardware, cutlery, and linen goods upon more favourable terms; but the chief thing which the French stipulated for in return was this, that they should be allowed to have our *flax machinery*. That admission was deemed to be a very great boon to France. They did not care about the *cotton machinery*, because they had had that for a considerable period, and could make it as well as ourselves; but the flax machinery, a description of business in which we were making very great progress, they were very anxious to have. The stipulation was, however, made; the manufacturers in this country having been consulted, were liberal enough to say that they had no objection to the exportation of flax machinery. (Hear.) Last year, our Government, irrespective of any treaty, liberated the trade of machinery, as all other trades ought to be set free. They disabused our mercantile code, or tariff, of that which had always been a very great disgrace to it—the prohibition against the exportation of machinery. Notwithstanding the importation of flax machinery into France was the very thing that the French stipulated for in the treaty three years ago, what was the first step taken by them upon our liberating all machinery? Why, in this very session, at the present moment, they are legislating to place a duty upon our machinery; and what is the most singular and perverse part of their conduct in, that upon cotton machinery, which they said they did not care at all about, they are about to impose a duty of 30 francs per hundred kilograms; but upon flax machinery, which they were so particularly desirous of having, they are now going to place a duty of 50 francs per hundred kilograms. (Hear, hear.) Now, how do they justify such unreasonable conduct? If you talk to a Frenchman upon the subject, you will find his explanation to be this: "England has grown great by machinery; machinery must, therefore, be a very good thing for a country to possess; because it is so beneficial we will place a high duty on foreign machinery in order to encourage our own mechanists to become machine-makers." However extravagantly perverse this principle appears on the part of the French, and however ridiculous it may seem in them to have made a treaty three years ago for the introduction of that machinery which they are now trying to prohibit, yet the same perverseness and absurdity is observable in every one of the restrictions which we have placed upon commerce. (Hear, hear, hear.) Look through our Custom-house list, and select therefrom the articles we are most in want of, and upon them you will find the greatest restrictions placed; then turn to those things which we do not require as necessities, and there you will find no restrictions at all. (Hear, hear, hear.) Agricultural produce, of which we are notoriously most deficient, and of which we are obliged periodically to import large quantities at a very great national sacrifice, even of our trade, morals, and everything else—this very agricultural produce is excluded with the greatest care; and nothing but a little safety-valve in a *sliding-scale* is allowed to remain open, lest the steam-boiler should become too hot and explode. (Cheers.) In seasons of our greatest emergency this agricultural produce is allowed to come into this country. Upon articles of which you have an abundance there is no restriction whatever placed. This very perverseness on the part of foreign governments, respecting which our own Ministers talk, and write diplomatic despatches, is the very same perverseness which is practised upon our own people. (Loud cheers.) The same perverseness which leads to the taxation of articles grown in abundance abroad, and greatly wanted at home, has been applied also to articles produced in our own colonies. If you find an article raised in our colonies which is not produced in sufficient abundance at home for the consumers, that is the very article upon which a high duty will be placed in order to create increased prices. (Hear.) There is sugar, for example, a chief article which our colonies have not for several years produced in sufficient quantities for consumption; and yet that is the very article upon which our Government has placed the greatest prohibition and

imposed the highest duty. But we have before us at this moment what I consider a very great triumph in Free-Trade principles. The present Ministry, after having turned out the late Whig Government upon the sugar question, have been obliged by the necessities of the country to act upon the principles of Free Trade in this matter; and the progress of public opinion upon the subject has at length compelled them to bring forward a measure relative to sugar. (Hear, hear.) It is not my intention to depreciate the value of this proposed alteration, because I am rather disposed to appreciate it a little more highly than I believe would be convenient for the Minister to admit, or for the West India planters to believe. I regard this measure as the same, or even better; inasmuch as 34s. is lower than 36s.—the very identical proposition upon which Lord Sandon and Sir Robert Peel turned out Lord John Russell and his fellow-ministers two years ago. It is quite true that there is a pretended difference in the two measures—that there is an attempt to support a distinction between free-labour sugar and that which is slave-grown (hear, hear); but a very little inquiry into the measure will show that this pretended difference does not in reality exist. Had they proposed a plan the same as Mr. Hawes proposed last year in the House of Commons, without any reference either to free-labour or slave-grown sugar, that, in fact, would have been precisely the same; and, as far as I am concerned, I am exceedingly glad it should be found to be so; because, had it been otherwise, there would have been a greater amount of restriction reserved. However, it is perhaps worth while to examine a little into the operation of this pretended difference. We are told that it would be inconsistent with our professions of morality, and with what we have done for the purpose of extinguishing slavery in our own colonies, to encourage the introduction of sugar produced by slavery in other countries. I believe that those who advocate Free Trade are also, and always have been, the greatest advocates for personal liberty (loud cheers); therefore, in any remarks that I may make on that subject, let it never be supposed for one moment that I am in favour of maintaining slavery in any part of the world. It is only that we believe this is not a straightforward or likely means of abolishing slavery; that it is only holding us up as a nation to the contempt of the other countries of the world, when we are pretending to do that which every man must know can have no such effect—doing, in a roundabout and indirect way, that which we dare not do in a straightforward manner. (Cheers.) We are told that we may bring as much free-labour sugar into this market as we like. Upon a very close examination of the quantity of free-labour sugar which is available for our market, I find that the whole quantity produced in Java, Sumatra, and Manila is about 93,000 tons annually. I am quite satisfied that we cannot, at the proposed duties, consume more than 40,000 tons out of 93,000; and consequently upwards of 50,000 tons of that sugar must still be disposable in the markets of the world, and sold at the same price as other sugar upon the Continent and elsewhere. Thus you perceive that the sugar that we bring here will be precisely the same price as that for which the slave-grown sugar will sell on the Continent; and every cwt. of sugar that we import, that would have otherwise gone to Holland, Germany, or the Mediterranean, must be supplied by the slave-grown sugar which we refuse from South America. Therefore what we say in fact is simply this: we take the sugar that was destined for Holland and Germany; that will create a vacuum there, to be filled up by the slave-grown sugar which we will not allow to come directly to England: we send it in *our own ships*, purchased with our own capital, through the medium of *our own merchants*, paid for by *our own goods* in the *Brazils—in every respect our own, only that we will not let it go to our own consumer*. (Cheers.) We send that sugar to supply the place of the free-grown article which they will allow us to import here. Are we not then as much identified with the transaction, and are we not as much the actual people who are carrying on the transaction, as if we brought it into our own warehouses in London? (Hear, hear.) Yes, and we do actually bring it into London; and we refine it in the bonded warehouses on the side of this river. We are becoming the laughing-stock of the Continent of Europe. (Hear, hear.) I spoke recently to a French gentleman, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and it was with a smile of incredulity that he listened to the proposition. Therefore, as far as the slavery question goes, it is a mere pretence—it is a deception of the grossest description. Then, as far as regards the West India planter, although I am not a monopolist, I do not wish to deceive the West India planter. The Government of this country came forward and told him, "We will give you a limited competition,"—for that is the reason assigned; they pretend that by prohibiting the trade for slave-grown sugar, that thereby the competition with the West India planter will be limited; but in the meantime the operation of the law is not limited: we will import as much as if no such restriction had existed. What is the essential difference between the two propositions of the late and the present Government? Why, there is the essential difference in *our trade*, but none as to the *consumer*. The average exports per annum to Java, Sumatra, and Manila have been £350,000; but during the same years your average exports to Brazil, Cuba, and other places from which you are now debarred from bringing your sugar, have been three millions and a half, or just ten times the amount of that which you export to free-labour states. Therefore you are told that you are to confine yourselves to dealing with these small markets in the distant parts of the globe which can take no portion of your manufactured goods worth speaking of, and be debarred from dealing with those larger and nearer markets which are the best customers you have. There is no difference, whatever, I contend, in the two measures; there is no difference comparatively in the West India competition; but the distinction really is, that you are to sacrifice your largest and best foreign markets for mere whim and caprice, for a difference without distinction, in order that the Government shall appear to retain a consistency, when it was obvious that nothing but faction, or something worse, induced them to oppose that measure. I fear that I am detaining you too long. (Cries of "No, no.") Go on, go on, and cheers.) But, great as we may be disposed to think this boon with regard to the sugar question, let us not forget that there is still a very large amount of protection retained by the West India Islands.

We have been in the habit of viewing this question in such exaggerated forms of protection that we look on this—which is still a very enormous amount of protection—as comparatively trifling. (Hear, hear, hear.) Let it be remembered that the consumption of colonial sugar in this country is four million cwt. per annum, and that the Government propose to retain a protection of 10s. per cwt., equivalent to £2,000,000 a year, which you will have still to pay to the West India planter for the privilege of retaining your colonies. You have paid twenty millions for the emancipation of your slaves; you pay two millions a year now, even under this modified form, which is equivalent to the interest on a debt of seventy millions at 3 per cent. If you had paid the planter a hundred millions instead of twenty millions, by so doing you would have been considerably in pocket before now. Much as we think of that £20,000,000, I am sure that the effect of this protection and indirect charge upon the consumer at home has done more injury than the £20,000,000 which you gratuitously gave him. (Hear, hear.) If I am not detaining you too long, there is one subject upon which I would wish to offer a few remarks. (Hear, hear.) We are not met this evening for the purpose of discussing the currency question. I should be sorry to introduce any subject which had not a direct reference to the question for which we are assembled. But though we have not met here for the purpose of discussing the currency question, as a currency question, yet it is, perhaps, particularly appropriate that we should view the point as connected with Free Trade and the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear.) A great deal has been said, and very justly, during the last week of the very important measure which the Prime Minister is about to introduce for the purpose of regulating the currency. I am not about to enter into the question as to whether he is correct or not in his view, or whether he is right in the principle on which he has framed that measure; but I would have the public of this country, and especially the commercial portion of it, not look on that or any other currency measure which can be proposed, although it may be the most perfect that human or superhuman ingenuity could devise, as being a cure for the disastrous evils and fluctuations which have taken place in the commerce of this country for the last few years. (Hear, hear, hear.) I am quite willing to admit that a great deal upon the surface of our social state appears to be connected with the operation of the currency; but it is very easy to show that what appears to be so connected with that subject is rather a symptom of the public malady than the disease itself. The principle on which the Bank of England have professed to regulate their currency for the last ten years has been this:—they have professed, though they have never acted up to that profession, to control the currency in proportion as their bullion showed a tendency to go out of the country, and to expand it in proportion as it came in. In any remarks that I make I will follow the very laudable example set by Sir Robert Peel, of avoiding altogether technical language, and not making use of any phrases but those that may be readily understood. By this plan the Bank merely mean, that when there is a disposition in the bullion to flow out of the country—which can only arise when the precious metals are more valuable on the Continent than here, that is, when you are obliged to import something from the Continent of a greater amount than you can send goods for in exchange—if you contract the currency under those circumstances, it will make money so scarce as to cause your goods and merchandise—your sugar in the docks, your calicoes in the warehouses—by competition, to become so cheap that the people abroad shall take them, in consequence of their cheapness, in preference to your gold. I am not blaming the principle—I am not saying whether it is necessary or not; I only wish you to understand exactly the operation of this principle as regards commerce. The Bank of England have not properly acted upon this principle: for whenever there was a disposition on the part of bullion to go out of the country, it has always been attended by a commercial crisis, as it must always be in such circumstances; and the consequence has been that they have neglected that rule, and have allowed the gold to go out of the country without contracting the currency; and then after it was all gone, or nearly so, they have contracted it with great violence, and brought down the price of commodities very much, in order to bring the bullion back. What the Government propose is this: as the Bank has not shown power enough to act upon its own principle in this case, they will make an independent body, that shall have no other inducement connected with banking or commerce, which shall by any possibility prevent it carrying out that principle to the most rigid extent; so that whenever the exchange turns against us, if they lose a million of bullion, for example, their rule is immediately to contract the currency, make money scarce, and reduce the price of goods. This is a point to which I wish particularly to call your attention. We never have had, and I believe it is almost an impossibility that we ever shall have, any very important disturbance of the currency for any continuous time which has not arisen from bad harvests. (Hear, hear.) I will give you my reason for that opinion: you have no other article that is of such vast importance and primary necessity as bread, for which you are bound and called upon to make any sacrifice in order to obtain it. If the exchanges were to turn against this country because we were importing too much silk or wool, or even any luxury, such as wine, we could very easily contract our consumption of that particular article, and the evil would very soon become rectified. But if you have bad harvests, bread being the very last thing you can do without, it becomes no question of choice of contracting your demand for bread: you must get that to the required extent, at any sacrifice, in exchange for any other commodities, whatever they may be, of which you are possessed. Therefore, I contend that, if there was a disposition on the part of the exchange to turn against us from any other reason than that of bad harvests, it would very soon correct itself. In that I am supported by all experience. We have had several periods of commercial derangement; but, though they arose from foreign loans or any other cause, all those derangements have, comparatively, quickly arranged themselves. But in 1838 you had a deficient harvest, succeeded by another in 1839; we began the latter year with £9,000,000 of bullion in the coffers of the Bank. During the whole of that period you were obliged to import corn; you had no choice, it was an act of necessity. There was nothing which you had that you were not compelled to part with in order to obtain corn; and before the end of that year you were positively obliged to go to France and

borrow £2,500,000 of bullion. Now, whatever legislative act you may have on the subject, and by whatever principle you may regulate the currency, you cannot avoid that necessity of importing corn when you have these deficient harvests; and there is no currency measure that can be devised which will relieve you from that necessity. The Bank may regulate its issue upon any principle it pleases, but it will not ensure good harvests; you must either subject yourself to a reduction in the price of the commodities which you may take, or else you must send your bullion. The measure which Sir Robert Peel proposes is this: that instantly there is a turn of exchange, the currency shall be so immediately contracted as to suspend the efflux of bullion, and goods be made to go out instead; but the effect of this will be, that the owners of these commodities will be more instantly sacrificed to the necessity of importing corn than they were under the old system. Understand me: I do not complain of the measure of Sir Robert Peel; I do not say this is not a better and more mechanical way of working out the same principle which the Bank have very indifferently worked upon before; all that I mean to contend is, that this is not going to the root of the evil which they pretend to cure. I just want to call the attention of the bankers and merchants of Liverpool at this particular moment, and also the merchants in London, the manufacturers and shopkeepers, and traders of every class, even the farmers and landlords themselves, and, above all, the labouring population, to what will be the immediate consequence of the operation of this law stringently carried into effect in the event of a deficient harvest. Supposing you have a failure in the crop as you had in 1838, and no doubt as we shall soon have again under these laws which render such calamities inevitable; supposing that you were obliged to import a great quantity of foreign corn, so that the exchange turned against this country, and you had a balance to pay the Continent, the Bank of England would be called on to pay a million of bullion: by this new rule they would instantly contract the currency—that is, they would cease to discount the bills of others, and sell their securities. By such machinery they must do this. The consequence would be that more would be taken for everything you could get—you would have everybody selling and nobody buying—there would be immediately a rapid and sudden depreciation in the value of property, and all other commodities. On this sudden depreciation in the value of raw material what is the merchant in Liverpool to do, who has got a cargo of cotton coming from America to this country, upon which he has accepted bills, perhaps to the full amount? What are the merchants connected with the East Indies to do, who have got their cargoes coming from Bombay, who have got their letters, invoices and bills of lading coming over land, for which they have accepted bills in London, and they find when those cargoes come that their value is depreciated twenty-five per cent? What is the manufacturer to do, who has got his stock of cotton or wool, when he discovers that the value of his commodity is depreciated fifteen or twenty per cent? The mechanics and persons in all inferior employments would be thrown out of employment. The farmers themselves would be sufferers by the reduction in the price of their wool; and after a very short time, passing through the channels of trade, there would be a diminished consumption of farm produce, and a consequent state of agricultural distress. (Hear, hear.) As I said before, I do not mean to contend that these consequences are not inevitable, but they are precisely what has occurred during the last five years. It is a contraction of your currency in order forcibly to reduce commodities below their natural prices, to protect the currency system of the country which has produced such mischief during the last five years. Now, although I do admit that you cannot, under the present system, prevent their contracting the currency and depreciating the value of property, and while I am not disposed here now to criticise Sir Robert Peel's Act, or the machinery by which he intends to carry it into operation, I nevertheless do say this, that for a Prime Minister of this country to get up and propound a measure which he says he hopes will be a cure for our fluctuations in commerce, secure the interests of trade and manufactures, and benefit the working population—a measure which will prevent sudden depreciation—how a Minister can say that he expects, with a mechanism of that kind, to retain the sliding scale and the Corn Laws which are at the bottom of all, I cannot comprehend. (Cheers.) The cause of all your derangements, and that which renders all this mechanism necessary, is, that you have not a regular and uniform trade in corn as you have in almost every other article. If you had, and your merchants could as safely trade in corn as they can in cotton, knowing that it would as uniformly come into consumption as any other commodity, you would then have no more derangements or crises in business. (Cheers.) The largest stock of corn we ever had in this country has never exceeded a few weeks' consumption. (Hear, hear, hear.) There is no other article with which you can safely carry on business unless you have nine, ten, or twelve months' consumption. Therefore this very article which, above all others, has the most important influence upon the currency, is the one in which you expose yourselves to all the diversities of season, and all the chance of accident which can possibly betray you. (Cheers.) I have no doubt whatever that after this bill comes into operation, some two or three years hence, when we have a bad harvest, the very first week there will be five or six houses in Liverpool and London who will lose far more in that short space of time by the contraction of the currency, and its effect upon the price of their commodities, than that large sum which the Anti-Corn-Law League are collecting this year for the purpose of abolishing this nuisance. (Hear, hear, hear.) If these merchants and traders knew their interest well they would advocate Free Trade; ay, and the landlords too: for why has the Duke of Richmond lost £2000 this year by the salmon fisheries? Only because the people have not the ability to consume his salmon. That nobleman tells us that the tariff has been the cause of his loss; but there has only been about £2000's worth of salmon brought into the country in the course of the year. (Hear, hear.) The collapsed condition of the country caused this, because the very things that were raised the people had not the ability to buy. That is the reason why the Duke of Richmond lost by his salmon. (Hear, hear.) His grace's tenant, no doubt, being a shrewd, clever fellow, found the trade going against him, and was very glad of

an excuse for giving up his lease. Why is it we have heard of ten, twenty, and twenty-five per cent. of the rents being given back during the last year by the landlords? Simply from the same cause to which I have referred. Therefore I contend that all interests are involved in this matter. I cannot look upon this question of Free Trade as being either a merchant's, manufacturer's, or landlord's question; it is a matter which vitally concerns the whole of us. (Loud cheers.) We are bound together by an indissoluble tie of common interest. Providence never did, or could, mean that it should be the interest of any one portion of the human race to make laws and institutions which should have for their object, or which should successfully carry out principles which war against the interests of any portion of the human race. (Renewed cheering.) I therefore conclude, ladies and gentlemen, that this is not a party question, but one which involves the interests of the whole community. All I can say is, that, looking at this currency question as it is now passing before our eyes, if the bankers and merchants would only look at it and see the evils to which they are exposed now by the Corn Law, which causes these crises and fluctuations, I think that they would look on our friends here with more favour, and they would find that it would be a most profitable thing, merely looking at it in a money light, to assist the Anti-Corn-Law League more perfectly to liberate commerce and industry here and elsewhere. (Mr. Wilson, at the conclusion of the above able address, was vehemently cheered.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said:—I beg leave, ladies and gentlemen, to introduce the tenant-farmer of whom I spoke some time back. Mr. Turner is a tenant-farmer, holding from 300 to 400 acres of land, and yet at a county meeting for Somersetshire he attended, and either proposed or seconded a resolution for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, which was carried triumphantly. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. TURNER then came forward amidst great applause; silence having been restored, he proceeded to address the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I think an apology is due from me for venturing to address so magnificent an audience as I now see before me. I have no doubt that I may safely calculate on your kind indulgence and forbearance when I assure you that I feel it quite out of my power adequately to address my fellow-creatures this evening. With the exception of briefly proposing a vote of thanks to the League at the Somerset county meeting, I never attempted to address any assembly before. I appear before you to-night as a *bona fide* tenant-farmer (cheers)—as one, every farthing of whose property is invested in the cultivation of the soil. It would be an act of base ingratitude on my part, to the class to which I belong, if I thought that in thus advocating the principles of Free Trade I should in any measure be injuring them in word or deed. (Hear, hear.) I appear here under peculiar circumstances, having been preceded on former occasions here by several gentlemen of my order who are better able to express their opinions to you, and who have done so very much to their credit; I present myself before you to-night in the hope that I may induce others of my class to come before you in like manner (cheers), and also that my example, in connexion with that of the agriculturists who have preceded me, may excite the tenant-farmers from every county in this empire to present themselves before such audiences as this, and denounce the system under which we are suffering. (Renewed cheers.) If many of your best speakers upon these boards have expressed themselves unable to find any thing novel with which to amuse or instruct you in reference to the Corn Laws, how much more must that difficulty be felt by myself. I believe that the first and grand evil produced by the Corn Laws to my class is the prevention of improvement which they cause. (Hear, hear.) They have been the means of cramping and confining the skill and knowledge which the tenant-farmers possess, and which they have been incapable of fully exercising for want of a lengthened tenure. (Cries of "Hear.") You are, of course, all aware why the tenant-farmers are refused lengthened tenures; it is that they may be used by their landlords for other purposes. (Cheers.) Their being compelled to occupy the land as tenants-at-will has led the farmers to look merely at prices, instead of looking carefully at the amount of produce which the land is capable of yielding. (Hear.) To illustrate my meaning, we will suppose that in a particular parish the land may yield an average of about twenty bushels of wheat per acre, and that the farmers may calculate on selling it at 8s. a bushel (the bushel is the measure by which we sell in our county). If it should so happen that prices should recede 2s. a bushel, they would calculate their loss at 40s. per acre by such fall in the market. Now, I maintain that such a calculation is no criterion of the gain or loss of the farmer, although, under his present circumstances, it may be true that he will not be remunerated for his outlay by the 6s. instead of 8s.; for, supposing that, by increased skill and additional outlay on the land, he realizes eight bushels more per acre than he previously did, and then sells his produce at 6s. per bushel, it is obvious he would be a gainer of 8s. per acre, over and above the additional outlay, even at this reduction in price of 2s. per bushel. (Cries of "Hear.") This fact appears to me to be so clear and convincing that I am satisfied we do not know at what reduction of price we may be able profitably to sell our corn. (Cheers.) Then, again, you are all perfectly aware that the Corn Laws have had a tendency to create great fluctuations in prices; so that in some instances, although a farmer may be disposed to venture on a lease, and may have an opportunity presented to him of taking a farm for seven years—and I, myself, am one of those who occupy a farm on lease for that period—he is afraid to do so, because of the insecurity of prices. (Hear.) I can assure you that the practice pursued with reference to us farmers is to calculate the rents upon high prices. This is owing to the competition for farms which prevails among us, and which enables the landlord to get high prices; and therefore we should not be secure in taking our farms upon that description of tenure under the present system. Equally is the landlord deterred from granting lengthened tenures at the present moment, lest he should lose the power he now possesses over the farmer, as tenant-at-will, for other purposes. (Loud cheers.) The gentleman who preceded me has gone so clearly into the statistics of the matter with reference to the class to which I belong, and has so convincingly proved that the Corn Laws do restrict trade, and in every instance have done so, that I cannot but believe that there is such a close and intimate a connec-

tion between commerce and manufactures, and our interests as farmers, that the one cannot thrive unless the other prospers, or be depressed without all feeling the injury. (Loud cheers.) In every instance fluctuation of prices has likewise prevented the fair adjustment of rent. (Cries of "Hear, hear.") Under any circumstances whatever, however disposed the landlord may be to place the tenant on a secure footing—however inclined he may be to act upon that great principle, "Live and let live"—I maintain that fluctuations of price prevent that fair adjustment which would otherwise take place. (Hear, hear, hear.) Supposing the land-agent calculates upon an average price of wheat for a number of years, and fixes upon that calculation a stated rent, such as he considers the tenant ought to pay, I contend that in nine cases out of ten the tenant would not receive that average price; especially if he is a needy man, or an individual who commences, as most young men do, with a capital just sufficient to stock a farm, and to provide for a few contingencies which may occur. (Hear.) He will then be compelled, in order to make his payments, to sell his corn as soon as it is possible for him to thrash it out, and sell it, probably, at that period of the year extending from Michaelmas to Christmas, three months in which prices are lower than in the other nine which are farther removed from the period of harvest, when prices rise to a greater height. (Hear, hear.) Selling it, therefore, at such a time, he cannot obtain the average price received by others who can hold over their stock. For my part, ladies and gentlemen, I am quite at a loss to know who are benefited by these laws. (Hear, hear.) It has been assumed by many that the farmers who have the power of retaining their corn year after year in their possession are benefited by this system; and while I am happy to inform you that there are many instances in our neighbourhood of farmers who have that power, and are considered by some fortunate in being able to exercise it, I have been particularly anxious to ascertain what were the prices they have ultimately realized; and you will probably be surprised when I tell you that they have assured me that, in comparison with their neighbours who have sold annually, they have not made as good prices upon a period of seven years as if they also had sold annually. (Hear, hear.) This statement may surprise some persons in this meeting, but I speak upon the authority of men who would, if called upon, verify what I say; and I have not, therefore, spoken without due caution. (Hear, hear.) Neither do I think the landlords have been greatly benefited by this law, except so far as they have used it for political purposes; pecuniarily, I believe, they have not been gainers. But even if they do maintain this Corn Law, as they suppose, for pecuniary purposes, I think they do it at the expense of their good name. (Hear.) All classes of the community are certainly desirous of maintaining credit among their fellow-creatures; and although they may have amassed vast sums of money, and attained to great political power, I think their position in this country is not an enviable one, and I am confident they will one day look upon their past support of a law for such bad purposes with deep shame. (Loud cheers.) I hardly know what position to take up with reference to the Corn Laws which will be at all interesting to you; nevertheless I cannot but reiterate what has been so frequently stated here, that they have produced most calamitous results amongst us. You have been informed that we as a class are in very depressed circumstances; that the major part of the farmers who are occupying their land at a rack-rent are, and have been for the last three years more especially, paying their rent out of their capital. (Hear, hear.) I speak now from sad experience: I know this statement to be a fact; not only so, but in a lapse of time those who have not been able to command property to any considerable extent have been placed in a very unfavourable position. As my friend Mr. Somers told you, the tenant farmers are in a condition bordering on insolvency. (Hear.) The statement which that gentleman made here was certainly received in our neighbourhood with a great deal of astonishment; but I beg leave publicly to corroborate that statement, knowing it to be a lamentable fact in the neighbourhood where I come from. Not only is it a fact that the farmers are in this state, but the labourers are greatly reduced, and are as a body in a most depressed condition. Indeed, I may say, bordering upon a state of the most abject want which it is possible even to conceive. If I could but picture to you the many scenes of misery which are to be witnessed in my own neighbourhood among the agricultural population, it would indeed harrow up your feelings; but, lacking the ability to describe it to you, I must console myself with the belief that your sympathy with them will be equally as great. (Loud cheers.) I have sometimes been asked by my brother farmers how I can suppose that Free Trade will benefit us as a class, or that with it we shall be able to transact our business better than now? However things might be, this I know that we are now suffering most intensely; and I cannot conceive in my mind the possibility of our being worse. (Hear, hear, hear.) At all events, from what I have been able to glean from the information which we get, poor as it is in our neighbourhood—and which I am sorry to say our disposition to acquire is very small indeed, we not being, generally speaking, a reading class, and the tone of our education being such as to preclude us from attaining that ability to think and speak of it as much as we ought—yet, situated as we are, from the able documents in which the Anti-Corn-Law League is conveying that information to us, it gives me satisfaction to learn that we are certainly in a position to contend against the corn culture of any country in the world. (Loud cheers.) The first question which arose in my mind with regard to this subject was this: Whether we had more mouths to eat than to eat. It has been clearly proved, then it follows of necessity that a greater quantity of food can be consumed. (Hear.) The next question which arises is: Have we ever been able by our own cultivation to produce that quantity which would feed the population of this kingdom? I am informed that we have not. I then proceed to inquire whether we can reasonably expect a great influx of corn from abroad, where it is to come from, and how it is to be produced? There seems to be a very singular opinion existing among my brethren, that corn will flow with the same facility into this country as water does in a river. (Laughter.) They appear to forget that it requires some £6 or £7 an acre to produce corn in our own country; and to imagine that it grows almost spontaneously abroad, or may be found upon the sea-shore, and there picked up in the greatest abundance. (Hear, hear.) If they would but think and inquire into

this matter themselves, they would derive the same knowledge and come to a similar conclusion which I have done. (Hear, hear.) It has been shown in a report made by Mr. Meek in 1841, with reference to the corn-growing capacities of distant countries, that, with the exception of one tract of country, I think Prussia Posen, they have not the power of producing anything like that quantity of corn of which we have so much dread. (Hear, hear, hear.) Even in that place, where Nature seems to have been specially bountiful, they labour under the great disadvantages of having bad roads, and no canals or railways of any description whatever. I therefore compare the expense of creating facilities of communication to the ports, to which I add the expense of cultivating the land, however cheap labour may be there, and, having done that, I feel satisfied that we need be under no apprehension of getting such a quantity of corn from abroad as will prevent our growing it at a remunerating price at home. (Cheers.) Besides, we have most fortunately the light of the past to guide us in the future. There is a practical demonstration of the effect of Free Trade in the Channel Islands. An opportunity has been afforded there of testing the influence of Free Trade. I am informed, and I believe it to be correct, for the statement is corroborated by all I have read, and has not been contradicted by the Pro-Corn-Law agitators, that corn in the Channel Islands has averaged for the last seven years 47s. per quarter. That circumstance clearly proves to me that corn will not recede so low as many seem to anticipate. (Hear, hear.) Reciprocity of dealing has been much talked of. It is a conjecture as to whether our neighbours abroad—I will not call them foreigners, because I do not think that mankind are foreign to one another (loud and prolonged cheering)—whether they will deal with us. We have been perfectly convinced, by the able speaker who has just sat down, that there is not the least doubt that if we import we must necessarily export; and wherever we get our corn, as has been proved by every transaction of trade, we are sure to find a demand for our merchandise too. Mr. Gladstone himself clearly admits this, when, in reference to the tariff, he says, that by the importation of cattle there will be a corresponding exportation of manufactures. (Hear, hear.) This appears to be an established fact, and it is one, I think, which ought to satisfy our minds that trade will necessarily increase the amount of goods exported; and by that increase of trade from whence we farmers derive our prices, the country would always be placed in a position to give us that price for our corn which will prove remunerating to our pockets. (Cheers.) I have no concise mode of speaking, ladies and gentlemen, and I am confused in my statement of the case. (Cheers, and cries of "No, no.") I hope you will grant me your forbearance. I feel a great interest in your cause, but I assure you I would not have ventured here but at the earnest request of many of my brother farmers in the district from whence I come. (Cheers; a voice, "Bravo, Somerset.") For myself I do not think that there is any neutral ground for any one to stand upon in this great question. (Hear, hear.) I think it behooves all of us—tenant farmers and farm-labourers—to add our humble testimony to that of the great body of our fellow-labourers who are working hard to accomplish your wishes as well as ours. (Cheers.) I feel satisfied that, if my brethren would but calmly and dispassionately view this question in a freer and more enlightened manner, they would come to a very different conclusion than that to which, I grieve to say, most of them have come to. (Hear, hear.) The first effect which I believe Free Trade would have upon us as a class would be to enable us to get that permanency of tenure which would give us security for any capital which we might think fit to invest. Many of us know how to farm, but, unfortunately, we cannot get the means of cultivating our farms. We have found that those farmers who have suffered least from the pernicious effects of these Corn Laws have been our northern brethren, who have had the advantages of long leases and corn-rents (hear, hear); which clearly proves to us that leases and security under all circumstances and at all times, will enable us to carry on our business satisfactorily, although not with so large a profit as we ought to have. We ought certainly, in common with others, to share in the advantages which this kingdom offers. We ought, as a class, and I see no reason why we should not be able to make the same per centage on our capital which manufacturers and tradesmen make. (Hear, hear.) I believe that Free Trade will enable us to do: it will give us the ability to realize that profit, by the introduction into this country of one of the greatest boons—long leases. It has occurred to me frequently, and very likely to you, that farmers do not farm as they ought, nor take advantage of the means of farming well, when they have it in their power to do so. But how can we expect them to do so when they have got the difficulty to contend against of want of security for their outlay of capital. (Hear, hear.) All the statements in regard to the evils of the Corn Laws have been clearly proved to you in every instance; but I would beg leave to say, before I sit down, that the Protectionist meetings have not given us much enlightenment upon the subject (hear, hear, hear); on the contrary, I find that they are merely disposed to cavil and abuse as much as in them lies. I might refer to the Bridgewater meeting, held for the purpose of maintaining protection, where, as you have been informed, discussion upon this question was denied, and we had no opportunity of controverting what may have been said by those who held it. That circumstance proves to my mind that they are conscious they have not much truth on their side, otherwise they would not have denied their opponents an opportunity of proving, if they could, that they were right. I am quite aware that many remarks may be made upon my humble observations, as I know remarks were made upon my friend Mr. Somers, in the *Morning Post*, with respect to grammatical errors, and such unimportant matters. (Cheers and laughter.) That we are not intimately acquainted with the refinements of our language, is not to be wondered at when you consider the difficulties we labour under, and the extreme thralldom of landlord oppression which we have endured. (Loud cheers.) It is not, I say, to be wondered at; and it is a matter of great question with me, if these Corn Laws are not repealed, whether we shall be able to give our families any education at all. (Cries of "Hear, hear, hear.") I cannot conclude without making my grateful acknowledgments to the Anti-Corn-Law League for their efforts in our part of the country in enlightening

my brother farmers and the people in that neighbourhood. (Applause.) I can testify that their distribution of tracts has created such an excitement and intense desire on the part of the population in that locality to become more acquainted with the subject that they have been the means of conveying a vast fund of information which will never be forgotten, and which has, in many instances, taught the labouring classes to think for themselves, and to know their true position, thereby relieving the farmers from the odium which had been thrown upon them for not giving better wages. (Cheers.) They have learned the truth, that wages are regulated by the proportion between demand and supply; and that, however willing the farmers might be to give more wages, they are prevented from doing so owing to the amount of rent which they have to pay to their landlords. (Cheers.) I trust that the observations which I have made will have the effect of urging other farmers to exercise, as much as in them lies, a degree of independence. (Hear.) I verily believe that if they would but come out, throw off the thralldom by which they are now kept down, declare their opinions on this matter, and assert their independence, that the landlords, at the present time, would not venture to exercise that authority over them which they threaten. (Cheers.) I know of many instances in my own neighbourhood of persons who have done so with success. I feel satisfied that, if they would but exercise their independence, they would have some chance of procuring that which they so anxiously desire. (Hear.) For my part, I am not disposed to look upon any man as an enemy; but I would seize on every opportunity to regard truth wherever it may be found. (Cheers.) I feel satisfied that the manufacturers are indeed working out for us what we should never have been able to accomplish for ourselves. (Loud cheers.) Therefore, although hitherto we have looked on them with a degree of suspicion, and regarded them in the light of enemies, the time is coming when they will be universally acknowledged by us as our very best friends. (Renewed cheering.) I say sincerely from my heart, let those principles which have been proclaimed universally throughout the world prevail, and I believe that Free Trade will place us on a far more satisfactory and better footing; let its advocates come from wherever they may, I think it is the bounden duty of every one of us to fall in and co-operate with them. I will conclude in the words of the poet:—

"Seize upon truth where'er 'tis found,
Amidst our friends, amongst our foes;
On Christian or on heathen ground,
The flower 'tis divine where'er it grows."

(Mr. Turner retired from the table amidst enthusiastic cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Burnet would address the meeting. (Cheers.)

The Rev. JOHN BURNET then came forward amidst enthusiastic applause. Silence having been obtained, the rev. gentleman spoke as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I shall detain the meeting but a very short period as their time has now nearly expired. I certainly do feel a high satisfaction in the circumstance that the farmers of England are not only uniting in opinion with the League, but are actually becoming working members of that body. (Cheers.) (One of the most satisfactory incidents connected with the meetings in this place is the attendance of the farmers. If they are convinced and are ready to express, as they do repeatedly, their conviction that the Corn Laws are adverse to their interests, where is the man who will insist on the farmer retaining as a benefit that which they desire to cast away as a scourge? (Cheers.) The farmers come to these meetings and tell the assembled thousands of the citizens of London that the Corn Laws are ruining them; the landlords get up in their places in Parliament and say, "If you take away the Corn Laws the farmers will be ruined." Now, which of the two are we to believe? (Laughter and cheers.) Are we to give credence to men who are not farmers themselves? Which of the landlords have commenced to be general farmers in the country since the corn trade under the Corn Laws has proved to be such a good business? (Laughter.) We never hear of great and extensive farmers amongst the highest classes of the community. They make over the farms in small lots to such gentlemen as our friend who has just addressed us; and they crush their tenants by the help of the tenants' own unwise competition until at last they ruin them without having enriched themselves. (Cheers.) Are we then to believe those who have had no experience in the case? or are we to give heed to individuals who are the parties first acted upon by the operation of those laws? It all the farmers of England were to come together, and with one voice declare that they felt the Corn Laws to be ruinous to them, would that satisfy the landlords of England? No. (Hear.) The landlords would then speak of being ruined themselves. (Laughter.) "Those farmers," they would say, "are ignorant men; why, they deserve to be taxed for their bad grammar." (Loud laughter.) And they would go on to abuse the farmers because they were obstinate men who did not regard that as a boon which they really felt to be a serious injury. But, Sir, I do think that men may be allowed to feel their own wants. It does appear to me that if a hungry man were to address another individual, and to tell him that he was starving for want of food, it would be utterly useless for that other to attempt to convince him that he was not. (Loud laughter and cheers.) This appears to me to be a parallel to the case between the landlords and the farmers. Sir, I regret it much that our agricultural friend who has just spoken had it in his power to make use of one expression which he employed in addressing this meeting. He spoke of the landowners giving short leases for other purposes besides the rents, for which they entered into an engagement with the farmers. (Hear, hear.) I did not regret that he used the expression; I was only sorry that he had good reasons for doing so. I am glad, however, that he has so used it. But for what other purpose should landlords be allowed to use their tenants beyond making them pay their rents? Why ought they to have "other purposes," except the payment of their rents, honestly imposed according to contract? (Hear.) I understood the other purpose to which our friend referred. He alluded to the political use which the landlords make of the farmers. (Hear.) They keep a tight rein on them by the short leases that they may pull them up if they refuse to be their political tools. (Cheers.) What a disgrace to a country like this is such a state of things. These tenants are not like what our slaves once were in the West Indies, it is true, but still there is a

striking analogy between the two classes. Take a man, and make him personally a slave, and you have degraded him below every freeman, except the freeman that has enslaved him. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Is there any reason for speaking otherwise concerning the man that makes his fellow-creature a political slave? (Cries of "Hear.") Sir, if a man has property which has exalted him that he can look around and see his tenants cultivating his fields and contributing to his wealth and comfort, and if, when the hour of political contest shall have arrived, that man shall forget his dependence on them, and how much they contribute to his wealth, shall overlook the fact that they have a conscience within them, shall deny them the right of exercising their principles, and crush them to the dust which he compels them to till with an eye to the political slavery which he intends to force upon them,—if that man, when the hour of political strife has come, will pursue such a course as this, I cannot conceive of a more degraded being upon the face of the earth than he is. (Loud cheers.) Sir, I care not whether he wears a ducal coronet, or any other badge of high distinction. (Hear, hear.) Accident may have thrown that coronet in his way; or he may have been born to it, and therefore never merited it himself (a laugh); or it may happen that amongst his ancestors there were *evangelists* who perhaps first found the way to this mark of royal favour; or it may be that some deed of his own in another department may really have displayed a grandeur of soul and a command of talent which have lifted him up fairly, honestly, and honourably; but he has descended again most disgracefully when he attempts to crush the poor man. (Loud cheers.) His coronet is then shorn of all its lustre, and he has cast away all the merit that earned it, when he comes to destroy the principles of the men whom he ought to cherish as his brothers. But it has been well said, that even the landlords themselves are interested in the abolition of the Corn Laws, and not in their maintenance. It has been proved by the chairman how much the land of Lancashire has risen in value since it became a manufacturing country. But, Sir, there is one thing which must be given as a reason why the landlord frowns so upon manufacturers, while he holds out his helping hand to the poor farmer to aid him by the Corn Laws. There is a reason for this difference. The aristocracy and the squirearchy of the country cannot wield the souls of the manufacturers as they do those of the farmers (hear, hear); they cannot drive the manufacturers to the poll at an election; they cannot threaten them with taking away their leases, and turning them out of doors: if they could work upon manufacturers just as well and as nimbly as on many occasions they have worked upon the poor farmers, I doubt whether they would set themselves so much against the one, or maintain so strong an attachment to the other. (Hear, hear.) The manufacturers are rather obstinate political material to work upon. (Hear.) The country gentlemen know this, and, knowing and feeling it, they are very unwilling to run the risk of letting go their hold of the farmer because they feel they could not renew it in the case of the manufacturer. But whether the landlords will see it to be their interest to change their policy speedily or not, ultimately I am sure they will see such to be their interest, for this system cannot continue. ("Hear," and applause.) We have seen many a change during the last few years, and among others we have the good Tory gentlemen, Ministers and all, who used to speak and vote against every proposition we made for the liberty of the slave, now turning round to plead for the poor black man whom we set free in spite of them. (Cheers.) They used to be very kind to them when they were slaves. (Laughter.) They told us that if the slaves were set free they would perish; and they repeated again and again what mischief we should bring about if we really effected their emancipation; and, therefore, from sheer humanity (a laugh)—from pure kindness, these gentlemen unfortunately resisted every attempt to set the slave free. And now they are still kind to them; they are very anxious that nothing should befall them that would injure their interests. So thus they have taken them up as they have done the poor farmers; and now they will have no sugar in the market except that which is grown by the free blacks: all this is from pure kindness to the slaves, and not for the West India interest at all. (Laughter.) Well, then, after the loud voice of the country had been lifted up—after the cry of humanity had gone forth, so often and so strongly and so loud that those gentlemen were at last obliged to regard it as the voice of God—when they saw they could not resist any longer what was obviously a great movement in Divine Providence, they yielded to a measure which, after all, was a description of purchase—a purchase of the freedom of those people: these gentlemen were so kind that they could not give up the system until they made us pay twenty millions for their liberty. After all this, we find them now, as I said, taking the part of the slaves. But what are we to say to the hypocrisy of all this? (Cries of "Hear, hear.") It is, indeed, very easy to ridicule the inconsistency of such men; but one must deeply lament and indignantly reprobate their hypocrisy. (Cheers.) When a meeting was held at Exeter Hall previous to the departure of the Niger expedition, I happened to be sitting next to Sir Robert Peel (laughter); a strange coincidence too; but so it was. (Renewed laughter.) You may suppose no secrets passed between us, and therefore I have none to tell you. (Renewed laughter.) However, the right honourable baronet rose to speak on that occasion; and, as if to show that such men have sometimes a feeling of shame, he began by stating, "that it was rather mortifying to those who had not been in the field before to come forward at this late hour of the day, to speak a word for injured Africa." (A laugh.) There was a consciousness that his kindness before had not brought him up to the mark so as to speak that kindness out. (Hear, hear.) Now, I do believe that, if there had been any interest concerned in the Niger expedition, some reason would have kept that wily gentleman from coming even at that late hour of the day to speak a word for Africa. (Renewed laughter.) However, take comfort from this. You have in the first Minister of the State one who does feel a little shame sometimes (laughter), one who has a feeling which you can tell upon; it is not altogether steel, although he often steels himself; you have, consequently, this inducement to persevere in the good work in which you are engaged. (Cheers.) Perseverance must, in the end, triumph. What do the aristocracy and the squirearchy mean by pursuing their opposition so long? Do they intend to set different classes of the com-

munity at war with each other? Do they mean to make them hate each other, and induce them to believe that if one should prosper the other must perish? Do they mean to tell our chairman that he must hate Mr. Turner and do him injury if he would prosper, and that Mr. Turner must injure our chairman and hate him if he, on the other hand, would prosper? Do they mean that Mr. Turner and our chairman shall therefore have a constant strife of feeling, arising from the belief that they are standing in each other's way in every step they take in their respective businesses? But such must be the case, if their view of the Corn Laws be correct—if the farmers and the manufacturers cannot prosper together, why, one of them must go down. Will any one say in this manufacturing country that the manufacturers are to go down? (Hear.) Why, I would rather see all England covered with workshops, smoking with chimneys, and manufacturing for the world, and while the world was pouring in the full tide of its agricultural produce into the bosom of this community, than see the manufacturers sink even for a single year. (Loud cheers.) But I should like, at the same time to see the farmers growing and prospering, for I do not believe that the destruction of the one class is necessary to the prosperity of the other (hear); I believe that the interests of both, as it has been already stated, will be found to be identical. But if we do live in a country that has got into such an awkward position that the one-half of the community must devour the other—if this is really the doctrine of the supporters of the Corn Laws—if a man stands by this principle the course which we must adopt is simply this: we must come together—all grades, denominations, and professions—we must meet on these boards, and show them that we love one another, that manufacturers do not hate the farmers and the farmers do not hate the manufacturers; we must convince them that there is cordiality abroad which is making its way and spreading far and wide and working with power; and we must let them know that, if they do not come into this kind fellowship, they will be left at such a fearful distance by themselves that they will become the laughing-stock of the civilized world. (Loud cheers.) Man, Sir, was made to form a common family; and, therefore, I like the expression of our worthy farmer, who refused to use the word "foreigner," because he considered that all should be *brothers*. (Cheers.) There is one thing however, of which I am reminded by the term *foreigner*, and that is that those who support the Corn Laws, the landlords and the aristocracy, are determined that they shall be foreigners (a laugh), so that we shall have all the foreigners amongst ourselves; and if we are to be foreigners to them as they say they are to us, and if they are to set themselves against the manufacturers of this country, who, I would ask, could then live in it? Not those individuals certainly. Why, look at their palaces, look at all who contribute to their comfort, look around again and again, and you see nothing but the productions of the manufacturer. (Cheers.) And if you find this to be the case, then away with the idea that they can be independent of the manufacturer. But, they say, "We do not wish to be independent of them; we only desire to secure a protection for agriculture." Some people like abstractions; agriculture is an abstract word; suppose you were to try the experiment of spelling out its meaning, according to their use of the word it would turn out to be *landlords*. (Laughter.) That is really what they mean: when they speak of protection to agriculture, they mean that they wish to protect the landlords. But, Sir, is corn the only thing that will not be allowed to find its level? Can you and I emigrate to any part of the world we please, and travel through any portion of our own country which we may think proper: does the water by its very nature find its own level: does Heaven bestow its own blessing on the rich and the poor alike, and make its light to shine and its rain to fall on the just and the unjust: and is the food of man to be piled up within certain limits, beyond which it is not to find its way—dammed and sluiced up, or rather sluiced out, as the waters of the sea are from the towns in Holland, lest it might overwhelm the landlords of England? (Cheers.) I would say to this meeting, show not only now, but by being in your places here again and again, your determination to persevere in the great work in which you are engaged, and you will thus set an example to all the nations of the earth. (Applause.) Is it for a moment to be admitted that you should flag or tire in a work which will open to you all the prairies of America, and bring before you a state of things which will make the poor rejoice in his comforts without envying the rich in his wealth? (Loud cheers.) I should say, let every man solemnly charge his own conscience with the high duty and sacred obligation of carrying out this work to its full and final completion. Ideas are now going abroad, the public mind is becoming enlightened, mind knows how to think with and to feel with mind; and when a new world of ideas is thus created, and when the public themselves become the depositaries of this new world of ideas—moral, political, religious, and historical—a power, in happy combination, will be found to spring up, and spread quietly throughout the community, which will put down every description of monopoly. (Cheers.) Sir, these are not the times when rude masses of uncultivated, ignorant men would run together stimulated only by passion and violence, committing injury upon their fellow-men, and involving their combination in crime; I would not address an assembly having such an influence operating on it: such men want to be taught afresh, and nothing else (hear); but men have been taught; and this is a very different assembly. And let it be remembered by all who maintain such monopolies as the Corn Laws, that they have lost the master and master monopoly of all, the monopoly of knowledge and moral power (loud cheers); and having lost that monopoly they have lost the only monopoly which would have secured in perpetuity the enjoyment of other monopolies. The day when a tyrant's arm could crush a people has gone by; the day when state intrigue could overlook the real condition of the country, and give itself up to minister to its own gratifications, has gone by; the day of herocs and wars and fights has gone by (cheers); the day of the quarrels of nations has gone by; the day of peace has come;—the civilized world are looking to one another to learn from one another; France looks to England, and England to France; and even Spain, notwithstanding all her irregularities and all her struggles, is trying to imitate sometimes the one, and sometimes the other; ideas are getting into form and fashion; men are beginning to see evils as evils, to regard good as good; they are looking to things and not to men,

to measures and not to counsellors; they are looking to the good results of good governments, and not to those who falsely and basely give themselves to the ruinous deeds by which countries are scourged, while they themselves only rise upon the ruins they have created. (The reverend gentleman concluded amidst most vehement cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN then said—I have only to state that the next meeting of the League will be held here this night week; and perhaps it may be as well to say that it is not very likely that these weekly meetings will be continued for a much longer period, owing to the necessity of commencing those arrangements which it will be necessary to make for the Bazaar and great exhibition of manufactures which are to take place in this building. This meeting is now dissolved.

Three cheers were then given for the Chairman, and the meeting separated.

WHEATHAMSTEAD FREE-TRADE CLUB.—A special meeting of this club was held, according to advertisement, on Thursday evening, the 9th inst. It was attended by Mr. C. H. Lattimore, the Rev. T. Gilbert, many farmers and tradesmen of the place, and a considerable number of the working classes, and also by some friends of Free Trade from other quarters. A flag, inscribed with the comprehensive words "Free Trade," floated from the centre window of the Swan Inn, in the yard of which was erected a convenient tent, under and around which the business of the evening was carried on. Mr. Walker, of Harpenden Common, having moved the confirmation of the minutes of the preceding meeting, and the motion having been seconded by the Rev. T. Gilbert, the chairman (Mr. Charles Lattimore) proceeded to address the meeting. He said they had assembled to denounce a system the effects of which were sensibly felt by almost every one then present. Its course had been one of political profligacy, and its natural results were universal ruin and degradation. Having ascertained the cause of the evil, it was their duty to apply the remedy. The object of this meeting was to awaken the thinking faculties of the labourer, to point out to him the origin of the evil from which he suffered, and to prove to him above all things that the cause of Free Trade was the cause of the industrious classes. Having exposed some of the evils of the Corn Laws, Mr. Lattimore proceeded to show how their repeal would tend to promote constant employment and afford remunerating wages, neither of which could at present be secured to the labourer. Addressing himself more particularly to the labourers, he demonstrated by what means the existing system involved them and the farmers in one common ruin. With this conviction on our minds, he said, we come to you for that sympathy and support which, as rational beings capable of appreciating your own situation and wants, and desirous of their amelioration, you cannot withhold from us. The speaker concluded a lengthened speech with an exhortation to the labourer to remember that happiness was comprised in home and its delights—it did not depend upon wealth or station—and it was an error to suppose that a peer was of necessity happier than a peasant. He conjured them to control their desires, to regulate their passions, and, whilst seeking their own rights, to be respectful of the rights of others. No principles but these could carry happiness to their firesides; and there he advised them to seek it. He begged them to carry home what they had heard, to digest it thoroughly, and so arrive at sound, honest, and rational conclusions. Mr. Lattimore resumed his seat amidst loud and long applause.—The Rev. Thomas Gilbert, after some introductory remarks, went on to state his perfect agreement with all which Mr. Lattimore had advanced, and to express his gratitude for that gentleman's advocacy of so great, so godlike a cause. (Cheers.) It was the duty of all men, but more particularly of religious teachers, to denounce laws the effect of which was to lessen the demand for labour, and increase the price of food, thus tending to render all religious teaching ineffectual, for Divinity itself appealed in vain to famishing humanity. (Loud applause.) He conceived, therefore, that as a Christian minister he was acting in concert with his holy office in advocating a cause the success of which would promote alike human good and the purposes of the Divine Will. The reverend gentleman, after an eloquent speech, proposed the thanks of the meeting to the chairman; Mr. Bruton, jun., seconded the motion, which was carried amidst the unanimous shouts of the meeting.—Mr. Charles Lattimore returned thanks.—A labourer, named Archer, came forward, and said he thought the truth had been spoken to-night. He was quite satisfied with Mr. Lattimore's speech. He wished they could get rid of the tithes and poor's rates; and now, he exclaimed, they are going to *tithe our gardens*, but I'll never pay it. (Cheers from his fellow-labourers, who heartily echoed the sentiment.)—Mr. C. Lattimore entered into an explanation with Archer. He told him that the titling of even the gardens was lawful, and, being such, must be paid. Archer and others wanted to know why it had never been enforced before?—Mr. Lattimore said that some laws were so monstrous, so oppressive, that of necessity they lay long in abeyance, and this was one of them. "Being law, however," he added, "don't resist it. But whilst it is law never relax in your efforts to destroy it." (Great cheering.)—After a few words from Mr. Bruton, sen., the meeting peaceably terminated. The next meeting of the club will be held on Wednesday, the 22nd inst., when arrangements will be made to effect a junction with the Free-Traders of St. Alban's.

Mr. D. Liddell, on Thursday evening, the 19th inst., delivered a lecture at the Salvation Inn, Tynemouth, on the corn and provision laws, the causes of strikes, &c. The audience was numerous and attentive.

THE DUTY ON WOOL.—The proposed remission of the duty on foreign wool is, notwithstanding all threatened opposition on the part of the monopolists, certain of being carried into effect. It will prove a great boon to the woollen trade generally, and will be especially felt in this town, as the duty was very heavy upon low wools,—from 10 to 20 per cent. on their value. Several petitions and memorials have, from time to time, been transmitted to Parliament from the manufacturers here. Mr. G. W. Wood, for two years, was actively engaged in seeking this object, and made a motion last year in Parliament to effect it. Mr. Warburton has also fully earned the confidence placed in him as an attentive business member, by his ready and earnest exertions, in various ways, to carry out the objects of the petitions which he had to present with reference to this question.—*Kendal Mercury*.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, May 16, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

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| James Chant, 7, Gray's Inn-terrace | 0 10 0 |
| Hugh Shield, 26, Queen street, Cheshire | 2 2 0 |
| Benj. L. Smith, Breda, near Northiam, Sussex | 1 0 0 |
| Manuel Pyne, 54, Newman-street, Oxford street | 1 1 0 |
| M. B. | 1 0 0 |
| G. T. Page, 2, Delahay street, Westminster | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Whitburn, Ripley, Surrey | 1 0 0 |
| John Mayes, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Do., as his subscription withdrawn from the Guildford Agricultural Association | 0 10 0 |
| Henry Jackson, 51, Broad-street, Golden-square | 0 3 0 |
| William Dennis, 17, Little Pultney street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Dennis, 17, Vere street, Lincoln's Inn-fields | 1 0 0 |
| Charles Dennis, 10, George court, Piccadilly | 1 0 0 |
| William Taylor, Bocking, Essex | 1 1 0 |
| Mrs. Moody, 31, Hunter-street, Brunswick-square, contribution to the Bazaar | 1 0 0 |
| John Butler, Heavitree, Devonshire | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Gover, Chester-square, contribution to the Bazaar | 1 0 0 |
| John Carruthers, Steam Packet office, Carlisle | 1 0 0 |
| G. England, Westminster-road, Westbury | 2 0 0 |
| Alfred England, Bretton, near do. | 0 10 0 |
| Wm. England, Westminster-road, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Burgess, High-street, Nantwich | 1 0 0 |
| Plant Capper, Pillory street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Hall, High-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| E. Harrison, do. | 1 0 0 |
| James Burgess Willaston, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Parkes, Welsh row, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Taylor, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Mark Cooke, South-street, Commercial Inn, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Harrison, gardener, South-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| John Naylor, do. | 0 5 0 |
| John Hinchliff, Scholes, near Holmfirth | 1 0 0 |
| John Turner, Shelly, near Huddersfield | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Dyeon, Netherthong, near do. | 1 0 0 |
| Stanley Mills Association, Stroud, Gloucestershire, per George Danversfield, 7th remittance | 6 11 2 |
| J. B. Wood, Park-bridge, Ashton-under-Lyne | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Travis, 45, Every-street, Manchester | 0 2 6 |
| Ralph Fagin, 19, Minshull-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| J. and J. Bottomley, Oldham-road, Rochdale | 10 0 0 |
| Thos. Glover, Ozden street, Ardwick, Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| John Jones, 21, Woodward-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Peter Johnson, 139, Every-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Nixon, Aspenden-street, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Small sums, do. | 0 5 6 |
| A Friend | 2 2 0 |
| Lambert Jackson, Market-place, Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Simpson, 5, Piccadilly, do. | 5 0 0 |
| John Saml, Shaw, Scholes-street, Oak-street, do. | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend, Thomas-street, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Thomas Hanson, Foster street, Salford, do. | 0 2 6 |
| Edward Phibbs, Park-street, Hulme, do. | 0 2 6 |
| James Pownall | 5 0 0 |
| Thorne and Hayes | 5 0 0 |
| A Free Trader | 1 0 0 |
| Abraham Hayes, Bedford, near | 1 0 0 |
| John Booth | 0 2 6 |
| John Chelton | 0 2 6 |
| N. Charlton | 0 1 0 |
| A Friend | 0 1 0 |
| William Brinton, jun. | 2 2 0 |
| John Law | 1 1 0 |
| Jonah Steward | 1 1 0 |
| Gregory Barrett | 1 6 0 |
| Joseph Kiteley | 1 1 0 |
| Sundry Friends | 0 10 0 |
| Charles Rolland | 0 10 0 |
| Charles Collins | 1 1 0 |
| John Watson | 5 0 0 |
| William Talbot | 1 1 0 |
| Frederic Talbot | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Humphries | 1 1 0 |
| Henry Willis | 0 10 0 |
| J. and G. Humphries | 2 2 0 |
| John Humphries | 0 5 0 |
| George B. Lea | 10 10 0 |
| Lee & Co. (Wilkinson and Co., Hunslet Mill, near 15th remittance) | 100 0 0 |
| J. A. Huttrey | 5 0 0 |
| John Wade, Horsforth, near | 1 0 0 |
| John Ridgway, Cauldon-place | 50 0 0 |
| John Hall, do. | 20 0 0 |
| Thomas Hall, do. | 20 0 0 |
| A Friend | 5 0 0 |
| John G. Ford, Hanley | 5 0 0 |
| Instrument, No. 2, do. | 3 0 0 |
| Henry Pudduck, do. | 2 0 0 |
| Charles Jones, do. | 2 0 0 |
| T. and R. Hamersley, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Benjamin Boothroyd, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Edwin Goodwin, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Theophilus Smith, do. | 1 1 0 |
| William Hill, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Charles Lockett, do. | 1 1 0 |
| J. Cuts, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Hackwood, Shelton | 1 0 0 |
| William Hackwood, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Allen and Hordley, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Jeane Hubbs, do. | 1 0 0 |
| W. Rochell, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Mountford, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Pudduck, Burslem | 5 0 0 |
| W. S. Kennedy, do. | 1 1 0 |
| George Wigley, do. | 1 1 0 |
| John Searle, Wheelock, near Sandbach | 0 5 0 |
| T. O. Dobson, Canning place | 2 2 0 |
| Joseph Corrie, 15, Dickenson-street | 0 2 6 |
| Captain Fox, Mersey-street | 0 1 0 |
| A Friend to the Cause | 25 0 0 |
| James Marshall | 0 2 6 |
| George Brownwell | 0 1 0 |
| Edward Kipling and Treasdale | 2 0 0 |
| The Muses Greathead | 1 0 0 |
| Oswald Gilkes, Shildon Works, near | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Lawson, St. Helen's Colliery, near | 1 1 0 |

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|--|--------|
| Sinkins and Wood, manufacturers | £5 0 0 |
| Brillain and Houston, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. Wm. Jones, Baptist minister | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. Wm. Fernie, Independent minister | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Gregory, card maker | 1 0 0 |
| John Sage, draper | 1 0 0 |
| James Porter, grocer | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Trotman, brewer | 1 0 0 |
| John Stevens, glazier | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Vines, chemist | 1 0 0 |
| W. H. May, draper | 1 0 0 |
| Stephen Turk, bookseller | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Coombs, grocer | 1 0 0 |
| James Francis, baker | 1 0 0 |
| Joseph Beuda more, glazier | 1 0 0 |
| Edward Brimbleton, George Hotel | 1 0 0 |
| Richard Bailey, Lamb Inn | 1 0 0 |
| Samuel Burgess, woolstapler | 1 0 0 |
| James Cox, Butte | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Holt, Portway-terrace | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Cooper, Keyford | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Abraham, Belind Town | 1 0 0 |
| John Douglas, broad weaver | 1 0 0 |
| Chas. Gerrett, dyer | 1 0 0 |
| An Enemy to Monopoly | 1 0 0 |
| J. P. Spencer, Oakhill, near Bath | 1 0 0 |
| John Barker | 25 0 0 |
| H. Walton, Old Hall | 20 0 0 |
| Robert Thacker | 10 0 0 |
| Alex. Walton, Graiseley | 5 0 0 |
| A Bad-iron Maker | 5 0 0 |
| A Friend to the Cause, No. 2 | 5 0 0 |
| A Conservative | 5 0 0 |
| A Friend, No. 4, per Mr. Bradshaw | 5 0 0 |
| A Farmer | 2 2 0 |
| A Free Trader | 2 0 0 |
| Rev. J. Hill, Gornall | 1 1 0 |
| A new Friend, No. 9 | 1 0 0 |
| Two Friends of fair dealing, Junction Works, Stafford-street | 1 0 0 |
| Isherwood Butcliffe, Birmingham | 1 0 0 |
| A Gridiron from Willenhall | 1 0 0 |
| G. Griffiths, Chillingham Works | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Cadwallader, Compton, near | 1 0 0 |
| T. Cooper, Merridale-street | 1 0 0 |
| T. Hickin, Horseley-fields | 1 0 0 |
| Adam Stanley, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Russell, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Walters, Mill-street | 1 0 0 |
| W. Deakin, Willenhall | 1 0 0 |
| J. Robinson, Spread Eagle, Cock-street | 1 0 0 |
| An Enemy to Monopoly | 1 0 0 |
| W. Haynes, Four-ashes | 1 0 0 |
| W. Dickenson, St. John's square | 1 1 0 |
| Matthews and Ward, Cock-street | 1 1 0 |
| Joseph Walker, jun., Cock-street | 1 0 0 |
| M. Bruerton, Clark's buildings, Horseley-fields | 0 17 6 |
| Three Journeymen Coopers, at Mr. Dallow's, Piper's-row | 0 7 6 |
| Mr. Marsh, Cock-street | 0 5 0 |
| Mr. Lloyd, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Charles Bragg, Pilgrim-street | 5 0 0 |
| Wm. Foster, Sile | 2 2 0 |
| John Berkley, Butcher-bank | 2 0 0 |
| Thos. Dawar, Westgate-street | 1 0 0 |
| John L. Whitton, Edgeley | 0 5 0 |
| James Moorcroft, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Joseph Longson, do. | 1 1 0 |
| James Hambleton, Turner-street, Park | 0 10 6 |
| John Nelstrop | 0 10 6 |
| A. N. Sefton | 0 10 0 |
| Thomas Slater, 20, Shaw Heath | 0 13 0 |
| John Barrow, Underbank | 1 0 0 |
| Friend, Wellington-road | 2 2 0 |
| Friend, per D. C. B. | 5 0 0 |
| William Haigh, Underbank | 1 1 0 |
| S. H. Cheetham, jun., Millgate | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Hanson, Churchgate Factory | 1 0 0 |
| John Ashton, Wellington-road North | 2 2 0 |
| Livesley and Little, Wellington-road South | 5 0 0 |
| Mrs. Little, Wellington-road North | 0 10 6 |
| Miss M. B. Little, do. | 0 10 0 |

ERRATUM.

In LEAGUE No. 33, for "William Jeeves, 67, Market-street, Cavendish-square, London, £1 1s," read "William Geeves."

WOLVERHAMPTON.—On Tuesday evening 15th night the Wolverhampton Free-Trade Association held their fortnightly meeting, at the Little Swan; Joseph Walker, Esq., in the chair. The chairman opened the proceedings in a speech replete with good sense, pointing out the effect of the Corn Laws on the agricultural labourer, and proving that they were the cause of his destitution and poverty.—Mr. H. Walker next addressed the meeting, and went through a portion of the report of Mr. Austin, the Government commissioner, to inquire into the state of the agricultural labourers. The tales of misery he recited from that report were so harrowing and painful as to draw tears from the eyes of some persons and execrations from the mouths of others. He next reverted to Scotland, and showed the misery and want of the Scotch labourer, whose condition he described as being wretched in the extreme; he then noticed the labourers in Wales, whose only fare was potatoes; and in Ireland, where they fed like the beast of the field, on the roots of the field, the victims of misery, penury, and want.—Another gentleman, whose name we did not learn, then addressed the meeting on the bad internal policy of the English Government, in thus allowing its people to be degraded when there was every facility for making them prosperous. He plainly showed the evil effects of the Corn Laws on the agricultural and commercial interests. He reverted to the alliance between the two interests, and said that if the Government liked to stop the free current of industry, and impoverish the manufacturing interest, it would certainly hurt the agriculturists, because the agricultural interest depended upon home trade and home consumption; therefore by enactments to rob the one they robbed the other. He spoke of the information which was being spread by the League, and which would force a remedy and produce a change.—Mr. Wood next addressed the meeting, with which the business closed. The thanks of the meeting having been given to the chairman, the assembly separated.—*Midland Observer.*

A "GREAT FACT."—From the 10th of April to the 9th inst., inclusive, 64 vessels, laden with grain, have entered the port of Newcastle, of which SIXTY-ONE WERE FOREIGNERS! Such is the operation of the "sliding scale," which renders necessary the chartering of vessels on your side of the water, instead of this. If the trade were free, British ships would be sent out for the corn; but the gambling nature of the speculation almost always requires that shipments be made immediately on receipts of orders; and hence not only do foreign vessels obtain the carriage of the grain, but they frequently do so on terms much higher than would otherwise be the case.—*Gateshead Observer.*

SOUTH LANCASHIRE ELECTION.

THE FREE-TRADE CANDIDATE, WILLIAM BROWN, ESQ.

(From the Manchester Guardian.)

We learn that the gentleman who has been selected by the friends of Free Trade as the candidate of the Liberal interest in South Lancashire has already been made the object, in quarters where he is not known, of various misrepresentations and grossly false statements, with the view of damaging his success with the electors. Amongst other things, it has been alleged that he is an American, a Catholic, a Dissenter, &c., not one of which allegations is true. We cannot, perhaps, do better than insert the following statement, abridged from the *Liverpool Times* of yesterday, as placing the personal history and character of Mr. Brown fairly before the constituency of South Lancashire; and, appearing in a journal published in that town where Mr. Brown has so long resided, it cannot fail to have due weight with those at a distance, in putting down the industriously-circulated falsehoods by which unscrupulous opponents are seeking to injure his cause with the electors:—

Mr. Brown (says the *Liverpool Times*) is a gentleman whose knowledge of the wants of the commerce and manufactures of the country, and whose hearty adoption and liberal support of Free-Trade principles give him as strong a claim on the confidence of the commercial and manufacturing classes of South Lancashire, as his extensive landed estates and deep interest in the prosperity of agriculture give him on those more immediately connected with the soil. During the whole of his long, honourable, and eminently successful career as a merchant, Mr. Brown has been accumulating that description of knowledge and experience which is the safest guide in the discussion and decision of those great questions on which the prosperity of the nation and the well-being of every individual in it depend; and, by investing so large a portion of his wealth in landed property, he has given ample security that he will never forget the just claims of that important interest. Mr. Brown is not indeed one of those false friends of the landed interest who believe that the prosperity of agriculture can be promoted by measures destructive of the manufactures and commerce of the country. He has had ample opportunities of seeing—and, indeed, who has not?—that every extension of commercial and manufacturing wealth gives an increased value to the soil, and he has therefore felt himself bound, both by principle and an enlightened view of his own interests as a landowner as well as a merchant, to adopt, defend, and promote those principles which, by giving the greatest present impulse to trade, will give the greatest extension and stability to agriculture.

Mr. Brown was born at Ballymena, in the county of Antrim, and educated in Yorkshire, in which county he now possesses a large landed estate. He left this country for the United States in the year 1800, returned to England in 1808, and has resided in the neighbourhood of Liverpool ever since. We mention these circumstances, about which there is no more doubt than there is about Mr. Brown's existence, because it has been stated that he is a native of the United States; and, for the purpose of contradicting another misstatement, we add that Mr. Brown, though born in one of the most Presbyterian districts of Ireland, has for many years been a member of the Established Church, and one of the congregation, as well as a personal friend, of that accomplished scholar and clergyman, the Rev. Edward Hull. Of the benevolence of Mr. Brown, and his disposition to use the wealth which he has acquired by his judgment and enterprise in the relief of his fellow-creatures, we need adduce no further proof than the fact, that he is this very day to assist in laying the foundation-stone of the new Northern Dispensary, in this town, to which he several months ago contributed the munificent sum of £1000.

We may add, that no one has deserved the support of those interested in the manufacturing industry of the country more than Mr. Brown. For between twenty and thirty years his firm have been the most extensive exporters of manufactured goods in the empire; and to the evidence of Mr. Brown, given before the committee on the East India Charter, and given in direct opposition to his own interests as the agent of the American houses which then monopolized the trade, it was in a great measure owing that the trade with China and the East was thrown open to every merchant in the empire.

MEETING OF FREE-TRADE ELECTORS.

On Tuesday evening, an aggregate meeting of the Free-Trade electors of the Manchester district, convened by circulars and placards, was held at the Free-Trade Hall, Peter-street, at seven o'clock. "to confer with a deputation from the League." It was announced that the meeting would be addressed by Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., R. H. Greg, Esq., and other gentlemen. Though this meeting was necessarily different in character from the ordinary League meetings, the assemblage being chiefly composed of county electors, yet the great hall rapidly filled; and the meeting was altogether a highly respectable one, and much more numerous than can be contained in any other building in Manchester. In the galleries were many ladies. Upon the platform we noticed, amongst others, the following gentlemen:—

Mr. Cobden, M.P., Robert R. Phillips, Esq., Mr. Alderman Kershaw, Mr. Alderman Brooks; Messrs. John Potter, Thomas B. Potter, James Carlton, J. B. Smith, T. Booth (of Rochdale), William Harvey, Alderman Hopkins, Alderman C. J. S. Walker, Robert Platt (of Stalybridge), John Hampson, John Leadbeater, Samuel Matley, John Rawson, H. Rawson, David Ainsworth, T. Critchley, Horatio Smith, John M. Clure, William Morris, Thomas Barton, W. Wainwright, G. Langworthy, Augustus Smith, A. Bauer, J. Hitchcock, W. Woodcock, H. Ashworth, T. Simpson, Joseph Simpson, John Whittaker (of Ashton), Robert Schofield (Rochdale), B. Syddall, James M'Jannet, Charles Ewart, Whitmore, J. Gibb, Vernon, Edward Hall, and many other members of the Council of the League.

Exactly at half-past seven, Mr. George Wilson took the chair, amidst loud applause, mingled with cheers for Mr. Cobden, who took his seat at the right of the chair.

The CHAIRMAN then came forward, and said that that meeting of the electors, residing in and near Manchester, had been convened irrespectively of all political party feeling, in order that they might have an opportunity of hearing those reasons which it was thought ought to influence them in giving their votes in favour of a Free-Trade candidate at the next contest for this county. (Applause.)

They had called this meeting of electors of all parties. The Free-Trade Hall was neutral ground. (Hear, hear.) It was not built for party purposes. There men of all parties could meet together; and when this great question was settled, they could again return and carry out their own party political opinions as they might hereafter think proper. (Hear, hear.) They met there to discuss the evils of the giant monopolies under which this country suffered; and the electors were asked to pause well before they gave a vote in favour of the continuance, for one day, of those monopolies. (Applause.) They had now an opportunity of putting them upon trial, and they were asked to hear the evidence which would be presented, why their verdict should be against them. (Hear, hear.) He had received a number of letters from gentlemen who were most anxious to have been there and taken part in the proceedings of that meeting. He would not detain the meeting by reading them, but at once proceed with the immediate business, by calling upon Mr. Cobden to address them. (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

MR. COBDEN, M.P., then came forward amidst the most enthusiastic cheering, and addressed the numerous assemblage to the following effect:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, if you were assembled here for private objects I should not be here amongst you. I have never, since I appeared in public, taken any part in mere party squabbles; and, so far as I may be considered to speak the sentiments of the Anti-Corn-Law League, I challenge all who have had opportunities of observing my public conduct, to point out a single instance in which my proceedings were influenced by any regard to any political party, or any individuals connected with party. (Hear, hear.) We have met here, as the chairman very properly says, irrespective of parties. I cannot point out any existing political party which takes its station upon the ground which the Free-Traders of the Anti-Corn-Law League now occupy. We have a section of politicians disposed to profess Free Trade in the abstract, and to carry out Free Trade little by little; we have another party taking its stand upon fixed duties and protection; but there is no political party that seeks at once to obtain the object which we have in view, that of practical and perfect Free Trade. Now, gentlemen, as often as we have spoken on this subject here, it cannot be necessary for me to go into any argument to show you we are right in the grounds we occupy: it is not necessary that I should convince, it is not necessary, I believe, that we should convince anybody; but we have powerful parties opposed to us, who believe they have an interest in the system we oppose. I met those parties at headquarters, with an overwhelming majority against me in the House of Commons; but I never found, even there, we could meet with arguments or reasons that served to establish the truth of their principles in the estimation of the country. This is a question, gentlemen, that is referred back to the electors of this country; and to no portion of the electoral body can it come with so strong a claim to their attention as to the electors of South Lancashire. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, we are not solely manufacturers in South Lancashire; there is a large rural district in this county; we have farmers as well as manufacturers. I have everywhere made good the principles of Free Trade on farming grounds, as well as on manufacturing grounds; and if there be one stronger ground than another, it is that which Lord Ducie and Lord Spencer have taken up, that is—as to the benefit which Free Trade will confer on agriculture itself. But unfortunately the manufacturers of this county, while they generally admit that Free Trade would be good for them, have left no time to consider this question of Free Trade apart, and altogether away from political partisanship. If we can only lay aside our old animosities and predilections; if we can only come to common ground, and consider this question of the Corn Laws apart from Whig and Tory views, I verily believe there are not at this moment two opinions among the manufacturing classes of South Lancashire. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, I am happy to say, that on this occasion we have evidences of our being soon (if we are not already) at that happy point when we shall be no longer blinded to our true interests, and the interest of the country, by such absurd delusions as those of mere Whig and Tory politics. I am happy to announce to you, that we hear from all quarters—not merely in Manchester or Liverpool, but in all the surrounding districts—we hear of numerous instances of influential and most intelligent men, who have on this occasion declared they will no longer vote as Whigs or Tories. The question before the country is Free Trade or Monopoly; and they will vote for Free Trade. (Applause.) It would be invidious to name the gentlemen who have already made this declaration, and, besides, it would be very partial and unjust to do so, for I verily believe we are only beginning our conversion; and, before this contest is over, we shall see such a change manifest among the manufacturing class of South Lancashire as even the most sanguine of us do not expect (hear); and I am perfectly convinced, however they may manage to keep up still the semblance of a division on the question of Free Trade, that this is the last contest for South Lancashire when any party will venture to come before the electors of this manufacturing district and profess to be the upholder of monopoly at all. (Applause.) And, gentlemen, if anything can prove this, it is the terms in which Mr. Entwistle has put forward his address to the electors of this county; there is, at all events, a tribute paid to the power of Free-Trade opinions in this county. For, although it is not an address professing to carry out the principles of Free Trade, it is full of compliments to those principles as far as they have been applied; it speaks of the permanent importance of manufactures and commerce, and it proposes, very intelligibly, to go on carrying out Free Trade as fast as somebody else, who shall be named, in London, will give the cue. (Laughter and applause.) Now, gentlemen, I think we are too old birds in Lancashire to be caught on the present occasion with chaff like this. (Hear, hear.) We must not be deluded or mystified by plausible lies. We want Free Trade; we don't want it ten or twenty years hence, we want it now (hear); and, if we can get it, we will have it now. (Hear.) But I am told that some of Mr. Entwistle's canvassers are canvassing the farmers for him as a Free Trader. Now, I don't set myself up here as a counsellor to settle matters of conscience; but surely, if gentlemen go to obtain promises under false pretences, they don't expect those promises to be binding. I should be sorry if they led the electors of South Lancashire into any mistake of that kind; and, therefore, it appears to be our bounden duty to warn the constituency that Mr. Entwistle

is not a Free-Trader, though his address does all that words can do to try to make it appear that he is one. But, gentlemen, we have a candidate, in the person of Mr. William Brown, of Liverpool. (Applause.) Now, Mr. Brown, as a commercial man, I should say is, of all others in the kingdom, the man that could be properly selected for the high honour of representing this county in Parliament; I say as a commercial man, for I won't disguise from you, and Mr. Brown would not thank me if I could disguise from you, that if we could, by deferring to the tone of public opinion in counties, obtain just the right man, connected with agriculture, and even connected with aristocratic families, in South Lancashire, Mr. Brown would be the first to say, "Take him in preference to me, as the man most likely to conciliate the greatest amount of support." I may tell you, we did apply to one gentleman in London, Mr. Pascoe Grenfell, brother-in-law of Earl Sefton, and had he not been at the time in the hands of his medical attendant, and confined to his house by a very painful disorder, I have not any doubt he might have been inspired to enter the breach on this occasion; for a more ardent repealer, one more thoroughly devoted to the principles of the League, I never found in the whole of my travels in England. (Hear.) Under these circumstances, we chose—I speak of the electors who took a part, for I was not in Lancashire at the time—the electors chose the first commercial man in Lancashire (hear, hear); he is a man who, if you want to test what he is, will answer to the question which Napoleon used to put when anybody talked to him of any man, that he was a great man, a distinguished man, or a man of vast superiority—Napoleon always put the question, "What has he done?" (Hear, hear.) Now, Mr. Brown has built up one of the most gigantic commercial establishments that ever existed in this or any other country; and he has, in the various ramifications of his business, probably contributed more to the facilities of commerce, to the interchange of the productions of this district, than any other merchant, or probably any other half dozen merchants, in England. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) Next to the reverence we have for aristocratic origin, is probably the homage which, in England, we (wisely or unwisely) pay to wealth. On the score of wealth, Mr. Brown must be unexceptionable to the most money-loving portion of us. If great riches give a guarantee, in the estimation of timid men, that the possessor of those riches is not likely to be a destructive in politics, why, then, Mr. Brown has given that guarantee, and will commend himself to the most timid amongst us. I know of no objection that has been alleged to Mr. Brown as a candidate for our suffrage, unless it be one which originated in idle gossip, I suppose, in the absence of anything really tangible; it has been alleged that Mr. Brown is not a British-born subject. I am happy to tell you, from the very highest authority, that Mr. Brown was born in the county of Antrim, in Ireland (hear); that his family were extensively connected with the linen trade; from thence Mr. Brown came to England, and was educated here; that he left England in 1800, went to America, and returned from that country in 1808; since which time he has been a resident of Liverpool; and, as the owner of large landed estates in this country, he has given that proof of his naturalization which will be both a satisfaction to our opponents as to his citizenship, and also recommend him as being an extensive landowner. There has been, I believe, some other allusion made to Mr. Brown, but we really don't talk of religious subjects here. Mr. Brown, I may tell you, is a churchman; and if he had been anything else, he would have been equally acceptable in this Free-Trade Hall, for we don't meet here on religious grounds. This is a description of the candidate who is presented to you, the electors of the southern division of Lancashire. If any of you know what a bale of cotton is, you are only one remove from a near acquaintance with Mr. Brown, who has in his hands one-sixth part of the trade between this country and the United States. There is hardly a breeze which blows, or a tide which flows in the Mersey, that does not bring a ship freighted with cotton, or some other costly commodity, for Mr. Brown's house; and not a lorry in the streets but is destined to carry cloth or other commodities consigned to the care of Mr. Brown, to be shipped to America, China, or other parts of the world. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, short of being himself one of the landed proprietors of Lancashire, Mr. Brown is probably more deeply interested in the prosperity of the land of Lancashire than any other man can be. I say, he is not in Lancashire one of the aristocratic families; but a gentleman having the mighty concerns in Liverpool to which I have alluded, and being, as he is, so intimately bound up with all transactions with which you are bound up in Lancashire; I say, second only to the numerous estates he possesses, Mr. Brown may be considered as securely anchored amongst you, and he has given every pledge that he is bound from interests to foster and regard the welfare of this county. (Applause.) Mr. Brown does not appear before this community as a party politician; if he has mixed with parties at all it is to moderate party feeling; and I will venture to say now, in his name, that Mr. Brown would deeply regret if this contest were carried on upon any other ground whatever than that of the strictest principle: and nothing would he deplore more than if his friends were to use one word that could indicate a party spirit; or, above all, if they were to say anything that could border upon personalities. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Brown, much to his honour, has taken a prominent part in Liverpool in aiding the labours of the Anti-Monopoly Society, and in Liverpool his adhesion to that society was an event about as important to our movement there as the adhesion of Mr. Samuel Jones Loyd to the League's proceedings was in London. (Applause.) And this step was taken, not in anticipation of any such honour as you are now striving to place in his hands; but it was done from a conviction of the baneful tendency of monopolies in general, and from a desire to do his utmost by his influence, which is so great in Liverpool, to put an end to a system so destructive to commerce. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) I may also tell you that Mr. Brown is not an anti-monopolist of yesterday; for there is one fact to be stated, so singularly to the honour of Mr. Brown, and which so strikingly proves the disinterestedness with which he is willing to assail monopolies, even when he himself may be supposed to be interested in them, that I cannot help mentioning it. During the time of the monopoly of the China market by the East India Company, Mr. Brown was one of those in England who had a monopoly of the

private trade with China, which was carried on through American houses. No English private house could trade with those countries; but the Americans took up the trade in an indirect way, and Mr. Brown was the agent for that commerce, which became a very important branch of his business. When the proposal was made to abolish the monopoly of the East India Company in the China trade, Mr. Brown went to London and gave evidence before the parliamentary committee in favour of opening the trade with China, though to do so would deprive himself of the monopoly he then had in the trade with that country. (Great applause.) This, then, gentlemen, is the candidate you have before you. He is a free-trader in corn; but, as a proof that he does not consider that free-trade in corn would prove injurious to land, he has invested largely in the land of this country; and I know at this moment that he is prepared as willingly to invest money in land, with the prospect of a repeal of the Corn Laws tomorrow, as he would be if the Corn Laws were likely to be perpetuated. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) And, gentlemen, let me remind you that Mr. Brown's property in land may be really as extensive as that of many of those landowners who make so great a talk about this monopoly of corn, and who, in appearance, seem to have a very much wider expanse of surface in their possession. (Hear.) When a merchant invests his accumulated gain in land, that land is his; but those men who are making the greatest outcry for this monopoly of corn, the men who are most prominent in opposing the League, are merely the nominal possessors of broad acres. (Great applause.) I have stated who Mr. Brown is, and what he is. Now, what is his opponent? I will not deal in personalities, by alluding to Mr. Entwistle in any other way than as regards his public career; but, putting the test which Napoleon applied whenever a man was spoken of, I ask, what has Mr. Entwistle done, in public or in private, to entitle him to your support? (Laughter and applause.) We are not opposed on this occasion to one who, owing to high aristocratic connexions or exalted descent, is considered, in this lord-loving country of ours, to be entitled to a sort of presumption of right to represent a county. That claim does not stand, at all events, before us. We know that Mr. Entwistle is a private gentleman of respectable character, and we know he is nothing else. I have not had, myself, an opportunity of listening to his speeches or of hearing his views; but there is a report of what he said the other day to his committee, with reference to the operation of the Corn Law, which certainly goes far to convince me that Mr. Entwistle cannot have given the slightest attention to the subject of the Corn Law at all. (Hear.) In addressing his committee the other day, Mr. Entwistle stated:—

"The proposition of a fixed duty had often been adverted to, as offering a greater certainty to the admission of foreign corn, but this had been objected to by others, and, to his mind, satisfactorily, as likely to place the aggregate duty at a higher amount—that was, supposing such a fixed duty to be 8s.—than it was even under the old sliding scale; and it was well known that the old system was calculated to keep the duty at a much greater elevation than the new system"—[present scale]. Now, gentlemen, you will see at a moment's glance, that Mr. Entwistle, in calculating how much duty was paid upon the old sliding scale, forgot altogether those times when the sliding scale was altogether prohibitory. He merely looked at the amount of duty paid upon corn under the old sliding scale; forgetting that the scale was intended to keep out corn, and did keep it out, by making the duty prohibitory till corn rose to a famine price in this country, and then the people got in a scanty supply. (Hear.) Why, gentlemen, we do not hear such fallacies as this even in the House of Commons now; even there they are ashamed of them. (Laughter.) I can assure you, if Mr. Entwistle comes to the House of Commons, he will have to learn his lesson before he speaks there, or he will actually be laughed at if he talks thus. Now, we do not come here to talk of fixed duties or sliding scales, but if a gentleman, a candidate for this division of the county, professing to know something of the difference between them, comes forward to give his views on the subject, he certainly should not talk to the men of South Lancashire in this style. (Laughter.) Why, under the old sliding scale, there was a duty on corn of 50s. or 60s. per quarter: the corn we wanted would have come in if they would have allowed it, but they put on a duty, by the sliding scale, of 50s. or 60s. to prevent it coming in; and then Mr. Entwistle adduces the fact, that corn did not come in, as a proof that the sliding scale does not do us any harm. (Hear.) We shall have, I suppose, brother electors, the opportunity of hearing Mr. Entwistle's views on this subject; but, having learned that he has decidedly declared for a sliding scale, and against a fixed duty, I must confess I have been astonished to see the name of a gentleman prominently connected with his nomination,—I mean Mr. Hugh Birley; for I well remember that that gentleman met us four or five years ago at the Town-hall, when we assembled to petition for total repeal, with an amendment declaring that nothing but a moderate fixed duty could restore the commerce of this country; but that as the Whigs were in power, in whom he had no confidence, he was resolved not then to petition for a fixed duty. (Hear, hear.) But it now seems, if we may believe the newspapers, that he has actually been one of the chief men who have brought forward Mr. Entwistle, and that he is supporting him on the principle of a sliding scale. (Hear.) Now, I don't understand this; it is a thing utterly incomprehensible in this Free-Trade Hall. (Hear.) But I would like to ask the manufacturers and the millowners, of all classes and parties, in this district, just to look at this question as it affects them and their workpeople—and there is one question more especially to which I should like to call the attention of the electors of this district, and that is, the late excitement which has been created against the long hours of labour in this district. Now, I have watched very attentively the proceedings in Parliament on Lord Ashley's motion on the short-time bill, and I have heard it admitted by the leading men on both sides of the House that the Corn Laws and the other monopolies are the cause of the long hours of working in this district. (Applause.) I was walking down Parliament-street one day, just when Lord Ashley had brought forward his first motion, and I was mentioning to a gentleman the subject of the ten hours bill: he is a shrewd man of few words; and he shook his head, and said, "It will be quite impossible for the working classes to support the aristocracy with ten hours' work a day." (Peals of laughter and loud cheering.) But I did not expect to hear such specific admissions from the leading men on both

gides of the House, as I did on this subject. After Lord Ashley had got a majority to vote for his motion, Sir James Graham, speaking against it, with a view to get the House to reverse their decision, tried every kind of argument; at last, at the conclusion of his speech, he turned round very significantly indeed, with a look which he knows so well how to put on, to the squire behind him, and he said, "Let hon. gentlemen beware what they do. This restrictive system of ours is an artificial system (hear); it is like a house of cards: if you touch one, the rest will fall." (Laughter and applause.) I was sitting behind a rabid protectionist, a member for a rural district, and I touched him on the shoulder, and said, "Do you understand that?" (Laughter.) "Yes," he said. (Laughter.) Now, interpreted in plain common sense and English, what does Sir J. Graham's admission amount to? Why this: If you pass a ten hours bill, the corn laws, the sugar laws, and the coffee laws cannot be maintained. (Hear.) Why? He did not see, while making this appeal to the squire behind him—or he seemed to forget—that there was a Leaguer present, and that we should interpret his argument, and carry it out in the Free-Trade Hall. What does it amount to—this admission by the Home Secretary? Why, that the working classes here are working two hours a day to maintain the monopolists. (Immense cheering.) There were Lord John Russell and Lord Howick on the other side; they rose and declared that the ten hours bill could be passed with perfect safety, provided the corn laws and sugar duties, and other such monopolies were removed. (Laughter.) Now, this is very important, in more senses than one. It shows us that we are the real ten-hours people after all. (Applause.) Certainly any argument to make it appear that the Leaguers are long-hours men will be the most impudent and audacious argument ever used, after their own admissions thus made. But do not those admissions by Sir James Graham and his leading opponents involve a sacred duty on the part of the employers of this district, to unite together to remove that unjust load which compels the people in their employ to work two hours a day to maintain the monopolists? (Applause.) I would appeal to employers of every party in this country, I would ask them in the first place, from a sense of justice to those they employ—I would not put it upon a lower motive—will they lend themselves to a system which is crushing down the men, the women, and the children living around them and depending upon them; or will they now take advantage of this opportunity which they, the constituency of South Lancashire especially, have, by their votes,—for their hands and the working classes have no votes at all,—to put down a system that thus oppresses those who are dependent upon them? (Applause.) If I wanted to appeal to a lower motive than the mere sense of justice, I would ask them to look at the tone which has been manifested, not only in the House of Commons, but in the public prints, upon the subject of the long hours of labour in this county. It is quite evident—it is of no use denying it—that there is a demand on the part of public opinion in favour of less intense labour, on the part of the people of this country. I join in that appeal. (Hear.) I will not say a word about legislating on this matter—that is not our business here—but if I see that existing laws compel the working classes of this county (by the admission of the Ministers of the day and their opponents) to work two hours a day to maintain the monopolists, I, as an employer, should not be doing my duty, when a vote is thrown into my hands, as it is now, unless I voted for the removal of those burdens. (Applause.) And let not the employers of this district suppose that, whatever was the decision of the House of Commons last night, this question will be allowed to rest; for Lord Ashley has declared that he will pursue it to the death. Does it not become the master manufacturers and mill-owners of this district to see if there be not a way of meeting the requirements of public opinion, by removing these monopolies, which I firmly believe, as I stated in the House of Commons, would enable the working people of this county to have as good remuneration as they now have, and the master-manufacturers as good profits, without the intervention of us lawmakers—for they had better have as little to do with us as possible—upon ten hours a day as they now have upon twelve? For I am firmly convinced, if the people of this country had the full benefit of their natural advantages, they would be able to do as much, nay more, in ten hours than any people on the continent of Europe could do in twelve; and you would be put on a par with them at that number of hours' labour, if you only had the full, fair, and free advantage of all that nature has destined you to possess. (Applause.) I do hope that on this occasion we who have the franchise will endeavour to use it not for the benefit of a class, not especially for the benefit of the richest class, but for the benefit of those immediately dependent upon us (Hear, hear, hear.) We are charged in the London press, and it is widely disseminated, that those employing labour throughout this county are not giving that due consideration to the interests of those in their employ which they ought to do. I do not stand here to make the charge or to vindicate it; but I do say, that employers who still lend themselves to a system which grinds their people down to the dust, and compels them to labour for others who make a return to reward them for their toil, will be justly chargeable with neglecting the opinions of those dependent upon them. (Applause.) I hope that on this occasion we shall manifest not merely a desire to benefit those around us, but also to promote the best interests of the country at large. It is not merely the operatives here that will be benefited by Free Trade, they form comparatively but a small section of the country; but go to the agricultural districts, where, if they don't work as hard, their labour is as disagreeable and as painful as any here, and they are not so well requited; and if free trade in corn, sugar, and coffee will benefit our operatives here, it will also carry comfort into the thatched cottages of the agricultural labourers of Dorsetshire and Devonshire, and give to the peasants a comfortable meal of wholesome bread, where now they are often starving on miserable potatoes. (Hear, hear.) These are the objects we have in view in supporting a Free-Trade candidate on this occasion.—One word upon the subject of the duty which devolves upon us during the next fortnight. Vain is all our talk in this Free-Trade Hall—vain all our lecturing—vain the millions of tracts that have been distributed—unless we now buckle on our armour, and "work, work, work" till the day of election. (Great applause.) Gentlemen, the basis of all chance of success at an elec-

tion is a due attention to the registration lists. (Hear, hear.) The registration lists of this county have been diligently attended to during the last three years, to my knowledge; and there is upon the cards the fairest prospect of success, if the friends of Free Trade will only exert themselves during the next fortnight. (Applause.) It is true that we have in this county, as they have in every county, a large number of tenants-at-will, occupying £50 tenancies. There are 3000 or 4000 of these £50 tenants-at-will in Lancashire. If it were not for those, we have a large majority of the real *bona fide* freeholders of Lancashire with us; we are quite sure of that without going to the poll; but as many of these £50 tenants-at-will are not allowed to choose for themselves, then it devolves upon the freeholders, both in the town and the country districts, to counterbalance the undue influence of the landlords upon their tenants, by increased efforts upon those who are independent in their holdings or property, and who can vote as they please at this election. If due diligence be used, I have no doubt the contest can be won. (Hear.) It depends upon the labours of those upon whom this vital issue now rests—the Free-Traders and the League in Lancashire—upon their personal exertions in their respective districts, whether we shall triumph at the coming poll. It is impossible to overrate the importance of this contest. I do not say as some of our enemies, and some of our false friends too, have said, that if we lose it, "the League may shut up shop." No; the League never will shut up shop until the Corn Laws are abolished. (Immense and protracted cheering.) But this I do know, that if we carry this election for South Lancashire, it will be taken as a sign of the times by those who live in high quarters, and it will save us a great deal of labour and expense hereafter in carrying our question. (Hear.) But do not let them deceive themselves with supposing, if they over-whelm us now with their £50 tenants-at-will, that we are going to give up the contest. No; I have no hesitation in telling them, that, if they were to beat us now, it would only be the signal for a larger gathering in this Free-Trade Hall than ever before, to devise the means of beating them in another contest. But when I talk of this as a triumph, whom do we seek to triumph over? None; for we seek to benefit every one. There may be canvassers and partisans on the one side as on the other; but do we seek the injury of those parties? No; our victory will be, not a victory over men, but the triumph of a principle—one in which we believe our opponents, mistaken as they are on this occasion, are as much interested as any one in this Free-trade Hall. And it is with the strong belief I hold, that a large number of our neighbours are bringing themselves to these convictions, that I entertain strong hopes that this contest may be won by a large majority. (Hear.) For if those of our neighbours who have been amongst us for the last four or five years of intense suffering and disaster,—if the owners of cottage property, of empty shops,—if the men of Stockport, Bolton, Rochdale, and Bury, who have, during the four or five years of our trouble and distress, found their property wasting away in their hands, their bricks and mortar becoming valueless, and their cottages not even paying their chert rents,—can I believe for a moment that such a season of tuition as that which has passed away does not leave the fruits of conversion behind it? No; I believe that there is a vast amount of conviction of the benefit of Free Trade on the part of those who have fought us heretofore on Whig and Tory grounds, and that there is a still larger amount of doubt on the part of our opponents. I ask those of our political opponents (for they call themselves such) if they have now come to the conviction that Free Trade is for the good of all, to do that which many have done, both here and in Liverpool,—to throw aside their prejudices, and come out manfully in support of their opinions. (Hear.) I ask those who have doubts, not to record their opinions while these doubts are on their minds; but to abstain from a contest in which they do not see their way, and to leave it till another contest before they determine whether they will take the ground of Free Trade or resume their party politics. It is because I have sufficient confidence in the common sense and the sense of justice in my neighbours here and in other towns that I cannot doubt, if we work as we ought for the next fortnight, that this contest will be won; and then we will meet here again, not to triumph over any one, but to congratulate ourselves upon the victory; and when Free Trade comes, as come it will, with or in spite of this election,—for though it may be retarded, truth is invincible, and cannot be put down,—I shall hail as gladly the benefits that Free Trade can confer upon my political opponents, as any that it can confer upon myself, or upon those most naturally and closely connected with me in opinion or interest. (The honourable member resumed his seat amidst loud applause, after having spoken upwards of fifty minutes.)

Mr. Alderman KERSHAW in a short speech moved the following resolution:—

"That this meeting pledges itself to give to William Brown, Esq., the Free-Trade candidate for South Lancashire, its most cordial and honest support."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. John POTTER, and supported by Alderman BROOKS.

Mr. ROBERT R. R. MOORE next addressed the meeting amidst much applause.

At the conclusion of Mr. Moore's address, the CHAIRMAN put the resolution, which was unanimously carried, and three tremendous cheers were given for "Brown and Free Trade." The proceedings then terminated at a quarter past nine o'clock.—*Manchester Guardian*.

THE EDINBURGH ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION AND THE CITY MEMBERS.

The following letter from Mr. Macaulay has been received by the Secretary of the Edinburgh Anti-Corn-Law Association, in reply to the resolutions passed at the meeting held on the 22nd ult.:—

"Albany, London, May 1, 1844.

"DEAR SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and of the resolutions enclosed in it.

"Under ordinary circumstances I should have thought it sufficient to say, in reply, that I wished to see the Corn Laws totally repealed, and should vote this year, as I voted last year, for Mr. Villiers's motion.

"But I learn from the public papers that the meeting which passed the two resolutions enclosed in your letter passed also a third resolution, conveying a censure which I am not conscious of deserving, and a threat which, you

must permit me to say, will have no influence on my public conduct.

"I have, therefore, thought it desirable to write you at some length, and I am the more disposed to do so because I have been blamed for returning a brief answer to a communication which was made to me on the same subject a few months ago. I then expressed myself briefly, for this reason, that I had a short time before declared my opinion fully, and, having no change of sentiment to announce, thought it unnecessary to repeat what I had recently said. As, however, there seems to be still some doubt as to my views, I will try to explain them in such a way as may make them clear to all reasonable and candid men. To give any explanation which will not be misrepresented by envious and interested cunning is, I well know, impossible.

"We have two questions to consider—a question of political economy, and a question of practical prudence. The first question relates to ends, the second to means.

"The first question is this—On what footing would it be best for the country that the Corn Laws should be placed?

"The second question is this—By what line of conduct are we most likely to succeed in placing the Corn Laws on a good footing?

"Now, as to the first question there is, I apprehend, little or no dispute between us. I am, like you, for perfectly Free Trade. I have been represented as maintaining the doctrine that duties on the import of foreign corn may properly be imposed for purposes of revenue. But this is not quite a fair representation. I have indeed said, both in the House of Commons and in letters to my constituents, and I now say again, that the question of protection and the fiscal question are perfectly distinct, and must be decided on different principles. In no age or country, I conceive, can it be right to lay an import duty on foreign corn for the purpose of raising the price of home-grown corn. But it is easy to conceive states of society in which an import duty on foreign corn, imposed in good faith for purposes of revenue, would be a very proper resource for the financier. Whether in this kingdom, and at this time, such a duty would be proper, is a question on which I have never yet given an opinion. I will now plainly say that, having heard the question very ably argued on both sides, I have come to the conclusion that it is not desirable to lay a tax on foreign corn for the purpose of raising revenue. It is clear that such a tax would, in this country, take out of the purse of the consumer a sum many times greater than the sum which would come into the purse of the state; and this, I think, is an insurmountable objection.

"In theory, then, we are agreed; and now comes the question of prudence. Our end is the same. What means ought we to employ in order to attain it? This is a point upon which a lecturer on Free Trade has nothing to do. His business is to inculcate abstract truth; but the business of a member of Parliament is to effect practical good. Abstract truth does not admit of compromise; but he who wishes to effect practical good must often be content to obtain it by instalments, to purchase support by concessions, and to mitigate evils which he would gladly destroy.

"I know that there will not be wanting detractors to tell you that this is the cant of party, the shuffling of a man who wishes to compound matters between his convictions and his interests. I shall make no protestations; but I write you calmly to consider in what manner all the most important reforms in our legislation have been carried. Is there one which has not been brought about by means such as those which I recommend?

"The history of our country would furnish me with innumerable examples; but I will take only one or two with which we are all familiar:—Sixteen years ago, Lord John Russell succeeded in obtaining the abolition of the Test Act. Now, I conceive that the arguments for freedom of trade, strong as they are, are not stronger than the arguments for freedom of conscience. I hold that no theological test whatever ought to be imposed on any candidate for civil office. But in the year 1828 the Parliament was not prepared, and, I fear, is not yet prepared, to legislate on this sound principle. The sacramental test—the worst, in all points of view, of all tests—was abolished. But another test was substituted, a test less objectionable, yet still indefensible in theory and mischievous in practice. A person taking office was required to make a declaration on the faith of a Christian. In this manner our Jewish countrymen were excluded from many situations which they might hold with great advantage to the public. Nevertheless, all the most eminent defenders of the rights of conscience accepted the measure, imperfect as it was, with joy and gratitude. They knew that it made an irreparable breach in an unsound system; and that such a breach, when once made, would gradually be widened. They knew, also, that, if they rejected all compromise, and drove from them every road-juror who was not prepared to go the whole length with them, they would, with religious liberty on their lips, have done the work of the worst class of bigots, and would, instead of removing the grievances of the Jew, have perpetuated the grievances of the Presbyterian and of the Independent.

"I will give one more instance:—Call to mind the history of the Reform Bill—a great and salutary law, but not perfect even as originally framed, and grievously injured by subsequent alterations. I could not think it reasonable that Sudbury, with 4000 souls, should have twice as many members as Perthshire with 150,000 souls. I could not think it reasonable, that, while the old scot-and-lot franchise was abolished, the freemen—the worst of all classes of electors—should be suffered to remain, and to infect with their inveterate corruption the new and sound parts of the constituent body. I disliked the Chandos clause. I had many other objections. But, in spite of all these objections, was it not my duty to give zealous support to that noble law which swept away venal and servile boroughs by scores—which bestowed the franchise on hundreds of thousands who were excellently qualified to use it—and which first gave to Scotland anything that deserved the name of representation? If I, and all who, like me, saw defects in the Reform Bill, had set ourselves to attack it—if we had, at the general election of 1831, put up in every county and town candidates of our own way of thinking, to oppose Lord Grey's supporters, would you have had a better Parliamentary Reform? My firm belief is that you would have had no reform at all. The effect of our disunion would have been, not that the bill would have been carried without its blemishes, but that Gatton and Old Sarum would

have retained their privileges, that Manchester and Leeds would have remained without members, and that Edinburgh would still have been a close borough.

"These are mere examples. I may safely challenge you to produce a single case in which a great reform has been effected in opposition to powerful interests without co-operation among persons who did not entirely agree in opinion, and who, in order that they might act together, were under the necessity of making mutual concessions.

"Why am I to believe that, in this respect, the reform of the Corn Laws will be found to differ from all other reforms? Is the party which is arrayed in defence of the existing system so small and weak—so destitute of wealth and power—so timid and flexible, that we may here safely adopt a course which, if adopted with regard to the repeal of the Test Act, or with regard to the Reform Bill, would have been fatal? Have we such a superfluity of force that we can, without any risk, spare from our own ranks, and drive over to the ranks of our enemies, a great body of persons, some of whom have by their talents and virtues justly acquired the public confidence, only because, while they are prepared to co-operate with us to a great extent, they will not pronounce the shibboleth—'total and immediate'?"

"It is easy for the members of any Anti-Corn-Law League to deceive themselves about their strength. They are generally inhabitants of great towns. Everybody with whom they converse is for Free Trade. If they attend a meeting on the subject of the Corn Laws, they see every hand held up for total and immediate repeal. No supporter of the sliding scale, no supporter of a fixed duty, can obtain a hearing. It is not strange that even people so intelligent as my constituents should go home from such meetings with a conviction that the voice of the nation is on the side of the League, and that the good cause is on the point of triumphing. I am certain that you deceive yourselves. The House of Lords is against you almost to a man. But this is the smallest of the obstacles which lie in your way. If the House of Commons were with you, the Lords might find it necessary to yield. But you have against you a great majority of the House of Commons. If the constituent body were with you, you might hope to procure, at the next election, a House of Commons favourable to your views. But you have against you, I grieve to say, a majority of the constituent body. The electors who return the supporters of the present Corn Law may be less intelligent, but are at least as numerous as those who return the friends of Free Trade. The population of Wiltshire is double of the population of Edinburgh. There was an election a few weeks ago for North Wiltshire, and no friend of Free Trade ventured to show his face. The population of Exeter is double of the population of Durham. The return of Mr. Bright for Durham was represented as a great victory of the principles of Free Trade. But Exeter has just returned a supporter of the present law by an overwhelming majority. You have not even the West Riding. You have not even the great town of Liverpool. Remember, too, that the gentlemen who represent the Irish counties, though they in general support a liberal policy, are, on this subject, opposed to us, and would not be favourable even to such a bill as the late Government proposed to introduce.

"Under these circumstances, what is the policy which those who hold, in the fullest extent, the doctrines of Free Trade ought to adopt?"

"My advice is this—assert your principle and defend it; do your best to convince the rural population that you are not seeking for a benefit at their expense, and that their interest is, in truth, the same with yours; but, as it is probable that a long time may elapse before reason achieves a complete victory over prejudice, do not, during the interval, refuse to accept anything because you cannot obtain everything. Consider as a friend every man who endeavours to put the law on a better footing, though that footing may not be the best. The day may come when the difference between the supporters of Free Trade and the supporters of a fixed duty will be a serious practical difference. At present it is a mere speculative difference, and will continue to be so till sound principles have made much greater progress. What course may be expedient in the session of 1850 we need not now discuss. In 1844 our wisdom is to treat the supporters of a moderate fixed duty as allies.

"You have advisers who urge you to a very different course—to a course which never did, and never will, end in anything but disappointment and disgrace. They say to you, 'Regard all who do not join in calling for total and immediate repeal as enemies alike. Make no distinction between the Duke of Buckingham and Lord John Russell, between the Duke of Cleveland and Lord Howick. Nay, let no supporter of total repeal, who is inclined to tolerate the supporters of a moderate fixed duty, be himself tolerated. It is not enough that he is against all protection. It is not enough that, as a member of Parliament, he has redeemed, and far more than redeemed, every pledge that he ever gave. It is not enough that, in every division, he has voted exactly as you wished him to vote. Persecute him, unless he consents to persecute others. If he dares to recommend union and mutual forbearance among Reformers—if, despairing of at present accomplishing all that he desires, he is willing to co-operate cordially with those who are willing to assist us in obtaining half or even a quarter of our demands—eject him from his seat.' Such counsels have often brought gain to the demagogue who gives them: they have never brought anything but disaster to the ignorant whom they have misled.

"Have I misrepresented the language which has lately been held to you? Have I even exaggerated its absurdity? Of what do you complain? Of my opinions respecting Free Trade? They are your own. Of my votes? They have been such as you requested me, and are now requesting me, to give. In what division on the Corn Laws have I been in a different lobby from Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden? I remember none. My crime is simply this, that I have recommended union, that I have refused to concur in a policy which tends to divide against itself a force already too weak. As I have acted, I will continue to act. When a motion is made for the total repeal of the Corn Laws, I think it right to mark my opinion by my vote. But I am certain that the total repeal will never take place till the views of a large part of the agricultural population have undergone a change; and I apprehend that such a change in the views of such a population must be gradual. Being unable at present to

obtain the whole of what I desire, I will try, at least, to obtain a part; and, that I may obtain a part, I will thankfully accept the aid of persons who are not yet prepared to assist me in obtaining the whole. Towards those persons I will strictly observe the obligations of good faith and amity. I will not attempt to gain popularity at their cost; and I will exert myself, in conjunction with them, to effect reforms which, though not altogether such as I could wish, may yet be calculated to diminish the evils inseparable from monopoly, and to extend the commercial relations of the empire.

"If this exposition of my sentiments is unsatisfactory to my constituents, I regret it. But they must do their pleasure—my mind is made up, and I am ready to abide the consequences.

"I see that one gentleman who harangued the late meeting favoured his hearers with new definitions of Toryism, of Liberalism, and of hypocrisy. According to this teacher of politics and morals, a member of Parliament who does not submissively conform to the voice of his constituents is essentially a Tory, and, if he calls himself a Liberal, is guilty of adding hypocrisy to Toryism. My notions of right and wrong have been learned in a different school. I have been in the habit of considering a man who injured his country in order to curry favour with his constituents, not as a Liberal, but as a knave. I do not believe that Edinburgh will ever send to the House of Commons a man abject enough to sit there on such terms; at all events I will not be that man. If you wish to be so represented, you can have no difficulty in finding an intriguing sycophant every way qualified for the purpose. It will be for you to consider whether your dearest rights can be safely intrusted to the care of one who is destitute of honesty, courage, and self-respect. As for myself, while I continue to be honoured with the confidence of the electors of Edinburgh, I will attempt to show my gratitude, not by adulation and obsequiousness, but by manly rectitude; and if they shall be pleased to dismiss me, I trust that, though I may lose their suffrages, I shall retain their esteem.

"I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

"Your faithful servant,

"T. B. MACAULAY."

Mr. Gibson Craig has also written an answer to the resolutions forwarded to him. From his letter, which bears date the 2nd instant, we take the following extract:—

"As the resolutions of the meeting, therefore, and the speeches in support of them, convey the distinct intimation that even the slightest difference of opinion is to be visited by dismissal from the representation, I cannot but consider that such a course is altogether inconsistent with what is due to a representative whose opinions on general politics agree so entirely with those of the great majority of the constituency, and against whom no charge was made of neglect of their interests, or of abandoning the principles on which he was elected. Having so recently given a full and explicit statement of my opinions on the Corn Laws, I can now only refer the Association to my letter of 26th of December last, and remind them that as I then stated, that 'I shall in this session vote for every motion which has for its object the getting rid of the present Corn Laws,' I have consequently already voted for Mr. Cobden's motion, and of course I shall vote for Mr. Villiers's motion, and any others to the same effect."

On Thursday evening, the 9th inst., a general meeting of the committee of the Edinburgh Anti-Corn-Law Association was held in the Merchants' Hall, for the purpose of adopting a resolution in reference to the letters received from the members.

Mr. WIGHAM having been called to the chair, shortly stated the object of the meeting.

Mr. M'LAREN rose and said—When the letters from the city members were received, a meeting of the former sub-committee was immediately called to consider what course should be pursued. At that meeting I had the honour to propose that the letters be printed and sent to each member of the association. This proposal gave rise to some difference of opinion. The objectors thought that the tone and spirit of Mr. Macaulay's letter was exceedingly offensive, and that its general scope was calculated to injure the cause which he professed himself desirous to promote. They therefore argued that it should be left to himself to publish it if he thought fit, and that it should merely be read at this meeting. The majority, while they unanimously concurred in the opinion as to its offensive tone and spirit, thought there was only one person it could possibly injure, and that was Mr. Macaulay himself. In this opinion I cordially concurred. It was at length agreed, without a vote, to print the letters, and send them to all the members of the association, and to all the newspapers. They were accordingly put into your hands yesterday, and you have thus had an opportunity of considering them at your leisure. It occurred to members of the sub-committee that Mr. Macaulay's letter might be fairly interpreted in two different ways. The most liberal view was, that he wished to convey to us the impression that he was now prepared to give a cordial support to the cause of total and immediate repeal, as against any duty, whether fixed or sliding. The other view was, that while he was prepared in theory to approve of total and immediate repeal, and even to vote for it in certain circumstances, he would be ready to desert the cause whenever any Government with which he might be connected should propose a small fixed duty; and that any influence he possessed would practically be employed in throwing cold water upon League principles, and in advocating the compromise of a fixed duty. Similar views were entertained regarding the sentiments of Mr. Gibson Craig. It was at length agreed to propose, for the adoption of this meeting, a resolution which, without giving any decided opinion as to the correct interpretation of the letters, should express a willingness to receive them as conveying the most liberal view, provided the members should afterwards agree to homologate that interpretation on its being communicated to them. As one of the supporters of this course, I was requested to move the resolution which I am about to propose. But I must first explain that the committee unanimously agreed to insert in the resolution their disapprobation of much that is contained in Mr. Macaulay's letter. (Applause.) Several glaring misrepresentations regarding matters of fact were pointed out and discussed in the committee; and to some of these I was requested to call the attention of the meeting. In considering this letter, which, from its length, might serve as an article for a review, and which appears to have been written

with great care, as a sort of Whig manifesto, it will not be expected that I should enter into anything like a minute criticism. There are many statements which he has made, which are at variance with the real facts of the case; but I shall call your attention only to a few of them, just to show how he has taken liberties with facts, in order to suit his own theory; and that he has made statements which are extremely plausible in themselves, but which have no foundation. It will be for you, as a jury, to decide on the sufficiency of the proof which I shall bring before you in proposing the motion. The first point, then, to which I shall refer, is the impression studiously and carefully sought to be conveyed by various parts of Mr. Macaulay's letter, that he has never expressed opinions in favour of any duty for revenue, and that he had always opposed a fixed duty for protection. These allegations you find distinctly conveyed in his letter, although he has, no doubt, been very careful in the choice of his words, always stating less in the strict literal meaning of the words than he wishes you to believe. And here I would remark that I will look only to the fair import and evident intentions of the writer. I shall follow the rule of interpretation which Puley lays down in such cases, and adopt the familiar illustration which he gives of the sense in which expressions, or even signs, are binding on the parties who use them,—that if one man asks the way to London, and another, knowingly, points his hand in the wrong direction, that, morally, he is as justly chargeable with practising deception as if he had uttered words distinctly conveying the false statement. Keeping this principle in view, no candid person can doubt that Mr. Macaulay's letter is studiously written with the view to convey the denial of his former sentiments to which I have already referred. Now, what are the facts of the case? In February, 1843, he was written to by our respected chairman, on the part of the association, requesting his support to Mr. Villiers' motion. On the 22nd of that month, Mr. Macaulay replied in a letter of considerable length, which was published at the time in all the newspapers, and republished in the *Scotsman* last week, declining to comply with the request. In that letter he stated that in speculation he was opposed to any duty for protection, but that even in speculation he was not opposed to a duty for revenue. His words are these:—"But I do not, even in speculation, pronounce all duties on foreign corn to be indefensible; for I conceive that there are cases in which such duties, when levied in good faith, solely for the purposes of revenue, may be justified." But this is not all. He goes on to argue, as in his present letter, about the weakness of the League, the strength of the opposing forces, and the advantages of supporting a fixed duty; and then, in these terms, he distinctly repudiates the principles which he now says he always supported:—"Thinking thus, I will not pledge myself to support total and immediate repeal; and I am perfectly ready to take the consequences." Again, in the last sentence of the same letter, he assumes that this avowal will cause an opposition to his re-election, and therefore he says to Mr. Wigham, that "no part which you may feel it your duty to take regarding my seat in Parliament will in the smallest degree diminish the esteem and good will which I feel for you." I leave it to you to judge, after hearing these extracts, whether it be possible, with any regard to truth and fair dealing, to reconcile his sentiments, so plainly and broadly stated in the letter of 1843, with the denials of them which are so studiously embodied in his letter of 1844. And now with regard to the alleged misrepresentation of his opinions by "interested and envious cunning," who are the parties that argued incessantly that Mr. Macaulay was conscientiously opposed to total and immediate repeal, and in favour of a small duty either for revenue or protection? They were his own friends and supporters. This can easily be proved by a reference to facts. At the recent public meeting, the greater part of the excellent speech of Councillor M'Farlane, who supports the honourable member, and disapproves of the third resolution, was taken up in demolishing, which he did very ably, the revenue duty, or small fixed-duty opinions, which he believed were held by both of the members; and Mr. M'Farlane concluded his speech by expressing a strong hope that they would "disregard the trammels of party," and vote for total and immediate repeal. In like manner, Mr. Montgomery Bell, who moved the amendment, after expressing his regret that Mr. Macaulay "should be fettered and trammelled by party," went on to say that "the other difficulty was, that he (Mr. Macaulay) was still in doubt whether a low fixed duty would not prosper the revenue. The idea of a revenue from a fixed duty had been demolished both by Mr. Cobden and Sir R. Peel, and he could not but suppose that a man of Mr. Macaulay's powerful intellect would be open to these arguments." (Hear, hear.) These, then, are the opinions of the supporters of the members. On the other hand, friends of total and immediate repeal, who opposed the views of the members, were more sceptical as to Mr. Macaulay's having any serious objections to League principles other than what arose from party connexions. This scepticism was broadly stated by Balie Gray at the public meeting, and was reiterated by myself. Thus, it must be manifest that if there was any misrepresentation, or "envious and interested cunning" about the matter (which, however, I deny), it was exhibited only by Mr. Macaulay's supporters, not by his opponents. The second point will occupy very little of your time, at it is easily disposed of. In the course of my remarks at the public meeting, which were compressed as much as possible in the delivery, from the late hour at which I spoke, and still further compressed in the published report, I argued, as is known to 600 witnesses, that I did not believe it was from any scruples of conscience that Mr. Macaulay was prevented from supporting our views, and that it was his party connexions alone which made him oppose the voice of the great body of his constituents. With this conviction as to his conduct I expressed an opinion, that any man who thus set the opinion of his constituents at defiance acted on Tory principles, and, if a professed Liberal, only added practical hypocrisy to Toryism. Now, what was the conclusion to which my remarks plainly pointed? Not that Mr. Macaulay should vote against his conscientious convictions to please his constituents—for my argument supposed that his conscientious convictions and those of his constituents were identical, provided he would honestly act on them, and disregard the "trammels of party." The conclusion to which alone my remarks could lead any one was, that if party or other considerations prevented him, or any other man similarly situated, from fairly representing the sentiments of those who elected him, on the great public ques-

AGRICULTURE.

"LETTING THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG."

No man is wise at all hours; and it seems that the Duke of Richmond, excited by the obvious contempt with which his opposition to Free-Trade principles is regarded by the Ministry, has made an admission of motives which well deserves the attention of farmers and consumers. No one who has had much personal intercourse with landowners, or who has known any thing of the management of their estates, can hesitate to admit that the narrowest and lowest selfishness, the meanest and most grasping pecuniary greed, are the motives which mainly guide their actions. Here and there are some noble exceptions, but the observation is strictly accurate as regards the great body of landed proprietors; and it will be found that those who are most notorious for a narrow and exclusive regard for their own petty interests are the most ardent advocates of monopoly. Nor are the causes of this much beneath the surface, of which more presently. But there are many intelligent persons, who, having had no actual knowledge of landlords, that is, no business knowledge of them in their own districts, have taken as true the fancy portraits of themselves which lords and squires delight to sketch with a free, bold hand at rural dinners, protection meetings, and the like. There the landowners are delineated—by themselves—as overflowing with sympathy for their tenants, and ready to make any sacrifices to promote the welfare of the agricultural labourers; and as this self-glorification is usually vouched as true by the parson of the parish, and the principal land-agents and lawyers of the district, some of the educated classes, ignorant of the interior of rural life, imagine that there must be at all events some resemblance between the portrait and the reality. The speeches of the landed gentry at recent protection meetings have, however, gone far to dissipate such delusions, for the veil by which it has been attempted to cover the real object of the aristocracy—namely, rent—is singularly transparent. The continued though tardy movement of the Government in the right direction, and its practical adoption of minor measures of Free Trade, have, moreover, madened the monopolist leaders into an open betrayal of their real motives.

Thus the removal of all duty upon the import of wool, which is henceforth to be admitted into this country from all parts of the world without let or hindrance by custom-house officers, has aroused the monopolist Duke of Richmond from the sulky state of inaction into which he has apparently fallen since taking a room in Bond-street for the "Central Protection Society," and has led him to expose his spring of action in all its native deformity. Of course this hereditary lawmaker for the British people means to oppose the Government measure when it reaches the House of Lords; and in preparation for that opposition the ducal monopolist on Friday week moved for some returns relating to the wool trade. In so doing he said, "He only knew that in the year 1828 the reduction of the duty upon the importation of wool from 6d. to 1d. or 1½d. per pound was one which inflicted great injuries upon the flockmasters of England."

This, as was conclusively shown by subsequent speakers, is a statement the reverse of true; but it serves to show the motives of the monopolist leader, who said, "He thought the measure about to be proposed to them was a bad one; he disliked that measure because he considered it to be another step taken towards Free Trade. It was a matter which, if it did not affect the short-wool masters of Great Britain and Ireland, he would not be prepared to vote for." And his grace then wandered into some rigmarole about the Australian wool-growers. So far the monopolist legislator kept a slight covering of decency over his motives by pretending that it was the interests of the Australian wool-growers, and not those of "the short-wool masters of Great Britain"—of whom the Duke of Richmond is one—about which he was solicitous. As the sailors say, "let him tell that to the marines!" But after Lord Dalhousie, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, had shown that the high duty imposed on foreign wool in 1819 had seriously injured the British wool-grower, and that a nobleman who had then indulged in the day-dream that monopoly was profitable to the monopolists, found to his cost that the price of wool fell from 2s. 6d. to 9d. per lb.; and after Lord Brougham had proved by reference to tables of prices that the imposition of a high protecting duty on foreign wool had, on comparison of an average of four years before and four years after the imposition, reduced by about one-half the price of British wool, the Duke of Richmond, stung into the abandonment of all subterfuges, stood out as the unblushing claimant to have his own rents kept up by taxes on the community. He said the opinions of himself and his friends "had proved right in some items of the tariff—for example, on the article of salmon. They had been told that no salmon would come in. Now, he happened to have a fishery, which he had let on lease at £7000 a year

tion of the day, justice and fairness required that he should resign his seat. And many here will remember, that when I used the same argument at the meeting of the committee, and illustrated it at greater length, I referred to the cases of Sir Robert Peel, who resigned his seat for Oxford, and of Mr. Milner Gibson, who resigned his seat for Ipswich, in similar circumstances. And what has Mr. Macaulay made of this argument? He has represented me to have argued that members are bound to vote against their conscientious opinions, and even to injure their country, in order, by their votes, to please their constituents—a sentiment which, I am sure, every member of the association utterly repudiates and abhors, and which Mr. Macaulay well knows was never either expressed, or intended to be expressed, by any one. (Hear, hear.) The third and last point which I shall notice is by far the most important of the whole; and I beg the particular attention of members to it, because of its extraordinary misrepresentations. He seeks to convey the impression throughout his letter, in various shapes and ways, that in principle he has always been with us, that in divisions he has always voted with Mr. Cobden and Mr. Villiers, and that therefore we have acted a factious part towards him. He says, that, in our opinion, it is not enough that a member of Parliament should redeem, and far more than redeem, every pledge that he ever gave. It is not enough that in every division he has voted exactly as we wished him to vote. "Persecute him unless he consents to persecute others." He is anxious to make us believe that he has done exactly as we wished him to do; that he has invariably voted with Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden; and no man who admits that to be true can possibly come to any other conclusion than that Mr. Macaulay has been ill-used; that he has been persecuted; and that we have acted towards him with something like factious opposition. (Hear, hear.) Now, what are the facts of the case? The question of a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws has only been twice before Parliament, so that it cannot be difficult to ascertain how Mr. Macaulay has acted. The first occasion was immediately after the great meeting of delegates in London in February, 1842. That was the first time the motion was brought forward in the stern shape it has since assumed; for our excellent friends in Manchester, though they had all along advocated the total abolition of the Corn Laws, had not before demanded their immediate abolition by any specific motion to that effect in Parliament. Mr. Villiers's motion, which was brought forward as an amendment on Sir Robert Peel's bill, was to the effect "that the duties on corn should now cease and determine." Now, one would suppose, from the statements of Mr. Macaulay, that on this subject he had acted and voted with Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden. But what are the facts? On that occasion Mr. Macaulay made a long speech, in which he begins by saying that this was the first time he had spoken on the Corn Laws, and he was anxious that his opinions should not be misunderstood. After some complimentary allusions to Edinburgh, he says:—"And I can fairly say that I believe the people of Edinburgh have a feeling so strong on this subject, that I have reason to apprehend their disapproval rather than approval,—that they will not, at all events, be quite satisfied with my conduct in not feeling myself at liberty to support the motion of my honourable friend the member for Wolverhampton." Here is a man who now wishes us to believe that he has always been found in the same lobby with Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden, who begins his speech by stating that his constituents, he fears, will disapprove of his sentiments, because he cannot support the motion of Mr. Villiers. Here is a specimen of the credit which is to be attached to the truthfulness of Mr. Macaulay. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) After arguing the question as a man of his splendid talents can well do—after nicely balancing both sides—he states that he approves in the abstract of the principle of total repeal, and condemns the sliding scale. In short, after making a regular Whig-party speech, he concludes by stating that he will not support Mr. Villiers's motion, because the word "now" is in it. He has no objection, I dare say, to these laws being abolished next century, or after he shall have ceased to be member for Edinburgh, or at any other time; but as to their being abolished "now," he will have nothing to do with such a proposition; and yet this is the man who has always held our opinions, who was always to be found in the same lobby with Messrs. Cobden and Villiers. (Applause.) I remember very well hearing of the effect which this tail to Mr. Macaulay's speech produced, though it is not, of course, quoted in Hansard—that, after saying he could not support the motion, he walked out in a very stately manner, amidst the derisive cheers of both sides of the House. I think I have sufficiently shown up the alleged facts of his letter. I think I must have satisfied all who hear me that no credit is to be given to the statement of facts contained in his letter; that the whole statements are very prettily and skillfully put together; but the hypothesis on which they are built being destroyed, the whole tumbles to the ground. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) It is, therefore, of no use to go into his general arguments. I may merely notice in a general way the inference which he appears to deduce from the course which we have taken. He appears to think that all the honour of the House of Commons is monopolized by the Whig party; and that it is impossible to get an honest man as a representative for the city of Edinburgh, unless we get himself or somebody like him. If we get a man to support the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, he is described to be some trucking person in whom we should put no trust. Now, there are two classes of representatives, those who object to our principles, and those who approve of them—the latter being of the class of Messrs. Villiers, Cobden, and Bright. If we ask any of these gentlemen to stand as members for our city, we are, in effect, informed by Mr. Macaulay that we are bound to assume, that, because they hold the opinions which we hold, they must, therefore, do so from interested motives, and that we ought not to trust such men, but only him, and such as him. I do not mention this as a jocular inference, but as a serious matter of business. (Honest cries of "Hear" from Mr. Moncrieff and Mr. Maitland.) It does seem to be so brought out as intended to convey the meaning I have put upon it. We have often been asked whether we would really dispense with the service of men of eminence, who are such useful and valuable members on other public questions. Now, my answer has invariably been this—it does not follow that Messrs. Villiers, Cobden, and Bright, or men of that class, are less liberal on other questions than our members. On the contrary, we know

that the men who support League principles are likely to be more at one with the constituency in matters of general politics than either Mr. Macaulay or Mr. Craig. In his remarks about the power of the landowners, and the want of power in the League, he referred to the recent election at Exeter, as showing that the Anti-Corn-Law League was in a minority. I admit the fact; but the reason was, and it was not convenient for him to state it, that, while General Briggs, the Free-Trade candidate, was supported by all the friends of Free Trade, the Whigs either abstained from voting, or voted for the Tories. (Hear, hear.) There was a single paragraph in the letter of Mr. Craig to which he would refer in conclusion. He complained of the members being censured although their "opinions on general politics agree so entirely with those of the great majority of the constituency." Now, I do not question that Mr. Gibson Craig is sincere in this remark, for I believe him incapable of saying what he does not believe to be true; still I do not think their opinions on general politics coincide with the majority of their constituents. Of Mr. Gibson Craig's opinions I shall say little—they are to be learned only from his votes; but Mr. Macaulay tells us what his opinions are, for he takes part in the general discussions in the House of Commons. After making a few other remarks, which led to some slight interruption, Mr. M'Laren concluded by moving:—

"That having heard read the letters from the city members—Resolved, that while there is much in Mr. Macaulay's letter of which the association disapprove, they desire to consider both communications as conveying the impression that our representatives are now convinced of the propriety of supporting the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, as opposed to any duty whatever, in terms of the second resolution passed on the 22nd of April; direct this resolution to be communicated to them by the sub-committee; and in the meantime delay all further proceedings until the sub-committee shall think fit to call another meeting of the association."

Mr. RITCHIE seconded the motion.

Mr. J. MONCRIEFF, advocate, replied to Mr. M'Laren, and entered into a defence of Mr. Macaulay. He contended that Mr. Macaulay agreed with them in sentiments, and had not changed his opinions on the subject. He had made certain statements of his views before the question of revenue was mooted at all, and it was surely very unfair to seek to bind him down to those statements as the general explanation of his views. After quoting that part of Mr. Macaulay's letter in which he alludes to the distinction between the question of protection and the fiscal question, Mr. Moncrieff said he put it to the good sense and candour of the meeting to say, if it was fair to interpret Mr. Macaulay's views and conduct as Mr. M'Laren had done. There were just two questions to be considered in relation to the matter. One of these was a question of principle, the other a practical question, in regard to which they must be guided by expediency. The practical question divided itself again into two branches—the one being the point of revenue, the other that of protection. Now, if there was any difference at all between Mr. Macaulay and them, it was not on the question of principle, but on that of expediency. It was simply as to how far the abstract question could be carried under existing circumstances, and with a due regard to the substantial interests of the country. Referring to the cases of Sir Robert Peel and Mr. M. Gibson already adduced by Mr. M'Laren, Mr. Moncrieff said, he did not think it proper that, whenever a member happened to differ from his constituents upon any question, he should be immediately called upon to resign.

Mr. JAMES MACLAREN in a brief speech submitted an amendment, requesting an answer from the members whether a proper construction had been put upon their letters; but on its being explained that a reply was expected, the amendment was withdrawn.

Mr. E. MAITLAND, advocate, said that for himself and others—while there were expressions in the resolution with which they could not agree—they would offer no opposition to it, in order that the unanimity of the association might not be disturbed.

The resolution was therefore unanimously agreed to.

Mr. ARCHIBALD THOMPSON then moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Duncan M'Laren, expressive of the high confidence of the meeting in his sincere and disinterested devotedness to the association, gratitude for his unwearied exertions in the cause of Free Trade, and especially for his valuable services in twice superintending the collections of the contributions to the Anti-Corn-Law League (applause); in which he gratuitously performed an immense amount of labour.

Mr. R. R. BLYTH, in seconding the motion, said he hoped it would be considered as a practical refutation of the groundless insinuations contained in the letter of Mr. Macaulay. (Much applause.)

Mr. PRENTICE, editor of the *Manchester Times*, and one of the most distinguished members of the Council of the League, bore testimony to the merited compliment, declaring Mr. M'Laren was considered by the Council of the League the most efficient auxiliary they had in the country. (Hear, hear.)

The motion was carried by acclamation, and Mr. M'LAREN briefly returned thanks.

Mr. PRENTICE then shortly addressed the meeting. The *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle*, from which we have taken the foregoing account of the proceedings, thus concludes a leading article on the subject:—"We have said nothing regarding the tone and temper of these letters, and of Mr. Gibson Craig's we have nothing particular to say; but that of Mr. Macaulay betrays great irritation, and a pettiness unworthy of his high character. The plain insinuation of sinister motives, which he throws out against a citizen not more remarkable for intellectual eminence than for inflexible integrity, and more distinguished for both endowments than any other individual it would be easy to name, are contemptible in the last degree. Mr. Macaulay has mistaken his man. He little knows the real character of the gentleman at whom he evidently aims his envenomed shafts, or the estimation in which he is held by the inhabitants of Edinburgh; or he would have refrained from penning the virulent aspersions with which his letter abounds."

When the reduction in the duty on currants is urged on the ground of the advantage it will give to the great mass of consumers, while so high a duty is maintained on the flour with which they must be used, we are forcibly reminded of the beggar who, on entering a farmhouse, craved for a little salt, and then modestly begged for an egg to eat with it.—*Economist*.

After the passing of the tariff, his tenant came to him and said, "I believe you have permitted all your tenants of land to give up their leases after the alteration in the Corn Law?" Upon his (the Duke of Richmond) stating that he had done so, his tenant immediately applied for the same advantage, which was granted. Since then he had certainly obtained another tenant, but it was at the sacrifice of £2000 a year. It would not do, then, to say that no mischief had accrued from the tariff; it had done a great deal." Here we have a distinct avowal of the kind of mischiefs the Monopolists apprehend from Free Trade; and the whole may be summed up in three words, **REDUCTION OF RENT**. Now, let such reduction to any conceivable extent be in reality the consequence of Free Trade, is that to be for a moment put in competition with the public benefits derivable from unfettered commerce? This was well put in a quiet and sarcastic way by Lord Montegle, who said, "He was sorry for the loss the noble duke had sustained on his salmon; but it was consoling to recollect that, to the same extent in which the noble duke had lost by the change, the people had gained;" and even the House of Lords laughed at the misfortune of the huckstering duke. What, then, must be the tone of his mind, who can stand up in the Great Council of the Nation and plead his own paltry, sordid, grovelling interest as a bar to great measures of public utility? Can any term of contemptuous indignation be too strong to apply to the hereditary legislator, who thus uses his high functions in the spirit and with the objects of a petty huckster? What would be said of a jurymen or an arbitrator or a judge, who thus perverted a public duty to serve his own personal ends? We trust that when next the Duke of Richmond attempts to gull a meeting of farmers with follies and fallacies about the advantages of "protection" to farmers and farm-labourers, that he will be met with the cry of "Fish alive! Fish alive, oh!" for, whatever be his accidental station, it is clear that his soul is adapted for the superintendence of a fish-stall.

However, we have now the case against monopoly completely made out by the admissions of the Monopolists themselves; they have been compelled to plead at the bar of public opinion, and they have now admitted the full extent of their guilt. First, feeble Sir E. Knatchbull confessed that the Corn Laws are required to enable the landowners to provide for their jointures and settlements; then weak Lord Mountcashel admitted monopoly of the people's food was sought that the squires might pay the interest on their mortgages—like governments, they never dream of paying the principal—and lastly we have the head and leader of the monopolists, the plausible and cunning Duke of Richmond, forced openly to declare that it is **RENT**, and rent only, which is endangered by Free Trade. If the landed aristocrats do hold two-seventh parts of their rentals by means of the Corn Laws,—if that proportion is, as the Duke of Richmond assumes, a tax upon the industrious community of the empire,—then all the stir and fume of "Protection Societies" will become perfectly intelligible. And, with these facts before them, will the farmers continue to lend themselves to the delusion?

But it will be said, how is this want of intellect and morality amongst a class which makes so much pretension to both, and which has so many apparent advantages of birth, fortune, and education, to be accounted for? How is it that acts which would be disgraceful to a shopkeeper, and would make the name of any merchant, who did the like, stink in the nostrils of the sons of commerce, be matters of course with our landed legislators? The explanation is short and simple: *they are poor rich men*. With large incomes they are deeply in debt; their wants and habits of expense always exceed their means; they spend, by anticipation, all their own share of their nominal incomes, and in the midst of wealth they endure some of the worst miseries of poverty. We could name men of princely apparent fortunes who have for years been paying 40 per cent. for the loans by which alone they obtain ready money. In the words of one who knew them well, "their cash comes from, their wealth goes to, the money-lender." Have our readers never remarked how sensitive the Upper House is when any relaxation of the usury laws is hinted at? That is there matter of feeling! Thus it is that the factitious necessities of the great body of our landowners induce them to pervert their political influence to the advancement of their own sordid, selfish, and class interests, in utter disregard of the national welfare.

WHAT HAS MONOPOLY DONE FOR THE PEASANTRY?

It is impossible to take up a newspaper without seeing something which gives the lie to the Monopolists' assertion that the Corn Laws improve the condition and increase the wages of the rural labourers. Directly the contrary is the truth. Monopoly has impeded the progress of agriculture, and has spread crime and destitution amongst the agricultural labourers in all purely agricultural districts. Thus we find in the *Mark-lane Express* the following significant passage in an article upon a contemplated "society for the improvement of the condition of the labouring classes," wherein the writer says—

"We cannot refrain from advertizing to a subject to which we

have frequently before called attention, namely, the necessity of opening all new available channels for finding employment for the industry, for the sinew and bone of the country. It is of no use to preach the gospel to persons who had not got food; they are content to do so; but the means of doing so must be afforded them. With capital in plethora abundance, labour imploring employment, land swamped with water, half-tilled, or altogether uncultivated, we refuse or neglect to adopt measures which would relieve much of the distress and privation to which the labouring classes are exposed. The evil has, however, become one of such magnitude as to thrust itself upon public attention."

Now, the measure required as a preliminary to all general improvement of the husbandry of the country, by which alone the condition of the rural labourers can be improved, is a free and unrestricted trade in grain and all other articles of food: without this, all the efforts of all the benevolent societies are mere moonshine. More employment, and cheaper, or at least steady and moderate priced, food, are the requisites to improve the condition of the peasantry; and these will result from a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, and from nought besides. The reverend speaker, to whose speech reference is made in the above extract, was Mr. Buller, a clergyman of Birmingham, who also said—

"It was to the direful destitution which existed in the rural districts—for there also deep distress existed—that the incendiary fires which had of late been of such fearfully frequent occurrence were to be ascribed. He had lately been in Suffolk, and found that who a family of the poor were living on pig's meat—that is, a coarse kind of bread made of the bran usually given to the pigs to feed on; and it appears they have not enough even of that wretched diet."

And another rev. gentleman, Mr. Burgess of Chelsea, showed the absurdity of the allegation that we have any surplus population, saying—

"He entirely differed from an hon. gentleman (Mr. Stanley) who preceded him, when he ascribed the miseries of the poor to over population. Why, in England there were two acres of land to every human soul in the country, while in Saxony land, one of the most prosperous countries in Europe, there was only one acre to every inhabitant."

This is true; and let it be remembered that Switzerland is the only country in Europe in which trade is perfectly free. Instead of a surplus population, if our lands were cultivated in the way our best farmers cultivate their farms, there would be an actual deficiency of rural labourers. The following extract from a Suffolk paper offers a fearful practical comment on the falsehoods put forth by the Monopolists and their organs as to the benefits—save the mark!—the farming labourers enjoy under the existing system of restriction:—

"**SPREAD OF INCENDIARISM.**—Within the last few days fires have occurred at Chippenham, Wicken, South Lopham, North Lopham, at Foulton, Exning, Barton Mill, Rattleaden Hall, Buxhall, Coddensham, and Thetford: we omit to notice three or four conflagrations believed to have originated accidentally."

And amongst the suggestions put forth by the Blyth Union Association, formed in the same county for the protection of agricultural property from incendiarism, as the best means of arresting the crime, are these, which speak volumes against the system the majority of landowners are banded together to maintain. They are—

"6. By adopting every possible means of giving constant employment to the agricultural labourers through out the year, and of paying them according to the work performed, and not according to their necessities."

"7. By pressing upon the attention of the members, composed of landlords, land-agents, and tenant-farmers, the importance of carrying out the spirit of the 8th resolution, by devising means of increasing labour in such a manner as will secure to the employer a return equivalent to the additional outlay, without which the occupier cannot afford the expense consequent upon such increase of labour."

This implies a repeal of the Corn Laws.

THE FOREIGN COMPETITION FALLACY.

We have often shown that the largest imaginable importation of foreign corn can do little more than prevent an undue disturbance in our own markets in periods of deficiency; and the present state of the barley trade serves as an illustration to some extent of what would occur under a Free Trade. Our readers will have seen that the prospect of a great deficiency, if not a total failure, of the barley crops was last week apprehended; and another week of continued drought, without the least sign of rain, has since rendered that failure more and more likely. Under these circumstances, the price of barley having risen to the rate which admits practically of foreign importation, considerable quantities have been imported; and what do our readers imagine is the consequence of this "inundation of foreign barley," which the Monopolist lords and squires have affected so much to dread? We will answer by calling an unexceptionable witness, a monopolist organ, the *Mark-lane Express*, which, in its "Review of the British Corn Trade," thus refers to barley:—

"Barley continues to excite considerable attention, and, notwithstanding the magnitude of the arrivals from abroad, previous prices have been fully supported at all the leading ports (Of English the supplies have been quite insignificant, and it is highly probable that all which may still come forward from continental ports will be required by distillers. The greater proportion of what has been imported has passed into second hands, and, with about one-half of the quantity bought abroad during the winter and spring already in this country, there is no perceptible accumulation of stocks."

Here, then, we have an open foreign trade in barley, at prices perhaps some 4s. or 5s. a quarter higher than might have existed had the trade been free. Barley can now come in from all parts of the world; much has come in; and yet it has only prevented the consumers of barley from being visited with an exorbitantly high price in anticipation of the expected deficiency. Thus we learn from the same authority, that—

"With English barley we have been sparingly supplied, and nearly the whole of the 38,207 qrs. arrived from abroad having gone to distillers direct, the display of samples at Mark Lane has been moderate. Holders of this grain have manifested no anxiety to force sales, and though the disposition to purchase received a check by the showery weather on Friday, former prices were fully supported."

And to the same effect Messrs. Harris and Sons, corn-factors, say—

"Of foreign barley we have again to notice a very large arrival, but so much of it had been sold previously to shipment, that there is very little pressing on the market; and we cannot quote any alteration in value. The little fine English which has appeared has been taken off at full prices."

A little dispassionate observation of the facts and evidence which their own business presents, would soon lead farmers—whatever might be the case with mortgaged landlords—to become Free-Traders.

A FARMER'S DOUBTS.

The following letter from a Scotch farmer embodies the doubts which the agriculturists of that part of the country entertain with respect to the operation of free trade in corn upon their business. The Scotch farmers have leases, and some of them, like our correspondent, have laid hold of the notion that free trade in corn would produce the great reductions of price which are assumed in this letter. This is a mere chimera, which any cornfactor's circular would dissipate. For the purpose, however, of enabling farmers to examine the question, we publish the letter:—

To the EDITOR of the ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE.

"Whithorn, April 20, 1844.
SIR,—We Scotch farmers, who in general hold leases of land for nineteen years, are hence induced to lay out our money freely in improvements at the expiry of our 'back,' as we call it, from a reasonable hope of profitable repayment in course of its expiry. But, if the Corn Laws are abolished, the value of our produce will likely decline, our capital will be lost, and we shall be thrown at the feet of (with exceptions) a cold-hearted and rapacious aristocracy. How can you expect us in these circumstances to join your League? You say, Oh, this state of things will compel the landlords to make a new arrangement with their tenants; and no doubt it will; but will it be an equitable one while all the power of doing so is in the landlords' side? No, it will not; and in such a crisis you promise the Scotch farmers no help. Our English brethren, having no leases, are in a better predicament. We often marvel that you never propose to legislate for our safety or vested interest, concurrently with a Corn-Law abolition bill. We dare not speak out on our own behalf, without risk of our landlords' displeasure, which we do not wish to incur, when at every change of the Corn Laws our fortunes are placed at their disposal; and we are hence rendered more subservient than even the tenants at will."

"Why do you not propose along with a Corn Law repeal bill, a landlord-and-tenant equitable adjustment clause, with simple machinery for its working? If we had this fair play, we don't care how soon the Corn Laws perish; but further change without such a provision would be cruel and unjust to us. In the event of a considerable fall in the value of corn, some of us could still pay our rents, in consequence of much capital previously sunk in improvements; but we would lose all the profit we otherwise ought to have gained, as that outlay capital would go just to maintain the rent up to its present point, solely for the landlords' benefit. Can you wonder, therefore, at our aversion against you?"

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
A FARMER."

"P.S.—**EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT PLAN.**
"In Scotland the yearly average price of corn in each county is determined every year by a competent jury and evidence, and the verdict is called the 'fair price' of wheat, barley, or oats, &c. When a farmer offers a yearly rent for a new lease, he considers what the average price of corn has been for the last few years—say for the last five or six years—and calculating that prices may probably remain through the lease as they were then, being told so also by the landlord, and relying on the stability of the laws of the country, he offers rent for it proportionably. But if protection (to which, to be sure, he has no just right) is taken off, the farmer is undone. Well, here is a plan of an adjustment that is equitable in a tillage farm, viz., if the average 'fair price' of barley, wheat, or oats (according as either or both are grown on the farm), for the five years preceding a tenant's entry on his lease, induced him to promise a certain rent, what should he pay when, after protection is removed, the annual 'fair price' is so much lower? Or thus— if the 'fair price' of wheat for the five years preceding that on which he began his lease, averaging 48s. per quarter, led him to take his farm at £300 a year, what should he pay when, without protection, corn falls to 32s. per quarter? Answer £200. To this proportion we surely ought to be legally entitled; and it ought not to be left in the power of a landlord to say, after our funds are expended on his land, and prices, in consequence of altered legislation, fall, we will give no abatement of rent, but we will take the farm off your hands."

To reason upon the supposition that wheat is to fall to 32s. a quarter by reason of Free Trade would be merely absurd, for all evidence goes to show that such a fall is impossible; but assuming some reduction from the act of Parliament prices—or even from the "fair prices," which are real—there is no reason to suppose that the Scotch farmers have not partaken of the error of their English brethren, and staked too much upon their grain crops. Besides, if prices have sometimes been forced up unnaturally by the Corn Laws, they have been at other times no less unnaturally depressed by the system, of which the Corn Laws form the corner-stone. High prices, though only temporary, have stimulated the growth of extra breadth of grain crops, which for a year or two greatly increase the quantity of grain in the market, and at the same time materially reduce the consumption. A careful review of the prices of corn, and the state of the corn trade during the last thirty years, would show our correspondent that the fears he expresses are founded on reasoning wholly fallacious, and a state of circumstances purely imaginary.

A VOICE FROM THE FAR WEST.

In one of his able articles on English agriculture, in the *Agricultural Society's Journal*, Mr. Pusey concludes a comparison of what has been done in husbandry with what yet remains to be done, by saying that, after all, he was surprised to find how much good husbandry exists in the country. Just so it is with regard to Free-Trade opinions amongst farmers. A deputation from the League, or the Anti-Corn-Law lecturers, or perchance the loud-voiced but empty promoters of a Protection society, arouse the rural population of a remote district from the apathetic ignorance with which they had been accustomed to accept for gospel the squire's or the land-agent's nonsense about the Corn Laws; and forthwith it is discovered that here and there, amidst the isolation of the farmers' habits and occupations, there are shrewd active-minded men who have worked out for themselves the problem that it is by increased production alone that the farmer can hope to permanently better his condition. The following letter from a Devonshire farmer, which appeared in a Monopolist local journal, illustrates our remarks, and forms a significant sign of the times:—

(From *Trewhman's Exeter Flying Post* for Wednesday, May 2.)
"TO THE LANDOWNERS AND FARMERS OF ENGLAND.—The time is now arrived when the long-dormant energies of the English agriculturists are about to be aroused, and they are about to follow the example and imitate the energies of the scientific manufacturers of their beloved country.
"I will say one word to the landlords, and I do so with the best of motives. I find in Scotland the farmers pay their labourers 12s. per week and pay larger rents for land than are paid in England. How is this? I will tell you. In Scotland the land is let on lease for 19 or 20 years; this gives the tenant an interest in the estate, and enables him to pay a much better rent than he could if he had a seven years' lease, or no lease at all. In fact, no lease is better than a lease of seven years, for when he uses the estate as many men use a borrowed horse. Sufficient for the day is enough for the good thereof. There-

fore, gentlemen, you are the cause of the land not being well farmed, and a good deal of the England does not produce double the quantity of food for the use of men. This double production would give double employment, and make us a united and happy people, through every grade of society, from the high station of our beloved Queen up to the throne, down to the poorest peasant in the field. I admit I have laid a heavy and grievous charge on the landlords, or on those who come under it; but allow me to say I do not consider it is in the power of the landlords to make English farmers generally follow the example of Scotchmen, because it is a well-known fact that, in the West of England, above half of the agriculturists are wrapped up in the prejudices of their grandfathers and grandmothers, which run through families, like corn and bunions, from one generation to another. The new light that has sprung up in our land will open the eyes of all who are to be saved, and the Catholics must go to the wall. Why do Richard Roe and John Doe recommend short leases? Because they get paid for three leases, or, I should say, six in twenty-one years, instead of two for the same period; for I believe it is usual to make one for the landlord, and one for the tenant, whether it be seven or twenty-one years' term. This has been a great stumbling-block to England's prosperity, and can only be removed by gentlemen turning their attention to their own affairs, and not trusting to the shillings that care not for the sheep but for the skins. I do not wish to say one word against the highly-talented and respectable body of gentlemen connected with the law and laws of England, but I do say, they are the last men, in this or any other country, who should be employed to superintend farming, and the management of land. Gentlemen, employ or reward intellectual men, and men who understand agriculture, who can give instruction to your tenants, as is the case in Scotland. At all times be careful not to let your estates to those walking statues, to whom nature has given hands, but forgot to give them brains. I am glad to be able to say, and can bear testimony, that there are many, and very many, among the tillers of the ground, bright and noble examples to be seen, as stars in the west, both in Devon and Cornwall, and soon will be the barons, or the lights set on the hill for the guide of our land-marines and our national guardmen.

"One word to you, farmers, who never intend to alter. I beg to assure you, that the time will soon arrive when you must stand out of the way for brighter men, and brighter minds must occupy the lands that you now mismanage. The dog will not be always allowed to lie in the manger, because starvation will push him out, and poverty will prevent his return."

"I do not profess to be a prophet or a conjuror, but I do say that those who read the history of England, and the debates in our Parliament in less than half a century to come, will be surprised to see that the Government were puzzled to find food and employment for 25 millions of people for several years together, and that money was plenty and work scarce. What will that generation say to our wisdom? I will say but another word, and this is finished. Before fifty years are passed over our heads, fifty millions of inhabitants will find plenty of food, the produce of England's land, and the whole nation eventually will be as a garden, and mankind will be the gardeners. Then will arrive that which will be done by the spade—then will be the deliverance of the able-bodied people from the unions and workhouses. I do not hesitate to say that the land of England does not produce one-half of what it may be made to produce, if managed with judgment, energy, perseverance, &c. &c.; and, by a continued perseverance, you might quadruple your present production. I invite you to come and see what my little farm produces, and then you are beloved to go and do likewise—better if you can: I should like to see it."

"With the highest respect, and the best feelings, allow me to say that all I have said is for the purpose of bringing out the energy, and work into action the great resources that Providence has so bountifully bestowed on this happy land. I say happy land—it can be made so, if we are minded to do it. You must put your shoulder to the wheel, and your foot on the spade, and you will find the land always honest and grateful, and return you fifty, sixty, and one hundred fold for your outlay."

"Yours, respectfully,

"NICHOLAS TUCKETT."

"N.B. When I took my farm at Heavitree, from the profit I could not afford to pay 6s. per week to a labourer as well as I can now pay 10s. or 12s., because the land now produces three times as much. As to the Corn League (?) I think it will prove a great good, as nothing less than a huge monster will ever frighten our old prejudices away; and be assured the increasing population of England of one thousand per day coming into the world beyond those who go out of it, WILL SOON REPEAL THE CORN LAW, if you do not set yourselves in good earnest to cause the land to produce a large supply of food."

CONDITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.—

The *Western Times*, in noticing the dinner of the Torrington Agricultural Society, held on Saturday week, and which was presided over by the Rev. Mr. Johnson of Wembworthy, says:—"The Torrington Society was established in 1808, for the improvement of stock and the advancement of the condition of the labourer. How the North Devon stock has been improved the triumphant records of the leading agricultural exhibitions of all England will abundantly testify. How the circumstances and condition of the labourer have been advanced, hear the Rev. Chairman.—With regard to the condition of the labourer, he would not say much. It was not the question whether he should have 8s. a week or any other sum; for he was free to say, generally, that the state of the markets would not permit any increase of wages; but he would impress on them the great benefits which would accrue from a more general introduction of the allotment system, which would employ their leisure with profit to themselves. He then referred to the miserable condition of the labourers' cottages. He said a man living in a glass house should not throw stones, and he would frankly acknowledge that he had cottages not well arranged as to their interior parts, while the exteriors were not in good condition. But while he hoped to correct these things himself, should he hope to be enabled to induce others at once to see to the correction of what is a crying evil. (Hear, hear.) He said it from a melancholy conviction of the degree of truth which attaches to this picture, that it is impossible the labouring classes can live herded up together as they are, without distinction of age or sex, and at the same time maintain their moral attitude as Christians. (Hear, hear.) Here are the parents and their children—the father, the mother, their sons and daughters—all probably having a sleeping room in common. There is no separation of the sexes—no distinction as to the situation or age; and could any one wonder that but too frequent instances of depravity were the result? It was a consequence of indiscriminate and indecent mixture like this, that at an early age, and before its value probably was perfectly understood and known, that that which constitutes the true honour of woman was parted with, and, in the place of what might have been an ornament, a polluted member was thrust forth on society. (Hear, hear.) There is something very humbling and painful in the contrast between what has been done in this district for the brute beasts which perish, and what has been left undone for man, our fellow man, made in the image of his Eternal Maker, and endowed with an eternal soul."

REVIEW.

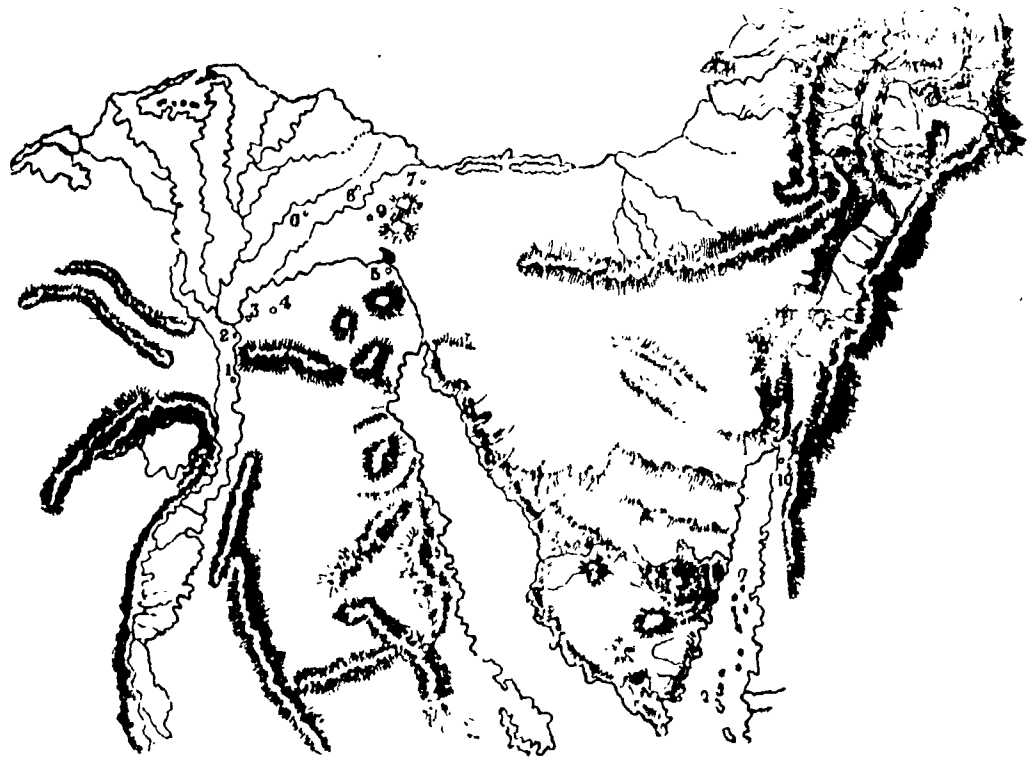
Heeren's Researches into the Commerce of Ancient Nations. (English and French translations.) Oxford and London, Talboys; Paris and London, Didot and Co.

The French translation of Heeren's *Researches* adds many valuable notes and illustrations which we should gladly see incorporated in the English version, particularly as they tend to develop the notices of ancient commerce contained in the Sacred Scriptures, and both to elucidate and confirm the narratives of the inspired writers. We deem that we shall be performing an acceptable service if we occasionally direct the attention of our readers to some of the commercial subjects incidentally mentioned in the Bible, for the purpose of showing on the one hand that the principles of Free Trade are strongly confirmed by that historical record whose truth cannot be questioned, and of exhibiting on the other the strong confirmations of Holy Writ which the researches of modern scholars and travellers continually bring to light.

In both points of view Egypt has the first claim upon our attention. The Pharaohs ruled over a settled nation, devoted to agricultural and commercial pursuits, ere the Assyrians had ceased to be hunters, or the Semitic races had advanced beyond the condition of wandering pastoral tribes. Civilization had reached an advanced stage in the valley of the Nile long before the banks of the Euphrates had been cultivated or the plough passed over the lands irrigated by the streams of Syria and Palestine. The spindle and the loom were at work in

the land of Ham, while the rest of the ancient world knew no better material for clothing than strips of bark or skins of beasts.

Egypt finds a place in biblical history at a very early period. We need not refer to profane history for proofs of the connexion between the ancient Egyptians and the various nomad races of Shepherd-kings, to which the Hebrews belonged. Abraham, the founder of their race, visited Egypt, and entered into friendly relations with its ruler. Hagar, and perhaps other natives of Egypt, accompanied him on his return to Canaan. There is even reason to believe that, during this visit, he profited by the learning of the Egyptians; for the records of his family history become much more ample and minute in their details after the account of the patriarch's visit to Egypt. Joseph, the great-grandson of Abraham, was the vizier of one of the Pharaohs, and obtained as a reward for his services the grant of a frontier province to his father and brethren. The settlement of the Jews in Goshen seems to have prospered, until "another king arose who knew not Joseph"—an expression which clearly intimates a change of dynasty. Consequently, as the descendants of Joseph, previous to that event, lived on terms of amity with their neighbours of Mizraim, they must have profited by their superior civilization, and borrowed from them their instruments of agriculture, of commerce, and of luxury. Finally, the Jewish legislator was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians;" and his ceremonial laws contain many traces of usages derived from a Pagan race, accommodated to a nobler faith and a purer worship.



1. Noph, Memphis.
2. Ramesses.
3. On, Arian or Reth Shemesh, Heliopolis.
4. Succoth, Silex Veteranorum.
5. Pithou, Heroopolis.

6. Piaseeth, Bubastes.
7. Migdol, Magdolum.
8. Zoan, Tanis.
9. Tahpanes, Daphne, Pelusica.
10. Ezion Geber, Berenice.

Before entering further into the subject it will be convenient to give a brief geographical description of the country.

"Egypt (says Herodotus) is a land of marvels, and excels all others in mighty works;"—"Egypt (says the prophet Jeremiah) is like a fair heifer;" and certainly there is no country of such limited extent so rich in the wonders of nature and of art. No people of ancient or modern times bears so strongly the mark and impress of locality as the Egyptian: the character, the habits, and the feelings of the nation were moulded by the nature of their country, and in an extraordinary degree identified with its climate and its soil. From the earliest antiquity Egypt has been called the gift of the Nile, not because the land was formed by its successive deposits, but because the irrigation and fertility of the soil depend entirely on the overflowings of the river, without which Egypt would have shared the fate of the districts by which it is surrounded, and remained partly a sandy waste and partly a stony desert. To this remarkable feature in the physical geography of the country the prophet Ezekiel alludes in his denunciation of divine vengeance against Egypt, "The land of Egypt shall be desolate and waste, and they shall know that I am the Lord; because he hath said, the river is mine, and I have made it. Behold therefore I am against thee and against thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste."—(Ezek. xxix. 9, 10.) From the cataracts on the southern frontier of Egypt the Nile flows in one uninterrupted course through a valley bounded on each side by a mountain chain, extending to a length of more than four hundred miles. Where this valley ends, the stream divides and forms by its branches the fertile part of Lower Egypt called the Delta, and also several marshes, which are less extensive now than they were in ancient times. The Delta indeed may be literally called the gift of the Nile, for its depo-

sits of mud and slime have, by their annual accumulations, gradually raised the soil in the long course of centuries, and converted pools and marshes into profitable land. But the valley was anciently regarded as Egypt Proper, for Ezekiel describes the country as extending "from Migdol to Syene and the borders of Ethiopia."*—(Ezek. xxix. 10.) The rugged mountains which enclose this valley in some places approach very near the brink of the river, so as to leave but a narrow space susceptible of cultivation, and sometimes recede to a considerable distance; but it may be generally stated that there is an average breadth of from nine to twelve miles between the barren rocks forming the base of the mountains and the margin of the stream. This valley was the earliest seat of European civilization, and in it were erected those stupendous works of architecture whose magnitude has enabled them to resist the hand of time and the more destructive ravages of barbarians.

At all times the Egyptians have been sensible of their entire dependence upon the Nile for the means of subsistence, and for their very existence as a nation: this feeling, combined with the natural tendency of man to superstition, induced the ancient Egyptians to deify their river, and assign it priests, festivals, and sacrifices. Even now, under the strict prohibition of idolatry by the Mahomedan law, extraordinary reverence is shown to "The Most Holy River," as it is usually called, and solemn forms of prayer and thanksgiving are appointed for the days upon which its waters begin to rise.

While the overflowing of a river is in most lands the signal of calamity, and diffuses universal consternation, the rising of the waters of the Nile is hailed as the promise of fertility and abundance, and is therefore welcomed by benedictions and thanksgivings. The inundation was typified by the

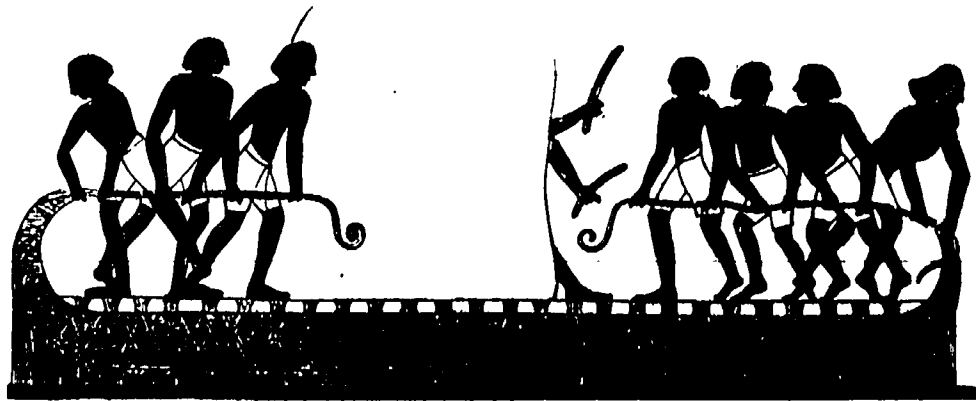
* Marginal Translation.

image of Cneph, the father of the Gods, pouring forth water from a vase, by which the fertilizing influence of the river and its presumed celestial source were equally represented. The mystery which shrouds the source of the Nile has been in all ages the prolific source of Egyptian superstitions: even at the present day many native Egyptians, both Christians and Mohammedans, believe that the Nile flows from the terrestrial paradise, to which they add that it is a perfect copy of the celestial river which flows through the mansions of the blessed.

These circumstances illustrate the terrific effect that must have been produced by the first plague which was inflicted by Moses at the divine command, the turning of the waters into blood, especially if we recollect that the object of Pharaoh's visit to the river was probably to observe the rising of the waters, a custom which has been invariably observed by all the rulers of Egypt, whatever was their origin. It is mentioned as a most striking result that the Egyptians "loathed to drink of the waters of the river." The salubrity and excellence of the waters of the Nile have ever been the theme of praise both with natives and foreigners. So nutritious were its qualities supposed to be that the priests withheld it from their sacred bull Apis, lest the use of it should make him too fat. The natives at the present day frequently stimulate themselves to an artificial thirst for the waters of the delicious stream by eating quantities of salt, and the Egyptians in foreign lands speak of nothing with so much enthusiasm as the delight they will receive from drinking the waters of the Nile on their return. But, though the waters of the Nile are thus pre-eminently good, that of all the wells

in Egypt is so brackish as to be scarcely fit for use. It is recorded as a fearful aggravation of the first plague of Egypt that "the fish that was in the river died."—(Exod. vii. 21.) The first great complaint of the Israelites when they murmured against Moses in the desert was, "We remember the fish that we did eat in Egypt freely."—(Numbers, xi. 5.) And this abundance of fish was still further increased by the ponds, sluices, and artificial lakes which were constructed for the propagation of the finny tribe. Hence Isaiah, in denouncing divine vengeance against the Egyptians, dwells particularly on the ruin which would fall upon those who derived their subsistence from the animals and plants of the Nile: "And the waters shall fail from the sea, and the river shall be wasted and dried up. And they shall turn the rivers far away; and the brooks of defence shall be emptied and dried up: the reeds and flags shall wither. The paper reeds by the brooks, by the mouth of the brooks, and everything sown by the brooks, shall wither, be driven away, and be no more. The fishers also shall mourn, and all they that cast angle into the brooks shall lament, and they that spread nets upon the waters shall languish. Moreover, they that work in fine flax, and they that weave net works, shall be confounded. And they shall be broken in the purposes thereof, all that make sluices and ponds for fish."—(Isaiah, xix. 5, 10.)

The supply of fish has not failed in modern times; the rod and line of the present day differs little from that depicted on the monuments; and on the lakes may be seen the immense nets which the pictorial records show to have been employed in the days of the Pharaohs.



"The small village of Agaltah, at Thebes," says Mr. Wilkinson, "pays annually 1500 piastres (about £21) to Government for the fish of its canal;" and Mr. Michaud informs us that the fisheries of the Lake Menzaleh yield an annual revenue of more than £8000 to Mohammed Ali.

The subjoined engraving exhibits the fisherman taking his store to market: it is probable that a small fish of the trout species, which is still regarded as a delicacy in Egypt, was preserved in the covered vessels, to save it from being injured by the heat of the sun.



The Egyptians were the first nation which history records as curing meat and fish with salt for preservation. The trade of preserving fish appears to have been more dignified than that of catching them, for the curers and salters are superior in look and general bearing to the fishermen. Diodorus Siculus informs us that twenty-two kinds of fish are found in the Lake Moeris, and that the numbers taken in his day were so great that, though a vast multitude of salters were engaged in curing them, they could with difficulty accomplish their allotted task.



The fishes were divided longitudinally by a short wide knife, not unlike that which is sometimes used

for splitting cod-fish at Newfoundland. They were cured with fossil salt, procured from the African desert; for sea salt, like other marine productions, was deemed impure. Sea fish could not be used for the same reason; and Plutarch tells us that the priests abstained from every kind of fish, thinking them impure on account of their possible communication with the sea.

Here we shall pause for the present, though we have not yet enumerated all the arts of life connected with the Nile in Egypt. We shall resume the subject at an early opportunity.

** We have received Mr. Disraeli's new work, "Coningsby," but must reluctantly defer our notice of it until next week.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received the letters of our foreign correspondent from Ostend and Ghent, which shall appear in our next. We have also received an admirable letter from a friend of Edinburgh in reply to Mr. Macaulay's letter, but for the last hour at which it reached us, we are obliged to postpone its insertion to next week. From a press of other matter we are again obliged to postpone several notices to correspondents.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one-quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadshy, Newell's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE.

THE WEEKLY MEETING of the LEAGUE will be held in the THEATRE-ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN, on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, the 22nd of May. The Chair will be taken precisely at HALF-PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK.

Cards of admission may be had on application at the Office of the League, on Monday and Tuesday, between the hours of eleven and four o'clock.

Applications for Private Boxes to be made personally or by letter on Monday.

The cards of registered Members will admit, as heretofore, to Pit and Galleries.—DOORS TO BE OPENED AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, May 13, 1844.

The men of South Lancashire are nobly exerting themselves to fulfil the expectations which they have taught the country to form. Mr. Brown's address to the constituency in Liverpool, and Mr. Cobden's energetic speech in Manchester, have excited a

generous enthusiasm which promises the most glorious results. The Free-Traders have nobly flung all party names, titles, and associations to the winds: they regard monopoly as their only foe, whether it be maintained by Tory, Whig, or Radical, and they look upon freedom of trade as their only friend, whether its principles be professed by Conservative or by Liberal.

No man could unite more happily than Mr. Brown the qualities which should attract support from the different classes of a district so peculiarly situated. And how well does his Liverpool speech put the question as relates to the agriculturists:—"About the year 1784, when the first bag of cotton was imported, the population (of South Lancashire) dependent upon agriculture was 52,000; the whole population of Lancashire being about 300,000. In 1800 it had risen to 600,000; and at this time it is 1,600,000. I am sure there is not an individual who hears me, or who will read what I say, but will say that that increase has conferred an incalculable benefit upon the landed proprietary." Truly, it must. And what will their lands be worth should the policy of Monopoly be persisted in till it turns back the wheel, and pauperizes, and drives to desperation, these multitudes whom commerce has created? Could men pause for reflection in the turmoil of electoral contest, here is matter to "make those think who never thought before."

The Monopolist candidate, Mr. Entwistle, in spite of his proclaimed disposition "to retain in a modified form the principle of a fluctuating duty," has found it necessary to render homage to the increased intelligence which the exertions of the League have diffused, and, while he hints his dislike to that body, he is forced to pay a reluctant tribute of respect to the principles they have promulgated. Hypocrisy has been described as the tribute which vice pays to virtue; and Mr. Entwistle's shuffling and equivocal adoption of the principles of commercial freedom is a similar example of homage to the League extorted from an enemy. The triumph of that body is thus to be rendered similar to that of the Roman conquerors, who were forced to take a slave into their chariot as they ascended to the Capitol. Seriously speaking, we have never seen an electioneering address which more clearly pointed out to voters the imperative duty of rejecting its author, than that which has been put forward by the rejected of Manchester. Mr. Entwistle declares that freedom of trade is essential to the prosperity and almost to the salvation of the constituency he aspires to represent; and at the same time informs them that he has had in a store of shuffling evasions and shirking excuses to prevent their obtaining the boon. We have already stated that South Lancashire will be disgraced if it should fail to return a Free-Trader; but if, after Mr. Entwistle's address, such a constituency should choose such a man as their representative, they will merit the shout of contemptuous ridicule with which the announcement of their choice will be hailed from Caithness to Cornwall—they will have earned the scorn with which their name will be pronounced from China to Peru.

But we confidently hope better things: we see the names of men mingling in the contest which in former struggles for freedom held a foremost place in the rolls of dearly-earned victory; we find the young animated by an honourable ambition to emulate the disinterested patriotism of their sires; we observe that many who have hitherto avoided all share in political strife have come forward at this crisis to do their duty to their county, their order, and themselves; and though last, not least, we see that many who had been previously trammelled by the old associations of party and the bonds of political fellowship, have burst their fetters and joined themselves to the increasing band of those who seek for freedom of commerce, extension of manufacture, justice to intelligent enterprise, fair remuneration to the operatives, and the common interests of all classes in our common country.

FREE-TRADE BAZAAR.

We omitted last week to state that the Bazaar intended to be held in Covent Garden Theatre, London, was fixed for the month of July next. The friends of Free Trade in this neighbourhood, therefore, ought to be prompt and active in their exertions to collect and forward contributions. There should be no delay about arrangements for stall-keeping, or display; but the details should be left to the committee in London—all care and attention here being devoted to the procurement of an abundant supply of materials for sale.

The importance of strengthening the hands of Free-Traders by all legitimate means was never more apparent than at present. A few months since, the League was treated by the Monopolist journals, and by Tory peers and members of Parliament, as a mere parcel of "low-bred manufacturers, and peddling shopkeepers." Now, the association constitutes a "Great Fact" everywhere; operating upon the House of Commons, within the walls and without, in driving even Peel and Graham into "movement," and in influencing the election of genuine representatives at places where heretofore length of purse has borne down all regard to principle. The enemies of the people, feeling the gradually overwhelming power opposed to them, have hence taken to denouncing the League as a dangerous body; whereas, but lately they reviled it as a contemptible one.—*Kendal Mercury*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOUTH LANCASHIRE ELECTION.

Shrewsbury, May 15, 1844.

MR. EDITOR.—The writer of the enclosed (given below), who resides in Oxford, is, as you will perceive, an elector for South Lancashire; and in addition has also votes for Manchester, Shrewsbury, and Oxford. Those votes, I regret to say, have hitherto been recorded in favour of Monopoly; but, thanks to the noble exertions of the League, their convincing and unanswerable pamphlets, together with the LEAGUE newspaper, which I have been in the habit of sending to Oxford weekly,—I say, thanks to the educational course of the League, the Monopolists have received their last vote from F. Rose.

The father of the writer is a tenant-farmer, occupying from 800 to 1000 acres in the neighbourhood of Oxford; and, like many more of his class, once thought his existence depended upon the continuance of the Corn Laws. Upon the publication of the three prize essays by Messrs. Hope, Greg, and Morse, I lost no time in forwarding a copy home, and I had very soon the gratifying intelligence that I need not "send any more Anti-Corn Law tracts, as he was quite satisfied of the injustice of the protective system, and that he was become an out-and-out Free Trader." The same pamphlet, to my own knowledge, was the means of inducing three other farmers to examine the question in all its bearings. The result was, two of the three became total repealers; the other wants a fixed duty. I have no doubt there are hundreds of similar cases.

Should the League succeed at the approaching contest, it will indeed be a triumph, a glorious victory of just principles over aristocratic tyranny and oppression.

I am, Mr. Editor, yours, &c., W. B. R.

Oxford, May 14, 1844.

DEAR BROTHER,—Yours I received this morning, and with it another, intimating that if I would vote for the Tory candidate (*Entwistle*) now in the field for South Lancashire, my expenses would be allowed. However, I cannot say whether I shall go down or not; but I shall, if I do go, most decidedly support that man (be he who he may) who will vote for a repeal of the Corn Laws; I do not now consider that a party question; it is one, as Brown says, "of vital importance," and I say it is one of justice and humanity, due to the half-fed millions of this country. Send me all the communications from that quarter as soon as you receive them. If I should go down I shall most likely make Salop in my way down or up.

Yours truly, FRED. ROSE.

EXETER ELECTION.

May 15, 1844.

SIR,—On reading in your valuable paper the account of the base, tyrannical treatment inflicted on the young man Snowden, for no other crime than the exercise of the dearest principle every freeborn Englishman, when privileged, should fearlessly record as his conscience dictates, I confess my heart recoiled at the mean oppression, and I determined to use my humble effort among friends who abhorred such conduct, in raising a small sum to assist him in the time of need, and cheer him on, for the noble courage so boldly displayed.

I trust the hint may not be lost, "That many may help one." The enclosed sum of £1 14s. from myself and friends, with the few remarks, if worthy of a place in your crowded columns, you will be so kind as to acknowledge, and forward to him as soon as possible.

I remain, very truly yours,

19, Little Pulteney-street, J. W. HUTCHINSON.
Golden-square.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEMORIALS.

GATESHEAD.—The requisition to Mr. Hutt, M.P., requesting him to vote for Mr. Villiers's motion, has been despatched to the honourable member by George Crawshaw, Esq., the secretary of the Gateshead Free-Trade Society. The electors were canvassed indiscriminately.

| | |
|---|-----|
| The number found at home was | 530 |
| Signed the requisition | 252 |
| For a fixed duty, and therefore would not sign .. | 14 |
| For Free Trade, but would not sign | 8 |
| Against Free Trade | 14 |
| Neutral | 42 |

At the only contested election for the representation of the borough, which took place in 1837, the total number of electors polled was 387; of whom 236 voted for Mr. Rippon, and 151 for Mr. Williamson. The number of electors on the roll is 566. Two or three of those who signed the requisition expressed their willingness to accept a fixed duty, as an instalment of justice.—*Gateshead Observer*.

WESTBURY.—A requisition, signed by 201 electors of this borough, has been forwarded to Sir Ralph Lopez, asking him to vote for Mr. Villiers's motion for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. When it is considered that there are only 383 voters' names on the register, and that of that number four are dead, and one name is entered twice, such a document ought to have great weight with the honourable baronet.—*Wills Independent*.

FREE-TRADE PRINCIPLES are walking on at a steady pace in this agricultural county. The Totness electors have a requisition addressed to their sitting members, now lying for signature at the Guildhall, requesting them to vote for Mr. Villiers's motion for the abolition of the Corn Law. The Free-Traders of Exeter have also met and appointed local committees to watch the registration.—*Western Times*.

ANTI-CORN-LAW TRACTS.—Within the last few days, the Anti-Corn-Law tracts have been distributed in the townships of Idle, North Bierley, Thornton, and Clayton.

REAL WEALTH.—The only test of the increase of natural wealth is the possession of an increased quantity of useful things in the aggregate.

THE SLIDING SCALE.—A vessel arrived at Bristol, after custom-house hours, with a cargo of foreign barley; and the next day (Thursday) being a holiday in commemoration of her Majesty's birthday, she could not be reported, or discharge her cargo. The delay occasioned a loss of £10 to the consignees, in consequence of the duty advancing to 6s. per quarter on the Friday. The corn-merchants were no doubt lost in admiration of the "sliding scale."—*Gateshead Observer*.

THE FUNDS.

| | May 11 | May 13 | May 14 | May 15 | May 16 | May 17 |
|-------------------------|--------|---------|--------|---------|---------|--------|
| Bank Stock | 194 | 194 | 192 | 192 | 192 | — |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann .. | 99 | 98 | 99 | 98 | 98 | 98 |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann .. | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann .. | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann .. | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 |
| Long An. Ex. 1860 .. | 12 | 12 7 16 | 12 | 12 7 16 | 12 7 16 | — |
| Cons. for Acs. | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| Exc. Bills, pm. | — | 72 4 | 72 4 | 71 | 68 70 | — |
| Ind. Bds. und. 10000 .. | 94 6 | 94 | — | 94 | — | — |
| India Stock | 288 90 | 288 | — | 287 | 288 8 | — |
| Belgian | 101 3 | 101 | 103 | 103 | 103 | — |
| Brazilian | 80 1 | 80 | 81 | 8 | 81 | — |
| Chilian | 102 4 | 102 4 | 102 5 | 102 4 | 102 4 | — |
| Columb. ex. Venez. .. | 14 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Danish | — | 88 9 | 88 9 | 88 9 | — | — |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. .. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Dutch 2 1/2 per Ct. .. | 61 | 61 | 61 | 60 | 60 | 61 |
| Mexican, 1837 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 |
| Portuguese, conv. .. | 46 | 46 | 47 | 47 | 46 | 47 |
| Buenos Ayres | 85 7 | 85 7 | 85 7 | 85 7 | 84 6 | — |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. .. | 24 | 24 | 25 | 25 | 24 | 25 |
| New do. 3 per Ct. .. | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| Peruvian | 29 30 | 29 30 | 29 30 | 29 | 29 | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, May 13.—There was a good supply of English Wheat at market this morning, early in the day it was held firmly at the prices of this day week, but the best samples only met a sale, inferior descriptions were less lower, and some remained unsold at the close of the market though offered at the decline. In addition to the large quantity of Barley that appears in the return, a considerable number of vessels arrived in time for this day's market; notwithstanding the continuance of dry weather there was more disposition to make sales than last week, but we cannot quote prices lower. Beans were less dearer, the supply was short. Peas fully maintain last week's rates. A good many vessels have arrived with Irish Oats since Friday; there was a fair attendance of country buyers, but the high prices asked prevented an extensive sale; the business done was at last week's rates.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

BRITISH.

| | Per Imperial Quarter. |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Wheat Essex, Kent, & Suffolk .. | Red 55 to 60 White 58 to 64 |
| Lincolnshire & Yorkshire .. | 54 — 58 — 57 — 60 |
| Scotch | 52 — 56 — 54 — 60 |
| Irish | 50 — 52 — 52 — 55 |
| Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire .. | Feed 20 — 22 |
| Ditto | Short 22 — 24 Potatoes 22 — 25 |
| Scotch | Feed 22 — 24 Potatoes 21 — 24 |
| Limerick | 20 — 21 Short 21 — 24 |
| Cork | 20 — 21 — 21 — 22 |
| Waterford, Youghal, & Cork .. | 19 — Black — 20 |
| Sligo | 20 — 21 |
| Galway | 18 — 19 |
| Barley, Grinding | 28 to 30 Distilling .. 29 — 31 |
| Malting | 32 — 34 Irish .. 26 — 30 |
| Beans, Mazagan | 28 — Tick .. 30 — 32 |
| Harrow | 32 — 34 Small .. — 36 |
| Old Tick | — 36 |
| Peas, White | 31 to 34 Boilers .. 35 — 36 |
| Maple and Grey | 27 — 30 |
| Flour, Best Town-made | per sack of 280 lbs. 46 — 48 |
| Norfolk and Suffolk | — 40 — 42 |

FOREIGN.

| | FREE. | IN BOND. |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|
| Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed .. | 58 to 63 42 to 46 | |
| Rostock | 51 — 63 42 — 45 | |
| Stettin | 48 56 40 — 43 | |
| Hamburg | 48 — 58 38 — 42 | |
| Odesa Polish | 48 53 36 — 38 | |
| Barietta | 48 — 54 32 — 38 | |
| Russian | 48 — 52 — — | |
| Ditto | 45 — 50 — — | |
| Spanish | 49 — 55 — — | |
| Ditto | 52 — 58 — — | |
| Barley, Grinding | 26 — 28 — — | |
| Distilling | 28 — 30 — — | |
| Oats, Archangel | 20 — 21 13 — 14 | |
| Swedish | 21 — 22 14 — 15 | |
| Dutch Potatoes | — 19 — 20 | |
| Beans, Egyptian | 27 — 28 18 — 19 | |
| Peas, White | 30 — 34 — — | |
| Ditto Boilers | 32 — 35 — — | |
| Flour, Canada | per barrel of 196 lbs 29 — 31 | |
| United States | 30 — 32 22 — 24 | |
| Dantzic | 28 — 30 — — | |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 6th to the 11th of May, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 6005 | 1050 | 2340 | 1155 | 187 |
| Scotch | 37 | 648 | 668 | — | — |
| Irish | — | 786 | 11863 | — | — |
| Foreign | 21556 | 38207 | 1458 | — | 319 |

Flour, 4420 sacks, — bars.

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending May 7, 1844.

| | Qrs. | Price. | Qrs. | Price. |
|--------------|-------|----------|-------------|---------------|
| Wheat | 3809 | 56s. 2d. | Rye | 62 29s. 7d. |
| Barley | 1905 | 31s. 8d. | Beans | 78s. 30s. 9d. |
| Oats | 12459 | 20s. 8d. | Peas | 195 31s. 9d. |

FRIDAY, May 17.—The supplies of foreign Wheat and Barley, and of Irish Oats, are large this week, but a considerable proportion of the latter arrived in time for Monday's market. There is very little business doing in Wheat, either English or foreign, at Monday's rates. There is rather more disposition to press sales of Barley, but prices on the whole, are maintained. The quantity of English Beans offering is very small, and needy buyers are compelled to give higher prices. The few parcels of Egyptian are held at 2 s. to 2 1/2 s. in bond, and at corresponding prices, duty paid. The trade in Oats is not brisk, but the holders are firm, and the business doing is at Monday's rates.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

Account of Corn, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 13th of May to the 17th of May, both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 7470 | — | 26490 |
| Barley | 491 | 215 | 32270 |
| Oats | 3580 | 30120 | 1700 |

Flour, 4750 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT OF THE NUMBER OF QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED MAY 11, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. |
| Weekly | 97909 | 55 1 21344 | 31 5 34480 | 20 5 8545 |
| Aggregate | 55 3 | 32 5 | 20 2 | 31 6 |
| Duty | 117 0 | 6 0 | 6 0 | 10 6 |

The Agricultural Society of Calcutta has petitioned Parliament to have the duty on the importation of Indian wheat removed, as has been done with regard to Canada.

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MAY 10.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

G. B. SALVI, Duke-street, Portland-place, wine merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

M. BRUNSWICK, Lime-street, merchant. [J. and C. Robinson, Queen-street-place.
J. ELLIOTT, Caxton, Cambridgeshire, innkeeper. [Pepper-corn and Wilkinson, St. Neots; Mitton, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane.
F. BANNER, Upper Thames-street, provision merchant. [Batham and Houghton, Verulam-buildings, Gray's-inn.
J. CLARK, Mincing-lane, Fenchurch-street, colonial broker. [Carterton and Co. Angel-court, Throgmorton-street.
R. S. SAKBY, Old Fish-street, City, wine merchant. [Gilbert and Co. Brabant-court Philpot-lane, City.
C. STYLES, Worthing, Sussex, grocer. [Buchanan and Grainger, Basinghall-street.
T. KEMPSFELL, Blackman-street, Southwark, builder. [Stanning and Caneil, Tonbridge, Kent; Stanning, Staple-inn.
S. WOODROFFE, Chestow, Monmouthshire, wine merchant. [Beavan, Bristol.
G. PARKER, Sheffield, spade manufacturer. [Duncan, Featherstone-buildings; Unwin, Sheffield; or Mr. Blackburn, Leeds.
J. DIXON, Sheffield, linendraper. [Walker, Furnival's-inn; Blackburn, Leeds.

DIVIDENDS.

May 31. R. L. Sturtevant, Church-street, Bethnal-green, soap manufacturer—May 31. W. Cheesman and Co., Sussex, china-men—May 31. N. Blake, Edgware-road, linendraper—May 31. S. F. Stephens, Old Broad street, City, bill broker—May 31. A. C. Marsh, Great Scotland-yard, navy agent—May 31. J. Lark, Seymour-street, Euston-square, boot and shoe maker—May 31. H. Southgate and W. M. Robertson, Fleet street, auctioneers—May 31. E. B. Kilpin, Ryde, watchmaker—May 31. R. H. F. Williams and M. Wilson, Liverpool, merchants—May 31. G. Francis and T. Francis, the younger, Cambridge, corn merchants—June 4. T. Baines, Bradford, York-hire, worsted spinner—June 3. J. C. Petrie, Durham, miller—June 5. J. Unsworth, Liverpool, joiner—May 31. G. Gibson, Liverpool, stock and share broker—May 28. J. Murray and W. Brown, Liverpool, millwrights—May 31. J. M. Birt, Liverpool, chemist—May 31. R. Brown and Co., Lancashire, balance makers.

CERTIFICATES.

May 31. R. Champion, Friday-street, furrier—June 4. T. Morris, Badajoz-cottages, and Salamanca-place, Hertford-row, and Mortimer-road, De Beauvoir-square Hackney, builder—June 4. J. E. Bunker, Lower Shadwell, merchant—June 8. S. W. Leonard, Frances-street, Golden-square, butcher—June 1. W. Thorpe, Yorkshire, scrivener—May 31. J. C. Petrie, Durham, miller—June 3. G. Wilkinson and J. Wilkinson, Durham, curriers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

J. MATHISON, Helmsdale, fish curer.

TUESDAY, MAY 13.

CROWN-OFFICE, MAY 13.

MEMBER RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

Borough of Abingdon.—Frederick Theisger, of Bryanston-square, in the parish of St. Marylebone, in the county of Middlesex, Esq., her Majesty's Solicitor-General, in the room of Thos. Duffield, Esq., who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

BANKRUPTS.

T. C. LANCEFIELD, Augustus-square, Regent's-park, builder. [Venning and Co., T. Kenhouse-yard.
J. PLKIDGE, Vauxhall-street, Lambeth, bricklayer. [Harpur, Kennington-cross.
W. BURTON, King street, Soho, upholsterer. [Bennett, Bloomsbury-square.
E. HAYWARD, Castle Hedingham, Essex, innkeeper. [Marston, Torrington-square.
J. M. POLAK, Coleman-street-buildings, merchant. [Maltby and Grant, Broad-street-buildings.
J. BAKER, Romsey, Hampshire, grocer. [Curtis, Romsey; Bower and Son, Chancery-lane.
E. BRENNAND, Highgate, ironmonger. [Bartholomew, Gray's-inn.
J. TODD, senior, and J. TODD, Bury-street, Bloomsbury, ironmongers [Roberts, Bride court, Fleet-street.
E. FOSTER, Dover, tailor. [Dods and Linklaters, Leadenhall-street.
J. S. AUSTIN, Bedford, surveyor. [Buchanan and Grainger, Basinghall-street.
E. REEVE, Liverpool, fruiterer. [Holme, Loftus, and Young, London; Booker, Liverpool.
J. HOWDEN, Wakefield, ironfounder. [Willis and Co., London; Sykes, Wakefield.
R. RICHARDSON, Manchester, gambroon manufacturer. [Reed and Shaw, Friday-street, Cheapside; Sale and Worthington, Manchester.
H. DRAKE, Barnstable, Devonshire, attorney-at-law. [Bembridge and Toller, Barnstable; Moore, Exeter; Toller, Gray's-inn-square.
T. H. WETMORE, Worcester, tea dealer. [Berkeley, Lincoln's-inn-fields; Hare, Birmingham.
E. BROWN, Birmingham, merchant. [Messrs. Whately, Birmingham.
J. W. HARRIS, Wolverhampton, wine merchant. [Phillips and Bolton, Wolverhampton.

DIVIDENDS.

* June 4. J. Bridgman and W. Dryland, Upper Chapman-street, St. George's East, tallow melers—June 4. J. Sewell, Chatteris, Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire, money scrivener—June 4. J. Hague, Rotherhithe, engineer—May 7. J. Farrin, Nine Elms, corn dealer—June 4. M. B. Evans and B. Eytton, Northumberland-street, army agents—June 4. H. Baxter, Montague-close, Southwark, wharfinger—June 8. W. Hitchcock, Regent-street, linen draper—June 4. G. Simons, King-square, Goswell-road, watch manufacturer—June 5. W. Huskisson, Birmingham linen draper—June 6. J. Moncas, Liverpool, watch manufacturer—June 5. J. Stewart, Liverpool, draper—June 7. W. Farrell, West Derby, Lancashire, cattle salesman—June 8. J. Evans, Liverpool, coal dealer—June 8. J. Richardson, Liverpool, merchant—June 5. G. Wilkinson and J. Wilkinson, Bishop Auckland, Durham, curriers—June 6. W. Bearup, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, joiner—June 4. R. Paddon, Hatfield, Durham, chemist—June 4. J. Price, Lanfist, Monmouthshire, money scrivener—June 6. T. Rawlings, Cheltenham, auctioneer—June 6. H. Jefford, Lyme Regis, builder—June 6. J. Reeves and W. Reeves, Claines, Worcester-shire, coach builders—June 5. J. Warburton, Bromyard, Herefordshire, miller—June 6. T. Reeves, Claines, Worcester-shire, coach builder.

CERTIFICATES.

June 7. J. Haddock, Craven yard, Drury-lane, steam machine printer—June 4. R. Webster, Oxford market, Middlesex, victualler—June 4. J. E. Ridout, Rinzwood, Southampton, wool stapler—June 6. H. M. Low and W. M. Westermann, Cavendish, merchants—June 5. W. Scott, Regent-street, wine merchant—June 4. J. and G. Ewart, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, auctioneers—June 5. T. Bomford, Cheltenham, hay and corn dealer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

J. JACKSON, Glasgow, brazier.

London: Printed by ROBERT PALMER (of Providence-place, Upper Kensington lane, Lambeth, in the County of Surrey) and JOSEPH CLARKE (of Number 350, Strand, in the County of Middlesex), at their Printing-office, Number 10, Crane court, in the Parish of St. Dunstan in the West, in the City of London, and published by ANNEGAN WALTON PARSONS (of Number 51, Norfolk-street, Strand, in the County of Middlesex), at the Office of Tax Laws, Number 67, Fleet-street, in the said Parish of St. Dunstan in the West.—Saturday, May 18, 1844.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 35.]

SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1844.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 87, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council respectfully request that their friends, in all places where committees for raising subscriptions to the £100,000 Fund have not been already formed, will proceed to their formation as soon as possible, and transmit their names to the LEAGUE Offices, Manchester.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

SOUTH LANCASHIRE.

There can be no greater error than that which has been studiously set forward in the monopolist papers, that the agriculturists of South Lancashire have no interest distinct from that of the manufacturers in the coming election. Landlords and tenants, proprietors and farmers, the owners and the cultivators of the soil in that district, owe all their prosperity to the profitable markets which the establishment of manufactures has provided for agricultural produce. Mills have drained the moors, and factories bestowed fertility on the moors; the spindle has given motion to the plough, and the shuttle has guided the harrow. There are localities which, within the memory of man, were productive only of rushes, now covered with the most lucrative of all crops, substantial houses, yielding to the landowner a larger rent per square yard than he could previously have obtained per acre. For any proprietor, then, to set himself against the further extension and expansion of trade is base ingratitude in reference to the past, and little short of idiocy in reference to the future. When Mr. Entwistle avers that the manufacturers have too much trade, he virtually asserts that the landowners on or near whose grounds factories are established have too much rent; and when he aims a blow at the profits of the millowner, he equally threatens injury to the wages of the operative and the income of the landed proprietor. They are equally dependent on each other, and he who injures one injures all.

The dairy-farmers of South Lancashire are more prosperous than their brethren in any other part of England, because the towns and villages which have formed themselves around the great manufacturing establishments afford a ready market for their cheese, their butter, and their milk. They have learned by bitter experience that they are deeply interested in the prosperity of trade; for at every season of manufacturing distress they have found the demand for their produce diminish with alarming rapidity, inflicting upon them a certain and ruinous loss, as they were not prepared to make arrangements for sending to a more distant market. When Mr. Entwistle denounces the extension of commercial enterprise and manufacturing industry, he virtually tells the dairy-farmers that they ought not to be able to sell their milk at their own doors; that they should not dispose of their butter and cheese at a profitable price to their next neighbours; but that they should look to some more remote market where their produce would bring a less price, independent of the toil and expense of carriage.

The grain and the esculent vegetables of South Lancashire more immediately remunerate their growers, because they can sell them within a few miles of the fields on which they have been harvested. They have to pay no freight for the transport of their corn to a remote mart; they have to support no waggon-train to carry their productions to distant purchasers. All that they produce is consumed upon the spot; they have a certain and steady demand; they have, while trade prospers, safe and profitable customers. All the Corn Laws that the perverted ingenuity of Monopolists could devise would not confer upon them one tithe of the advantages which they derive from having a market provided close to their hand, and customers brought to their own doors. Every farmer that votes against the extension of trade in South Lancashire—and no extension of trade is practicable save through its complete emancipation from the fetters by which it is constrained, trammelled, and restricted—every farmer, we say, that gives his support to such principles as those which Mr. Entwistle has advocated virtually lends his aid to close his best markets against himself, and to drive away from his doors his best customers.

We have always protested against the fraudulent and iniquitous attempts to draw a distinction between the interests of agriculture and manufactures. Agriculture is itself a species of manufacture, and, like all other manufactures, can only prosper by the prosperity of its customers. It makes as much difference to the farmer whether there are many or few to buy his corn, as it does to the hatter whether there are many or few to buy his hats; the grower of food is as much injured by the inability of his regular customers to purchase his produce as the maker of stockings is by their inability to procure coverings for their feet. Compulsory starvation and compulsory nakedness are injurious not only to the actual sufferer, but also to those whom under other circumstances he would employ to supply his wants. Producers of every kind, whether from the field or the loom, the pasture or the workshop, the dairy or the mill, are dependent for their prosperity on the consumers, and cannot injure their customers without injuring themselves. If the man who is coming to purchase the farmer's milk is robbed on the road, he loses his sustenance, but the farmer also has his milk left on his hands. Monopoly notoriously strips the operative on his way to market, and the farmer is consequently damaged to the full amount of the injury done to his customer.

Obvious as are these truths, they have tenfold force in application to South Lancashire; the farmers there have no security whatever for the permanence of their present incomes but the continuance of manufacturing prosperity. There are those among them who can remember the agricultural condition of their county, and the state both of the farmer and the farm-labourer, before mechanical invention caused towns and villages to spring up upon desert wastes, as if they had been called into existence by the fabled lamp of Aladdin. They know well how much farming enterprise has increased in extent, and how much the profits of farming have increased in value since mills and factories created almost a nation of consumers. They know, by practical experience, that the only limits to the agricultural prosperity of South Lancashire are those which restrict the number and the means of the purchasers of agricultural produce.

The exertions of the League have opened the eyes of the farmers in most parts of England to the fraud and delusion practised upon them by the pretended protection which the Corn Laws afford. It would indeed be strange if such a fallacy had any influence in South Lancashire, where its absurdity is most palpable and glaring. Who ever heard of a seller wishing to be protected against too great a multitude of buyers? Would it not be something like insanity for the vender in the market to complain that the demand for his goods was too exorbitant? Yet this is the very assertion which Mr. Entwistle proposes to the farmers of South Lancashire; this is the outrageous nonsense with which he hopes to dupe them into an abandonment of their own interests. The monopolist papers predict that such a monstrous delusion will be successful; we cannot believe them; after all that we have witnessed of men being led astray by plausible arts, ingenious devices, and cunning contrivances, we might dread the success of some piece of crafty sophistry, but we can hardly conceive the possibility of men being led astray by a pretext which would hardly pass as plausible within the worst wards of

Bedlam. It has been so often proved that the agriculturists of Lancashire suffer not less severely than the operatives in every commercial crisis, that we cannot conceive any man, woman, or child between the Ribble and the Mersey not feeling and resenting every attack on trade as a personal injury. We are sometimes filled with wonder at the boldness of Mr. Entwistle and his supporters in declaiming against manufactures in a locality where every object that meets the sight proclaims their silent refutation, and exposes their fallacy more palpably to the eye than all the oratory of ancient and modern times could demonstrate it to the ear. The blind man in St. Pierre's clever tale of the "Coffee-house of Surat," who denied the existence of the sun because he could not see it, was a model of logic and common sense compared with Mr. Entwistle and his associates averring that we have too much trade in the country. We should like to hear them propound their remedy, and describe their measures. What have they to offer to the manufacturers for diminished profits, to the operatives for lowered wages, and to the farmers for a loss of customers? We should like to hear them interrogated on the question of their proposed compensations to the several interests against which they have set themselves? It is too bad for them to ask men to inflict injury upon themselves, and to offer absolutely nothing as bribe or boon:—

"Protect us, mighty Providence!
What would these madmen have!
First they would bribe us without pence,
Deceive us without common sense,
And without power enslave."

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Fifteenth Week, ending Saturday, May 25.

We have nothing to report this week, of proceedings in Parliament, which come legitimately under the head of FREE TRADE; and, therefore, our usual notice must be very brief. The House of Lords rose on Thursday, and the House of Commons on Friday (yesterday), for the Whitsuntide holidays, so that next week will be altogether a blank in legislative "sayings and doings."

Sir R. Peel's resolutions on the subject of the renewal of the charter of the Bank of England and the regulation of the currency were adopted by the House of Commons on Monday night, and the bill founded on them was brought in on Friday. Its second reading will take place after the Whitsuntide holidays, when, probably, considerable discussion will arise on details, of which we may present some account. Meantime, we may remark that the "alarming unanimity," as Mr. Gisborne termed it, with which this measure has been received, indicates that Sir Robert Peel will be completely successful in getting his plan passed into law; and, therefore, for the next ten years we will be subjected to a great experiment, which is to test what effect on the trade of this vast commercial empire will be derived from a currency tied up and secured, as far as possible, from unnatural expansion and contraction.

Whatever opinion we may have on the merits of this plan, it is well that we should not be deceived, or be led to substitute one thing for another. A well-regulated currency is essential to the wellbeing of a commercial community. But currency is not commodity; bank-notes cannot supply the place of corn; we must have the articles to be bought, as well as the articles with which to buy. And indeed, though very far from being in the secret council of Sir Robert Peel, we have a strong persuasion that in his "heart of hearts" he feels that FREE TRADE must either accompany or be a consequence of his banking measures. A well-regulated currency will be of little use to a nation whose trade is contracted, while its population is increasing—nay, under such circumstances, a controlled currency must act stringently on profits, wages, &c., keeping down the value of capital and labour. But give us FREE TRADE based on a safe currency, and the whole complicated machinery of our commerce will work easily and smoothly; industry will have an unlimited field in which to expand, without fear of sudden collapse, and so far as legislative measures can control human will, and keep enterprise within the boundary of prudence, we may reasonably calculate that a measureless commerce working on a measured currency, will secure all material blessings without those fearful reactions and convulsions which have hitherto been the periodical result of bad Corn Law and bad currency law.

MEETINGS.

GREAT MEETING IN COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.

The usual aggregate weekly meeting of the members and friends of the Anti Corn Law League took place on Wednesday evening, at Covent Garden Theatre, on which occasion the chair was filled by Major General Briggs, late candidate for the representation of the city of Exeter. Every part of the theatre was crowded within a few minutes after the doors were thrown open, and there was an unusually brilliant attendance in the boxes, including a great many ladies. Among the gentlemen on the stage we observed—

Major General Briggs in the chair; Dr Cooke Taylor, the Rev Samuel Green George Thompson, Esq., Richard Taylor, Esq., W. J. Fox Esq., J. W. Heath, Esq., J. P. Nixon, Esq., J. E. Royle Esq. (Manchester) Robert Welch, Esq. (Huddersfield), T. H. Hall, Esq., A. Hall, Esq., N. V. Smeley, Esq. (Salisbury) John Wilson Esq., Alexander Jacob Esq. (Manchester) F. Scher, Esq., Captain Gear (Exeter), Messrs. Moor, James Lewis, Henry Franklin, George Dixon, P. Rife, J. Rogers, Moore, Knox, Compton, Ken, Phelps, W. Thornborough, Wagstaff Green, Samuel Harrison P. A. Taylor, J. P. Burdett, R. Lee, H. Underhill R. Wood W. Philo, W. D. Christy, H. Govey, J. Notes, William Miller Christie &c.

Mr. SAUL having read the minutes of the last meeting, they were unanimously confirmed; after which

The Gallant CHAIRMAN came forward, and was loudly cheered for several minutes. He said—Ladies and gentlemen, I am sorry to be obliged to open this meeting by communicating a piece of intelligence which I am sure you will all lament: that is the circumstance that Mr. M. Phillips, the member for Manchester, has been unable from indisposition to attend this meeting. However much we may deplore this circumstance, we must rejoice that we have been fortunate enough to find gentlemen who are willing to supply the places of those who are not able from such circumstances to attend. (Cheers.) The meeting, therefore, will be addressed this evening by the Rev. Samuel Green, by Richard Taylor, Esq., George Thompson, Esq., and W. J. Fox, Esq. (Loud and long continued cheering.) I beg leave to introduce to you, the Rev. Samuel Green. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. Gentleman then came forward and was received with loud acclamations. He spoke as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it would not be at all interesting, neither do I know that it would be at all relevant to the matter upon which I have risen to submit a few observations, were I to commence those observations with anything like an account of the reasons why I stand before you this night. I am not accustomed to address audiences anything approaching to magnitude to this, and I did not know that I was to stand upon these boards until 12 o'clock this day. I mention this circumstance for the purpose of throwing myself somewhat upon the candour of the meeting, and I hope I shall have it. (Great cheering.) I was going to say, just now, Mr. Chairman, that I was somewhat reluctantly induced to take the place I now occupy, but that I think that word "reluctantly" ought not to fall from any gentleman's lips in connexion with such an engagement as the present. (Applause.) Any man be his standing high or low, be his influence great or small, be his power mighty or feeble—any man, every man when called upon should be willing to give that influence and to concentrate that power to the mighty object which has convened this large assembly. (Loud cheers.) And, Sir, as I was coming here this evening along with the gentlemen by whom I am now surrounded, I could not help thinking that in these days it would be a somewhat difficult thing to find any man pressed reluctantly, unwillingly into such a service. (Cheers.) Why, Sir, if they were reluctant, unwilling to unite with the ranks of the anti-monopolists, that unwillingness must arise from something like an indifference to the great cause, or from something like a disposition to avow oneself the supporter of monopoly. I rather think that in these days but very few persons would have hardihood enough to acknowledge themselves supporters of monopoly. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Among the labouring people the lower classes they sometimes call them—it would be very difficult indeed to find persons avowing themselves supporters of monopoly. Surely if there were such among the agricultural poor, whose privations are so heavy, and whose oppressions are so grinding, unless they were humiliated and debilitated, and constrained to act against their convictions, we should find some of them coming forward upon these boards to oppose us. (Cheers.) Then, as to the trading classes of the community, Sir, there are circumstances enough to make them willing perfectly willing to come forward and advocate the great cause which has assembled us together. (Cheers.) It is true that at this moment trade is not in quite so depressed a condition as it was a few months ago; yet there are unemployed, or only half-employed, mills, and there are mills employed at a very low rate of profit; yet trade is still in a condition sufficiently depressed to constrain every man who is concerned for the best interests of the community at large—or who may occupy any standing among the trading classes cheerfully to come forward and avow, not that he is the friend of monopoly, but that trade should be free as air, for it is by trade that we all live. (Cheers.) I think, Sir, that although in the legislative assemblies of our land there are some of the staunchest friends of monopoly (cheers), yet even there many of them are ashamed of being accounted as sustaining such a character. Have we not been told recently that we should buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market? (Cheers.) Have we not been told that from the highest place in that house which ought to be the people's house? (Cheers.) Is it not, therefore, giving up to us that for which we, as Anti Corn Law League men, have contended, that we should buy anywhere, or everywhere, in the cheapest market, and sell anywhere, or everywhere, in the dearest or best market we can find? (Cheers.) Then, Sir, there are other classes. There are the great landowners. I was going to call them "aristocracy." I do not use the word in a bad sense at all, but even among those classes the number of men ready to avow themselves the friends of monopoly is exceedingly small: it is daily becoming smaller and "beautifully less." (Cheers.) I rather think, therefore, Sir, that there would be found in any class, but very few persons indeed who would be bold enough to come forward here and avow themselves friends of monopoly. I ought not, therefore, to say that I came forward reluctantly on an occasion like this. (Cheers.) I know the character which

I sustain. I know the office which the kind providence of God has called me to occupy in another place; but I can say in that character now, that every principle, every possible sentiment and feeling which I am accustomed to cherish and to revere, are in the most perfect harmony with the great and noble cause which has convened this mighty assembly. (Loud cheers.) Where should the minister of the Gospel be found, where should the follower of the meek and humble Redeemer be found, but among the ranks of those who are prepared to undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free? (Loud cheers.) Sir, I am a little amused sometimes in watching the progress of this anti-monopoly sentiment. Men occupying the place in society which it is my lot to occupy are not, perhaps, often found mingling with corn-merchants, farmers, and millers, in the great corn-halls and exchanges in their busiest hours; yet now and then it does happen that men of my class are found in such places. Now, it happens that once a year it falls to my lot to visit one of the principal corn-halls in this country in the very hours of exchange, and when there I converse with the respectable farmers and merchants and millers assembled. Seven years ago the gentlemen with whom I conversed in that hall would have spurned the very notion of free-trade in food. (Cheers.) Three or four years after I talked with the same men—and I would beg you to observe that I talked with them from year to year upon this subject, for it is a favourite theme with me in places of that sort—and when I mentioned Free Trade to them I was met with something like a contemptuous smile and a "Don't you wish, Mr. Greene, you may get it?" (Cheers and laughter.) Why, yes, I did wish I might get it. (Renewed cheering and laughter.) They spoke thus contemptuously because their monopolist Parliament had just been elected, and because their Minister had just ascended to the supreme place in the councils of her Majesty. Well, Sir, I went into the same corn-hall a year after, when Peel's sliding scale came out. "Oh, dash it," they said—that is the word in their part of the country, Mr. Chairman (a laugh)—"why we might as well almost have a free trade in corn as this sliding scale of Sir Robert's, he has deceived us all." (Loud cheers.) Last December I went there again. "Well, gentlemen," I said, "what think you now of free trade in corn?" "Oh, we wish indeed we could get it (great cheering); we should be in a much better condition if we had it than whilst we remain in the uncertain state that we are in at present." That shows, Sir, that our sentiments are making progress, and that they are making progress just amongst those classes of the community where it was thought once that they would never prevail, and whose support is almost the only thing that is required for their complete triumph. (Cheers.) Sir, connected with what I said of the advance of anti-Corn Law sentiments, and of their progress amongst particular classes, methinks some one in the gallery, or in the pit there, might say, "Oh, but you forget the Anti-League." No, I do not forget it, Sir (cheers); I know they have a long array of splendid names—my lord this, Sir John that, and Thomas the other, Esq. (a laugh); and I know that those gentlemen met together, and that they utter language which seems like the language of determination, and which sometimes even approaches to threatening, and I know, moreover, that this Anti-League has a purse that once promised to be a very long, and a very well filled one too, at their command, and I dare say it may be as long and as well filled as it ever promised to be; but this Anti-League will never come forward. (Cheers.) I should like, for one, to see the Anti-League taking Drury-lane Theatre (cheers, and cries of "They durst not,") and convening such a meeting as that convened within these walls to-night. I will tell you why I should like it—I should like it because then, at all events we should have a chance of seeing the men who compose the Anti-League, because we should have the advantage of hearing their arguments, and because, what would be to me almost the greatest comfort of all, we should have a chance of listening to the shout of derision with which a free and enlightened audience would greet their arguments; and that to me, Sir, would be one of the most cheering sounds in connexion with this subject to which it can ever be my lot to listen. (Loud cheers.) The Anti-League taking Drury-lane Theatre, and calling together a vast assembly in London to listen to their arguments in support of monopoly, would be the most cheering, the most delightful, the most hopeful prospect that I could possibly see; because I think if they put forward their arguments, and were to ask the judgment of a London audience upon them, such arguments would be condemned entirely and for ever. (Cheers.) I will endeavour to point out what kind of arguments they would employ in such an assembly. I don't think they would attempt to stultify a London audience by saying that nations will continue to trade with you though you don't trade with them. (Cheers.) I don't think either that they would refer to the high moral benefits involved in binding together the nations of the earth in one reciprocal bond of amity and affection by means of a wide and extended system of Free Trade. (Cheers.) Still less do I think they would refer to a vastly higher consideration—the religion of Jesus Christ, who has commanded me to do to others as I would that they should do to me, and who has enjoined me to stretch forth the hand of justice first, and then the hand of charity to all. (Loud cheers.) They will tell you, perhaps, that the nation has flourished under these Corn Laws. Well, that is very true—so it has, and I am thankful that it has; but the nation has flourished under feudalism, and would they wish to bring back the times of lords and serfs? (Cheers.) The nation flourished under the religious persecution of the Stuarts—would they then wish to bring back the persecution of the Stuarts? (Cheers.) Perhaps some of them may be longing for that sort of thing. The nation flourished when Cotton and Old Sarum and such rotten boroughs formed a part of the constitution—would they wish to restore these corrupt boroughs? Yet, if their argument is worth anything, they may go back to days of darkest night, to superstitions the most gigantic, and to crimes the most awful. (Cheers.) They would use another argument, I think, a little more availing to their purpose: it would be this—"We are the majority; we, the majority, will it so, and so it must be." (Cheers.) Very well. Now, I must take leave to remind them that that is a dangerous sort of argument to employ. (Cheers.) Power has before now changed hands, and, for aught I know, may change hands

again (cheers); and if the people, to whom these gentlemen are offering inducements to place them in power, should succeed to that power, what would then become of the men who now so proudly and so pompously demand of us to yield to them? If the people were once landed in power, what if they should then say, "sic volo, sic jubeo," to these aristocrats? (Cheers.) Well, Sir, they might use another argument—some of them have had honesty and manliness enough to employ it already—they might say, "Oh, but incompetence has grown upon us so much under a long continuance of that state of the law to which we have been accustomed, mortgages especially of various kinds, have so multiplied upon us, that we must have the protection which the law gives us." That would be, probably, their argument. Well, my Norfolk friends used that argument. They said to me seven years ago, "If your principles ever come into the ascendant we shall be ruined." It is quite enough to answer that argument, if I may be excused for again employing an old saying, to reply

"Piat justitia ruat cælum." (Cheers.)

I will have justice; I care not for the consequence, for whatever results may follow from the universal principle of righteousness in every form throughout the world. But this reply, perhaps, would be met by another—"We shall be ruined if your principles ever come into the ascendancy." Very well. Here I think I see some tall, gaunt, wasted figure of a man start up on hearing this: summing up, perhaps, his last remains of strength, he would say, "Is it ruin that you talked about; why, then, be ruined as soon as you please. Look at me, have not you ruined me, or have not you prevented me from a state of destitution?" which approach very nearly to complete ruin. (Loud cheers.) And, if ruin was to be held forth in support of those laws, I would put my doctrine of ruin against them, and show a greater multitude whom these laws have oppressed, and most deeply and fearfully injured, than they could produce. Somebody else might ask me again, "But, Mr. Greene, what you say about the absence of all supporters of the corn monopoly be true—if this monopoly be a doomed thing, a thing for which nobody dares to plead—how is it that it is not destroyed—it must very, very soon fall of itself." Let me address myself for a few moments, and I promise you they shall only be a "few," to answer that question. (Cheers.) I wish that the anticipation of a speedy overthrow of all monopolies were a correct one. I wish that that anticipation might very, very soon be realized; but I must confess I have my fears about it. (Hear, hear.) Monopoly has been long lived—I do not know, but I dare say, if this meeting had to deal with it, that it would soon be destroyed. (Loud cheers.) I rather think, however, that it will prove to be possessed of long life, and of confirmed vigour still; and I will tell you why I think so. I cannot but bear in mind, in the first place, that men—"naturally" I was going to say—are averse to all great changes. I am not conservative—I am not conservative especially in the technical sense of that term—but I think that most men by nature are conservative—that they do not like to interfere with things already in existence—things which have grown somewhat venerable by age—with a view to a complete alteration. (Cheers.) What is the practical inference to be drawn from this? Why, the inference is all in favour of such meetings as the present to enlighten the public mind. (Cheers.) Let the public be taught to go up to our houses of legislature, and say, "Gentlemen, this change must be brought about." Till the moment that the sovereign people shall go up to the Legislature and say that, depend upon it monopoly will not be effectually overthrown; but the moment you go up to the houses of legislature—I care not how those houses are composed—and say with one voice—condemned, determined, perseveringly—that change must be brought about, from that moment monopoly must be overthrown. (Loud cheers.) Sir, I cannot but look at another thing in support of the apprehensions which I entertain, and that is the interest incurred in our land in support of this monopoly. I will mention, just for the sake of illustration, only one. Forgive me if I take that from the history of the Established Church, of which you, perhaps, Mr. Chairman, may be a member; I will not tell this meeting what I am a friend of that establishment (cheers); I will not, for the present at all events, announce it to this meeting. I cannot but regret, however, the attitude of hostility which the establishment has taken to the principles which call for the overthrow of the monopoly in human food. (Cheers.) And I am not much surprised that they do so, and for this reason: title was some years ago, what it is now in effect, a charge upon the land, not either by collecting a certain portion of the produce of the land, or by requiring the farmer who takes the whole produce into his barn to pay—what would otherwise have been taken from him—a certain *modus*, or money payment. Now, the Legislature, in order to make that title a little more palatable to the public, commuted it, as they term it. And see how they have done it—they have made the commutation of title after a certain time compulsory, upon this principle, viz., that the value of the produce of the land shall be calculated upon a certain number of years, and that that average value shall be taken as the amount to be paid to the Established Church in the shape of title. Very well; now, is not that an inducement for the whole hierarchy of this land to arm against lowering the price of food? So long as they can they will stand in an attitude of defiance, and they are powerful so long as they can they will resist the onward march of our Free-Trade principles. (Cheers.) Now, that is a very enviable position for the hierarchy of this land to stand in—a very enviable position to be held by a set of men who call themselves ministers of God, who were the most merciful being that ever trod this earth of ours, and who ever indulged in sentiments of benignity and mercy. (Cheers.) I have another ground of fear, and that is, the want of a full, fair, and free representation of our people in that which is called the "people's house" in this nation. (Loud cheers.) Without enlarging upon any fear arising from that cause, I will instantly say what the inference I would desire to present to your mind from that circumstance. We have not a Legislature which fully, fairly, and freely represents our people, why, let us create such a Legislature. (Loud and long continued cheers.) Let us never relax in our efforts to obtain that which we believe will aid us in gaining an honest and thoroughgoing Free Trade for ourselves; let us exert ourselves, and that not a little or in a small degree, but let us use every exertion of which we are capable; let us do everything that we can do honestly, honourably, legitimately, to secure that the House of Commons shall be a full, a

free, and a transparent representation of the public mind. (The reverend gentleman sat down amidst prolonged cheering.)

The Gallant CHAIRMAN then introduced Richard Taylor, Esq., of the city of London.

MR. RICHARD TAYLOR, Common-Councilman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, on coming forward to address the meeting, was loudly cheered. He spoke as follows:—Ladies and gentlemen, it may seem presumptuous in me to attempt to address you on a subject with which I am so imperfectly acquainted, though I feel deeply upon it, after you have been so often addressed by excellent and able men who have devoted their time and attention to it much more than my avocations have permitted me to do. Had I no other motive to come forward, I would do so as an old inhabitant of the city of London, in that capacity to express for once my hearty sympathy with this cause, and to encourage all my fellow-citizens in all the inhabitants of this great metropolis to do what they can to support it. ("Hear, hear," and cheer.) I cannot express to you how much I for one feel indebted to those able men who have come from different parts of the kingdom to discuss this subject, and to endeavour to promote its success in the most legitimate manner, by arguing the question before large, enlightened, and impartial audiences. (Applause.) As I said before, I am not capable of doing this; but I can express my hearty good wishes for the cause, and perhaps point out a few reasons which make it particularly important to the inhabitants of the metropolis to do all they can to aid in its promotion. (Hear, hear.) Ladies and gentlemen, I appeal in the first place to our interests as inhabitants of this metropolis. I need not point out to you how much the prosperity of the metropolis depends—how entirely it depends—upon the prosperity of the nation at large—(hear, hear); whether we look at its foreign trade—considering London as a port, as the largest port in the world—or whether we consider the large portion of the prosperity of London which is derived from the home trade—a quantity of the business of London conducted by manufacturers, warehousemen, and others entirely depends upon the orders they receive from various parts of the kingdom; and it is well known to all who are largely engaged in this trade that by far the greater part of it depends upon the manufacturing districts of the country. (Hear, hear.) Every one who knows anything about country orders, well knows that by far the greater part comes from the manufacturing districts; and if the foreign trade is impeded by the restrictions which are now imposed upon it, and the manufacturing districts, the large manufacturers in various parts of the kingdom, are at a stand, the prosperity of the metropolis must decline in a corresponding ratio. ("Hear, hear," and cheer.) There is another circumstance which strikes me, in which we are deeply interested as inhabitants of the metropolis: I allude to the great number of paupers, of destitute persons from the rural districts. (Hear, hear, hear.) You will all recollect that appeals of the most powerful kind were made during the past winter by new societies as well as old ones, instituted for the relief of these destitute persons. (Hear, hear.) My attention was much struck by an address from a nobleman, Lord Ranelagh, who I believe was president of one of them, in which he stated that many of these persons, whose destitution he described in the most powerful language, were not inhabitants of the metropolis, but came from the rural districts during the winter, driven to London by the extremity of distress, and actually lying and perishing in the roads and parks and highways. (Hear.) Not only, then, must our feelings induce us to join in supporting this great cause, but our interests. (Hear, hear, hear.) It is said by some that the Corn Laws are for the benefit of the agricultural interest. Now, who are the agricultural interest? Certainly not those persons who receive the rents from the land, and who are squandering those rents in the most frivolous and, perhaps, vicious pursuits, in various parts of the country. (Hear, hear.) If I am asked why I consider the agricultural interest, I reply, the farmer who employs his skill and capital on the land, and even more than the farmer, the labourer to whose toil we are indebted for all that the land produces. (Cheers.) When I know, then, that the Corn Laws are for the benefit of the agricultural interest, what is the state of that interest? I deem the state of the peasantry—the really poor man. Why, they are driven from the large towns to a state of extreme destitution. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen and ladies, we have seen accounts in almost every day's news, more of incendiary fires in almost every part of the country, and many gentlemen now begin to acknowledge that these calamities are to be attributed to the destitution and to the distressed state of the rural population. (Hear, hear.) We have the fact from a baronet of Scotland, who gave it as his opinion that such calamities arose from the inadequacy of wages and want of employment. (Hear, hear.) We all know that the wages of the rural population are extremely low, quite inadequate to their support; and more than that, the employment they have is entirely precarious. (Hear, hear.) They are employed in fine weather, but then they are only employed occasionally; they have certainly no means to rely upon but that of the employment they receive from the farmer. The land of this country used (a great deal of it, at any rate) to belong to the people. (Cheers.) We now hear of enclosures and of general enclosure bills, and of "Newbury"; but I do not very much wonder if we will not add very materially to the misery of the people. (Cries of "No doubt they will," and cheer.) The people will be demoralized by them, for the morals of the people can never be in a sound state if they are never independent—that is, dependent on themselves for their subsistence; and it is vain to expect that the population will respect property, and abstain from crimes—first of all property, if they do not particularly value it in its own right results. (Cheers.) It is, therefore, very much directed to this subject very properly by having had opportunities of making comparisons between the population of this country—the rural population especially—and those of foreign nations. Now, I will say that, having myself had various and frequent opportunities of judging—not going abroad with a carriage and servants and baggage, sleeping at great hotels, and mixing only with my own countrymen, but walking from farmhouse to farmhouse, and from one little country inn to another, and conversing with persons of various ranks and employments, both among the clergy and the laity—my conviction, my painful conviction is, that there are no

people in Europe, among all the countries I have visited, so miserable, so destitute as the people of this country. (Cheers.) I was surprised to find in a speech by the Prime Minister not long ago, not merely a doubt on this subject, but an assertion to the contrary. Gentlemen, when I look at their clothing, when I look at their habitations—their roomy comfortable habitations—and the good stock of utensils contained therein, which must be of considerable value, besides the good stock of apparel they have, all these bespeak a great degree of comparative comfort. (Hear, hear.) There is poverty in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy; but there is not destitution. (Cheers.) It has been said that the people there fare more hardly than the inmates of our union workhouses in England, who would not be content with the food eaten by the peasantry abroad. Now, it is very easy to conceive that a father and mother, rearing a family, tilling land which is their own, and knowing that they shall hand down to their children the benefits of any improvement they may make and all the profits they may derive from it, will willingly undergo hardship and live more frugally and hardly than the reckless, destitute, and hopeless pauper of this country. (Hear, hear, hear.) I do not deny that their fare is coarse and that they labour hard, but hope sustains them: they have not merely the hope, indeed, but I might almost say the certainty that, by frugality and industry, they shall have an old age of comfort, and leave property to their children. (Cheers.) You may say what you will about education and about religious instruction, but it is in vain—and I believe that ministers of religion of various denominations have expressed the same opinion—to attempt to improve the morals of the people by either of these means, excellent as they are, while they are destitute of the comforts and of the necessities of life. (Loud and continued cheering.) Ladies and gentlemen, I remember once travelling in Switzerland, where a great quantity of land is in common. I was riding in a car into Lucerne, when the boy who drove me said, "Sir, this is my parish." Seeing that the land thereabouts was cultivated in a different way from the country I had been passing through, I asked him whose land it was. He said that it was common land; that it belonged to the commune, that is, the whole people. It was in tillage, and a council was elected annually by the inhabitants, by universal suffrage, to manage it. (Cheers.) The land there had not been taken away from the people and given to individual proprietors, so as to leave the succeeding generation beggar and destitute. (Loud cheers.) It did not follow at all, that because the land was more cultivated than that which was left in heath or pasture or uncultivated, that the effort was to be taken from the people. No: this commune chose a council every year, with a president, and had allotted all these lands among the people equally. The lord said, formerly, when the aristocracy had the ascendancy, the rich used always to have the greatest share; "but," added he, "now, Sir, every one, whether rich or poor, has the same quantity." (Loud cheers.) Previously to the French Revolution, Arthur Young described the condition of the peasantry of France as the most miserable that could be; and we see the Frenchman always depicted in caricatures, and in different writings, as a lean and half-starved miserable being. Now, I can only say that, if you look about among the French, you will find that they are fine strapping fellows, with strong arms and good calves to their legs. (Loud laughter.) Gentlemen, it is very painful to make these comparisons between the state of things in foreign countries and the state of things in our own; and we have had so many reports in and out of Parliament describing the miserable condition of the rural and manufacturing population of this country, that I shall not dwell longer upon it. I can only say, that what I have seen in Switzerland I have also seen in various parts of Germany, especially in Wurtemberg, where the people are prosperous and happy—tilling land which is their own almost. The aristocracy and the landowners have been swept away, but there is the land; and there are the people working upon it, producing as much or more than ever. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I think it a great mistake in political economy to dwell so much on the net produce of land, and to say that he is the greatest benefactor to mankind who makes two ears of wheat grow where only one grew before. I think the only crop which is of importance is that of human happiness. If we can get our corn, and feed our people, and make them happier and better by importing it from abroad than by keeping it in bond, and if land can only be made to grow corn by buying out such a sum of money as makes the people pay double the price for it, we had much better bring it from abroad. ("Hear, hear," and cheer.) This consideration derives great force from our insular position—this "seagull isle," as it is often called, "the mistress of the seas;" but what avails it if we are mistress of the seas, if all our ports are blockaded by our own Legislature? (Cheers.) In this way the sea is made our prison instead of being the great highway of the nation's prosperity. (Cheers.) What a monstrous absurdity to have so many noble seaport towns as we have, into which shiploads of corn are brought only to be hoarded and locked up, instead of being distributed in food to the people! (Hear, hear.) One would suppose the great blessing of our naval and commercial superiority would be, that we could command for the people of this country a greater number of the blessings of this life than any other nation in the world. I can conceive no use whatever in our superiority, or in the position of our colonies and our commerce, only in so far as they are able to contribute, as much as possible, to the happiness and welfare of the people. (Loud cheers.) I have adverted to the subject of enclosure bills, one of which is now before Parliament. I have been surprised to see some of the public journals, one of which, at least, advocates most strenuously right views with regard to Free Trade, encourage the enclosure of all waste land. Now, really the question ought to be considered entirely with reference to the great principle of Free Trade. If, by improvements in agriculture, we can get corn cheaper and better at home than we could obtain it from abroad, let these improvements take place; but the only true test of improvement must be, as in every other branch of manufacturing industry, whether you can produce the article you wish to produce cheaper and better. If improvements in agriculture will save now so much sought after corn as can be made at such a price that the people have to pay for them, and that the capital of the country is sunk in making them, such improvements will be quite deceptive. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the enclosure of waste lands, it must depend entirely on the quality of those lands;

and I confess I should deprecate exceedingly that those lands where the people have been accustomed to feed their cows, then geese, then pigs, and cut their fuel—where their children have played, where they themselves played at trapball and cricket—should be closed and taken away from them and given to great proprietors; that these very places where they had all these advantages and enjoyments should be turned into preserves for the pheasants of the aristocracy. (Loud cheers.) And, possibly, should these enclosures take place, those very persons who ought to have the enjoyment of them will be engaged in murderous affrays with each other—some as gamekeepers, others as poachers—and so be sacrificed to the sanguinary laws of the country, and the despotism of the aristocracy. ("Hear, hear," and cheer.) I know it is said by some, that all those who have a claim to any advantage from these lands should have compensation; but that is the most fallacious thing in the world. (Hear, hear.) These common lands have been the inheritance of the people through all ages, and existing generations have only a life interest in them. (Hear, hear.) If you were to take all the cottagers of the present day, and give them some bribe to stop their mouths in order that this bill might pass, what is to become of the next generation? Will they not be left destitute? Have they not been left destitute? Are not the people more miserable now than they were formerly when they enjoyed the advantage of a greater quantity of common land? If these lands are worth cultivating, and are to be tilled, let them be tilled for the advantage of the people, to whom they belong. (Loud cheers.) In ancient times the whole land in this country was of two kinds, the "folk" land and the "broke" land. The greater part of the land of the country was "folk" land, belonged to the whole of the people of this country, and formed their inheritance. Of this, however, they have been robbed by the aristocracy. (Hear, hear.) It has been said with reference to enclosures, that there is land enough to be enclosed in this kingdom for one million of rent to be derived from. But who would be benefited by this rent? The aristocracy would be carrying it all away, while the people would be deprived of all benefit from the land. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I have troubled you at much greater length than I intended. (Cries of "Go on.") I heartily concur in the principles of the Anti-Corn Law League; and I have only to exhort all the inhabitants of the metropolis, and the citizens of London more particularly, to widen their view by watching the registrations, and by aiding the League with funds, and assisting them with their personal exertions, so that we may make as powerful an interest in Parliament as possible. (Cheers.) I agree with the last speaker in the hopes which he expressed of what could be done in Parliament. Indeed, to tell the truth, I don't admit that we have a Parliament at all (loud and protracted cheers); at least, we have not that sort of Parliament which all the old writers on the law and constitution used to describe as such. (Hear, hear.) That there is an assembly that goes by the name of the House of Commons it would be absurd in me to deny; but it does not represent the people. (Loud cheers.) They have nothing to do with choosing the members, and have no influence over them. It is right for us, therefore, to use all the exertions that we can to place in the House of Commons, if possible, as great a number of the honest and able advocates as we can, so that we may make progress. (Cheers.) This I will say, in allusion to something which fell from the rev. gentleman who preceded me, that there are other parties who are very active in watching the registrations. Being a native of the county to which he alluded, I know very well that the clergy have excellent opportunities of watching the registrations; they are placed very favourably for this in the different parishes; and if it be true, as he has said, that they have a great interest in maintaining the Corn Laws, they have the best opportunity of obtaining that end by joining with the squirearchy and watching the registrations. (Cheers.) I regret very much that what is called the Reform Act has doubled the county representation, and that in Norfolk instead of having two members, who are opposed to the Corn Laws—and let me always be said to the honour of that excellent man, Thomas Coke, cheers, great as his interest was in land, and though it was the centre of his revenue, that he was always a decided enemy of the Corn Laws—we have now four staunch supporters of the Corn Laws. Gentlemen and ladies, I beg to thank you for the attention with which you have heard my remarks. (Mr. Taylor retired amidst considerable applause.)

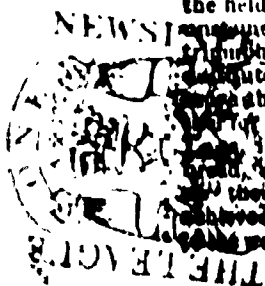
The CHAIRMAN then said: Ladies and gentlemen, I beg leave to introduce to you a good friend of the Free-Trade cause, Mr. George Thompson. (Loud cheers.)

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON then came forward amidst reiterated bursts of applause, which having subsided, he proceeded to address the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, in rising to address this splendid meeting this evening, I am comforted in the midst of my embarrassment of feeling, arising from a consciousness of being but very ill prepared to address you, by the knowledge that I am to be followed—unexpectedly to myself and I trusted this house to-night—by a gentleman who will amply compensate for my deficiency, and whom I am sure you are all most anxious to hear, and are therefore perfectly prepared to grant me, if I ask it, an exemption, if not entirely, at all events to a considerable extent, from the duty which has been devolved upon me by the Council of the League. (Loud cries of "No, no.") Sir, I regret exceedingly that this meeting has not had to-night an opportunity of hearing your sentiments at length upon the great question which has called us together. I feel confident that you have it in your power to try before this meeting many statements of facts and arguments of the greatest value to our cause, and such facts and arguments as the speakers at these meetings are not frequently in the habit of adducing, because they have no opportunity of your own opportunities of observing the condition of our land and things in far-distant countries, and have not spent the greater part of their lives where the evils of monopoly and of restrictive legislation are absolutely more apparent than they are in this country, which, whatever may be the amount of disabilities we may live under, we are devoutly thankful to Providence in our dwelling place; for, after all, we live in a land which, with all its faults, we may love, not only because it is the land of our nativity, but also from its being rich in blessings won by the integrity, perseverance, and courage of our ancestors. (Loud cheers.) I do trust that you have only postponed the discharge of that duty which I had hoped you would have undertaken to-night, and which I feel certain you will select an early opportunity of dis-

charging at some future period. I have been thinking to-night how glorious is the spectacle of an almost unanimous nation pursuing an object like that which we have in view, by means so perfectly righteous and unexceptionable as those which are employed by the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Cheers.) In 1826 the present Home Secretary wrote a book on "Corn and Currency," the object of which was to persuade the Monopolists of that time to give way; and he warned them that if they did not specially yield, and sacrifice to some extent their own interests for the cause of the people at large—in a word, if upon a question of bread they withheld from industry and commercial enterprise their rights—the time would come when, in this country as in other lands, the people would rise in their might and majesty, and sweep them, their honours, titles, distinctions, and ill-gotten wealth at one fell swoop to destruction. (Loud cheers.) What has averted, and what continues to avert, the catastrophe which we cannot entertain in idea without revolting from its contemplation with horror—what has prevented this catastrophe, and what promises to avert it still, however long the contest? It is the interposition of the Anti-Corn-Law League, with its purely intellectual, moral, and pacific agency, gathering around it and welcoming within its ranks every day, men of the purest morality and the highest Christian principles, who are not less bound to these principles than they are to the cause of universal Free Trade, and who in pursuing that glorious object will have recourse to none but such measures as accord with the righteousness of their end. (Cheers.) There is one thing to comfort us in the delay of that which avarice, ignorance, and pride have combined to postpone as long as possible, and that is this, that every hour's delay is an hour spent by 10,000 men in diffusing knowledge of the most valuable kind amongst all classes of the British community. I readily do not know whether the good resulting from the agitation of the Anti-Corn-Law League throughout this kingdom would not—if it could be summed up, and its mighty aggregate placed before our minds intelligibly—amply compensate for the evil which, in the same space of time, has been produced by the operation of the laws we are exposing. The people have been educated; political economy, science, and morality have all been expounded to the multitude at large—to them, as far as they were concerned, without money and without price. Thus, while they were denied bread on the one hand, knowledge was given to them gratis on the other; if they did not grow the fatter for it, at least they grew wiser, if they were wasted in their bodies, their intellectual stature was increased and their mental vigour promoted by the instructions of the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Loud cheers.) Our argument is complete, and our illustrations might seem to be utterly exhausted; yet our audiences fail not, our speakers are not exhausted, their eloquence still charms, their facts still constantly multiply; no matter how often reiterated the grand argument may be, it is still presented to the public mind in an attractive form. The cause itself seems to bring men here almost whether they will or no; and when they get within these walls, or at similar meetings, I believe they never depart without a frank acknowledgment that they have been made wiser and better by this assembling together. (Loud cheers.) What an immense benefit has this great body conferred on our country! I, for one, acknowledge my obligation to the Anti-Corn-Law League. I think there is not a man here who is not prepared to confess that he lies under similar obligations to them. Had I the same views before this League came into existence, of the importance of this great principle of international intercourse? I had not. Did I see the importance of this subject in all its bearings as I now see it? No. Had I the same amount of knowledge as to the chief producing cause of the poverty of millions in my own country? I had not. Had I an equally correct view of the cause which contributed to increase the amount of immorality and crime in the country that I have now? Certainly not. Had I the same knowledge of the cementing and fraternizing influence of unrestricted commerce as I have now? Nothing of the kind. Was I then as well aware as I am at the present moment of what is the chief hindrance to the progress and universal diffusion through this and other lands of those great religious and moral principles which are at once the glory, boast, and stability of this country? I had not. Who is it that has shed this light abroad? Who are the men and what is the name of the body? The Anti-Corn-Law League. (Cheers.) And thus, while they are striving to obtain bread for the people, they are giving them knowledge and light. Lovers of ignorance and popular moral impotence should try to put down the League as soon as possible; for the longer it is in existence the more certain its ultimate triumph will be: the wiser will the people become in their poverty, the more deeply will our principles be impressed on their hearts, the more indelible the impression produced on their minds the longer justice be delayed; and the more evident it will be at the end, that it is by the combined moral power of the people that the triumph has been achieved; the more certain I am confident it will be that the energies which will then be no longer required to carry on this movement, instead of being scattered and lost, or suffered to be inert, will be marshalled again, consolidated, and directed to the accomplishment of some other great and glorious object. (Loud cheers.) I am anxious to see that day, for this reason amongst others, Sir, because the light that has diffused itself over this kingdom has revealed other evils than that specific grievance to which we have directed our attention. The line and the plummet which we have used to measure—or rather to detect—the wickedness of this system of monopoly in the people's food, have enabled us to ascertain how far other institutions, practices, and customs in this country conform to the requirements of righteousness, and are, according to the national, and I will add, natural, rights of the people. Hasten the day, then, when we shall be able, having gained the field by the conflict we are now waging, with our flag unfurled, our weapons undimmed,—the song of our triumph having in it no sighs of widows, orphans, or destitute of any kind,—when we shall be able, I say, to direct the mighty army that has thus been collected together for the purpose of achieving the extinction of the Corn Laws, in some other direction,—that the people having gained, and having tested their moral power, may gather up their strength and march forward to still higher achievements. (Loud cheers.) We are reading a lesson to the world; we are teaching men everywhere through-

out the civilized globe how to gain their objects without remorse, guilt, or compromise; without the shedding of blood, or the infraction of any of the laws of society, and still less of the commands of God. (Cheers.) I trust the time will soon come when our disgrace will be wiped away, and other nations copy our example, imitate our practice, and be encouraged by the results which I am sure will follow. Why, Sir, in what estimation are we held in other countries in consequence of this very evil, the Corn Laws? An excellent philanthropist, whose heart is as big as the world, went to the United States of America on a mission of mercy in behalf of the fettered negroes of that country—I allude to Joseph Sturge. (Loud cheers.) He had not the honour of being turned out of the hotel into which he went within 36 hours after he landed, as it was my lot to be with my wife and children. But what was the salute he received on reaching New York? "Friend, go home again: you have a Corn Law that beggars your own countrymen. Go look at the wretched and wasted forms of your pauper population; and when you have abolished your own Corn Laws, and set human industry free in Britain, then come and rail against America for holding her negro population in slavery." (Cheers.) What was the language of a leading Parisian journal some time ago? "Britain, proud Britain, raze from your national escutcheon the lordly lion, and put there a starving operative vainly imploring bread." (Hear, hear, hear.) What was the language of Mehemet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, when an Englishman remonstrated with him on his monopolies—for he is the great and sole monopolist in Egypt? "Go home," replied the Pacha, "and abolish your own Corn Laws; then come to me, and I will be ready to treat with you for any relaxation in the way of trade that you can desire." (Cheers.) Thus, whether the bearded Pacha at Alexandria, or the sensitive American at New York, or the polished Parisian in the French capital, every civilized and enlightened nation taunts us with our inconsistency, and cannot understand how a population like that of England, pretending to govern itself through the medium of a Parliament chosen by its own voice, should tolerate so pestilential a nuisance as that of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) But it is cheering to know that we shall soon come to the last difficulty. The House of Commons was not our first obstacle. I believe it may be said with truth, with regard to most questions, that they will be carried, whatever House of Commons you may have, as soon as the people appreciate fully, generally, and universally the nature and value of that which they demand. I cannot look with hopelessness at the House of Commons, bad as it is. In itself considered, as regards any reforming element which it contains, it is incurable; having in it no restorative or renovating qualities whatever; but I know well from the history of the last thirty years that the people have only to be unanimous in order to succeed. (Loud cheers.) If from a Parliament of High Churchmen the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts could be obtained—if from a Legislature of Orangemen, Catholic emancipation could be wrung—if from a House of Commons filled with borough-mongers, schedules A and B and many others could be obtained—if from a Parliament of West Indian planters negro emancipation could be wrested—why, then, from a Parliament of landlords we will get an act abolishing the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) Sir, having said thus much about corn, will you tolerate me for a few moments if I say a word or two about sugar. (Hear, hear.) I do this with some reluctance, because on a former occasion, when the state of my health did not permit me to be here, you had a speech delivered by a gentleman who on such subjects as this I am scarcely worthy to follow, so infinitely superior is he, as the exponent of a question like this, to myself. I refer to him who, unostentatious as he is—unseen as he generally may be—is nevertheless one of the most effective labourers in our cause—Mr. James Wilson. (Cheers.) But I have several reasons why I want to say a word or two upon sugar to-night. First, because there is an honest difference of opinion on this question among us. I say an honest difference of opinion. I am sure it is honest on the other side—I hope and I believe it is on this side also. Again, because it is a very important branch of the subject, and will soon have to be discussed in Parliament; and the proceedings there—at least their results—will be controlled very much by the state of public opinion out of doors. I have, perhaps, had better means than some about me of knowing what are the scruples of our friends on the other side of this question, seeing that I have been long identified with them, and am still one with them perfectly in regard to the object they are pursuing, though differing (and I am pained that it should be so,) on this particular aspect of the great question; and because, also, I respect those opinions, I know that they are sincerely held by men who will not give them up without a reason sufficient and strong, which shall overcome those feelings—I will not say overcome them—but which, at least, shall show that those feelings of humanity, which they now cultivate and seek to gratify, may be equally well gratified by the accomplishment of our object, and are not at all more likely to be gratified by their persisting in the course they are at present pursuing. And lastly, because I always like something to come up which tests our principles. Now, here is something of that description. I am asked by a friend to the abolition of slavery, "Are you for Free Trade, though it should give admission to slave-grown produce?" I answer distinctly I am for Free Trade: if it cannot be carried out universally, or if it leads to slavery, it is an unsound principle. I adopt it because I believe it righteous. I go with the anti-slavery party because their principle is righteous; two righteous principles cannot cross or conflict with one another, they must run parallel with each other to eternity. If our principle be good for this country, it is good for all nations and conditions of men—beneficial for all times and for ever. (Cheers.) Many of our anti-slavery friends say they cannot go with us upon this subject. I felt it my duty to attend the meeting in Exeter Hall on Friday last. (Cheers.) Had I consulted personal feeling, friendship, or popularity, I should not have been there, but have remained silent on this branch of the question. I thought my friends in error, and that they were doing an unintentional injury to a good cause, by putting arguments into the mouths of our opponents. I conceived they were upholding—and as far as they act on their principle they will uphold—a gross fraud in the House of Commons. I want monopoly to stand out there in its nakedness, filthiness, and selfishness. I do not want any individual there to pocket those arguments which refute themselves and disgust all men who hear them, because they are interested and selfish arguments. I do not wish

them to be put into circumstances to throw these behind their backs, and prefer one which is tendered to them by the most estimable party out of doors, and sanctioned by the principle of humanity. (Cheers.) The public papers will have informed you of the result of that recent meeting. (Hear, hear.) I do not cherish so strong a feeling of satisfaction at the success which attended the recommendation of an amendment to that assembly as I do a feeling of painful regret that such a step should have been necessary, and that so large a number should have voted in the minority. However, they voted in that minority honestly; and as soon as they are convinced, they will be with us; and the integrity and inflexibility which now distinguish them will be on a when they perceive, as I trust they will ere long, that the principle to which they take exception in particular cases ought to be, and might be, beneficially carried out universally. I have received many letters from my friends accusing me of inconsistency as an advocate of the abolition of slavery in coming forward now, as they say, as the promoter of slavery. Sir, I protest against this imputation on me, or any other man who holds similar views. I am no more the promoter of slavery because I am in favour of Free Trade, than I am the friend of error because I would not that men should be strangled for holding false opinions, and daring to propagate them. (Cheers.) I consider that slavery will be most successfully combated by Free Trade, as I believe that Truth needs not the aid of racks, gibbets, brickbats, or bludgeons to defend her. (Loud cheers.) What, bring monopoly to the aid of the abolition of slavery! Why, slavery itself is the very spawn of monopoly. It was begotten by monopoly: it has been nurtured by it as its food—it has been nourished and continued in existence by it. The death of monopoly fifty years ago would have been the probable, nay, certain extinction of slavery (hear, hear); without cruisers, protocols, treaties, and remonstrances, and requiring no anti-slavery agitation, or payment of the £20,000,000. (Hear, hear, hear.) I beg to say that I have changed my opinions on this subject. To convince you of this, I will read a few lines of a speech delivered by me in 1839, long ere I had spoken at any Anti-Corn-Law meeting, because I was then entirely occupied otherwise, and had had nothing whatever to do with the Free Trade movement. The speech I allude to was delivered at Manchester, upon the subject of the abolition of slavery, and the improvement of the condition of the natives of India, with a view to advancing not only their welfare, but the happiness also of the population of this country. Allow me to say, if you will pardon the egotism of the remark, that, within the same space of time, I do not know that any of my countrymen have laboured more earnestly and ardently for the purpose of awakening the attention of the people of this land to the necessity of encouraging free labour produce in all parts of the world than I have. (Hear, hear.) In pleading the cause of free labour I remarked, "While my heart's desire and prayer is, that the time may speedily come when every fibre of cotton wool worn or worn by the people of this country may be the produce of free labour; I ask for no restrictions, no regulations, no prohibitory duties, barring out from our ports the produce of any part of the globe, of any kind, whether it be cotton to cover the naked, or corn to feed the hungry. Thanks to the irreversible laws which govern the social state, no such remedies are needed. I only ask for liberty, justice, and impartiality: convinced that, if these be conceded and acted upon, every system based upon monopoly, and worked out by slavery, will totter to its everlasting fall." This language was delivered by me at the splendid meeting-house of the Society of Friends at Manchester, my audience being largely composed of the members of that most estimable and useful body of Christians. Again, in the same house, to a similar assembly, on a following evening, I remarked, "If we encourage the East, and allow a fair competition between the free labour of the East and the slave labour of the West, we might open our ports as wide as they could be extended, and give every other nation of the world a chance of selling their produce in this market; so successful would be the competition between the free and willing industry of our eastern fellow-subjects, and the labour of the slaves who are held in bondage in the western parts of the world." I adhere to this sentiment now. It is my confident belief that all other means will comparatively fail. I say not that these are the only means we are to employ: I did not recommend simply the advocacy of Free Trade alone for the suppression of slavery. I required all other righteous instrumentalities in combination with that—such as the pulpit, the platform, and the press. I wanted Parliament to do its duty—not by putting on, but by taking off, restriction—by giving a whole-some and natural stimulus to industry, and by crowning it with its legitimate reward. (Cheers.) But if I am in error on this subject it is in company with the brightest names in the anti-slavery cause. (Hear, hear.) There was a time when I was intimately associated with that noble body which is distinguished by features very similar to our own, and most of all towards the approach of that period when the triumph over slavery was obtained. I remember that at that time I was supplied by the Anti-Slavery Society with books from which I might select illustrations of the unrighteousness and impolicy of slavery. I preserve those books still, and find them now as then full of instruction. I go to them to know what should be my anti-slavery creed. I hold in my hand a very valuable work written by Adam Hodgson, a highly-respectable merchant of Liverpool. It is a letter addressed to a French gentleman of the name of Monsieur Jean Baptiste Say, upon the subject of the comparative expense of free and slave labour. This letter was written in 1823, 21 years ago; Mr. Hodgson's work having been circulated through the length and breadth of the country by the Anti-Slavery Society. Now, what does that gentleman say? "The nation will not long consent to support a wasteful system of cultivation at the expense of great national interests, and of an opening commerce of 60 to 100 millions of our fellow-subjects; and the slave labour of the West must fall when brought into competition with the free labour of the East." (Cheers.) There is another book to which I wish to refer. I trust, gentlemen and ladies, you will pardon me for reading these extracts. We should ever bear in mind that in addressing these meetings we are also speaking to those persons who are beyond the e-walls,—thanks to those gentlemen who ready pens record with so much celerity the thoughts we utter, putting into enduring type that which, if it alone, would soon perish;—who put, I say, into our



ing type the sentiments to which we here give utterance, so that what we are saying will go forth to all the world. (Cheers.) I trust, therefore, I may be permitted to speak to those without this building, and to reason with friends whom I love, showing them that they cannot do better than join our ranks,—that ours is a straight line, better than any other principle of rectitude, but keeping not crossing any other principle of rectitude, but keeping company with every other good and sound principle which it is possible for others to advocate. (Cheers.) I have now before me another book which was put into my hand by the Anti-Slavery Society many years ago, published in the town of Birmingham. It is prepared with great care, and drawn up for the purpose of showing that, if slave labour and free labour were brought into competition, the former must fall through its expensiveness before the superior cheapness of the latter. The name of the author is Sturge; not Mr. Joseph, but his lamented brother John, a man who, if we might judge for ourselves, died much too soon for the cause of humanity and benevolence. Now, what did this gentleman lay down as his grand fundamental principle? That "no system at variance with the laws of God and injurious to his rational creation can ever be ultimately beneficial." Why, Sir, that covers the whole of our ground as Free Traders! (Hear, hear.) We contend that restrictions and taxations in matters of trade and commerce, barring our ports to that which is produced in other regions, preventing the intercourse between one industrious man producing one thing and another industrious man producing another—that this is "contrary to the law of God and injurious to his rational creation," and that to uphold this system cannot be beneficial to any individual or class of men. But what does Mr. Sturge further say? "It is believed that the facts which we are about to bring forward will establish, to the conviction of every candid and dispassionate inquirer, the truth of the axiom, 'That the labour of the free man is cheaper than that of the slave.' In tracing the important consequences which result from this general principle, we shall have frequent occasion to admire the consummate wisdom which has provided by means so simple a complete ultimate remedy for the grossest system of wrong which human villany ever invented. We shall turn with heartfelt delight from the crimes and miseries of man, from the feeble efforts of human power, to contemplate the silent but irresistible operation of those laws which have been appointed in the councils of Providence to terminate the oppressions of the African race." (Hear, hear.) Sir, I do not cite these passages now for the first time. This book is covered with marks which I made twelve years ago, when it was originally put into my hands; when my heart first responded to these sentiments, and I went forth to advocate in the name of that body those glorious principles, and to preach this great doctrine, which were fatal to the continuance of slavery. I could, however, quote many other similar passages, but I will not tire the present meeting, except to read one other very important extract from this book, and then I will lay it down. I beg you to mark what Mr. Sturge says in proof of the principle with which I started:—"Forty years ago little or no indigo was exported from British India. The whole of that article then used in Europe was the product of slave labour. A few individuals in Bengal employed their capital and their intelligence in inciting the natives to enlarge their cultivation of it, and in preparing it for the European market; and, though abundantly discouraged in the first instance, yet, the duties being nearly equalized, their efforts were at length crowned with complete success. Such, indeed, has been the effect of British skill and capital united, when employed in calling free labour into action, that, notwithstanding the enormous freights (five times their present rate) which, for a time, the importers of it had to pay, the indigo of India has been gradually displacing from the market the indigo grown by slaves; until at length, with the help of Free Trade and the lighter freights consequent upon it, there is not now one ounce of indigo the produce of slave labour imported into Europe." (Loud cheers.) Why, Sir, you very well know that what Mr. John Sturge here calls "Free Trade" was not actually at that time Free Trade: the principle then was not even recognised: it was a mere instalment of Free Trade—a little unwinding of the bandages in which the commerce between this country and the East was bound. And yet, high as the freight was, and limited the encouragement to embark in that business—numerous as were the restrictions—amidst all these difficulties, there being a mere opportunity, under great disadvantages, of bringing Bengal indigo into Europe—by the help of what Mr. Sturge calls Free Trade—in a few years afterwards there was not one ounce of slave-grown indigo required. (Hear, hear.) He then proceeds to call upon the friends of humanity to congratulate themselves upon the extinction of the slavery of 500,000 men in South America; and all this without agitation—by the simple, certain, silent, and irresistible working of that great principle for which we are contending to-night. (Hear, hear.) He says "it is impossible to doubt that, but for the bounty upon West Indian sugar, and the protecting duty of 10s. per cent. against all sugar raised in the East, slave labour must have yielded to free labour in the cultivation of this article also, which is the great staple of slavery. It appears clearly that the free-grown sugars of British India might be used if the present protecting duty were removed, considerably cheaper than the slave-grown sugar of the British West Indies. These facts are of the highest importance, not only because they confirm the general principle for which we are contending, but because they lead to the great object of our inquiry, and point out a specific means by which we can effect the entire abolition of the slave trade and of slavery." (Loud cheers.) "Only," says he, "let this principle be carried out, and it will extend its benignant influence to every human being now held in slavery." (Hear, hear.) Who, then, has departed from this principle? Most assuredly not we. I now come to the convention of 1810, to which our great leader—worthy to be such, self-created, or created for that purpose—I refer to Mr. Cobden (prolonged and enthusiastic cheering)—referred on a former occasion. I was a member of that body, and felt a peculiar interest in the question of free labour, for I was at the time, and had been long previously, engaged in efforts to rouse the people of this country to encourage and reward free labour in the East Indies. (Cheers.) A committee on free labour was appointed. That committee brought up an able report. What says that document?—"Slave-cultivation requires, as necessary conditions to its existence, fertility of soil, scarcity of labour, and high prices of produce; and if either of these conditions cease, it must soon

draw to a close." The course which we advocate would deprive slave-cultivation of two of these essentially necessary conditions. I would bring into competition with it the labour of millions and millions of human beings who would each work for less than is required for the support of a slave, and I would render slavery unprofitable, by offering the produce of their labour at a lower price in this market. What have our friends to fear, then, on this ground? The report refers to the labours of the late excellent James Cropper, of Liverpool, and says:—"He pointed out the infallible tendency of the competition of free labour to counteract the evils of slavery, and ultimately to extinguish it. He persisted in pressing these views on the attention of the British public, in spite of opposition and obloquy; in spite of the attempts of many well-meaning philanthropists to set them aside, as a mere commercial view of the question, and in spite of the most unworthy imputations cast upon his own motives and character." The report, after enumerating various causes that would contribute their influence to furnish a supply of sugar, goes on to say:—"Under these circumstances, it cannot admit of a doubt that sugar would soon be raised in unlimited quantity, and at a price which, after a fair profit to the planter, would still be low enough to undersell in all the markets of Europe, the blood-stained produce of Cuba and the Brazils. If there be any truth in the principles we have endeavoured to explain, the transport of human beings to these channel-houses of death would then cease, as it would no longer repay the risks of the passage. The slave trade would thus be at an end, and as the competition of free labour held on its course, these nations would ultimately relinquish slavery itself." The report then concludes with a solemn and earnest exhortation to all the lovers of freedom to co-operate in "giving effect," says this document, "to the principles we have developed, which we firmly believe to have been destined by the Divine Ruler to banish slavery from the world, if every other effort should unhappily fail." Who, let me ask, is it that exhibits the most consistent trust in these great principles? Is it he who would have fiscal regulations to exclude slave produce, or he who would remove all restrictions, and, by one and the same act, do justice to the people of this country, and bring slavery and freedom into fair competition, in the full and practical belief that free labour would prove victorious. (Cheers.) Resolutions in accordance with this report were prepared and submitted to the convention, the last of the series declaring—"that, under an improved economy and management, the extended cultivation of sugar in the rich soils of Demerara and other colonies by free labour, would speedily enable British merchants to undersell the sugar planters of Brazil and Cuba, so as to drive all slave-grown sugar out of the markets of the world." There were two gentlemen in the convention, Mr. Turnbull and Dr. Madden, who objected to the enunciation of the principles contained in the resolutions in so absolute a form, and called upon the convention "to pause before giving its high sanction to principles which, however true in the abstract, appeared at variance with the anomalous facts connected with the cultivation of sugar;" and these gentlemen referred particularly, and most emphatically to Brazil and Cuba. Their objections were met and rebuffed by various speakers, among whom I find Mr. Scoble, Mr. Josiah Conder, Mr. Justice Jeremie, and Mr. Pease. Mr. John Sturge sustained the resolutions in an able, but still an inconsistent speech; for, while he asserted that "at that moment the sugars of Brazil and Cuba were undersold in the European market by the free-grown sugar of Manilla and Sum," he declared at the same time that "he could not contemplate the opening of the English markets to slave-grown sugar without horror." Nevertheless, after this declaration, he took great pains to prove that the providential laws of God had decreed that the slave system should entail ruin on all embarked in it, and expressed his confidence in the certain and irresistible efficacy of the principle laid down and supported in the report! Again, I ask, who are they who do honour to that principle? Is it not those who say, "We have no fear of the results: we do not set up a principle as the law of nature and of God, and prove from long historical records that a departure from it has been ruinous as well as disgraceful to all who have violated it, and then, when that principle is about to be applied under the most favourable circumstances, shrink back and say, 'We only mention it in the abstract—we dare not carry it out—we cannot contemplate without horror the time when it shall be brought into fair antagonism with its opposite.'" Let it not be said we desire to promote slavery and the slave trade; because, so far from it, we are influenced by the fullest belief that the time has arrived when, by the free and uncontrolled operation of the sound system of trade and commerce which you have advocated, we may realize our ardent wishes for the extinction of slavery by mild and peaceful means. We follow in your footsteps—we adopt your principles—we applaud the ability with which you have advocated a law so beautiful as that, which has ordained that, in all cases where fair competition is permitted, the systems that are based upon oppression shall be destroyed by those that are honest and just. We intimate you in all but your fearfulness, and in what we cannot but regard as your inconsistency. Blame us not if we have more faith than you have. We honour your feelings of humanity. We believe that your error consists in being led by those feelings into something like the practical denial of the truth of your own doctrines. We crave no more than this—that you stand by your own principles—that you apply them fearlessly—and, if not, that you excuse us if we decline to follow the counsels of those who lack the courage to depend upon the infallibility of the law they have themselves laid down. Our friends now rest their opposition to the impartial application of our great principle upon the assumption, mainly, that if it were fully carried out, results would follow of a disastrous character. But I would remind them that this was not the way in which they argued in former times. They demanded the immediate application of their principle, irrespective altogether of the consequences predicted by their opponents. They conscientiously believed that the fears of their opponents were groundless; but contended at the same time that, even though they were reasonable, they ought not to be permitted to delay the doing of an act of justice. They were told they would injure those whom they sought to benefit—the negroes. We were constantly told of the consequence to the negroes of the suc-

cess of the anti-slavery cause. A member of Parliament told me one day, in the presence of thousands who had assembled to hear us debate this question, that if we emancipated the slaves they would retrograde in their condition, and, instead of walking erect like men, would crawl upon all fours (laughter); in point of fact, that they would be abandoned to destitution, misery, and hopeless darkness; whereas it was alleged they were then the objects of more than parental care (renewed laughter); not merely having all their wants looked after, but being pampered with luxuries from my lady's table; and had four-post bedsteads, mahogany sideboards, and well-stocked cellars. (Loud laughter.) If you doubt what I say, ask the gentleman who was speaking when the House was counted out last night. (Hear.) Yes, we were gravely told that if we abolished slavery we should injure the condition of the negro, and paralyze all the benign and considerate plans which the planters were at that time carrying out. (Laughter.) It was further alleged that we should deluge the Antilles with blood; that our planters' houses would be wrapped in flames and our ships would rot in our harbours. You, Sir, can testify to the truth of what I am now saying. Calculations were made of the number of thousands of tons of shipping which would be useless, and the millions of property that would be annihilated. Amidst all these alarming prognostications what was our motto? *Fiat justitia ruat cælum*. What was the maxim we were constantly inculcating? "Duty is ours; events remain with God." The establishment and maintenance of a great principle cannot ultimately do injury. Fling it among the people, and though, like a mountain hurled into the sea, there may be tumult, splash, foam, and commotion created by it, yet a little while and the troubled waters shall settle down and reflect the refulgence of the sun on its calm bosom. (Prolonged and vehement cheering.) Have we a principle or not in this great movement? If we have, as I believe, then carry it out. It has been shown most eloquently upon a former occasion, by the gentleman who is to follow me, that it is the cause of morality—by hundreds of ministers gathered from various parts of the kingdom, that it is the cause of religion—that it is the right of man—the duty of the Legislature—and that the honour and prosperity of our country, and the interests of distant lands, require imperatively that this great principle should be acted upon. Then, I say, carry it out. (Cheers.) But "No," say some of our friends, "we take exceptions to Cuba and Brazil." I shall not follow in the footsteps of Mr. Wilson, who not long since demonstrated that it was idle to talk about aggravating the misery of the negro, or increasing the extent of the slave trade by admitting Brazilian sugar here. The more you take of free labour sugar, the greater the stimulus that you give to Brazilian slavery; for wherever you create a vacancy, there you cause a demand for that produce which you reject; and that which you reject, preferring the produce of free labour in the East, is carried by the people who grow it to those markets which are elsewhere. You are equally simulating the system, whether you consume slave produce or that of free labour. But I ask what right have they to go to Government on a matter so exclusively religious as that of the guilt or innocence of consuming slave-grown produce? (Hear, hear.) They have none. Where is their warrant? What I said in Exeter hall I repeat here: gather me the élite of all the religious denominations in the country; let there be the profoundest intellects; let them all have the most unqualified reverence for the will of our Maker; let them all submit to one common standard as respects the great principles of morality and human conduct, and then I will venture to say that, not only will they not agree that it is a crime in a man here to consume that article which, in its production in a country far off, has given occasion to wrong being done, but the vast majority of them will also decide that it is a question exclusively between the individual and his God. I am sure the world will confess that it is not a question to be submitted to such an assembly as our House of Commons (hear, hear), which certainly have never been suspected of possessing too much religion (laughter), or of being capable of discussing or settling so nice a question as that of slave-grown produce. One other word, and I have done. I want to say to our friends who are opposed to us on this subject, that they should pause ere they put these arguments into the mouths of the present, or any Government or Parliament. Why, had not Sir Robert Peel been able to untold upon the table of the House of Commons an anti-slavery memorial with the venerated name of Thomas Clarkson attached to it, he would have been without the most powerful argument which he employed on that occasion to resist the application of the principle for which we are contending to Brazil as well as other places. (Hear.) But he hushed his followers; he told the West India proprietors—if not in words, at least by deeds—to be quiet; that he had something in his pocket that would serve their purpose much better than anything they could say as West India proprietors, or that might be said in their behalf by my Lord the Earl of Harwood, Lord St. Vincent, or Sir Alexander Grant, or even Mr. Buge—gentlemen who met yesterday at Willis's Rooms in St. James's-street. What did the right honourable baronet say in the House of Commons? "Why, the anti-slavery party is against you; they call on us in the name of humanity to exclude this produce. It is not that we have plantations ourselves in the East, and large possessions in Demerara, or that the house of Chandos and Buckingham own very large property in Jamaica—it is not for any of these considerations—neither is it because we want to consult the wishes of the West India party, and cannot do without them, inasmuch as if they were offended they might knock over the Corn Laws to-morrow—it is not for any of these reasons—we are perfectly disinterested—you would be welcome to Brazilian sugar, but that it is stained with blood and therefore you must not touch it. It is true we were always the enemies of the emancipation cause—that we voted against the abolition of the flogging of women—that we defeated the Whigs, when they wanted to deprive Jamaica for five years of its charter for most gross contumacy and cruelty: it is true we did these things, and made the nation pay twenty millions, which we did not give to the slaves, but to their oppressors. (Loud cheers.) So nice was our sense of justice, that we compensated the tyrant, not the victim (renewed cheers), and bought men off from crime, and saved their reputation, and, it may be, their souls, by giving them twenty millions of money. It is true we did these things; but we are changed men now. Did not I go and make a speech at Exeter Hall

in his wanderings, "to have a better kettle than that to boil your potatoes in?" "Bless you, Sir," replied the innite, "if we were to have a new kettle, I should be sure to put something on our rent next quarter." (Laughter.) This is the great gulph towards which all such improvements must tend. Charitable collections raised here for the benefit of the starving fishermen in the Orkneys! why, they have gone by wholesale into the pockets of the Scotch landlords! To virils that tends everything; that great omnipotent eye of monopoly is over all good in the country, and there cannot be a morsel of bread put into the mouth of the poorest pauper but what the noble and highest titled landlords have their share of it as a spoil. And in what way and upon what principle are these enormities apologised for? There is a point which I have mentioned here before very recently, but which I do not intend should be lost sight of by the public—I mean the dereliction of principle which has been shown by the Agricultural Protection Society in its first publication. (Hear, hear.) It will not do to call it, as some have done, a point of "literary criticism;" it is no such thing; it is a question of moral honesty and common decency. (Hear, hear.) False quotations from the writings of Adam Smith were at once proved on Mr. Cayley's pamphlet; after a time he put a letter into the *Morning Herald*, half confessing and half defending the charge, but admitting the substitution of the word "protection" for that of "encouragement," and also admitting that in two instances, if not in more, he had not taken conservative words of those which were marked in his pamphlet as the words of Adam Smith, and promising that these, and any other error that might be pointed out, should thereafter be corrected. Now, what is the fact? Why, that this publication has been reduced in price from 1s. to 2d., so that by those who buy it it may be bought the more largely. It is distributed, it is said, by tens of thousands, or more, throughout the country—I dare say sent down by carts into South Lancashire at this moment. And yet, notwithstanding Mr. Cayley's printed apology and profession one month ago, to this day these falsifications are not corrected. I purchased a copy of the pamphlet only this very afternoon. I found all the falsifications there: the alteration of the word "encouragement" into "protection;" the perversion of the quotation on the navigation laws; and that other perverted quotation, in which the farmers are represented as belonging to one class of society, and the manufacturing capitalists and merchants to another, in defiance of the spirit of the passage, if not entire in Adam Smith; and that still worse falsification, in which, where the author says, "whatever keeps produce below what it would rise to is an injury, the word 'price' is inserted—in alteration pointed out to the meeting by Lord Rathor, and bearing on it the first mark of the grossest perversion of the meaning of the author. All these, I believe, remain, and the pamphlet appears to be printed from the very same type as that which was used in the first instance. In spite of all the apologies and promises of correction, the only addition is a little bit of paper pasted on the bottom of one page, pointing to "encouragement" and "protection" in the next passage but one; and saying of the other passage, that it is a compression of what the author says, and not a continuation quotation: the fact being that it is no compression at all, but an unfair selection of phrases, by which they are made to bear a different meaning from what they do when read out as they are in the original. Now, I say that all this would not be tolerated in other matters. It would not be allowed for a moment of wealthy persons were not the offenders and the public the injured party. If a transaction of this kind had passed between a common man in the aristocratic ranks of society, they would have been compelled to go out with pistols to obliterate the stain which would attach to the character of the guilty individual. (Hear, hear.) I repeat what has been already said in the *Leicester paper*, that "if the chivalrous ancestors of those landlords—those of them, and, indeed, who had chivalrous ancestors—had believed in tournament as their descendants have done in argument, their swords would have been locked from their heels, and their banners kicked out of the lists." But here they are—their names all committed to detected falsehood for fraudulent purposes—five dukes, an earl, nine members of Parliament, brilliant names all made "the shameless heralds of a lie." (Loud cheers.) By no such power or means as this can our cause be arrested in its course towards triumph. (Hear, hear.) Such means never yet answered for any length of time, and never will. The power of truth, the sense of the nation, common sense, and moral feeling will always rise against them, heave them off, and consign them to that defeat and disgrace which is their desert. By such means, or by any of the arts of monopoly, however obstinate its resistance is prolonged, they never will succeed. The honest, the brave, the true, the League cannot fall, for its basis is in eternal justice; it cannot fall, for if it could there must fall with it those shrines which Heaven has erected in the common human heart the shrines of truth, of love, of justice, of charity—the holy places of the human soul, where it worships what is good, and vows perpetual devotion to the wellbeing of the community. (Cheers.) The League cannot fall, or if it were it would only be as some of the first and noblest of our race have done—struggling with the mighty tide of corruption and oppression, "falling with a fallen state," and leaving an enduring lesson of animation to others to persist even to the extremest verge of life in protesting against all such public iniquities. The League cannot fall, or, if it could, there would fall with it that agriculture which is set up as an opposing interest to it. Surrounded by famished multitudes, who would be like locusts devouring every green thing from the surface of the earth—surrounded not only by the famine in a famishing, but in an infuriated state—where would they be, with all their property and all their legislative privileges? The League cannot fall, or, if it could, it would be like Sampson of old, clinging fast to the pillars of strength and justice, only falling when they tottered, and when they fell they alone can permanently uphold must sink, whelming the painted galleries of the noble, the gay, and the great in one common and indiscriminating ruin. (Mr. Fox retired amidst enthusiastic applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then said—Ladies and gentlemen, the next meeting of the League will take place at 11 o'clock on Wednesday evening next. The chairman and speakers will be subsequently announced. This meeting is now dissolved.

Three cheers were then given for the League, and the meeting separated at twenty minutes to eleven.

YARMOUTH.

The first yearly meeting of the Yarmouth Anti-Corn-Law League was held on Friday evening, the 10th inst., at the Masonic Hall, Mr. D. A. Gourlay in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN having stated that the year had expired for which the officers of the League were appointed, it would be part of the business of the meeting to appoint the officers for the ensuing year; and, after expressing a hope that the people of this country would not suffer the Corn Law to remain much longer on the statute-book, he said that, being himself a shipowner, he could bear testimony to the injurious effect of that law, not only on the shipowners, but on all the people whom they employed. He was always ready to go the whole length with the people in endeavouring to procure the repeal of bad laws; and, looking as he did on the Corn Law as inhuman and impolitic, he was fully prepared to aid the League in repealing it. He would call on the secretary to read the report which had been agreed to by the committee.

Mr. JOSEPH BAYLY (hon. secretary) then read the report, from which we extract the following:—

"The committee, in making its first report, cordially congratulate the members of the Yarmouth Anti-Corn-Law League on the extension of Free-Trade principles amongst all classes of people in this borough, attributable to the information contained in the publications which have been widely distributed on the Corn Laws, and to the discussions which have taken place at the meetings of the League. It must be a source of gratification to every man of good feeling, that, by the measures adopted by the committee, every elector has been put in possession of statistics, facts, and reasoning on this long-debated question, sufficient for him to form a calm, dispassionate, and decided opinion on it; and any voter who may exercise his franchise at any future election in ignorance of the injury which the Corn Law inflicts on him and his family, has only himself to blame for his ignorance. The advance which a total repeal of this law has made in the electoral body, is even more remarkable than amongst the non-electors. The memorial to the members for the borough last year, requesting them to support Mr. Villiers's motion, was signed by 531 electors. The memorial this year, containing a similar request, received the signatures of 808 electors; and 91 electors refused to add their names to it, on the ground that, as 531 signatures failed to have any effect, no attention would be paid to 800 by gentlemen who, by their votes in the last session of Parliament, proved themselves adverse to Mr. Villiers's motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws. The strength of the constituency favourable to a free trade in corn, and without calculating such as advocate a fixed duty, is thus over 900; and although that number is sufficient to secure the return of two Free-Trade members to Parliament, still the committee is of opinion that the justice of this question, the increased taxation of the country, the falling off of labour, and the increasing poverty of the people in this borough, at a time when the very laws are in existence which are said to be so beneficial to the community at large, must convince many voters who have not signed the memorial that the time is come when they must make their choice between supporting men who say that the Corn Law is a good law, and that they will vote for its continuance, or men who say that it is a bad law, and that they will vote for its abolition. The committee, therefore, is anxious to impress on the members of the League the necessity of urging every voter to enrol his name as speedily as possible, as it is impossible to calculate how short the time may be when the final settlement of this question will be left in the hands of the electors of the kingdom."

Mr. BAYLY said that it was not his intention to have taken any part in the proceedings that evening beyond reading the report, but, as some fault had been found with him for the course which he had thought it right to adopt on the Corn-Law question, he would take the opportunity of stating the reasons which had made him cease to be a party politician. Mr. Bayly then drew the attention of the meeting to the deplorable and melancholy condition of the labouring people in this borough—the distress engendered by want of food—the fact of his having seen infants die from the inability of their mothers to supply them with the aliment intended for them by nature, and declared that, seeing what he had seen, so help him God, he would repeal the Corn Laws, if he could do it, in the hope that it would take the sting from poverty. He contended that the question of a repeal of that law was a religious one, because its object was to feed those who were starving, and clothe those who were naked. That it was a moral question, because, by enabling the people to maintain themselves without the aid of poor rates and charities, it would be the means of erecting sounder moral principles than all the societies and trusts which could be formed or distributed. That it was a question of justice, because justice meant honesty, and it was not honest for one class to make riches by taxing the means of another class.

Mr. JAMES DOUGLAS, in an effective speech, moved that the report of the committee be adopted.

Mr. W. N. BURROUGHS seconded the motion, and expressed himself so thoroughly satisfied that all other questions in which he, in common with many persons at that meeting, had been engaged for the last ten or twenty years, and into which once compared with the present one, that he was prepared to make any sacrifice demanded of him in rendering his assistance to the League. He contended that, ever there was a question in which it behoved the labouring classes of society to lend their aid, this was that question; for that although the Corn Law acted prejudicially on our shipping interest and in favour of the foreign shipowner, although tradesmen felt its effects in the loss of trade, the working classes felt it more than all, from its not only lessening their labour, but also increasing the prices of their provisions. In looking at this question, he thought that the first thing a man should ask himself was, to what class of society is the Corn Law beneficial? Mr. Burroughs then argued the question as regards the labourer, tradesman, merchant, shipowner, and manufacturer, and contended that the landlord alone was benefited by it. He thought, as the electors had the power in their own hands to settle the question, it was high time for them to be up and doing, and not wait until the eleventh hour. He had no fears for Yarmouth, for although some of the repealers, as yet, took no active steps in the matter, the League had a majority of the working classes and shopkeepers with it, and others would join fast enough when the question was carried.

The CHAIRMAN put the motion to the meeting, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. BAYLY, in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, would take that opportunity of reminding the meeting of the practical part of the business. The committee would sit at the King's Head, on the first Monday evening in every month. Let every member of the League come to that meeting prepared with the name of one elector, or more, to be enrolled as a member. He reminded the meeting that meetings alone would not carry an election; every man should endeavour, by arguments, to urge the electors and the most active non-electors to become Leaguers. He urged the meeting not to wait until the eleventh hour, but to commence working immediately, for that it was between this time and the occurrence of an election that that election must be won. He thanked the members of the League for their attendance that evening, and informed them that it depended on the answer to their memorial, whether they would be shortly called upon to attend another meeting or not.

Mr. J. FISH seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The following gentlemen were appointed the committee for the ensuing year:—D. A. Gourlay, Esq., chairman; Mr. T. Lettis, jun., treasurer; Mr. Jos. Bayly, hon. sec.; Messrs. R. Barber, W. Crow, H. J. Butcher, P. White, A. T. Tillet, W. Reid, T. Thompson, J. Fish, J. Douglas, M. Butcher, J. Fiddes, W. Smith, J. Barker, C. Barber, J. D. Chapman, W. Alexander, S. Miller, jun., J. Lown, W. N. Burroughs, and H. Boulter.—*Northwich Mercury*.

FREE TRADE AND ELECTORAL INDEPENDENCE.—On Monday evening, the 13th inst., Mr. Lavesey, of Preston, delivered a lecture on these important topics, in the large room, Mary street, Lancaster. On the motion of Mr. Moss, seconded by Mr. Wm. Satterthwaite, jun., Dr. Jos. Johnson was unanimously called to the chair. Mr. Lavesey was received with much cheering. He said the present might be considered as truly an electoral agitation. Anxious as they might be for a repeal of the Corn Laws, he dare say they felt convinced that the present House of Commons would never grant that repeal. It was a house of landowners, who conceived—rather foolishly, as he imagined—that their interests were bound up in the Corn Law, and therefore they were anxious to secure its continuance. It was not hereditary, like the House of Lords, but elective; and therefore it was in the power of the people, or, at least, that portion of them in which the franchise was vested, to change it at their pleasure. The League was now striving to impress upon the electors a knowledge of the vast power they possessed, that they might perceive it rested with themselves to put an end to that system of class legislation which had been productive of injury and antagonism only to the few, at the expense of the many. Mr. Lavesey then went on in loud and forcible language to expose the evils of the Corn Laws, and the many fallacies made use of to justify them. He ably exposed the injustice and immorality of attempting to coerce the conscientious votes of electors. Little boroughs, said he, and Lancaster was a case in point, were liable to be influenced by a few wealthy individuals—men who dealt with butchers and drapers, and who no sooner heard of a tradesman giving his vote conscientiously than they took away their custom from him. Whenever this took place, let the working men endeavour to supply the deficiency, and the shopkeepers would soon find that their custom was worth that of all the aristocrats put together. But let the latter beware. There was a danger that the working people might go to the butchers and drapers and say, "We do not ask you to vote with us—we do not wish to dictate to you how or for whom you shall vote—but if you do not vote conscientiously, we will at least give you a check by way of teaching you that honesty is the best policy." (Cheers.) He should as soon think of asking a Catholic to go to church, as to solicit a conscientious Conservative to vote for a Liberal, or to ask the latter to vote for a Conservative, and thus violate that liberty of conscience which the good God had bestowed on all his creatures. (Applause.) If a shopkeeper was deprived of the custom of a rich man for daring to vote conscientiously, let working men step in to supply his place, and they would prove better customers to him than the one he had lost. Give him a hundred good-hearted working men banded together, and he would rely more on them than on the patronage of all the rich men in Lancaster. (Cheers.) They ought now to bestir themselves in the great cause of Free Trade, Be patient, resolute and persevering. Do your duty, and let Lancaster purge itself of the disgrace of returning two monopolists to Parliament. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Moss moved that the memorial with which he had been intrusted should be read to the meeting, and, if approved of, that it be signed by the chairman, and forwarded to the two borough members.—Mr. William Satterthwaite, jun., seconded the motion. The memorial, of which the following is a copy, was then read by Mr. T. Johnson:—

"In Preston, Greenock and Glasgow, Robert, Esq., R. Esq., representatives in Parliament for the borough of Lancaster, We, the undersigned, Lancashire and Yorkshire Free-Trade men, do hereby express our deep regret at the fact that the above-named members of Parliament have not only refused to support the repeal of the Corn Laws, but have also refused to support the repeal of the duties on foreign wine, and the duties on foreign spirits, and have also refused to support the repeal of the duties on foreign sugar, and the duties on foreign tea, and the duties on foreign coffee, and the duties on foreign oil, and the duties on foreign flour, and the duties on foreign rice, and the duties on foreign corn, and the duties on foreign wool, and the duties on foreign cotton, and the duties on foreign iron, and the duties on foreign steel, and the duties on foreign leather, and the duties on foreign paper, and the duties on foreign glass, and the duties on foreign soap, and the duties on foreign candles, and the duties on foreign matches, and the 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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, May 22, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | | | |
|--|----|----|---|
| Cox, Helach, and Co., America-square | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Rich, Smith, and Co., 11, Houndsditch | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| B and M, 85, Aldgate High-street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| M T Levitt, 31, Minster | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Danford, 81, Aldgate High-street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Jonathan Lucas, Three Nuns, do. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Free Trader, 119, Houndsditch | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| H F & L Isaacs, 2, Phila-buildings, Houndsditch | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Rutledge, 44, M. Oles | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| C F Worman, 9, Houndsditch | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Bartlett, 7, St. Mary Ave | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Verbury, 87, Aldgate High-street | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| C Stewart, Long M. Lord, Suffolk, by F Stewart | 0 | 19 | 0 |
| Joseph Winter, Cowley, near Uxbridge | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| W H Noyell, 7, Brick Lane, Whitechapel | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| An Association of Operatives in Clerkenwell (3rd subscription) | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| H Jackson and Son, | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mrs. Jackson, | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| H F J Jackson, | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Samuel Jackson, | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Jane Jackson, | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Finances Jackson, | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Helas Jackson, | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Evey, 26, Aldermanbury | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Bunting, 22, Swan at, Minories by Mr. Parker | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Phillips, 71, Lawrence-lane, Cheap de | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| W Macdonald, butler, Mountquibine House, Cupar, Yf. | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| Mr. Ross, 14, John-street, Commercial-road (third annual subscription) | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Clarke, 119, Oxford street | 0 | 19 | 6 |
| Henry Hoskins, 11, Sergeant's-lane, Fleet-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Small subscriptions | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Turtel, Queen's Arms, Regent-road, Salford | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| John Kitchin, Broughton-street, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| F Schwann, Huddersfield | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Marlin Morrison, Newport, Monmouthshire | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Ogden, Bank Top Mills, Lees, near Manchester | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| James Seddon, Rigger-street, Pre. ton | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas Webster, 5, Chenevalde, do. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Hard working Lad, do | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Thos. Davis, 150, Chetwood, Manchester | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robt. Leake, Jun., 1, Veneshulme, do | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Abraham Midgley, Naze Bottom, near Todmorden | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Pattinson, 6, John-street, Strangeways, Manchester | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Joseph Pattinson, Wigton, Cumberland | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Donnan, Stretford near Manchester | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Grettton, 13, Boundary-street, C-on-M., Manchester (2nd subscription) | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Free-Trade Tory | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| H. and F. Hollins, Angel-row | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Nottigham, { A Friend | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 7th Remit. { Bayley and Shaw, Tollhouse-hill | 19 | 0 | 0 |
| John Heard, Park | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| { A Free Trader | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Stockport, { Henry Pearson, spinner | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 10th Remit. { Peter Beard, Hope Inn, Heaton Norris | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Shortin, Heaton Norris | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Buckley Bent, Dobcross | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas. Lees, Delph | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Buckley, Hollingrove, near Dobcross | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Whitehead, Dobcross | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Ralph Buckley, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| George Fowler, do. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| John Winterbottom, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Buckley, Uppermill | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| William Broadbent, Diglee, near Dobcross | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| John Smith & Sons, Oakview, near Uppermill | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Wright, Hootes, Delph | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| R. T. Bradbury, Kinder, near Uppermill | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| A Pitt for Sir Robert Peel | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| A Manufacturer | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| A Lady | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Edward Kidd, Temple Back | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| William Knowles, Park place | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Knowles, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss Knowles, do. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Samuel Hayman, Lower Cheltenham-place | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Charles Fother and Co., Temple Back | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| Summers Harford, 105, Pall-mall, London | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Samuel Lang and Sons, Bridge-street | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Stephens, Brothers, St. Philip's | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| James Fyfe, 41, Wine-street | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Alfred Tunstall, Union Cottage, Redland | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| J. W. Cash, Redland | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Mr. Broughton, Welsh Back | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| J. Pinnow, St. James's Barton | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Rose, 6, Prince street | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Samuel Bowden, 3, St. James's-square | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| H. Lee, 4, Old Park | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Hill, 31, Temple-street | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Two Friends, 13, Victoria street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Shipmaster, 6, Prince-street | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James M. Brown, Thomas street, Kingsdown | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Castle, Clifton | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Greening, Nelson street | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| S. Harwood, Cathay | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Griffiths, 13, Victoria st. (to make 20s) | 0 | 5 | 0 |

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING, KNOTTINGLEY.—On Tuesday evening, the 14th inst., a meeting was held in the British School-room of this thriving village, to hear addresses on the subject of Free Trade from Mr. Thomas Plant of Leeds, and Mr. C. Morton of Whitwood Colliery, Wakefield. The audience, in which were several ladies, was not numerous, but it consisted principally of electors, the village containing nearly 100 persons who possess a vote for Pontefract, besides a very considerable number of West Riding freeholders. Mr. Atkinson, the constable, was called to the chair, and introduced the speakers, who entered into the general question of Free Trade, and showed the importance of its adoption as the only means of meeting the demand of a rapidly-increasing population for food and employment; and exposed at some length the prevailing fallacies which are urged against its adoption. Their speeches were heard with close attention for upwards of two hours, and at the conclusion thanks were voted to them by acclamation. Thanks were also voted to the chairman, and the meeting separated. This meeting is the first ever held on the subject of Free Trade in Knottingley, but it is hoped that seed has been sown which will bear fruit, and that the spirited electors of this place will, ere long, be found amongst the active supporters of the just and peaceful principles of the League. It is understood that further meetings will be held in the course of the year.

SOUTH LANCASHIRE ELECTION.

(From the Morning Chronicle)

MANCHESTER, Tuesday.—If there were any longer a question as to the great mass of mercantile feeling in this great county being in favour of the Free-Trade candidate, it has been settled this day. I write this after leaving a meeting on the Manchester Exchange, such as was certainly never witnessed in this country, and probably not in the world. The Manchester Exchange, it is known, is a place where not only the manufacturers of this town, but those of the whole district, including the entire of South Lancashire, resort to meet the merchant on market-days to transact business. Tuesday is the principal market day: it is a day on which men engaged in business make it a rule never to be absent if it is possible to avoid it; and under these circumstances it was pretty generally expected that the antagonist parties in the present election contest would size upon it as offering the most favourable opportunity for introducing their respective candidates to the mercantile and manufacturing body generally. The expectation has not been disappointed. Precisely at half-past twelve o'clock—the "hour of high change," as it is denominated here—both candidates were presented by their friends. The rules of the institution do not allow the discussion of public questions within the building, but the friends of Mr. Brown, the Free-Trade candidate, at once saw that there was such a marked feeling in his favour, that to omit obtaining some signal proof or expression of it was to lose a golden opportunity. Mr. Entwistle, the Conservative candidate, a retired and comparatively unknown manufacturer, by the side of Mr. Brown, one of the greatest merchants of the day—"the Liverpool Rothschild," as he is termed—geemed to be comparatively nobody! He walked about "Change," leaning upon the arm of Mr. Richard Burley, the chairman of his committee, apparently overlooked or neglected even by those who professed to be his own friends; they, like all the rest, were pressing into the large group which occupied the centre of the immense building, and in the midst of which was at this moment the man of all-absorbing interest—Mr. Brown, the Free-Trade candidate. Mr. Brown's friends decided how to act immediately. Along the eastern side of the Exchange is an extensive and comparatively retired paved court, called Ducie-place, and by throwing open one of the first-floor windows of the building on the opposite side of it (the Manchester Times office), there was a hustings provided for the Free-Trade candidate at once. The merchants and manufacturers at this moment assembled within and without the Exchange were numerous and excited, and obeying almost to a man the invitation to hear Mr. Brown's sentiments, there was in the course of about ten minutes an open air meeting, extending the whole width of Ducie-place, and in length from the Arcade-buildings to Market-street, and comprising at the very least from 4000 to 5000 *bona fide* merchants and manufacturers. The space could not have been more densely packed; whilst the merchants who could not get out stood inside the Exchange, listening in eager anxiety to the statements Mr. Brown and his friends made. The meeting, too, was as remarkable for the wealth represented as for its numbers. To give a list of names would only be to copy those of the most eminent among the subscribers to the Exchange, for on looking through the crowd of them closely packed in front of the building, I did not miss a face—and their faces are all familiar to me. I heard merchants who were near me, of the oldest standing on 'Change, remark on the extraordinary nature of the spectacle; they said they had not seen such a meeting in their lives before. Immediately the meeting had assembled,

J. Heywood, Esq., banker (brother of Sir Benjamin Heywood, Bart.), came forward and said—Gentlemen, I beg to introduce to you Mr. Brown, of Richmond-hill, near Liverpool, who comes before you as an advocate for Free Trade, and for the removal of those shackles which have too long been allowed to fetter your industry, and oppress the trading interests of this great community. I beg to introduce him to you as a candidate for the representation of the southern division of Lancashire in Parliament. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. BROWN then presented himself, and was most enthusiastically cheered. When the applause had subsided he spoke as follows:—Gentlemen, I do assure you that I consider it a very great honour to myself that the town of Manchester should have been the first to invite me to come forward as a candidate on this occasion. (Applause.) In so doing I do not stand before you as a political partisan—as one who comes forward to support the views of any party, except as connected with the great object of unfettering the industry of our country. (Applause.) I stand before you solely in the character of a British merchant, and as one who has some interest in the soil; and my only object is to promote the best interests of both. (Applause.) I consider that Sir Robert Peel and the Conservative Administration have made two or three very judicious moves in the right direction; and if it is your pleasure that I should become your representative, he may depend upon my most cordial support, so long as he continues to carry out his own principle of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I am as confident as I am that I stand here that the Premier and the President of the Board of Trade are as much Free-Traders in their hearts as I am; and I believe that they are most desirous of being supported by the trading interests of the country, in order that they may be enabled to give you what you wish. But if you, the electors of this commercial district, do not return to them a Free-Trader, you tie up their hands, and throw back for a protracted period the fulfilment of those prospects which are now brightening before us for an extension of our commerce to the utmost ends of the earth. (Hear, hear.) On this point, gentlemen, I wish to be most distinctly and clearly understood, that I stand before you, not as a political partisan, but as a Free-Trader. (Hear.) Gentlemen, the bravery of our fleets and armies has, fortunately for us, opened to us the China market; but that gleam of hope—I wish it may be more—that symptom of prosperity, which we now derive from the extension of our trade in that direction, must not lead us to calculate too much on the benefits we shall derive from it: we must not, on that account, shut ourselves out from the other markets of the world. (Hear, hear.) I have had some experience in that trade, gentlemen; and though the net receipts from the sales of the produce sent there were extremely flattering, the returns could not be procured to make it a profitable trade. (Hear, hear.) These new

markets are certainly now open to us; but what returns we may be enabled to obtain from them in payment for our goods it is not in our power to know. I am very much afraid that China, like many other countries, will not be able to give us those equivalents which will enable us to look to it as affording us, at all events, a large, extensive, and profitable market. Hence the importance of not placing ourselves in hostility with the other nations of the earth. (Applause.) France, gentlemen, has received a taint from our unfortunate commercial legislation; she thinks that we have become prosperous in virtue of our protecting duties; whereas, I know that we are prosperous in spite of them. (Applause.) We are prosperous in consequence of our local advantages, in consequence of the insulated position of our island—so favourable to commercial pursuits, in consequence of our mineral wealth—our "black diamonds," more valuable to us than those of Golconda (loud cheers); and, in consequence of the physical force and constitutional energy of our operatives, who in this climate are able to work a greater number of hours, without injury to health, than the men of any other country on the face of the earth. (Applause.) These are the advantages we now possess; and if they will only unshackle our commerce, then we can meet every nation in the world in competition with our manufactures. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I need not tell you in Manchester of the critical position in which we stand with the Brazils. They refuse to renew their commercial treaty with us, believing that they can get supplies of the articles they take from us on more favourable terms elsewhere; and I very much fear, unless we make concessions to them in the matter of the sugar duties (hear, hear), that we shall be shut out from our second best market in the world. What, gentlemen, has produced against us the German League? Nothing but our unwillingness to reciprocate advantages with them by an exchange of commodities, by receiving from them the surplus of their industry, which it would be an advantage to us to take; they, on the other hand, taking from us what we can conveniently spare, with advantage to ourselves. (Great applause.) Some political economists fancy that we must exactly send to each country upon earth the precise equivalents for what we receive; but I ask you, gentlemen, as sensible men, whether it is the least importance if, of the fifty-two Governments of Europe, one take the whole of the products of our industry, if the other fifty-one pay us for them? (Applause.) Another fallacy with which we have to contend—put forth, I will not say by our political opponents, for politics are no part of my creed, but by our commercial opponents—is, that we cannot import more than we export, and that, of course, any importation in excess of our exportation is ruinous to the country, and ought not to be encouraged. Now, gentlemen, in what kind of a situation would any of us be if we did not get a profit on our goods—if we were not able to bring home more, in value and amount, than what we send out? (Loud applause.) I think the greatest evidence of the prosperity of the country would be, that our imports should be double our exports. (Applause.) What, gentlemen, are the great manufacturing and landed interests of the country to do with the increasing population of this kingdom—we are increasing at the rate of 1000 a day, nearly half a million a year—without they allow us to bring in food from those countries that can supply us with it: unless they allow the industry of those men to make the equivalent which is necessary to pay for it, we shall certainly be in a most deplorable situation very soon. Denied employment and the means of support at home, our most able and industrious artisans will be sent to foreign countries, to aid and assist them in the supply of those articles which we could have supplied them on much better terms, had we been permitted to feed, as we ought to do, our population at home. (Applause.) Gentlemen, you will probably expect me to say something about the commerce of the United States, with which I am perhaps more intimately connected than with that of some other countries. When I paid a visit to that country a few years ago, in the spring of 1838 or 1839, I had opportunities of conversing with planters, with farmers, and with manufacturers. The planters told me that they were altogether with us, because we took their cottons at a moderate duty; the manufacturers told me that they wanted protective duties to become a great nation, as we had become; but the farmers told me, "We don't believe that either party are right; we want the market of the world; and it depends upon your actions whether we are for you or against you." (Loud applause.) Gentlemen, if it is your pleasure that I should be your representative in Parliament, I do not think you will ever hear my voice raised in making very long speeches (hear, hear); but I will do all I can, as far as my humble abilities go, to be a worker on committees, where the work of the House is done. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I do not need to tell you that I am friendly to the limited monarchical Government under which we live. (Applause.) I think that its various balances and checks are the best calculated to promote the happiness of this great and important empire; but, like all human institutions, the change of circumstance, and the changes of time, make alteration and amendments necessary in that constitution (applause); and I should ever lend myself, to the best of my power and ability, to promote and vote for such amendments as I might consider would conduce to the prosperity and happiness of the country. (Applause.) The poor-law, gentlemen, is a subject on which I have been questioned during the canvass I have made. I am quite aware that great abuses have crept into it, from the time of Elizabeth down to the late alteration; but, in the attempt to get rid of those abuses, we have fallen into another error, and have made them too stringent and severe. (Hear, hear.) While I would do everything I could for infancy and age, who found it necessary to apply for parochial relief, I would also try to guard your pockets from improper characters imposing upon your benevolence. I am, gentlemen, an economist at heart. I would do everything in my power to prevent a wasteful and unnecessary expenditure of the money of the state. (Applause.) At the same time I would not be unduly in supporting the dignity of the nation among the great nations of the earth. I would on no account wish to see us lose caste, and be considered a second rate power. We now stand at the very top of the tree, and there we must be maintained (applause); and I cannot conceive anything so likely to accomplish that end as the removal of all protective and all countervailing duties and boun-

ties. (Loud cheers.) I collect what one of the French monarchs said to his merchants who had rendered great service to him; he said—"My merchants, what can I do for you?" They gave the most sensible answer they could have done—"May it please your Majesty to leave us alone." (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I am the friend of peace, of peace all over the world; and I would make any sacrifice to maintain it, short of national dishonour. There is one point which I would wish to mention in connexion with the United States, in addition to what I have said before. The duties which they lay upon our exports to them, average, at this time, 32½ per cent.; the duties which we lay upon our imports from them average 52½ per cent. But if we exclude from that list of imports cotton, which is so essential to our prosperity in this southern division of Lancashire, then the duties we lay upon our imports from America amount to 260 per cent. (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, what friendly feelings can we expect from a nation towards whom we so act? (Hear, hear.) Such a hostile course of legislation must produce heart burnings, vexations, and angry words; every spark thrown into the magazine blows it up, lights the flame of war; then comes additional taxation; increased restrictions and imposts will follow in such rapidity that it will ruin the interests of our country. (Hear.) Gentlemen, two or three questions have been put into my hands, which it is now necessary that I should answer. My importance as a merchant has been so far magnified as to lead to the supposition that any transactions of mine in cotton must be for or against the interest of this great community; and it has been said that I have been a very great speculator, and have very much raised the price of the staple of your industry. Gentlemen, the very reverse has been the case this year; I have set my face against the speculation from the very first moment that it showed itself, for I was convinced that there would be a fair quantity of cotton to supply your wants; and the imports of my house (and I have made no purchases here) have been less than they have been for many, many years—not one-fifth of what they have been. (Hear, hear, hear.) As all kinds of things are said during an election contest, whenever I hear anything by which I am likely to lose a vote, I am always prepared to answer it. I am now asked a question by a gentleman behind me, what I think of the tea hours bill? That measure, gentlemen, does involve very important interests, that of the labouring class of the community, as well as that of their masters, and the country at large. My impression has been that we should not lay additional restrictions upon manual labour, or anything else. If the object sought by this measure were attained, we might for a time get better prices for our goods, and be able to pay better wages to our artisans and manufacturing operatives; but the inevitable consequence would be, that it would act as a premium and a bounty to our rivals to increase their manufactures. (Applause.) It would also have the effect, gentlemen, of stimulating you to build more mills, and to put into operation more machinery; then, if the markets you expected to be open to your produce, and which still remain so, should be found to be shut, by the progress which other countries have made during our fortunate commercial policy, the reaction which would ensue would, I much fear, be severely felt by the industrious classes, which I should feel very much grieved to see. (Applause.) I am not aware, gentlemen, that I have anything further to say to you upon this occasion, in order to convey to your minds the views I hold upon commercial subjects; but if any gentleman has any question to ask me, I shall be glad to give him my opinion freely, fully, and unreservedly. (Loud applause.)

Mr. THOMAS BAZLEY, jun. (of the firm of Gardner and Bazley, cotton-spinners), next presented himself, and said:—Gentlemen, as a man of business, and one, like yourselves, deeply interested in the result of this contest, I come forward cheerfully to propose, after the sentiments we have heard from him, that, in the opinion of this meeting, Mr. Brown is a fit and proper person to represent this division of the county in Parliament. (Loud cheers.) In addition to being a Free-Trader, I recommend him, too, as being a merchant and a man of business, and of the highest integrity and standing—a man who would benefit the cause of industry and promote the interests of the empire. I believe he is not a man who goes to the length which many do in his political views; but, at the same time, he is not the man who would be found to support class interests. (Cheers.) If it be your opinion that he is the right sort of man, you will have the opportunity in a moment or two of saying so, and I will now give place to the seconder of this motion. (Loud cheers.)

At this moment the meeting got a glimpse of Mr. Cobden's face, and his friends, in answer to the loud and repeated calls for him on all sides, pressed him to come forward and second the motion.

Mr. COBDEN was received with deafening cheers. The hon. member, in a powerful speech, urged on the meeting the claims of Mr. Brown as a Free-Trader, and to merge all distinctions of party politics in support of Free-Trade principles; he concluded by seconding the motion.

Mr. BROWN here came forward again, and said he had been asked a question which he would answer at once. He had been asked if he was a *Pu-ryue*? (Hear, hear.) He was a member of the church of England, but he was not a *Pu-ryue*. (Applause.)

A gentleman named WYATT then said he had some questions to ask. He wished first to know Mr. Brown's opinion on the ballot?

Mr. BROWN said he was of opinion, from experience in the United States, that the ballot was not a protection, for a man's opinions always got to be known; but at the same time, if returned to Parliament, he would do all he could to promote laws which would protect the elector when the screw was attempted to be put upon him. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WYATT asked if Mr. Brown was for an extension of the suffrage?

Mr. BROWN: The suffrage might be safe in the hands of a manufacturing population, where intelligence was much greater than in the agricultural parts of the country, but without more education he was not for giving the suffrage to all classes. Regarding the extension of the suffrage partially, he should be guided by the arguments in favour of it.

The resolution was put and carried by the meeting, with only one hand against it, amidst great cheering.

Mr. BROWN briefly thanked the meeting. He would do his utmost in this contest for success, feeling, however, that he was fighting their battle, not his own; and that

in attending to his duties he would have to sacrifice much of time and health in their cause. (Applause.)

Mr. COBDEN hoped that those gentlemen who coincided with them would now go and exert themselves to the utmost for the contest. They must remember that there were 300 townships to be looked after; and a vote for each of these would, probably, be the most of the majority for either side.

The meeting then gave three cheers, and immediately separated.

MANCHESTER, Wednesday.

Yesterday, after the splendid meeting of the merchants, &c., on 'Change, in Manchester, of which I informed you in my last communication, there was a meeting of the electors at New Wind-or, Pendleton, at which John Potter, Esq. (son of Sir Thomas Potter), presided, and Mr. Rostron, Mr. Acland, and Mr. T. B. Potter, took part in the proceedings.

This was followed by a similar demonstration at Blackley, in which Joseph Simpson, Esq., Samuel Kershaw, Esq., and Louis D. Launey, Esq., were present.

In the evening Mr. Brown and Mr. Cobden proceeded per rail to St. Helen's, where a numerous meeting awaited their arrival, and after hearing the sentiments of the candidate, the usual resolution was passed, pledging the electors present to support Mr. Brown.

At a later hour another meeting was held at Prescott, where Mr. Brown was received with great enthusiasm. C. E. Rawlins, Esq., presided, and in addition to the candidate, Mr. Cobden, and several other friends, took part in the proceedings. The efforts of the Free-Traders are indefatigable in all directions, indeed. Mr. Moore addressed a meeting last night at Lamberhead green, near Wigan, where the liberal cause never yet polled a single elector, and before the proceedings terminated it was stated that 15 freeholders had made up their minds to vote for the Free-Trader. To-day Mr. Brown attended a large meeting of his friends at Warrington, and a meeting is fixed for to-morrow at Ormskirk. Mr. Entwistle, the Conservative candidate, has been meeting the electors of Wigan to day; to-morrow evening (the eve of nomination) both he and Mr. Brown, the Free-Trade candidate, are invited to dine with the mayor of Liverpool, in conformity with an old custom, and where, of course, they will shake hands in the John Bull style, before going to the fight in earnest!

Great as the exertions of both parties may have been, it is not likely that either, in a great district like this of South Lancashire, can have yet made up their canvassing books; but by to-morrow night it is probable that an estimate will be come to, so far as actual pledges are concerned, of how the contest is likely to go. Though the nomination takes place on Friday, the polling, as I stated before, will not begin till Monday; and the intervening days will be spent in anxiety by both parties; for the election takes place under circumstances differing much from those accompanying former elections. I allude to the fact of the polling being fixed for Whitsun week. The Manchester races being held on the last four days of that week, it is a time of more than ordinary cessation from business. The mills are stopped to afford the hands an opportunity of recreation in the race days, and it is an opportunity generally seized by persons in the more comfortable walks of life to make a tour of pleasure or visit the neighbouring watering places. Under these circumstances, it is confidently expected on both sides that the numbers on the gross poll will be under that of the last election, though the register shows a great increase of names. Which party this will most seriously affect remains to be seen. I have seen members of the Free-Trade Committee this evening, and they say that every hour brings with it more cheering prospects of success; while, on the other hand, I might refer you to the correspondence in the Tory morning papers, as evidence of the spirit on the other side being at a lower ebb than has been exhibited, perhaps, at any previous contest.

THE CANDIDATE FOR SOUTH LANCASHIRE.

In the year 1800, Mr. Alexander Brown, father of the gentleman now under notice, left England, and went with his family to the United States, and settled in the town of Baltimore. There he established a mercantile house, under the firm of Alexander Brown and Sons, and soon extended the sales of British manufactured goods so far that it was deemed requisite for one of the sons to return to England, and establish a house in Liverpool. This duty devolved on William, the eldest. It was in 1808, so that he had been altogether eight years in America.

The selling of American produce in England, and the purchase and exportation of British manufactured goods to the American markets, was the first line of business. This was soon mingled with an extensive agency trade; which means that other merchants consigned cargoes of goods to the houses of Messrs. Brown in Liverpool and Baltimore, from England and from America respectively, and drew advances of money upon such goods, without waiting for the ultimate sales.

To extend this trade, new establishments were opened. The brothers, who had not been in the business, were admitted; and New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans had each a representative, as they have yet, of the parent establishments. Two of the brothers have, however, retired, and other partners have taken their places. In New York the youngest still adheres to business, and in Liverpool the eldest.

In process of time the commerce between Liverpool and America, through the agency of the Liverpool house, became so great, or rather, it should be said, the commerce of England with the four quarters of the globe ran so much through the agency of this house, that the buying and selling of goods, either as principals or as agents, was, in a great measure, departed from, and the negotiation of bills, or rather the transferring of payments from one country to another on account of other buyers and sellers, was chiefly attended to.

In 1836, the transactions of this house amounted to £10,000,000. In 1837, the American banks, all over the Union, went down one after another, and many together almost with an universal crash. They fell, and their fall involved the Messrs. Brown. The latter were not crushed, but they were bruised. American commerce was at that time a towering pile in course of erection; bank credit was the scaffolding. It fell, and the Browns were not far from being smothered in the rubbish. Had they possessed less than the strength of giants they could not have extricated themselves; and, giants as they were, they would have struggled in vain had not a powerful

hand assisted them. The British Government saw, and looked with apprehension as it saw, the struggles of this gigantic establishment. From Inverness to Portsmouth there was not a single town but what would have felt its fall. In Sheffield and Birmingham, and the towns surrounding them, and in Manchester, Leeds, and all the great factory communities, a large number of merchants and employers, and, as a matter of course, every man and woman employed, were less or more involved in the fate of the establishment. The Government of that day saw the imminent peril, and so did the directors of the Bank of England; the latter met, and passed a resolution to give assistance to Mr. Brown to the extent of two millions. The exact sum which he was authorized to draw—a loan of money to an individual unparalleled in the history of the world—was £1,950,000. Of this loan he took advantage to the extent of between eight hundred and nine hundred thousand pounds, which he has since repaid, besides clearing off all other embarrassments.

What Mr. Brown's personal fortune may be now, it is not necessary to inquire. It is ample—probably not less than the sum which he was authorized to borrow from the Bank of England in 1837. The question is not at present how rich he is, but is such a man sufficiently acquainted with commerce and the general interests of the nation to be a fit representative of the great commercial county of Lancashire in Parliament? Some people—but they are only some—seem to think not.

Mr. Brown has always been a Liberal in general politics, but moderate in his opinions. He has been a Liberal in trade also, and in favour of Free Trade for many years, though himself deriving wealth from monopoly. Previous to the China trade being opened, he, as the British agent of the American merchants who traded to China, derived a large profit for his agency. He was requested to give evidence before the parliamentary committee on the China trade, and consented, though he said it would be against his own immediate interests. His evidence, more than that of any other witness, tended to break up the monopoly. He said that he knew it would injure him at first, but that, leading as it would do to an enlargement of trade, it would ultimately benefit him, because it would benefit the nation at large. He was not in error. He has lived to see that he was right.

Should Mr. Brown be returned to Parliament, as there is every reason to believe that he will be, for his own name is a tower of strength in Lancashire amongst commercial men, he will enter the house as but few members, perhaps none, ever entered it. His multifarious knowledge on all subjects relating to the prosperity of this great commercial empire, and to the world at large, must be useful in the highest degree. He will not be a political speaker, but he will be more useful as a sound adviser, a ready informant, and a close observer of the doings of others. He has no family nor other dependants to seek provision or patronage for. He has one son and one daughter, but they are amply provided for; and, if they were not, his is not the mind that would bend to any Minister or other power for personal favours.

If it is an honour to be represented by an upright and independent man, that honour will be theirs who elect Mr. Brown, the Liverpool merchant and banker. If it is deemed a high honour by some constituencies to elect men of high rank and pedigree, rather than merchants, let it be borne in mind that, of all the ancient houses of aristocracy—even Plantagenets—there was not one in the days of old, before commerce gave value to land, whose power or wealth was equal to that of William Brown.

From the Roman invasion to the Norman conquest, from the conquest to the accession of George III., there was not a sovereign in England, and there is not yet another out of England, who is represented, as is William Brown, upon every ocean, in every latitude and longitude of the world. There is not a wind that blows, at home or abroad, but it swells the sails of ships whose cargoes are to be paid for, or have been paid for, through the help of William Brown. There is not a tide that rises or falls but brings to port or floats to sea the ships which, though not his own, would lie in the docks powerless to move if he thought fit to withhold the moving power—money. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Baltic and Mediterranean seas, and the far waters that wash continental Asia, the four quarters of the globe, all are highways traversed in obedience to the orders of William Brown, of Liverpool.

In our own Birmingham and Sheffield there is scarcely a hammer, or a file, or a grindstone going out but he could stop, by stopping the employers by a single sentence uttered in his own counting-house. While this is his power at home, there is not on the vast continent of North America a road, a canal, or a railway of which there is not a messenger of his power travelling from day to day, from year to year.

But it is not of power that we should speak; it is of knowledge. It is the knowledge of such a man that recommends him to such a constituency as that which now seeks his services. At a former time he could not have withdrawn himself from mercantile business to go to London and devote time to politics. But since 1837 he has confined the business of the firm more to banking than it formerly was, and he has taken in an active partner, Mr. Shipley, who, with another partner, and Mr. Brown himself, form the house of Brown, Shipley, and Co. Thus he is relieved, in a great measure, from giving that incessant attention to business which he formerly devoted to it.—*Morning Chronicle*.

THE FARMERS AND THE RATS.

By ADAM BROWN.

A few days ago I was in a country inn, situate in one of the northern counties, and several Lancashire, Cheshire, and other newspapers lay on the table, and round the table sat two farmers, with three or four other persons not farmers.

"Dang that paper," said one of the agriculturists, a tenant of an eminent Tory lord who hunts in Cheshire; "dang that paper, there is nothing in it from first to last. I never saw such a paper." "It is worse than having nothing in it," responded another of the company, a game-keeper, as I was afterwards told; "it is worse than having nothing in it; it is full from one side to t'other with that Lancashire election. Brown, Brown; Cobden, Cobden; devil a thing there is in it but Brown, Brown; Cobden, Cobden."

This gave rise to a general conversation on the chances of having Mr. Entwistle elected or Mr. Brown, for South Lancashire; and a rather animated debate as to which of

them was the most desirable as a friend to the general prosperity of the country. While this was going on, the other farmer took up the paper which had been complained of by one as having nothing in it, and by another as having too much. He read for a few minutes, and suddenly raising his arm, he clenched his fist, knocked the pipe out of his mouth by the effort, smote the table, and exclaimed as he smote it and made the jazz dance, and the talkers start, and their arguments instantly cease:— "Did ever I hear the like of that since I was born! Talk of nothing being in the paper but that stupid Lancashire election, and Brown and Cobden, and Cobden and Brown! See this; listen to this. Oh, if my bitch Fan had been there; or your Tozer (to the gamekeeper), oh! if Fan had had a snack at them!"

"What has thou found so wonderful?" asked the other farmer; "I saw nought in it, as I said afore."

"Nought in it!" exclaimed the second farmer in reply; "call that this nought?"

"Read it, read it," cried the gamekeeper and two or three more voices.

"Nay," said the second farmer, "thou'ldst, William; thou canst read without glasses better than I can."

So William the gamekeeper took the paper, and having coughed and put one knee over the other, said, "Hah! hah! *Greedy and Rapacious Rats*," then pausing, and looking at the bottom of the paragraph, "from the *Preston Chronicle*: What is it at all?—a fight?—a dog-fight?—a rat-fight?—or what?"

"Nay," said the farmer who handed him the paper, "thou must read and see what it is; I shan't tell." So the gamekeeper read thus:

"*GREEDY AND RAPACIOUS RATS*.—On Thursday last, William Higham of Longton, going to work in the field, took with him his own child of four years of age, who, imitating his older neighbours, carried with him his dinner in a bag. Weighed with his jayviolet sports, the child threw himself on a flower bank, and, with his dinner bag by his side, fell asleep. When he awoke, his grief was great to find that his dinner had been abstracted; and, as the father was aware that no person had been near the place since the boy lay down, he concluded that some animal had made free with it. Near the spot was a dry ditch, and as the tracks of rats were visible and numerous, these wicked creatures were charged with the robbery. After digging for some time, a numerous family of rats were disturbed at dinner on Billy's pie, most of which they had eaten. The bag was safely deposited in their subterranean granary, together with nearly a bushel of potatoes, which these rapacious long tails had purloined and laid up for future use. Thirty-seven of the depredators were destroyed. The head of the community was a most ferocious-looking fellow, and of great size; and he, it is presumed, ventured on the bold attempt of taking the boy's bag, almost from under his arm, and in the face of a dozen people at work in the same field." *Preston Chronicle*.

The reading of this was instantly followed by the exclamation, "Oh! if my bitch Fan had been there; or your Tozer! there would have been business done!"

"Ay," said the gamekeeper, "and little noise about it!"

"But what a saucy old rascal that boy must have been to come out of the field afore a dozen took in a field and take the child's dinner!" said the first farmer, to which some one added, that it was fortunate the rats had so many potatoes as they had, else they might have been desperate enough to eat the child itself.

From which observation a general exchange of remarks was made relative to the rapacity of rats; the farmers saying that nobody knew rats better than they did, and the gamekeeper that nobody knew so well how to kill them as he did.

"It is rather a singular coincidence," said a person who sat at another table, and had just finished eating a mutton chop, and who had been reading one of the London morning papers and eating at the same time. "It is rather a singular coincidence, but such things do happen; here is an account of a colony of rats, that have just been seen in London. It seems in certain localities they have been in the habit of getting into people's cupboards, and there they ate and carried away whatever they could get. They have been more noted for stealing sugar than anything else; and they have gone so far as to take the very lollypops out of the hands of children as they sat sucking them in their little mouths in their little stools at the nursery."

"The saucy, thieving vagabonds!" exclaimed the gamekeeper.

"Why don't they keep dogs in Lannon?" asked the first farmer; "dogs to worry them, or traps to trap them, or poison to poison them; why don't they give them poison?"

"But to go and take the lollypops out of the children's hands sitting at the nursery gets over me," observed the second farmer.

"And the sugar," added the first; "I never heard of rats going to a cupboard to steal sugar."

At this moment three more people entered the room, one of whom was a commercial traveller from Manchester, another a shopkeeper of the neighbourhood, and the third a miller.

"What news in the paper?" asked the miller; "how does the Free trade come on, eh? Thou won't put him on, not for South Lancashire, nay, thou won't; thou can't; the Times be 'n't strong enough. Howing's in, seven to two on it. Brown gets in. Brown is our man for South Lancashire, Brown gets in, and I can give all your money. We won't have people of country starved, their very bread stolen. I say stolen, I might speak softer word. I might say their bread pinched and nipped away, and munched small, but I say stolen. Brown goes in, then come the corn out, and down goes the Corn Laws, and Sugar Laws, and the monopolists of sugar must be made honest too, as well as landowners. We must not pay recompense for sugar to them, and can get enough for threepence hapenny. What say thou, gamekeeper?"

"I say nought about it. I believe it all humbug, one side and t' other. I say 'Live and let live.'"

"And I say that," added the first farmer.

"So do we all," rejoined the third; "we all say 'Live and let live;' but them Leaguers, and all of that sort, cannot let two live and let live."

"Ah, cannot let us have no more about Anti Corn Law League," said the gamekeeper; "let us have out that from this gentleman about the rats that eat sugar out of bays in the cupboard in Lannon."

"Ay," added the first farmer, "tell us about the rats; more need that we know how to kill them than to know things that trouble us less."

"Well, then," said the person who had the London paper, "the case is this: the rats had been known for a long time to commit depredations on the sugar-basins;

but all that the people could do they could not prevent them nor save their sugar."

"The devil they could not!" interrupted the second farmer. "I wish I was in Lannon with my Fan, I would let 'em whether rats could take my sugar out of basin."

"But did they ~~lose~~ on sugar? Did they thieve nothing but sugar? I can hardly believe it."

"O, here it is in the *Times*, you may see it for yourselves if you like; it fills two or three columns."

"What?" said the commercial traveller, "two or three columns of the *Times* filled with an account of rats! and those rats discovered thieving sugar, do you say? I never heard of such a thing. Are there many of them?"

"Yes, a great many, young and old."

"Ah! If I had my Fan among them," said the farmer, "I would sugar them."

"Or my Tozer," said the gamekeeper.

"I would trap them; ferret them; hunt them; worry them; dog it, I would be at 'em," said the other farmer.

"Where is their locality?" asked the commercial man.

"Why, the last place where they have been seen in considerable numbers was in a house in King-street, St. James's. It seems some attempt has been made to keep them out of the cupboards, and they have made such a noise as to attract the notice of newspaper reporters."

"And do you say they have been living on sugar?"

"They have been at anything they could lay hold of. One well known rat was seen there who has for a long time been a nibbler at the quatern loaves as well sugar. He was hunted some time ago by a celebrated terrier from Leeds. He bit and scratched viciously."

"Ah, my Fan or your Tozer, William, would not have let him escape," said the farmer.

"Let me see the paper, let me read that extraordinary affair," asked the commercial man. "Why, why this!—Oh! I see what you are at—Lord Harewood—a meeting of West India proprietors. Ah, Mr. Farmer and Mr. Gamekeeper, if you want to kill these rats that take the sugar and the loaf stealthily, vote for Brown; he will represent your Fan and your Tozer."

The conversation turned now rapidly and warmly on the Sugar Duties and Corn Laws. The farmers and one or two others defended the corn and sugar lords; but the person who read the London paper said, that they might as justly defend the big rat that stole little Billy's dinner from under his arm when he was asleep.

TO T. B. MACAULAY, ESQ., MP.

Edinburgh, May 12, 1844.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and, under ordinary circumstances, I should have thought it sufficient to say in reply that I was satisfied your vote would be given this year, as last, in favour of Mr. Villiers's motion for a total repeal of the Corn Laws.

But the circumstances are not ordinary. It is true that, at a public meeting of your constituents, a resolution implying censure of your conduct (in which I heartily concur) has passed almost without opposition; and a threat, which still not prove a vain one, has been held out, and which, notwithstanding some weak boasting of yours, will, I doubt not, in wisser moments influence both your thoughts and actions.

I have, therefore, thought it desirable to write to you at some length, and I am the more disposed to do so, because I see in the lengthened answer you now condescend to give some apology for the concerted, abrupt, and ill-bred reply you give your constituents on a former occasion; and I am not unwilling, also, to see in it a proof that, spite of some remaining vanity, we do exercise a very wholesome influence over your mind. In the resolution sent to you, the opinion and wishes of your constituents have been very clearly enunciated; but as these are not enough, and you deem your reasons better than ours, I will try to explain them in such a way as to make it clear to you that we understand this subject quite as well as you do, and are quite as little likely to surrender our convictions. To give explanations which will not afford subterfuges and evasions to a man determined to sacrifice truth and his country to his party is, I well know, impossible. But this, I hope, is not your case.

We have two questions to consider—one of political economy, another of practical prudence. I will not follow you in your statements concerning the first, further than to express my conviction that, though you may be persuaded of the economical and political advantage of Free Trade, my fellow-citizens will receive with no small portion of distrust, your assertion that you are, like us, determined to obtain it. You have said in the House of Commons, and in letters to your constituents, that the question of protection and the fiscal question are perfectly distinct, and must be decided on different principles. Now, Sir, we think, though they are perfectly distinct questions, that all those who advocate or even tolerate a fixed duty seek only to confound them, and that in no age or country can it be right to impose a duty on foreign corn for any purpose whatever. It is not possible to conceive a state of society in which an import duty on foreign corn could be imposed for purposes of national revenue alone; and we have a perfect conviction that you are far too clear-sighted to miss so plain a truth, however much your devotion to a party or hope of place may induce you to puzzle so simple a subject.

In theory, I think we agree. Our end, also, you say is the same; and you ask what means should be used to accomplish it. You find it convenient to assert that a lecturer on Free Trade has nothing to do with the instruments to be employed to work out the end, his vocation being confined to illustrate the principle. Can excommunication exceed this? Your letter, Sir, should have been dated, like a celebrated former one, from Windsor Castle, and addressed, not to your constituents, but to your subjects. Let me whisper in your ear, that we will trust Free-Trade lecturers, who have no inducements to veil the truth, rather than members of Parliament, who are daily induced to abandon it; and we doubt not that the members of the House of Commons will learn to purchase support by concessions, and to destroy evils which have been uniformly aggravated by their ignorant and unsifted attempts at mitigation.

I learn there will not be wanting nice gentlemen and party men to tell you that this is mere popular clamour, the loud talking of men who seek to urge you on by pressure from without; but I do not seek to convert you except by addressing your reason, and unmasking your sophistries, which I believe require to be unveiled, even

to yourself. I write to you calmly to consider in what manner all the important reforms in our legislation have been carried. Is there one that has not been brought about by the action of constituents on their members?

The history of our country would furnish me with innumerable examples, but I will take one or two only, with which we are all familiar. Sixteen years ago the clamour (I use the fine-gentleman vocabulary) against the Test Acts had risen to such a height that the House of Commons felt it was no longer safe to resist the popular demands, and Lord John Russell stepped forward to assume the credit of an easy victory, already achieved by the people. But his lordship and the House omitted the only point on which the prejudices of the people made it still safe to leave a remnant of oppression and tyranny, by excluding the Jews from all benefit of a more enlightened legislation. Could anything more clearly prove that we owed our enfranchisement only to our own exertions, and neither to compromise nor aid from our rulers?

I will give you another instance. Call to mind, if you can, the real history of the Reform Bill. At the death of George IV., our political leaders were sunk in apathy and sloth. Lord Grey had forgotten his early devotion to reform, to stick to his order. *His Majesty's Opposition* could hardly be brought to entertain in the House of Commons the subject of parliamentary reform, and out of Parliament it was everywhere tabooed as an *ungentlemanly* topic. But the sacred cause of liberty was still nourished in the hearts of the people. It grew with their oppressions, and was watered by their tears. When the great French Revolution broke out, it became speedily apparent how dearly they cherished reform. All men again felt it could no longer with safety be withheld. Again the Whigs stepped forward to reap the fruits of the people's victory. On this occasion, however, they did not confine their compromises to the Jews: they compromised on all. With their Chandos clauses, their freemen, their open voting, and their long Parliaments, they have once more laid the country prostrate at the feet of our worst enemies; so that men of sense are reduced almost to ask themselves whether it was not better to have left the work undone than to have brought upon us such universal corruption, such unlimited bribery, such remorseless persecution.

There are many more examples. But I may safely challenge you to adduce a single instance of a great reform effected in a durable manner, unless with perfect co-operation among its supporters, and without any compromise of interests or concession of principle.

The reform of the Corn Laws will differ in nothing from all previous reforms. The party arrayed in defence of the existing system is weak in the extreme. It is beaten to the pit. Spite of wealth and place, it is timid and flexible. We may not only safely, but we should be guilty of extreme folly did we not adopt the same course which led to a repeal of the Test Acts, to the emancipation of the Catholics, and avoid most studiously those corrupt and dangerous compromises which ruined the Reform Bill. We have force enough and to spare, and will do wisely and well to drive into the ranks of our enemies all who seek, under the name of compromises, to secure for themselves imaginary rents, a place among fine gentlemen, or the reversion of office under the next *provident* prime minister.

We have with us not the towns only, but a great body of the farmers; and we know that many of those who seem opposed to us are secretly with us. You tell us we deceive ourselves. Pray, my good Sir, ask yourself the question, whether those who spend their lives among the people are not likely to be better acquainted with their opinions than a man whose life is given up to literary studies? You say the House of Lords is against us almost to a man. In the first place, this is not true, and you know it. In the second place, we have encountered as great odds before; and we mean to make the House of Commons more favourable to us precisely by the process we have applied to you, by not leaving to our representatives the choice of the means by which this dreadful curse of the Corn Laws is to be removed from a too patient people.

I have now retorted upon you your own arguments, and have, I trust, shown you that they are more powerful to destroy your position than to strengthen it. I will now finish, as you have done, with a word of advice. I am glad to find that your constituents have shown better temper and more wisdom than you have done—that they have accepted your letter, spite of its tart spirit, in a peaceable manner, and do not think it advisable to part with you. I also think you too good and useful a member to be lost, for which reason I have been at the trouble of writing so much to you. But let me who know these men counsel you. Be assured that the compromise of a fixed duty will not be tolerated; and, if carried by the Whigs, will only add to the present popular distrust of them, which I, as an old Whig, do very deeply regret. Be assured also that the same effort which is necessary to obtain a fixed duty will serve to secure a stronger position, for though there may be many landlords willing to admit this solution of our difficulties, the people well know how much more difficult it will be to rescind a fixed duty than a sliding scale. But there is a time for all things, and we are very apt to consider that those who put forward fixed duties and compromises at present, are more anxious to conciliate our enemies than to befriend us. Do not, therefore, while dividing with Villiers and Cobden, prate about union while you are practising separation; and let me advise you to carry a little of that "*manly rectitude*" with which you threaten your constituents into your relations with your party. For us, we will press forward for entire Free Trade, and treat as enemies all opposed to us. Like good and true soldiers, we suspect those men as traitors, and watch them, who, in our ranks and fighting by our side while the battle is raging and the day is with us, point out difficulties, exaggerate dangers, and propose a parley.

A CITIZEN OF EDINBURGH.

PETITION FOR A REDUCTION OF THE SUGAR DUTIES.—A petition is now lying for signature in this town for a reduction and equalization of the sugar duties. It has a particular reference to the trade with Brazil, which is greatly endangered by the determination of the Ministry to continue the prohibitory duties on sugar, the produce of slave countries. It is necessary that all who intend to sign the petition should do so immediately, as it will have to be forwarded on Wednesday next for presentation to *Leeds Times*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Tower Hamlets, May 15, 1844.

MR. EDITOR.—Your remarks on "Registering" have induced me and several others with whom I am acquainted to take the matter into consideration as to carrying out, in our individual sphere, the suggestions relative to £10 householders, whose rates are paid by the landlord. These are the class of voters to whom my attention is particularly directed.

We propose furnishing working men, and others, with forms, so that they may have nothing to do but sign their names, and forward them to the overseers. But to come more particularly to the object of my writing to you.

Will it be necessary to state on the "form" that the claimant's name is to be added in conjunction with the landlord's? And will it be necessary—absolutely necessary—that every person claiming to be registered should attend the Registrar's Court in person to prove his qualification? If so, I fear the parties intended to be worked upon will not take the trouble, or lose the time, in looking after what to them appears, in many cases, of so trifling a nature.

Your kind attention to the foregoing questions will be esteemed by
A LEAGUER.

[It is necessary that the claimant's name should be on the rate-book, but not that it should be conjoined on it with that of his landlord. Any person who can swear to all the facts of the claimant's qualification may attend the Registration Courts for him. "Leaguer" is referred for all information to our Registration Office, 68, Cheapside; or to the Tower Hamlets Registration Committee, Grave Maurice, Whitechapel-road.]

EXETER ELECTION.

We take this opportunity, in publishing the following letter, of expressing our high sense of the generous kindness of those good friends of the cause who have so benevolently interested themselves to mitigate, as far as in them lies, the cruel consequences of an act of gross oppression towards a respectable and industrious young man, whose only delinquency has been a conscientious adherence to his own convictions and the honest vindication of his political integrity. Both examples are worthy of imitation—the inflexibility of principle that asserts its honest rights in the face of all threatened consequences; and the noble sympathy that protects such self-devotion from the vindictive intolerance that would crush where it cannot control. The enclosed amount has been forwarded, and will be acknowledged in due course.

May 23, 1844.

SIR.—With much pleasure I forward to you the enclosed sum of £12s. 6d., being the second amount from a few friends who admire the conduct of Snowdon; which you will be so kind as to send him the first opportunity.

As you have pledged yourself to expose every case of such flagrant injustice, I feel myself emboldened, from the liberal manner in which, in this instance, my friends have contributed, in assuring that much may be done, and that the League, while it daily becomes the terror of the wrong-doer, may be made the cheering beacon to which conscious rectitude, boldly exercised, may look for some assistance. Upon strict inquiry, any case not being clearly made out, the amount contributed should be placed in a general fund. I venture to make these few remarks, and thus to trespass on your kindness, knowing how much there is to do; while our noble champions are so energetically impressing on the electors in every part of the country their sense of duty, we must not be found slumbering on our post.

I remain, yours respectfully,

19, Little Pulteney-street, J. H. HUTCHINSON.
Golden-square.

The following letter has been received from the young man, Snowdon, in reply to the letter forwarded to him, and enclosing the amount of £14s., received on his behalf from Mr. Hutchinson, of Little Pulteney-street, Golden-square.

Exeter, May 22, 1844.

SIR.—Through the medium of your invaluable journal I beg to return my thanks to Mr. J. H. Hutchinson and his friends for the kind feeling which they have evinced in my regard, and in detestation of the spirit of petty tyranny which has been exercised over me, and from the effects of which I am still suffering, as I have not since been enabled (with the exception of three days' work) to get any employment. It was with sorrow, nay, I may add, with indignation, that I was made acquainted with the determination that Mr. Hayman had come to, namely, that of coercing the votes of those men in his employment who conscientiously differed from him. But, Sir, I had but one duty to perform, which was to record my vote for those principles which would most tend to alleviate the suffering of my starving fellow-creatures. In acting as I have done, I have done no more than in justice I was bound to do, and what any other person or persons in my situation must have done, or else forfeited their character as liberal and independent electors.

I received this morning from Mr. J. H. Hutchinson and his friends, through the medium of Samuel Maunders, Esq., proposer of Major-General Briggs at our last election, the sum of £14s., which the before-mentioned gentlemen were kind enough to subscribe for me, and for which I return my sincere thanks.

I remain, your most obedient servant,

CHARLES SNOWDON.

Bartholomew-yard, Exeter.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

FROM PETER PLAYFAIR TO HIS BROTHER DANIEL,
OXSTALL FARM, MIDDLESEX.

Ostend, May 10, 1844.

DEAR DANIEL.—You know that I determined, before settling down to business, to spend a little of Uncle Stockport's legacy, in seeing the world, and in judging for myself of the state and condition of other countries. Here I am, then, so far advanced upon my voyage of discovery, determined to see everything, as far as I can, with unprejudiced eyes, and to report what I see fairly. You may make any use you please of my letters. I shall state only that which I believe to be true, whether my statements are favourable to the present restrictions on commerce and the corn trade, or in union with your own opinions; for you, dear Daniel, though a Middlesex farmer, are a friend to the axiom of "selling in the dearest, and buying in the cheapest market," and, like many of our

class, an assured but, perhaps, unconscious convert to the doctrines of the Anti-Corn Law League.

I have been engaged all day in visiting different grazing farms in the neighbourhood of Ostend. The land here is low and marshy, chiefly gained from the water, and useful only for grazing purposes. I will not, till I am better informed, offer any opinion upon the agriculture of the district; but one or two general observations I feel justified in making. I engaged a *commissionnaire*, or interpreter, to accompany me; for the French I got at school, though useful, is not, I fear, very intelligible, and Flemish is more generally spoken by the labouring classes. The last place I visited was a large farm, the property of a distinguished member of the Legislature, a Belgian gentleman-farmer. The *commissionnaire* had left me for a few minutes, when I met a ruddy, stout-faced gentleman, whom I accosted for information; he politely took off his hat to return my salutation, and listened patiently to my broken language, giving me in return all the information I asked. The *commissionnaire* came up soon afterwards, took off his hat and bowed, which salutation was smilingly returned by the stranger as we took our leave. I then found from the *commissionnaire* that my informant was the proprietor of the estate; and here I must make one observation on national manners. The poorest peasant in this country has his bow and speech returned by the noblest in the land in the same manner in which it is offered; while, with us, the furtive and stolen look, and touched hat of the English peasant, are often met by the supercilious glance and silent passing by of his aristocratic neighbour, a frank civility is here shown by one class to the other, as far removed from impudent assumption on the one part as it is from insolent rudeness on the other. No man, whatever may be his position, dares to practise premeditated rudeness upon another. The rights of man are better understood by all:—

"The gold is but the golden stamp,
A man's a man for a' that."

Another observation which I made at Ostend is, that during the two days I have been here I have not seen a single person, man, woman, or child, in torn or ragged clothes:—

"If there's a hole in a' your coat,
I rede ye t'unt it;
A chiel's amang ye takin' notes,
And faith he'll mend it."

Nor could I hear of a single instance in which want and exposure had produced death, as the records of the coroner's court have too frequently shown in once "marie England." It is true I did see now and then a wooden shoe, but even these are becoming scarce, and I did not see a single pair which was not accompanied with warm worsted stockings, evidently of home manufacture. The clothes of the working classes, though coarse in fabric, are warm, and neat in appearance; and the snow white cap, universally worn by the peasant women, with the hooded black cloth cloak, is a neat and pleasing substitute for the shapeless bonnet and slatternly shawl of our labourers' wives and daughters. When I asked if destitution or cold had ever been known to produce death, I was answered by a stare of astonishment, which proved to me that such things could not be, and which made me blush for my own country:

"Oh, God! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap!"

Away, then, for ever with that foul and foolish fallacy with which the Moloch of monopoly has sacrificed his myriads: I mean the assertion "that high wages are *all* in equivalent for the high price of provisions." Compare the country in which the necessities of life are plentiful and cheap with that in which they are scarce and dear; suppose the labourer to be out of work, or incapable of working—see him dying of downright starvation; and then wonder how the human lawgiver can justify it to himself to contravene the laws of the Eternal, and prevent his fellow-man from living "by the sweat of his brow."

Bruges, May 12, 1844.

The railroad from Ostend to this town passes over a flat and level country, in which there is neither viaduct nor cutting. It is, indeed, more like the old tramroad than the modern railroad. The first point of the journey is through the *Polder*, a large extent of country from which the sea has retreated, or from which, by the ingenuity of man, it has been blocked out by dykes or embankments. It is chiefly composed of grazing marsh land; but as the road approaches to Bruges the land improves in quality, and is covered with crops of grain and vegetables for the table. Perhaps no city in the world is better supplied with vegetables than Bruges, and their growth is most luxuriant. The early-sown grain is also in good condition, a little blanched by the sun, but strong and healthy, and standing at the present time, upon an average, at least four feet in the stem. A fellow-traveller upon whose veracity I can rely assured me that he had seen clover so luxuriant in crop as to measure three feet in height; another who has farmed in the district for seventeen years tells me that he measured last season a rye stalk eleven feet long. If this be true, and I have no reason to doubt it, the assertion that an English regiment of dragons, when ordered at the battle of Waterloo to charge the French Imperial Guard, were hindered by a field of waving corn through which they had to pass, and by the smoke of the artillery, may be less apocryphal than I have hitherto thought it.

To-day (Sunday) at Bruges is the second Sunday of the May fair. The fair continues every day during the month of May, and a great square of this ancient town, in which our merry Monarch, Charles II., held his court during the Protectorate, is filled with numbers and merry dances, differing in language, but not in appearance, from those we see at our own fairs of Exeter and Croydon and Greenwich. The services of the Catholic Church commence at daybreak on Sunday with early matins, and end with the afternoon vespers. The amusements of the fair begin after the duty of the day has terminated; and so far are the priesthood from discouraging innocent amusement that the fair was announced and ushered in by a paternal benediction from the head of the church, and opened by a procession of priests. I offer no praise to the Catholic Church—no apology for such practices. The fair terminated at ten o'clock, without any order from a, or interference of, the police, and by eleven a not a living soul was to be seen in the square. I did not witness a single instance of drunkenness or violence or vice: the object sought for was amusement, and the means employed not vicious in themselves.

I told you, dear Daniel, that I had not seen a single

person at Ostend, among a population of 14,000 souls, with ragged clothes or appearance of destitution. The same remark is true of Bruges, with four times its population. No houseless wanderers in the street, no able-bodied paupers begging the food for which they are willing to work. For here the decrepit, the blind, and the aged are the only recipients of charity, and even of these in the towns mentioned I have seen but two persons. And what is more surprising than all, though perhaps it ought not to be named to "ears polite," I have not seen in either of these towns a single female of the class called, and too truly called, *unfortunates*. Alas! who can say what portion of the crime, moral and legal, which prevails in our cities is occasioned by want and by suffering—who can measure the extent to which the prosperity or destitution of a population may operate in the violation of laws, human and divine? Who can say how far the labourer, willing to work but ashamed to beg, will bear the pangs of hunger before he poaches on the wild animal which God has provided in common for all, but which the rich man has appropriated to himself, or before he takes by stealth from his neighbour's store? Who can say the amount of suffering and temptation that shall be borne by the poor man's daughter before she tries to mend her condition, and makes it worse by becoming a victim to the arts of the ensnarer? Who can answer the forbearance of the poor shirt-maker?—

"Stitch, stitch, stitch,
Till the eye grows weary and dim;
Stitch, stitch, stitch,
Till the brain begins to swim.
Stitch, stitch, stitch,
Till the hunger, squander, and dirt;
And with a voice of dolorous pitch
She sings the 'Song of the Shirt.'"

But then we have penitentiaries and model prisons, admirably adopted to cure the diseases of the body politic which our cruel laws have engendered. We will not give the destitute man work and food to prevent his poaching upon the manor of nature; but when he has done so we provide him with food and a separate apartment in the new prison palace, to relieve the hunger which caused the crime, and thus prevent its recurrence. We will not take the young and destitute and delicate female from the streets till her body has been polluted; but when this condition is fulfilled she becomes eligible for election into our penitentiaries, until her place is required for others, and she is sent out to run the same course, and told "to go and sin no more." Such is the mercy of man to his fellow-man—such the perfection of human laws by which human misery and human crime are confined within legal bounds, and the passions and wants of the multitude brought into subjection to the wishes and the will of the few! And will it ever be thus? Will no generous legislation ever arise to foster the virtues as it now does the vices of the people? The English labourer works harder than any labourer in any land. He *lives* to labour; others live to *enjoy* life; and even this hard tax upon existence is insufficient to secure him the means of existence. Our implements of agriculture are more perfect than those of any other country, for with the Flemish it is chiefly the husbandry of the spade or hand husbandry. We have colonies to take our productions, ships to carry, and commercial men to conduct the exchange of them; and yet, with all these advantages, every interest and class in the country but the landowners are languishing and even this one is rotten at the core. The farmer can scarcely pay his rent, and cannot provide for and properly educate his children; the peasant is a pauper; the trade of our once great commercial country is hollow and unsound; our ships are rotting in our harbours; and our great competitors the Americans are running away with our carrying trade wherever they can get access to it. And thus are the destinies of a great nation, more glorious than any since the times of the Greeks and the Romans, sacrificed to the monster of Monopoly. When Napoleon, in the madness of his pride, shut the ports of the Continent, he with a stroke of his pen extinguished commerce, and beggared whole nations. When the restrictions were taken off, commerce revived, and Belgium in particular has ever since been running a rapid race of prosperity. Release the commerce of our country from the trammels in which the landlord lawgivers, for their own base purposes, have bound it; give us cheap food, and, above all, cheap bread; and the indomitable spirit and industry of the people will do the rest. We shall then cease to find in the small and third-rate kingdom through which I am now travelling so much to envy and to admire, when contrasted with the condition of my own dear but unhappy land.

I shall proceed to visit the great commercial city of Ghent, the port of Antwerp, and the capital of Brussels, from which my next letter will be dated. P. P.

A FACT FOR THE LEAGUERS. At a recent meeting of the charity trustees of the borough of Eversham, situated in the midst of an agricultural district, there were no less than 151 applications for assistance; and although the funds at the disposal of these gentlemen are very ample, yet, such is the constant and pressing demand on them, they had only the means of relieving three very distressing cases. So much for the benefits of protection to the agricultural part of the community.—*Dover Chronicle*.

A GOOD LANDLORD.—Again we have this day the pleasure of recording the kind acts of a good landlord; and could the oppressor be taught to appreciate the feelings of high gratification resulting from those acts—feelings which must impart more real delight to the benefactor, than even to the objects of his bounty.—Ireland might before long lay claim to her ancient title—*the Island of Saints*. On Tuesday last, John Waldron, Esq., of Rathen-house, paid a visit to his estates, Ballymountain and Killeps, in the county of Waterford, and was received by his comfortable tenants with every demonstration of welcome. This gentleman was well entitled to their gratitude, for he had not only given them their farms at a low rent, but, as a further encouragement, he told them to drain and improve their lands, for which, and for every slated, well built house, he would make them full allowance. Mr. Waldron treats his tenants as men, not as serfs; they find in him their best friend and benefactor—the interest is mutual—their rents are not only paid to the day, but they are paid with the hearty benedictions of a grateful tenantry. This is the true way to make a people peaceable, happy, and contented.—*Tipperary Free Press*.

AGRICULTURE.

RENT; MONOPOLIST FALLACIES.

A monopolist will not or cannot understand what rent is—that it is only the surplus after repayment of the tenant's outlay with the ordinary profits. A thoroughgoing but not very acute organ of monopoly—the *Farmer's Journal*—after referring to our last week's remarks upon the Duke of Richmond's avowal of his rent-raising motives for upholding Monopoly, says:—

"The League organ then goes on to argue that his grace's statement proves the opponents of Free Trade to be only actuated by selfish designs to prevent the 'reduction of rents,' and is either stupid enough not to perceive, or dishonest enough to conceal the fact, that the £2000 a year apparently lost by the Duke of Richmond has in fact been sent out of the country, to the enrichment of the owner of the foreign fishery, and the manifest loss of all those who before derived a profit from supplying our own markets. For the tenant who formerly could afford to pay £7000 a year for what now only brings £5000, must have derived a proportionate advantage for himself, and circulated so much more money amongst the men he employed. The Duke of Richmond, too, would have spent the rent he has lost in England, whilst the owner of the foreign fishery expends not one shilling of the money paid to him for his salmon, for articles of British manufacture. So much for 'arguments' in favour of Free Trade."

And this is the sort of stuff by which the landowners of England imagine that a great commercial nation, an educated and civilized community, is to be deluded into being taxed to keep up the rents of dukes, earls, and squires! An examination and exposure of the fallacy will be useful, as it is the kind of would-be argument to which those Monopolists who are compelled to write up monopoly love to resort. Let us ask why the Duke of Richmond receives any rent for his fishery? What regulates the amount of that rent, and why has the amount of rent been affected by the tariff? The replies will settle where is the dishonest advocacy.

The demand for salmon in the British market is such as to raise the price of that article beyond the rate which would be sufficient to induce men to superintend fisheries, and catch and bring to market the fish. This implies that all the fish of that kind which can be brought to market will sell for more than the cost of preserving and catching it, with ordinary profit upon the labour and capital expended in so doing. The difference between the value of the fish to sell and the cost of bringing it to market (always including in the cost the ordinary profits) is paid to the owner of the fishery as rent. Now, the owner of the fishery procures a law to be passed which prevents the public from buying from any one but himself,—and whether the Duke of Richmond excludes every other owner of a fishery from the market, or only the owners of foreign fisheries, the principle is the same,—and the effect is that, from the under-supply of the market, the whole quantity brought there will sell for a sum sufficient to produce, over and above the cost of preserving, catching, and bringing to market (including profit), a sum of £7000 a year, which, under a monopoly, went to the Duke of Richmond as rent. Then comes a relaxation of the tariff, which lets into the market the fish of other fisheries,—in the present case foreign fisheries,—and the more abundant supply reduces the price so much that the tenant of the Duke of Richmond's fishery can only sell all the fish he can take to market for a sum which, after deducting expenses and profits, leaves a surplus of £5000 only instead of £7000 a year as rent for the landlord. But the difference of £2000 a year is not given away to the foreigner, as the monopolist writer would have believed, but remains in the pockets of the consumers of salmon, to be expended by them in the purchase of an increased number of dishes of fish, or in something else. Thus, if the matter stopped here, the consumers, not the foreigner, would have gained all that the duke lost; and inasmuch as the duke only lost what he ought never to have had, and which he only obtained by an abuse of legislative power, he has no more right to complain than has the pickpocket, who finds the purse, which he though he had snugly appropriated to himself, restored to its rightful owner.

But the matter does not stop here; for though the duke "would have spent the rent he lost in England," he would probably have spent it on horse-racing, opera-dancers, private theatricals, or some other aristocratic vanity; whereas the consumers of salmon, keeping in their own pockets the poll-tax they had previously paid to the Duke of Richmond, would expend it, directly or indirectly, in some industrious undertaking, or in promoting industry in some form or other.

Then, it is not true that the duke's tenant, when he paid rent of £7000 a year, "must have derived a proportionate advantage for himself, and circulated so much more money amongst the men he employed," than when he paid the reduced rent of £5000. Indeed, the contrary is more like the truth; for the price of salmon having been lowered, the demand for it has been increased from its having been brought within the reach of a lower and more numerous class of customers, and thus the tenant must have an in-

creased business, employing more men and extra capital, so making more profit, though the landlord's surplus may have been diminished. What the monopolists and their writers find it so convenient not to perceive is, that rent is nothing and can be nothing except the surplus beyond expenses including the ordinary profits. Then, again, a trade of more or less value arises with foreign fishermen who send their salmon to our market, which is an advantage over and above those we have enumerated.

Thus, though the tariff, by admitting foreign salmon, may have deprived the Duke of Richmond of £2000 a year, which he had previously received as the extra, or monopoly, rent of his fishery, a sum he would probably have expended in promoting the fisheries and immoralities we have alluded to, we have, *per contra*—first, the retention of that sum by its rightful owners—who have probably earned it—the consumers of salmon; secondly, there is the increased trade in salmon consequent upon additional demand, which gives more profit to the renters of fisheries, and more employment to their workmen; next there is the greater sum of enjoyment by the consumers of fish, and the extension of the use of that article of food amongst a larger class of consumers; and, lastly, there is the clear gain of a new trade with the owners of foreign fisheries, the profits of which add to the wealth of the community, as the trade itself increases the means of employment for the industrious classes.

With this balance against the Duke of Richmond and monopoly, we do not think his loss—if restoration to the right owner of that the pretended loser was not entitled to can be called a loss—of his £2000 a year will excite much sympathy beyond the monopolist circles.

And precisely the same arguments we stated with reference to fish apply to corn: all that the monopolists get in the shape of rent, by reason of the price of corn being raised above its natural price, is a simple robbery of the consumers of grain, who form a far more important part of the community than the consumers of salmon; and all the secondary advantages which we have shown to accrue from the abrogation of the salmon monopoly would happen in a degree a thousandfold greater by the abolition of the grain monopoly. Besides which the process of upholding the corn monopoly operates most injuriously upon the welfare and independence of the growers of corn—the tenant-farmers. Let farmers and others who wish to understand the movements and motives of the monopolists keep these facts steadily in view, viz., that RENT IS ONLY THE SURPLUS AFTER THE EXPENSES OF CULTIVATION WITH THE ORDINARY PROFITS HAVE BEEN REPAID; and that whenever the landlord gets a larger share of this produce, which under the Corn Law he does when prices fall below the act-of-Parliament limit, the tenant is plundered. This will furnish the test before which their fallacies will shrink to their true value—nothing; and will show the way in which landlords conceive that they have an interest in high prices and low produce. High prices give them high rents, with low produce; while yearly tenancies, which are the main cause of low produce, give them a subservient and dependent tenantry. The one object or the other, sordid gain or undue political influence, forms the moving cause of every "protectionist" effort.

A CASE FOR THE MONOPOLIST SOCIETIES.

In a monopolist journal of North Britain, and a very appropriate pendant to a weak article abusing the Earl of Buchan and the Anti-Corn-Law League, and advocating the Corn Laws, we meet with the following advertisement:—

WHO recently Lost his whole Capital, between Two and Three Thousand Pounds, in a Farm in Roxburghshire.

He is now in advanced years, and has a Wife and Four Children too young to do anything for themselves.

At present he has nothing left but his furniture, one half of which must be sold for house-rent at Whit Sunday, unless he receive assistance.

THE SYMPATHY AND AID OF

FARMERS,

LANDLORDS,

AND THE BENEVOLENT PUBLIC.

It is requested for him, to relieve his furniture, pay a small debt incurred only for the plainest necessities of life, and, if possible, to put him in a way of earning a humble subsistence, and education for his children.

The smallest Subscriptions for this purpose, forwarded by Post office order or otherwise, will be thankfully received by

Messrs. T. Cooper and Co., 1, South-bridge, Edinburgh.

Mr. Francis Richardson, merchant, Grassmarket.

Mr. Peter Scott, 9, South-bridge, Edinburgh.

Mr. Milne, Horsaugh Castle, Peebles.

Mr. Arrol, Rink, Se Kirk.

Mr. Grove, Howden, Selkirk.

Mr. Anderson, Snodhrope, Se Kirk.

Mr. T. on as C. anston, builder, Jedburgh.

Mr. Scott, Priesthugh, Hawick.

And at the Office of this Paper.

Here, most noble and worshipful dukes, lords, and squires of the Central Protection Society, is an opportunity for the useful application of your funds. Behold a victim of your system—here is a used-up tenant-farmer, whose capital has all gone into your pockets in the shape of rent. Will you not relieve him? or are you afraid of its being drawn into a precedent, and that all the farmers your Corn Laws have ruined may become applicants for your "protection?" If they should do so, Heaven help your

funds; adieu to the hopes of pamphleteers; there will be an instant extinction of your "publication committee," for it is doubtful whether all your subscriptions would furnish a week's provision for half the farmers your Corn Laws have reduced to poverty during the last twenty years. We would gladly learn the history of the unfortunate farmer who has made this appeal to the public, for we have no doubt that the story of his ruin would be another chapter in the history of the Corn Laws, and would be most instructive to his brother farmers. It naturally occurs to ask, when did he take his farm? Was it before 1828, and did he calculate on 80s. a quarter for wheat, and agree to pay rent on that expectation? If so, the wonder is, not that his furniture is likely to be sold for debt now, but that he has not been in the workhouse or the colonies long ago. Or did he enter on a sliding scale valuation of 64s. a quarter for wheat, under the law of 1828? Or is he the victim of the last Corn Law of 1842? Did he receive a hard blow by selling his wheat at 36s. a quarter in 1835, while his landlord screwed out of him a rent calculated at 64s.? And did he get his *coup de grace* from the price of 47s. in 1843, when the law and the monopolists promised him 56s. a quarter for wheat? Was he devoured by game? Or did he lay out his capital in the improvement of the landlord's estate, and for so doing got his rent raised? Had he no lease, or one so absurd and restrictive as to render good farming impossible? These and a dozen other similar interrogations might suggest to those who know anything of the history of British agriculture causes connected with the Corn Laws sufficient to produce this unfortunate man's ruin. That he owes his fall to the delusions of the Corn Laws we have no doubt. Will some of the Free-Traders of the district make it their business to inquire into the case?

ENCOURAGEMENT TO MINISTERS.

At a recent sale of the live stock of a celebrated stock farmer in Northumberland, Mr. Bong, the following approval of the Free-Trade direction of the Ministerial measures emanated from two farmers present:—

"Mr. S. Donkin, Bywell hoped that the horn and horse would meet with the same degree of competition as they had seen the *steers* call for. Perhaps his friend opposite, Mr. Hogarth would admit that the announcement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to repeal the wool duty had something to do with the great demand for Mr. Bong's sheep."

And the vice-chairman, Mr. Forster, proposed "a good wool trade," and said that "he hoped, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had tried his 'prentice hand' on Free Trade by proposing the repeal of the wool duty, he would, when he became a proficient in the art, practise to a greater extent by repealing the Corn Laws."

And this sentiment seems to have been assented to by the 250 farmers present.

FAILING CROPS—FREE TRADE THE REMEDY.

The views we expressed a short time ago that the failure of food for stock, which the long-continued drought has now rendered absolutely certain, would reduce the value of stock, and diminish the quantity kept and fed, are fully confirmed by the various agricultural reports of the past week. Thus the *Mark-lane Express* says:—

"Serious apprehensions are now felt in regard to the late-born harvest and oats, whilst the accounts respecting the probable yield of hay are of the most discouraging character. Beans and peas are also said to have suffered to a considerable extent; and unless an immediate and entire alteration takes place in the weather, and artificial food for the feeding of cattle are likely to become scarce and dear."

So, again, the agricultural report from Nottinghamshire says:—

"Want of rain is telling on the price of every description of stock, the depreciation in the value of which is an evidence that there is a scarcity of keep at home."

And in Northamptonshire the same cause is producing the like effects:—

"ELSTOW FAIR.—The May fair was held on Tuesday: the supply of all kinds of stock was very good, but it was a heavy trade in all kinds. Many persons were said to buy in consequence of the shortness of keep. On the whole business was very flat."—*Northampton Mercury*.

Now, Indian corn might be bought at this moment in the seaports of the United States at less than 2s. a bushel, and beans, peas, and other cattle feeding grain may be had in various parts of the world at prices equally low; and any farmer who has paid attention to stock well knows how far a small portion of corn will go towards keeping cattle and other stock in good condition. The probable issue of the present season to the farmer will be a low price of stock from scarcity of keep, a small force of manure from his disinclination to keep and fat much stock at a loss, and a low price of wheat from abundant produce, while rents are calculated at monopoly prices: of course we shall yet hear more of agricultural distress; and that distress will be mainly caused by the Corn Laws. How long will farmers toss up their caps for high rents and "protection?"

MONOPOLIST SELF GLORIFICATION.

When the classes by whom the Corn Laws have been supported are driven into sanctioning improvements—which they resist as long as possible, lest their peculiar profits should be lessened or their supremacy affected—they are very apt to turn round and glorify themselves as the promoters of all the good they opposed as long as they were able. It is well known that railways—which are doing so much to promote the intelligence of the people—were opposed by most of the Monopolist landowners. Now, however, the new power of locomotion is thus referred to in a Monopolist paper in connexion with a Protectionist M.P.:—

"Our excellent county member, Sir Thomas Acland, may well be called active and indefatigable. On Wednesday he performed a feat which has never been equalled by any legislator in ancient or modern times. He left London the seat of Government, at half-past seven in the morning, came 194 miles to Exeter, dined at the festival, remained between four and five hours, and the same day returned to London, and enjoyed the music of the Ancient Concerts, where he met a party of his friends."—*Dorset County Chronicle*.

Now, all the squires of Devonshire and Dorset, and all

the rest of the landocracy of England, might have bumped up to London on horseback between two saddlebags, with rawboned groans behind them, as in the days of Squire Western, but for the enterprise and industry of commercial England. When the Great Western Company's bill was first applied for and defeated in Parliament, the triumph of "slow coaches" over enterprise and rapid communication was celebrated by a dinner of monopolists at Silthill, at which the Duke of Buckingham presided!!

Now, however, every place is desirous of having a railway communication, and nobody is more busy in promoting such objects than the monopolist county members. Thus, at a meeting in support of a proposed railway to Dorchester, a letter from Mr. Acland, the Pro Corn-Law M.P., was read, in which we find the following passage:—

"I may be permitted to say, that, considering the state of the communications of this kind which exist in other parts of the country, and the peculiar position of this county with reference to them, it does appear to me a very desirable object to be obtained, if, upon further consideration, it should appear to be feasible."

Yet there are still some lingering, interested opponents of improved communications, for at the meeting Mr. John Hayne said:—

"He was sorry to differ in opinion from Mr. Williams, as to the advantage of having a railway to this town. He had ever thought, and he thought so still, that the respectability of the town depended upon the respectability of the trade; and he was of opinion that the proposed increased facility of going to London would injure the trade of the town, and consequently diminish its respectability."

Again,—

"Mr. T. Bennett, sen., said he believed that a railway would be of great injury to the trade of the town: they had not a population or traffic to support a line of railway, and therefore, being opposed to it, he would move an amendment, that this meeting do stand adjourned to this day six months.—The amendment was not seconded, and therefore fell to the ground."

Mr. Hayne, who first started the objection, it appeared had not resolution to move an amendment. But as this gentleman was an earnest advocate of the Corn Laws at the Dorchester "Protection Society," where he was put forward as a trader advocating restrictions on trade, it will be well our readers should be made aware of his actual position. Mr. Hayne is a man who has for many years enjoyed a considerable trade as a grocer in Dorsetshire, to which he has united the business of a farmer—being also to some extent a landowner. He is usually known amongst the country people as "Squire Hayne the grocer;" he is one of the old-fashioned, high-priced tradesmen, looking for his customers chiefly amongst the wealthier classes, and making a large profit upon a comparatively small number of sales. He also, being now himself rich, seeks to be personally noticed by the squirearchy of Dorsetshire. Here we find all the motives which can influence a trader to be a monopolist; the exclusive possessor of a confined, but to himself lucrative trade, he dreads the introduction of competition, general or local, and therefore he opposes Free Trade, and resists improvement of communications; and, anxious to curry favour with the landed gentry, he comes out at a monopolist meeting as a trading Anti-Free-Trader. It is by examining thus into the position and motives of those who—not being squires—come forth to do battle for monopoly that we shall discover their hollowness and worthlessness.

LANDLORD REVELATIONS.

Amongst the peculiar notions of the monopolists is that hallucination which supposes that a debtor, or a class of debtors, can, by lowering the real but maintaining the nominal value of money, pay their debts in the diminished coin, and retain their characters as honest men. Now, as the monopolist landlords are almost to a man in debt, this is undoubtedly a very convenient delusion, though nearly all the rest of the community agree in designating it something else. However, amongst the many odd things and suspicious acts which in the vocabulary of the *Morning Post* range under the terms, "Protection to British Industry," is a depreciation of the currency. This necessarily has the effect of widening the breach between the "protectionists" and Sir Robert Peel, and many fierce and furious attacks on the Minister on account of his late speech upon banking and currency have appeared in the *Post*. Some of these afford some curious illustrations of the frame of the monopolist-landowning mind, and the state of the landowning pocket, and corroborate much we have said about the springs of action of the monopolists. A "Norfolk Landowner" had written not long since to tell the *Post* that the return to cash payments in 1819 had reduced his income from £1000 a year to £1000, and denounced Peel as the author of his loss. Another "LANDOWNER" shortly afterwards takes up the same strain, and says:—

"Your correspondent, 'A Norfolk Landowner,' does not complain without cause of what he terms his 'hard fate,' in that every one must admit. To have £3000 a year out of £4000 a year taken from him by Sir Robert Peel and his mischievous measures, and to live in the daily fear of losing the remaining £1000 a year, may well make him complain; and if he does so in strong terms who can feel surprised? When, however, I compare the case of your correspondent with that of several of my other friends and acquaintances—most of them now dead, ruined, and broken-hearted—I cannot help thinking that your correspondent has much cause for thankfulness; thankfulness to Sir Robert Peel for having left him in the enjoyment of £1000 a year for upwards of twenty years."

Now, this is sufficiently absurd, but it shows to what pretences the monopolists will resort to account for their debts and their difficulties without adverting to the true cause, extravagant expenditure or want of prudence, while it serves to diminish the surprise naturally excited at the sillinesses we hear and read of at protectionist meetings; for the mind which has accustomed itself to irrational belief and unfounded expectations on one topic readily forms erroneous conclusions upon others. Hear the "landowners'" version of the downfall of some insolvent landowners:—

"Amongst my ruined friends and acquaintances (some of them, indeed, near family connections) were several with much larger estates than your correspondent's, every one of whom were totally ruined almost immediately after the passing of 'Peel's Currency Bill.' Consequently were ruined more than twenty years ago. Three of them were men with hereditary titles, and whose united estates were about £46,000 a year; one of them being £25,000 a year; another £12,000; and the third £9000 a year. They were all very ancient estates, and belonged to gentlemen whose ancestors had for many centuries

been of prime note and distinction; in two of the cases of much higher rank than the parties themselves, who were only young or branches. Nearly the whole of the largest of the above estates got into the hands of a person who had been an army tailor, or something of that kind; the estate of £13,000 a year into the hands of a person who had been a wine and spirit merchant, and, I believe, a Government contractor, and whose father, I have been told, kept a London tavern or hotel. Into whose hands the £25,000 a year estate I do not recollect; indeed I am not certain that I ever heard, the property lying in a remote part of the country. I have more particularly noticed the above cases because in all of them the estates belong to gentlemen of distinguished families, and the possessors of hereditary titles. But their estates have been taken from them, and their titles left as bare as the bar of rock in the Hebrides."

Now, though this betokens a confusion of thought, an utter absence of power to connect cause and effect, which would seem to most persons of disciplined minds and business habits to merit little more attention than the ravings of an imbecile, it is by no means uncommon to hear such sentiments in aristocratic circles. That gentlemen of ancient family, hereditary titles and estates producing twenty-five, thirteen, and nine thousands a year, should have been ruined by a cause which affected not only the owners of estates but all other persons equally, while the other classes and other owners of estates have lived and prospered on the change, does seem to require some explanation. That these gentlemen and their ancestors had been "for many centuries of prime note and distinction" would, perhaps, lead those acquainted with the habits of landowners to suspect that each succeeding possessor of each estate, amongst other modes of acquiring note distinguished himself by laying an additional encumbrance upon the estate, and thus, though the shell of the estate descended to the "landowner's near connections," its substance had long been the property of other people. The fact that the estates got into the hands of people who had made money by their own industry shows that they must have been sold for money or money's worth, so that the mere parting with the acres could not have ruined these "hereditary" gentlemen, if the properties had been theirs to sell. And the pathetic expression of the *Post's* correspondent, that "their estates were all taken from them, and their titles left as bare as the bar of rock in the Hebrides," seems to point to some obdurate creditor wanting his own money; and in the same spirit the "Landowner" goes on to say:—

"I could mention several other cases—some of them cases of large estates, others of smaller ones—in all of which the former owners have been totally ruined, and the estates sold to rich cotton spinners, Government contractors, or other new people of humble origin; and into similar hands all many other ancient estates get unless something or other be done to prevent it."

What can be done to prevent these vulgar "new people of humble origin" buying the estates of the "distinguished families," unless the "distinguished" are able and willing to keep their estates themselves. And subsequently the truth slips out when the writer says:—

"It may be hardly necessary to observe that all the above cases were cases of heavily encumbered estates."

Now, here is the gist of the whole matter. These possessors of hereditary thousands a year turn out to have really no estates at all; they were in law and in fact tenants-at-will to persons who had bought the estates in detail by lending money upon the security of the property; and the gentlemen of "prime note and distinction" had probably adapted their expenditure to their ideal incomes of twenty-five, thirteen, or nine thousands a year, rather than their real incomes, which probably were not half, perhaps not a fifth, those sums. This would have ruined the "tailor," the "wine merchant," and the "army contractor," or "other new people of humble origin," as certainly and in less time than the landed proprietors; but the latter class seem to think that they are entitled to "eat their cake and to have it" at the same time, to borrow money on the security of land, and to keep the land without paying the debt. Not a few of the landowners, from 1830 to 1820, acted as if they imagined such a "golden age" of borrowing without payment was to be established for their especial benefit; and of course their end was ruin, and they might as well have attributed their downfall to a hot summer or a sharp frost as to "Peel's bill." Let the landowner's take a word of advice from one who has seen and observed something of the management of landed property, and who has watched the course of many landowning families: let no landed proprietor ever borrow money unless and except he shall at the same time set apart a definite portion of income which will redeem it in five years. In every other case let him sell so much of his land as will supply him with the money he wants. This will be far cheaper than borrowing, and will prevent him from being deluded by the possession of a large nominal and a small real income, and will render him a happier, richer, and more respectable man than he would have been as a mortgaged proprietor. Another danger from borrowing is, that at first it appears so easy, the interest at first looks like such a small deduction from the year's income, while the borrowed money, or the object for which it was borrowed remains,—*facilis descensus averni*—that in a few years, when a new object is started or the old difficulty recurs, the same process is again and again resorted to. Then come difficulties thick and threefold: more money is wanted, but the former lender has no more to lend, and a new lender won't be satisfied with a second mortgage; there must, therefore, be a fresh and expensive arrangement to pay off the old mortgages, and borrow a larger sum of another person, and then the end is not far off. Now, however, the public is hearing all these things from the landowners themselves.

MANURE TANKS.—The Earl Fitzwilliam, with his usual liberality, has intimated to his tenants that he will pay half the expense for providing tanks for containing liquid manure on the several farms held under his lordship.

Above 100 committees, formed in various parts of the country, are already in co-operation with the London committee for promoting the testimonial to Rowland Hill. The most eminent merchants and bankers of the City have subscribed towards the fund.

THE MONOPOLISTS.—The Agricultural Protection Society, following in the wake of the Free Traders, have offered four prizes, of £25 each, to the writers of the best essays on legislative protection, as enjoyed by tenant-farmers and labourers, cotton-manufacturers, woollen and silk manufacturers, hardware, and other manufacturers. These essays, if they ever see the light, will take their place amongst the curiosities of literature.—*Leeds Times*.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE WEEKLY MEETING of the LEAGUE will be held in the THEATRE-ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN, on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, the 30th of May.

The Chair will be taken by the Right Hon. Earl DUCIE, precisely at HALF PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK.

The meeting will be addressed by R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., and other gentlemen.

Cards of admission may be had on application at the Offices of the League, on Monday and Tuesday, between the hours of eleven and four o'clock.

Applications for Private Boxes to be made personally or by letter on Monday.

The cards of registered Members will admit, as heretofore, to Pit and Galleries.—DOORS TO BE OPENED AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, May 25, 1844.

Our letters from South Lancashire describe in glowing terms the warm reception which Mr. Brown has everywhere met with in his Free-Trade canvass. The meeting at the Manchester Exchange is decisive, as to the light in which the contest is viewed by the mercantile and manufacturing classes; the great community assembled at that mart on the market day, spontaneously gathered round the candidate pledged to oppose monopoly, and left his antagonist "alone in his glory," to reflect upon the unequivocal condemnation of his pretensions pronounced by his fellow-citizens. Similar enthusiasm has been exhibited in all the manufacturing towns of the southern division of Lancashire; and the farmers of the district, who feel that their prosperity is essentially bound up with that of agriculture, have manifested in many places an earnest desire for Mr. Brown's success. The agricultural population will be found on the side of Free Trade, unless the screw be put on and turned very stringently. Monopoly, however, has taken the alarm; a Demetrius has been found in Manchester, as of old in Ephesus, to say to his brethren, "Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth," and has endeavoured, not wholly without success, to raise as great a commotion among the partisans of Ceres in the North, as his prototype did among the votaries of Diana in the East. But the silver-smiths of Ephesus had more decency in their enthusiasm for their craft than some of the monopolists of Lancashire seem disposed to exhibit. If the following placard is not an audacious forgery, or the trick of some mean and unprincipled underling, it is one of the most ostentatious manifestations of aristocratic tyranny which has occurred since a Stanley superintended the massacre at Bolton in the great civil war. We need hardly request the attention of our readers to the ominous document; we need not anticipate the contemptuous indignation with which it will be perused:—

"Notice is hereby given, that the Earl of Derby's Annual Rentday for the Manor of Bury, will be holden on Monday, the 27th of May, 1844, at the house of Mrs. Wilding, the Eagle and Child Inn, in Bury aforesaid; for the Manor of Pilkington, on Tuesday, the 28th of May, at the house of Miss Anne Edge, at Bessingworth-Barn; and for Manchester, Salford, and Chetham, on Wednesday, the 29th of May, at the house of Mrs. Burns, the Eagle and Child, Temple, Chetham. The tenants are particularly requested to pay their rents on the above days, to prevent the necessity of personal application, and ultimately more severe measures being resorted to!!!!

"Thos. STRATTON, Agent.

"Office, Market-street, Bury."

Often and grossly as intimidation has been practised, we know not of any case in which it appears so grossly insulting, so thoroughly revolting. The demand for rents, and the threat of severe measures, on the very days appointed for polling, are without a parallel in the annals of elections. For the honour of our country, and even of our nature, we sincerely hope that this measure of unexampled despotism has not emanated from one of the authors of the Reform Bill; we trust that Lord Stanley has had nothing to do with the issuing of this declaration of war against all freedom and independence, this manifesto against the rights of conscience and honest opinion. If there be a spark of English spirit among those thus threatened, they will meet the proud oppressor with scorn and defiance, and dare him to do his worst in the presence of his insulted country. It wanted but this to show that the desperation of monopolists has become so great as to render them callous to all prudential considerations, and utterly regardless of common decency and common sense. But we abstain from comment: their own reflections will teach the authors of this precious document the iniquity of such a proceeding, if they have consciences; and if they have not, they are likely to find the moral impressively conveyed by the general reprobation of the community.

* The polling days for the South Lancashire election.

FREE-TRADE BAZAAR.

We trust our townsmen and townswomen are about to commence preparations for contributing to the novel and interesting exhibition, intended to be opened by the Council of the League, in London, in the month of July next. The Council recommend that each large town, with its neighbourhood should furnish a separate and distinctive stall, illustrative of its principal manufactures. The various processes in the manufacture of cotton are thus to be shown, from the original plant to the finished web; and the history of porcelain, from the first rude attempts to the perfection of modern workmanship. These contributions from the factories are to be diversified by the thousand ingenious and elegant devices suggested by the fancy and taste of the *Free-Traders* in each locality.

The Council rely with much confidence on the zealous co-operation of the ladies throughout the kingdom to render this part of their scheme effective; their confidence is justified by the past experience of the League. It will be remembered how, at an early period of its history, the ladies of Manchester, by means of a bazaar, held in the headquarters of *Free-Traders*, were enabled to present the treasurer with the magnificent sum of £10,000. We understand that the idea of the proposed bazaar in London is derived from the same indefatigable friends; and we doubt not the ladies of other commercial towns will now show how fervently they have at heart the interest of this most enlightened of charities. It is common ground on which all can meet who believe in the advantage of the freest exchange throughout the world of God's gifts and man's labour; and the proposed bazaar will afford the ladies an appropriate opportunity of doing the cause in concert with their husbands and brothers. A ladies' committee for Dundee should be immediately appointed: *Free-Trade* possesses many friends in the families of the gentry residing in the neighbourhood, who doubtless would be glad to co-operate with the ladies of the town in conducting the arrangements. On the part of the gentlemen, the efficient committee of our local association will be prepared to do their duty, and to receive the services of others who may be more particularly adapted for accomplishing the undertaking.

By commencing early we shall not only be the more likely to do credit to Dundee at the general exhibition in London, but another object might at the same time be attained. The collection previous to its transmission to the metropolis might be opened to the public in a large hall, so as to afford an agreeable promenade; and a small charge for admission might assist in swelling the Bazaar fund. Each provincial association might thus contribute to the central body its contingent of money as well as of articles for sale.

This scheme of the League promises to establish in Great Britain a centralized exhibition of manufactures and inventions, similar to those which the care of some continental governments has for some years provided for the commerce of other countries by no means so far advanced as Great Britain in the practical application of the arts and sciences. Every third year an extensive wooden erection is prepared in the Champs Elysees at Paris, in which specimens of the productions of the different departments of France in manufactures and scientific inventions are collected under royal patronage, and in which royal prizes and praises are administered to successful candidates.

It will be exceedingly characteristic of the difference between the two countries, and of the self-reliance of the British people, if in our case the same results are obtained by a union of merchants and manufacturers themselves—not only unaided but even discountenanced by the existing Government.

We are persuaded that, under the auspices of the League, the collection in London will not only prove superior to any royal or government exhibition ever opened, but will afford at the same time convincing evidence of the impolicy and the danger of restricting by parliamentary majorities the employment and the wages of millions of industrious workers engaged in so many ways, as will there be practically shown, in supplying the wants and increasing the comforts of the whole human family. *Dundee Advertiser*.

HALIFAX. A meeting of the committee of the Halifax Anti-Corn-Law Association was held on Wednesday, the 15th instant, in the Trustees' Office, Cheapside, Mr. Joseph Thorp in the chair; for the purpose of forming a ladies' committee to contribute to the Bazaar to be held in London in July next, in aid of the Great League Fund. Circulars have been issued, soliciting the valuable assistance of the ladies of Halifax, and we have no doubt but the call will be well responded to. The committee are also taking active measures to secure such voters as may happen to reside in Halifax and neighbourhood, for the approaching contest in South Lancashire. — *Leeds Mercury*.

POPULATION AND FOOD. It is a significant sign of the times, that, while the population of Sunderland is steadily on the increase, the consumption of animal food in that place is sensibly diminishing. The number of cattle, &c., now slaughtered for the town is believed, on good evidence, to be less by 25 per cent. than in the year 1841. The conclusion is, that multitudes of men, women, and children, who formerly ate animal food, now "rejoice on potatoes."

WAGES IN AMERICA. The *Cincinnati Atlas*, speaking of a factory in that city for the manufacture of cotton bagging, in which 50 girls and 40 men are employed, says, "A little girl at this establishment quitted work on Saturday at two o'clock, having woven 30 cuts, equal to 1534 yds. from Monday morning, for which she was paid 20 cents per cut, being 6 dollars for less than six days' employment." "O! 6 dollars a week for the labour of 'little girls' in a city where a bushel of flour is 1½ cents a pound, and chickens 8 cents a pair!"

THE BANDS ARE BREAKING. It is extremely difficult, at one and the same time, to keep up in full activity and excited enthusiasm more than one political movement. Corn-Law agitation, it must be admitted, now engages by far the most considerable portion of the public time and attention. Large funds, an admirable organization, a body of energetic men, on the whole, all, in a most righteous cause, have created in the national mind an intense desire for a repeal of the tax on bread, while daily appeals to all parts of the kingdom to the religious feelings, the commercial advantages, and the political rights of the people, sustain and animate the hope, that the hour of deliverance is near at hand. — *Sentinel*.

REVIEW.

Coningsby; or, the New Generation. By B. Disraeli, Esq., M.P. London, Colburn.

This is a remarkable book, written by a remarkable man, and published at a time when both the subject and the author are sure to command general attention. The design of the work is to set forth the political creed of that new political party usually called Young England, a party which wins sympathy where it fails to secure co-operation, by its enthusiasm, its earnestness, and its steady rejection of all the petty artifices and dishonest concessions by which ordinary politicians obtain support. We differ from "Young England" on many important points; we do not admire the end at which they aim, neither do we appreciate very highly the means which they employ; but nevertheless we are still more averse to the petty impertinence which sneers at generous enthusiasm, and jests at honourable, even when mistaken, feeling.

In the many notices of this work which have appeared from our contemporaries of the press one very important point has escaped observation, namely, the moral position from which the author views his subject. This is an interesting problem to solve, for both in this and several of his previous works Mr. Disraeli seems to have removed himself beyond the range of ordinary sympathies, and has led many to believe that his pictures are false and distorted, by not explaining the point of view from which they were delineated, and from which, if possible, they ought to be contemplated. Some years ago, when noticing his "Tale of Alroy" in "The Foreign Quarterly," we had occasion to notice the original character of his imagination, and the theocratic tendencies of his mind. Independent of his works, the intellectual phenomenon of an oriental judgment adjudicating western controversies, and an oriental fancy abstracting and combining the prosaic elements of European life, is sufficiently curious to arrest attention and provoke examination. Such an investigation has not been attempted, for pride, prejudice, and ignorance have combined in almost equal proportions to hide from the present, as well as from many past generations, that there exists an intelligent Judaism, a Hebrew heroism, an aristocracy of soul belonging to an outcast and despised nation, which gives to many of the Jews a nobility of thought and action which none of other races can inherit. Let us take an ideal Jew, not such as the great or small vulgar conceive, but such as the student of Isaiah, of Ezekiel, and of the older rabbinical writings can easily imagine. He claims to be a peer in that realm of which Jehovah himself is Sovereign; his patent of nobility is dated from Mount Sinai; his blood has flowed pure through the veins of priests, of prophets, and of martyrs; "Hear, O Israel," has sounded in his ears from childhood as words of favour from a Heavenly Sovereign; the accents of the language "that speaketh mighty things," and which tradition teaches him to be that spoken by angels in paradise, are familiar to him from his childhood; he feels that he is *on* but not *of* the earth; and the *Buth kot* brings him echoes from the heaven of which, while here, he regards himself as an exiled citizen. To a mind thus constituted there is something inexpressibly paltry and petty in the squabbles of political party, and the objects of modern ambition. He is at every moment tempted to inquire, "Why do the *Goyim*—the rejected nations of the earth—so furiously rage together, and the people imagine a vain thing?" To him a theocracy is a reality; it enables him to accomplish that of which the Epicurean poet dreamed:—

"Bene munia tenere
Eh'ta doctrina sapientum templi serena."
"To view mankind safe in that blest abode,
Rus'd by the wisdom, not of man, but God."

What to him is the nobility of Christendom? A mere upstart from the clay—a child of yesterday. A century of generations before European dukes and earls had a name, his ancestors were elect of God into an aristocracy of imperishable privilege and perpetual name. What to him are the titles and names of European chivalry? Nicknames and gewgaws, which are but as dust in the balance compared with the proud boast of being descended from Abraham.

This is the idealism which has ever been present to Mr. Disraeli's mind, but which has never thoroughly entered into his consciousness. His "Wonderful Tale of Alroy" was an impersonation of his dreams of Judah's glory, and of the high destinies to which "the chosen race" have been called. It was a conception of Judaism apart from Rabbinism—the ideal temple instead of the actual synagogue. Let us not be misunderstood: we do not join in the sweeping censures which have been pronounced on rabbinical lore; an opportunity may perhaps be afforded for showing that the glories of science and literature have not been wanting to the synagogue; from thence almost everything that is good in the Koran, and not a little of what is excel-

* "Daughter of the voice," a poetic name for the echo, and also used to signify the whisperings of inspiration.

lent in early Christian literature, was derived; we merely mean that Mr. Disraeli's idealized Judaism was derived from an older and a purer source—from the Hebrew theocracy such as it existed ere the sacred oracles were silenced and the *shekinah* rolled away from the pinnacles of Mount Zion.

Has Mr. Disraeli realized the idealism which we have described? We cannot bestow upon him such eulogy, we even doubt whether it was ever present to his imagination in all its simple and severe sublimity; had it been so, "Alroy" would have won a deathless name. But we think that this idealism, which we have but faintly portrayed, forms the basis of Mr. Disraeli's peculiar creed, and has in his writings, his speeches, and his public career exercised an influence which has caused him to be much misunderstood and much misrepresented. We live in prosaic days, when men have little taste for idealities of any kind, and where the idealism of Judaism would probably have the least chance of all.

"Coningsby" is, like "Vivian Grey," a political novel, the actors in which are living characters with fictitious names, the adventures partly real and partly imaginary, the plot not altogether fabulous, and the winding-up designed to be suggestive of prophecy. Our first business is with the characters: one of them is put so prominently forward, and portrayed with such minuteness of detail, that he forces himself first on our attention. Here is the picture of Rigby—long cursed by the navy as the patron of the worst jobs in the Admiralty,—long lauded by monopolists as the most unscrupulous defender of every vicious system in the "Quarterly."

"Mr. Rigby was a member for one of Lord Monmouth's boroughs. He was the manager of Lord Monmouth's parliamentary influence, and the auditor of his vast estates. He was more: he was Lord Monmouth's companion when in England, his correspondent when abroad—hardly his counsellor, for Lord Monmouth never required advice; but Mr. Rigby could instruct him in matters of detail, which Mr. Rigby made amusing. Rigby was not a professional man; indeed, his origin, education, early pursuits, and studies were equally obscure; but he had contrived in good time to squeeze himself into Parliament, by means which no one could ever comprehend, and then set up to be a perfect man of business. The world took him at his word, for he was bold, acute, and voluble; with no thought, but a good deal of desultory information; and, though destitute of all imagination and noble sentiment, was blessed with a vigorous, mendacious fancy, fruitful in small expedients, and never happier than when devising shifts for great men's scrapes.

"They say that all of us have one chance in this life, and so it was with Rigby. After a struggle of many years, after a long series of the usual alternatives of small successes and small failures, after a few cleverish speeches and a good many cleverish pamphlets, with a considerable reputation indeed for pasquinades, most of which he never wrote, and articles in reviews to which it was whispered he had contributed, Rigby, who had already intrigued himself into a subordinate office, met with Lord Monmouth.

"He was just the animal that Lord Monmouth wanted, for Lord Monmouth always looked upon human nature with the callous eye of a jockey. He surveyed Rigby, and he determined to buy him. He bought him; with his clear head, his indefatigable industry, his audacious tongue, and his ready and unscrupulous pen; with all his dates, all his lampoons; all his private memoirs, and all his political intrigues. It was a good purchase. Rigby became a great personage, and Lord Monmouth's man."

It is a pity that Mr. Disraeli had not the secret of Rigby's "Familiar Epistles" and the Irish lampoons: he would have made a capital picture of the satirist paid for speaking, and doubly paid for silence. He should also have specified Rigby's valuable services on the Duke of York's trial; his honourable exertions to shield profligacy and cover peculation; his sneers at virtue; his eulogy on vice, and his sensitive delicacy in the cross-examination of Mary Anne Clarke. Such exploits ought not to be lost to posterity for want of a chronicler. Let us, however, proceed with the character:—

"Mr. Rigby had a classical retreat, not distant from this (Lord Monmouth's) establishment, which he esteemed a Tusculum. There, surrounded by his busts and books, he wrote his lampoons and articles; massacred a she Liberal (it was thought that no one could lash a woman like Rigby), cut up a rising genius whose politics were different from his own, or scartified some unhappy wretch who had brought his claims before Parliament, proving by garbled extracts from official correspondence that no one could refer to, that the malcontent, instead of being a victim, was, on the contrary, a defaulter. Tadpole and Taper would back Rigby for a 'slashing reply' against the field. Here, too, at the end of a busy week, he found it occasional convenient to entertain a clever friend or two of equivocal reputation, with whom he had become acquainted in former days of equal brotherhood. No one was more faithful to his early friends than Mr. Rigby, particularly if they could write a squib.

"It was in this refined retirement that Mr. Rigby found time enough, snatched from the toils of official life and parliamentary struggles, to compose a letter on the study of history, addressed to Coningsby. The style was as much like that of Lord Bolingbroke as if it had been written by the authors of the 'Rejected Addresses,' and it began, 'My dear young friend.' This polished composition, so full of good feeling and comprehensive views, and all in the best taste, was not published. It was only privately printed, and a few thousand copies were distributed among select personages as a special favour and mark of high consideration. Each copy given away seemed to Rigby like a certificate of character, a property which, like all men of dubious repute, he thoroughly appreciated. Rigby intrigued very much that the head-master of Eton

should adopt his discourse as a class-book. For this purpose he dined with the Doctor; told him several anecdotes of the King, which intimated personal influence at Windsor; but the head-master was immovable; and so Mr. Rigby was obliged to be content by his 'Letter on History' being canonized as a classic in the preparatory seminary, where the individual to whom it was addressed was a scholar."

Here, too, there are some remarkable omissions which it would be desirable to have supplied. The "Liberal" took her revenge in "Florence MacCarthy," and produced a portrait of Rigby under the name of Crawley, faithful in all its lineaments, and, therefore, a complete picture of a politician void of scruple and destitute of feeling. It should have been added to the account of "the garbled extracts from correspondence" that many of the victims took heart of grace and exposed the iniquitous treatment which they received. Parga was a case in point; and, if it were worth while, we could so illustrate the circumstances as to show an unequalled example of literary and political dishonesty combined in one transaction. The history of another article is sufficiently curious to deserve a little detail. The outbreak in the manufacturing districts in the autumn of 1842, so notoriously the result of destitution and want of employment, seemed to afford the old managers of "the spy and black-face system" an opportunity of reviving a business which they and their sires had found very lucrative, and, at the same time, of removing from the bench certain magistrates who refused to countenance jobs and wink at profitable abuses. Ingenious devices were employed to entrap these magistrates, and, at the same time, tales of plots and conspiracies were forwarded to the Home Office, enough to supply twenty such green bags as those furnished to Parliament by Sidmouth and Castlereagh. An agent was sent down to make inquiries; an ample collection of surmises, suspicions, and forced interpretations soon found its way to his table; but he could not find in the entire collections materials for even a plausible case against the League, and he returned to London with his useless budget. The collection scorned by the Attorney-General was transferred to the unscrupulous reviewer, and in due time an article made its appearance which could not easily be matched in deliberate falsification. In this article the worthy Rigby undertook to give a mathematical exposition of his notions of economic science: he only succeeded in showing himself utterly ignorant of even those mathematical elements which are familiar to children in a Sunday school, and incapable of understanding the plainest proposition in political economy. What was worse than all, a pet case of magisterial neglect broke down while the article was in the press, all reference to it was necessarily cancelled, and "the part of *Hamlet* was omitted by particular desire." The article itself, deprived of what had been designed for its principal attraction, fell stillborn from the press, and is only remembered as an example of effete malignity.

The author might beneficially have extended his notice of Rigby's friends of "equivocal reputation;" the acquaintances formed when Rigby catered for the delicate amusements of the Duke of York. It would have been amusing to have a graphic sketch of the delinquency that allowed of sitting at table with ladies of very unequivocal reputation, but struck from being their companion in a carriage.

The historical labours of Rigby have not received full justice from Mr. Disraeli. He should have noticed the history of England which he published, and in which such trifling events as Magna Charta and the Revolution are omitted as suggesting inferences of questionable tendency. But his chief literary reputation arose from his slashing articles, which Mr. Disraeli has very felicitously characterized:—

"These 'slashing articles' were, indeed, things which, had they appeared as anonymous pamphlets, would have obtained the contemptuous reception which, in an intellectual view, no compositions more surely deserved; but, whispered as the productions of one behind the scenes, and appearing in the pages of a party review, they were passed off as genuine coin, and took in great numbers of the large, especially in the country. They were written in a style apparently modelled on the briefs of those sharp attorneys who weary advocates with their clever common-places, teasing with obvious comment, and torturing with inevitable inference. The affectation of order in the statement of facts had all the lucid method of an adroit pettifogger. They dealt much in extracts from newspapers, quotations from the 'Annual Register,' parallel passages in forgotten speeches, arranged with a formidable array of dates scarcely accurate. When the writer was of opinion he had made a point, you may be sure the hit was in *italics*, that last resource of the forcible feeblers. He handled a particular in chronology as if he were proving an *alibi* at the Criminal Court. The tenure was coarse without being strong, and vindictive when it would have been sarcastic. Now and then there was a passage which aimed at a higher flight, and nothing can be conceived more unlike genuine feeling, or more offensive to pure taste. And yet perhaps the most ludicrous characteristic of these factious galimatheys was an occasional assumption of the high moral and admonitory tone, which, when we recurred to the general spirit of the discourse, and were apt to recall the character of its writer, irresistibly reminds one of Mrs. Cole and her prayer-book."

But enough of Rigby. Turn we to a different

portrait, drawn with equal fidelity, but also characterized by some remarkable omissions:—

"The other gentleman was of a different class and character. Nature had intended Lucian Gay for a scholar and a wit; necessity had made him a scribbler and a buffoon. He had distinguished himself at the University; but he had no patrimony, nor those powers of perseverance which success in any learned profession requires. He was good-looking, had great animal spirits, and a keen sense of enjoyment, and could not drudge. Moreover he had a fine voice, and sang his own songs with considerable taste; accomplishments which made his fortune in society, and completed his ruin. In due time he extricated himself from the Bench, and merged into journalism, by means of which he chanced to become acquainted with Mr. Rigby. That worthy individual was not slow in detecting the treasure he had lighted on—a wit, a ready, and happy writer, a joyous and tractable being, with the education, and still the feelings and manners, of a gentleman. Frequent the Sunday dinners which found Gay a guest at Mr. Rigby's villa; numerous the airy persequades he left behind, and which made the fortune of his patron. Flattered by the familiar acquaintance of a man of station, and sanguine that he had found the link which would sooner or later restore him to the polished world that he had forfeited, Gay laboured in his vocation with enthusiasm and success. Willingly would Rigby have kept his treasure to himself; and truly he hoarded it for a long time, but it oozed out."

Lucian Gay (we willingly leave him under the shade of his fictitious name) was unscrupulous in levying money on others, and lavish of what he had thus unworthily acquired. Hence arose the necessities which made him through life dependent on men he despised, and forced to practise arts which he detested. But notwithstanding these serious defects, to call them by no harsher name, Lucian Gay's convivial talents, combined with his vast and varied intellectual powers, rendered him a universal favourite. One of his extraordinary displays of versatility is thus described:—

"His powers of mimicry indeed were great and versatile. But in nothing was he so happy as in a parliamentary debate. And it was remarkable that, though himself a man who on ordinary occasions was quite incapable without infinite perplexity of publicly expressing his sense of the merest courtesy of society, he was not only a master of the style of every speaker of distinction in either House, but he seemed in his imitative play to appropriate their intellectual as well as their physical peculiarities, and presented you with their mind as well as their manner. There were several attempts to night to induce Lucian to indulge his guests with a debate, but he seemed to avoid the exertion, which was great. As the night grew old, however, and every hour he grew more lively, he suddenly broke without further pressure into the promised diversion, and Comingsby listened really with admiration to a discussion, of which the only fault was that it was more parliamentary than the original; 'plus Arabe que l'Arabe.'"

"The Duke was never more curt, nor Sir Robert more specious; he was as fiery as Stanley, and as acid as Graham. Nor did he do their opponents less justice. Lord Palmerston himself never treated a profound subject with a more pleasant volubility; and when Lucian rose at an early hour of morn, in a full house alike exhausted and excited, and after having endured for hours in sarcastic silence the menacing finger of Sir Robert shaking over the green table and appealing to his misdeeds in the unrevocable records of Hansard, Lord John himself could not have afforded a more perfect representative of pluck."

"But loud as was the laughter, and vehement the cheering with which Lucian's performances were received, all these ebullitions sank into insignificance compared with the reception which greeted what he himself announced was to be the speech of the night. Having quaffed full many a quough of toddy, he insisted on delivering it on the table, a proposition with which his auditors immediately closed."

"The orator appeared, the great man of the night, who was to answer everybody on both sides. Ah! that harsh voice, that arrogant style, that saucy superciliousness which decided on everything, that insolent ignorance that contradicted everybody; it was impossible to mistake them! And Comingsby had the pleasure of seeing reproduced before him the guardian of his youth, and the patron of the mimic—the Right Honourable Nicholas Rigby!"

We must be satisfied this week with exhibiting these specimens of Mr. Disraeli's powers in delineating character. As a moral anatomist, he may be supposed by many to have used the knife too roughly; but one of the subjects at least is so callous all over, that greater delicacy of cutting would have failed to develop his peculiar formations. In our next we shall examine some of Mr. Disraeli's commentaries on contemporary history.

The Poems of Charles Churchill, with copious Notes and a Life of the Author by W. Tooke, F.R.S. London, Pickering.

Churchill's poems were so exclusively political, and so immediately designed to serve the temporary purposes of party, that it required no ordinary share of merit to save them from total oblivion. But even their poetic power would have been insufficient to save them from the certain fate to which all party effusions are predestined, had not the constitutional questions then at issue between the court and the nation possessed a greater interest and importance than any which have since been brought into public discussion. The early part of the reign of George III., discoloured from all modern associations by such great events as the American war of independence, the French Revolution, and the wars against Napoleon, has as remote an inter-

est in its facts as the reigns of the Tudors and almost of the Plantagenets; but some influences were then established which retain their power at the present day, and render the examination of that era neither unimportant nor uninteresting.

As Churchill is full of allusions to persons and events which are now passed into general oblivion, the task of his editor and commentator was one of considerable difficulty. Mr. Tooke has spared neither time nor toil in collecting the requisite elucidations, and his notes contain everything that could possibly be desired for illustrating the meaning of the author, and pointing out the objects at which the shafts of his wit were directed. But unfortunately Mr. Tooke has gone beyond the line of a commentator's legitimate duty, and has superadded some of his own opinions on modern politics, irrelevant to his subject, and not the most creditable either to the taste or feeling of the author. Let us hope that they may disappear from the next edition, and that we may be enabled, as we earnestly wish, to bestow praise without such serious qualifications.

The poems before us principally relate to the personal contest between Wilkes and George III.; we say "personal," because the sovereign, from the very outset, placed himself in the arena, and directed the weapons which were aimed at the demagogue. The people of England would have cared little about such a paltry squabble had not an attempt been made to get at the weaker party through the shield of the constitution. Wilkes had no claims to respect either in public or in private life: he was a profligate and the associate of profligates; but every man of sense and proper feeling was disgusted when the very worst companions of his infamous orgies took a prominent part in denouncing those abominations in which they had been more than participants. An Earl of Sandwich, denouncing the "Essay on Woman," was a living exemplification of the Spanish caricature of the Devil turned preacher. The original of Disraeli's "Rigby" might as fairly read homilies on the disgrace of pandering to aristocratic vices. Such patent and palpable hypocrisy invited the attack of the satirist, and fully justified his severity. Lord Mahon very justly reproaches Churchill for his virulent attack on the Scottish nation, but something may be said in extenuation of the poet. Previous to the reform of Parliament the whole Scottish representation was a system of rottenness and corruption, and the Scotch members were proverbial for their subservience to the dispensers of the loaves and fishes. The nation was unfairly estimated by the notorious character of its nominal representatives, and was consequently misunderstood by the people of England. Now that the representation of Scotland has been purified, the men of the North are no longer the object of attack for every libeller who counts celebrity by flattering popular prejudice, and a modern imitator of Churchill would be hooted out of society.

Mr. Tooke's notes fully maintain Churchill's assertion, that the accession of George III. was the commencement of an injurious change in the social character of England, and that the limited intellect and defective education of that sovereign prevented the empire from advancing to that height of moral and political eminence to which it was advancing under the administration of the elder Pitt. We shall soon have occasion to examine this portion of history, and shall then enter into a comparison between the latter years of George II. and the first years of George III. Churchill's poems are an indispensable aid to all who would wish to form a correct notion both of the intellectual and the political character of the period, and without the aid supplied by Mr. Tooke's notes they could scarcely be made available for that or any other purpose. We therefore feel ourselves bound to render the editor thanks for having well performed an acceptable service, but must add our regret for his having travelled out of the record in a manner which neither does credit to himself nor affords pleasure to his readers.

"The object of the central society," says Mr. Cayley, M.P., "is to maintain protection to British agriculture, not less than at present existing" in other words, not "to allow to others the privileges they enjoy themselves." Special protection (observes the *Times*) is absolutely incompatible with equal and general protection. No class can be protected except at the expense of all the others. Give equal protection to all, and you give special protection to none.

DEARTH AS OLD SOURCE OF RIOT.—From "Sharpe's Egypt under the Romans," we learn that, in the 10th year of the reign of Anastasius, the Persian army entered Egypt, laid waste the whole of the Delta up to the very walls of Alexandria, but at length retired, leaving the people ruined as much by the loss of a harvest as by the sword. Alexandria suffered severely from famine and the diseases which follow in its train; and history has gratefully recorded the name of Urban, a Christian Jew of great wealth, who relieved the starving poor of that city with his bounty. Three hundred persons were squeezed to death in the church of Arcadius on Easter Sunday, in the press of the crowd to receive his alms. As war brought on disease and famine, so there brought on rebellion. The people of Alexandria, in want of corn and oil, rose against the magistrates, and many lives were lost in the attempt to quell the riots.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEMORIALS.

LEADS FREE-TRADE MEMORIAL.—This document is now complete, and has been forwarded to the borough members, William Beckett, Esq., and William Aldam, Esq. It contains a request that they will support Mr. Villiers's motion for the entire and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. That the utmost authenticity might be given to the memorial, the place of abode of every individual elector who has affixed his signature is given, with his number on the last register. The result of the canvass is the recorded opinion of a large majority of the constituency in favour of Free Trade, as appears from the following statement:—

| | |
|-------------------------------|------|
| Total entries on the register | 6139 |
| Deceased duplicate entries | 1191 |
| Electors dead | 76 |
| | 1268 |
| Total number of electors | 4971 |
| Signatures to the Memorial | 2746 |
| Number who have not signed | 2225 |
| Clear Free-Trade majority | 521 |

The numbers who have not signed comprehend 60 Free-Trademen, who, for various reasons, decline to affix their signatures; 55 advocates of a fixed duty; and 56 who have left the town, and, therefore, could not be seen.—*Leeds Mercury.*

TYNEMOUTH.—The Tynemouth Free-Trade Association are promoting an electoral memorial to H. Mitcalfe, Esq., M.P., requesting him to support Mr. Villiers's forthcoming motion for the abolition of the Corn Laws.

Lord Ossulton and Mr. A. J. Baker Cresswell, members for North Northumberland, have been requested by a memorial from Alnwick and its vicinity, bearing about 300 signatures, to support Mr. Villiers's motion on the Corn Laws.—*Tyne Mercury.*

OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF WALES, AND THE ISLANDS OF THE BRITISH SEAS.

Having received the returns for the other six counties of Wales, which exhibit the occupations of the people, we proceed to lay before our readers the results of these returns, as to the whole of the principality, in tables arranged as we have explained in former articles of a similar nature. If there is one large tract of the island more than another likely to be almost purely agricultural, it is Wales; and, therefore, we are quite aware that in these tables is shown the nearest approach to equality between the trading and agricultural classes that is likely to be exhibited in any considerable district south of the Tweed. But what is the fact? Only one county—Radnorshire, possessing the smallest population of any Welsh county—has a larger number of persons employed in agriculture than in trade and manufactures; and the agricultural population of Wales is only 11.18 per cent. of the aggregate population, while the trading and manufacturing population amounts to 21.32 per cent. of the whole. In other words, there is but one-ninth of the population of Wales engaged in agriculture, while those engaged in trade and manufactures are very nearly one-fourth of the aggregate population of the principality.

The following table exhibits the actual numbers by enumeration for the census of 1811, of farmers, graziers, and yeomen, apart from the agricultural labourers, the total numbers engaged in agriculture, the total number engaged in trade and manufactures, and the centesimal proportion of persons in agricultural occupations to the whole population, both in each county and in the entire principality:—

| COUNTIES. | Farmers, graziers, & yeomen. | Agricultural labourers. | Total in agriculture. | Persons in trade and manufactures. | Proportion of persons in agriculture to population. |
|-------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| Anglesey | 2,318 | 5,291 | 7,609 | 9,149 | 13.0 |
| Brecon | 2,107 | 3,351 | 5,458 | 15,699 | 9.8 |
| Cardigan | 5,171 | 5,151 | 10,322 | 13,895 | 12.9 |
| Cardigan | 5,509 | 8,887 | 14,396 | 21,730 | 13.5 |
| Cardigan | 3,496 | 6,164 | 9,660 | 18,497 | 11.9 |
| Denbigh | 3,467 | 7,713 | 11,180 | 20,591 | 12.5 |
| Festiniog | 1,774 | 3,559 | 5,333 | 17,196 | 7.9 |
| Glamorgan | 4,191 | 6,541 | 10,732 | 55,699 | 6.6 |
| Merioneth | 2,367 | 3,243 | 5,610 | 8,478 | 14.2 |
| Montgomery | 3,187 | 6,616 | 9,803 | 14,697 | 11.6 |
| Pembroke | 2,994 | 6,361 | 9,355 | 19,738 | 10.6 |
| Radnor | 1,584 | 2,981 | 4,565 | 4,401 | 17.8 |
| Total Wales | 33,793 | 66,211 | 100,004 | 211,720 | 11.18 |

From the above table we find that the agricultural labourers are nearly double the number of the tenant farmers. In Brecon, the persons in agricultural occupations form only 9.8 per cent. of the population of that county, while in Radnorshire they reach the maximum of 17.8 per cent. The following table exhibits the remaining classes of occupations into which the population of Wales is divided:—

| COUNTIES. | Persons of independent means. | Alms-beggars, and persons not described. | Other persons not described. | Residue of population. | Total Population. |
|-------------|-------------------------------|--|------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Anglesey | 1,094 | 709 | 88 | 31,212 | 50,891 |
| Brecon | 1,305 | 512 | 141 | 8,693 | 10,651 |
| Cardigan | 2,193 | 637 | 54 | 42,911 | 45,795 |
| Cardigan | 3,602 | 991 | 151 | 65,443 | 70,187 |
| Cardigan | 2,281 | 374 | 213 | 50,608 | 53,476 |
| Denbigh | 1,908 | 896 | 101 | 51,196 | 54,095 |
| Festiniog | 1,252 | 378 | 360 | 42,402 | 44,392 |
| Glamorgan | 4,071 | 760 | 416 | 10,480 | 15,727 |
| Merioneth | 1,014 | 412 | 40 | 23,719 | 25,185 |
| Montgomery | 1,177 | 840 | 51 | 47,551 | 49,619 |
| Pembroke | 3,147 | 882 | 193 | 51,717 | 55,939 |
| Radnor | 815 | 175 | 42 | 15,328 | 16,360 |
| Total Wales | 23,978 | 7,427 | 1,892 | 556,615 | 611,663 |

The women and children not employed, as in other cases, form the majority of the population. It is a striking circumstance that Radnorshire, which shows a maximum agricultural population, exhibits a minimum of persons of independent means, there being only 815 independent persons in a population of 25,356.

The following are pretty nearly the centesimal proportions of the different classes of occupations of the people of Wales:—

| Persons in agricultural occupations | Per cent. |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| in trade and manufactures | 21.32 |
| of independent means | 2.53 |
| receiving alms, beggars | 0.81 |
| not described | 0.10 |
| residue; women and children | 61.16 |

100 per cent.

We have not yet received the return for Surrey, so that we cannot complete our tables for England; but we may add here the aggregate results as to the islands in the British Seas, including Guernsey and Jersey (i. e., the Channel Islands), and the Isle of Man. The occupations of these islanders stand thus:—

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------|
| Farmers, graziers, and yeomen | 3,970 |
| Agricultural labourers | 4,211 |
| Total in agriculture | 8,181 |
| Trade and manufactures | 33,336 |
| Of independent means | 7,176 |
| Alms-beggars, &c. | 1,099 |
| Residue; women and children | 74,135 |
| Total population | 124,040 |

In these islands it seems the persons engaged in agriculture form only 6.6 of the entire population, while those engaged in trading and manufacturing occupations are about 26.9 of the whole population. In other words, the agriculturists are about one-fifteenth, the traders, &c., nearly one-fourth of the entire population of these islands.—*Manchester Guardian.*

THE FUNDS.

| | Sat. May 19 | Mon. May 20 | Tues. May 21 | Wed. May 22 | Thurs. May 23 | Fri. May 24 |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| Bank Stock | 192 | 193 | 195 | 195 | 195 | 195 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 |
| 3 per Ct. Com. Ann. | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 3 per Ct. Com. Ann. | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 |
| Long An. Ex. 1860 | 12 7 16 | 12 7 16 | 12 7 16 | 12 7 16 | 12 7 16 | 12 7 16 |
| Cons. for Acc. | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| Exc. Bills, pin. | 72 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 72 |
| Ind. Bds. and 1000l | 94 | 94 | 94 | 94 | 94 | 94 |
| India Stock | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 |
| Belgian | 102 4 | 102 4 | 102 4 | 102 4 | 102 4 | 102 4 |
| Brassian | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 |
| Chilian | 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 |
| Colomb. ex. Venes. | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Danish | 68 9 | 68 9 | 68 9 | 68 9 | 68 9 | 68 9 |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Dutch 2 1/2 per Ct. | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Mexican, 1837 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 |
| Portuguese, conv. | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 |
| Buenos Ayres | 34 6 | 34 6 | 34 6 | 34 6 | 34 6 | 34 6 |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 |
| New do. 3 per Ct. | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| Peruvian | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK LANE, Monday, May 20.—There was a good supply of English Wheat to this morning's market, it was taken off, though rather slowly, at about the price of this day week. The supply of Foreign Wheat last week was large, and the trade to-day was slow at former rates. Foreign Barley continues to arrive in large quantities, but the prices of this day week were notwithstanding obtained. The supply of Beans was again scanty, and an advance of fully 1s. per qr. established. Peas fell as dear as last week. Of the large quantity of Irish Oats which appears in the return, a large proportion arrived in time for our market this day week; there was not a brisk trade, but last week's rates were fully maintained.

S. H. Lucas and Son.

BRITISH.

| Wheat | Per Imperial Quarter. | Red 55 to 60 | White 58 to 64 |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|
| Lincolnshire & Yorkshire | 54 | 58 | 57 |
| Scotch | 52 | 56 | 54 |
| Irish | 50 | 52 | 52 |
| Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire | 22 | 24 | 22 |
| Ditto | 22 | 24 | 22 |
| Scotch | 22 | 24 | 22 |
| Limerick | 20 | 21 | 21 |
| Cork | 20 | 21 | 21 |
| Waterford, Yougal, & Cork | 19 | 20 | 20 |
| Sligo | 20 | 21 | 21 |
| Galway | 18 | 19 | 19 |
| Barley, Grinding | 28 to 30 | Distilling | 29 |
| Malting | 32 | 34 | 34 |
| Beans, Mangan | 30 | Tick | 32 |
| Harrow | 34 | 36 | 36 |
| Old Tick | 31 to 31 | Boilers | 35 |
| Peas, White | 31 to 31 | Boilers | 35 |
| Maple and Grey | 28 | 30 | 30 |
| Flour, Best Town made | per sack of 280 lbs. | 46 | 48 |
| Norfolk and Suffolk | 40 | 42 | 42 |

FOREIGN.

| Wheat | Dantz, high mixed | 55 to 63 | 42 to 46 |
|------------------|-----------------------|----------|----------|
| Russia | 51 | 63 | 42 |
| Stettin | 48 | 56 | 40 |
| Hamburg | 48 | 56 | 42 |
| Olona Polish | 48 | 56 | 42 |
| Barletta | 48 | 56 | 42 |
| Russian | 48 | 56 | 42 |
| Ditto | 45 | 50 | — |
| Spanish | 49 | 55 | — |
| Ditto | 51 | 56 | — |
| Barley, Grinding | 28 | 30 | — |
| Danish | 20 | 21 | 13 |
| Oats, Archangel | 21 | 22 | 14 |
| Swedish | 21 | 22 | 14 |
| Dutch Poland | 21 | 22 | 14 |
| Beans, Egyptian | 27 | 28 | 20 |
| Peas, White | 30 | 31 | 21 |
| Ditto Boilers | 32 | 35 | — |
| Flour, Canada | per barrel of 196 lbs | 29 | 31 |
| United States | 30 | 32 | 22 |
| Dantz | 28 | 30 | — |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 13th to the 18th of May, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 8144 | 932 | 3520 | 1075 | 215 |
| Scotch | 65 | — | 1464 | 70 | — |
| Irish | — | 225 | 32470 | — | — |
| Foreign | 31403 | 41836 | 1785 | — | 158 |

Flour, 6991 sacks, 5830 bars.

| LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending May 14, 1844. | Qrs. | Price. | Qrs. | Price. |
|---|------|----------|-------|--------------|
| Wheat | 5412 | 57s. 4d. | Rye | — |
| Barley | 2911 | 31s. 6d. | Beans | 185s. 3d. |
| Oats | 2918 | 21s. 2d. | Peas | 220 31s. 9d. |

FRIDAY, May 24.—The supplies of all Grain since Monday are very moderate. The trade in both English and Foreign Wheat is just the same as on Monday, with a little more inquiry. A considerable proportion of the recent large arrivals of Foreign Barley has been taken off, and an advance on Monday's prices is obtained. Irish Oats are held firmly at fully Monday's rates; there is not, however, a brisk sale. English are scarce, and rather better prices are obtained for the few samples that are offering. Beans and Peas fully maintain Monday's prices.

S. H. Lucas and Son.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 20th of May to the 24th of May, both inclusive.

| | Engl. sh. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------|-----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 2380 | — | 1865 |
| Barley | 241 | — | 374 |
| Oats | 1950 | 5850 | — |

Flour, 3750 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT OF THE NUMBER OF QUANTITIES, and the AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED MAY 18, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. |
| Weekly Averages | 55 10 | 31 1 | 21 0 | 33 1 |
| Aggregate Averages | 55 4 | 32 1 | 20 4 | 31 11 |
| Duty | 17 0 | 6 0 | 6 0 | 10 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MAY 17.

DECLARATION OF INSOLVENCY.

T. BRAND, Stanford street, Blackfriars-road, livery stable keeper.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

C. S. SWERNY, Alton-place, Hyde Park-square, apothecary, J. BRIGINSHAW, Wandsworth, Surrey, publican.

BANKRUPTS.

E. B. LAMB, Burton-crescent, builder. [Palmer, Mitre-court, Temple.

S. BANKS, Ipswich, Suffolk, victualler. [Smith, Fournival's inn, Pownall, Ipswich.

R. MASTERMAN, Trinity-street, Southwark, surgeon. [Wright, London street, Fenchurch-street.

P. CATTANEO and J. CATTANEO, R.igate, Surrey, jewellers. [Birkett, Curriers'-hall.

T. W. YOUNGHUSLAND, Upper Belgrave place, bitumen manufacturer. [Wadeham, Austin-friars, City.

C. NEWTON and C. WOSSAM, Kingsland-basin, Kingsland-road, engineers. [Rixen and Son, Jewry-street, Aldgate.

R. MARKS, Union-street, Borough, victualler. [Dyson and Flavell, Bedford row.

DIVIDENDS.

June 7. C. Colls and Co., Lombard-street, bill brokers—June 11. A. Laurier and J. Lock, Wood-street, importers of foreign goods—June 7. W. H. Freeman, Wood-street, Cheap-side, stocking cotton manufacturer—June 11. J. H. Baughen, Suffolk-street, Pall-mall East, army agent—June 7. I. H. R. Mot, Pall-mall, piano-forte maker—June 10. J. Southern, Birmingham, grocer—June 13. G. Hawkins, Bristol, mason—June 12. W. W. Tait, Liverpool, merchant—June 8. J. Richardson, Liverpool, merchant—June 7. B. J. Wood, Liverpool, optician—June 12. M. Marks and S. Barrett, Liverpool, tailors—May 29. C. H. Imbertson and S. Foddsam, Liverpool, commission merchants—June 11. J. and G. H. Fisher, Manchester, Manchester warehousemen—June 11. S. L. and R. L. Polack, Manchester, merchants—June 11. T. Lucas, Hampton, Derbyshire, ironfounder—June 10. E. Wilcock and Co. Ulverston, Lancashire, paper manufacturers—June 10. H. New, Kidderminster, iron manufacturer—June 8. M. Marks, Liverpool, tailor—June 8. S. Barnett, Liverpool, tailor.

CERTIFICATES.

June 7. G. McDonnell, Mincing-lane, wine and spirit broker—June 10. G. Hawkins, Bristol, mason—June 7. E. Rogers, Newport, Monmouthshire, fire brick manufacturer—June 7. E. Padon, Harlepool, Durham, chemist—June 7. J. W. Ord, Durham, linen draper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

A. SMITH, Paisley, coach builder—J. CRAIK, Aberlenn, Forfarshire, cattle dealer—D. CRAIK, Aberlenn, Forfarshire, cattle dealer—J. CRAIK, jun., Aberlenn, Forfarshire, cattle dealer—D. BLACK, Dundee, merchant and spirit dealer.

TUESDAY, MAY 21.

DECLARATION OF INSOLVENCY.

T. GATHERCOLE jun., Dept. ord. coal merchant.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

W. READ and E. PAGE, Ipswich, ship builders.

BANKRUPTS.

J. COOPER, Stoney-lane, Southwark, wheelwright. [Brady and Son, Staple inn.

W. LICKFOLD, Merrow, Surrey, licensed victualler. [King, Godalming, Surrey; Whittaker, Lincoln's inn-fields.

W. C. BIFFRES, Sewardstone, Essex, silk throwster. [Cox, Pinner's-hill, Broad-street.

J. SNELLING, Blackman-street, Southwark, eating house-keeper. [Cox, Sze-lane, Cannon street.

I. ALDEN Oxford, butcher. [For, Bloomsbury-square.

P. R. MORRISON, Liverpool, merchant. [Fiddy, Temple; Brankom, Shethel.

T. CARLINE, Suresbury, builder. [Teece, Shrewsbury; Reece, Birmingham.

D. PARKER, Salford, Lancashire, hop merchant. [Johnson and Co. Temple; Holme, Manchester.

W. GRAY, Snelfield, wine and spirit merchant. [Ryalls, Snelfield; Moss, Snelfield; London; Blackburn, Leeds.

L. L. HALLS, Farnham, Somerset, tea dealer. [Ferrell, Exeter; Hind and Mathews, Bury-cumt, St. Mary-axe.

J. WARD, West Bromwich, Staffordshire, coach maker. [Holland, West Bromwich; Hodgson, Birmingham.

W. FLEICHER, Cumberhill, Staffordshire, maltster. [Robinson, Wolverhampton.

E. RILKY, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire, grocer. [BM and Mathews, St. Mary-axe; Bray, Birmingham.

M. LEWIS, Derby, straw bonnet manufacturer. [Williams and Shaw, Derby.

DIVIDENDS.

June 11. G. Walter, Oun le, Northamptonshire, grocer—June 11. S. Jupp, Little Hampton, Sussex, corn merchant—June 11. F. J. Peger, Reading, Berkshire, woollen draper—June 11. J. F. Garnett, Wellington-street, Tooley-street, Borough, hatter—June 13. W. and J. Rayner, Uxbridge, Middlesex, acet crushers—June 11. S. Churchill, Deddington, Oxfordshire, scrivener—June 14. J. R. Pidding, George-jard, Lombard-street, merchant—June 14. S. Brown, Oxford-street, cheesemonger—June 11. R. Hone, Garsnaut-place, Spadish-stationer—June 13. J. Bourne, Bemerley, Staffordshire, printer—June 24. A. Bower, Hasford, Staffordshire, banker—June 12. F. Pearce, Meaford, Staffordshire, miller—June 12. J. H. Brown, Weymouth, Dorsetshire, tea dealer—June 14. H. Osborne, Truro, Cornwall, grocer—June 12. W. Comer, Liverpool, cotton broker—June 12. H. Clapham, Liverpool, woollen draper—June 11. T. Norman, Penketh, Warrington, Lancashire—June 12. B. Berrill, Liverpool, merchant—June 13. N. N. and R. Solly, Tivdale Staffordshire, iron masters.

CERTIFICATES.

June 11. F. J. Pegler, Reading, Berkshire, woollen draper—June 11. P. Phillips, Sandgate, Lambeth, licensed victualler—June 11. S. Ruffell, Greenwich, linen draper—June

THE LEAGUE.

No. 36.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1844.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

REGISTRATION.—All parties anxious for information on the subject of Registration, or desirous of claiming to be registered as Electors for the City of London, or for any one of the Metropolitan Boroughs, or County of Middlesex, are requested to communicate with Mr. Sidney Smith, at the Registration Offices of the League, 68, Cheapside.

RETURN OF MR. ENTWISLE.

The Monopolist journals are crowing—ye gods! how they are crowing!—over the South Lancashire election. They must have been in a desperate fright, and have deemed their cause in a desperate condition, to be thrown into this exuberant rapture by such a victory. What would they have said had the poll shown a progress in the power of Monopoly at all analogous to that which it evinces on the side of Free-Trade principles?

We grant them that Mr. Brown had a majority in only six polling places out of the ten; and that the chosen of the Liverpool district, the Manchester, Ashton, Bury, Oldham, and Rochdale, was rejected by the independent voters of those of Newton, Bolton, Ormskirk, and Wigan. At a distance, it seems strange that these localities should reverse the fate of an election, and return the representative of South Lancashire; but so it is, and we give Monopoly joy of its victory.

We grant that Mr. Brown only polled 6972 electors, being 1400 more than placed Lord Francis Egerton at the head of the poll in 1835, and 400 more than the highest Liberal candidate (not a Free-Trader) in 1837. We grant that the adhesion of Mr. Entwisle to the bit-by-bit application of Free-Trade doctrines, in which he is prepared to stick to Sir Robert Peel, is very objectionable to us, as compared with the manly and consistent principle of his opponent; and allowing all this, for Monopolist scribes to make the most of, we again give them joy of their triumph, and beg to ask how many similar victories they are able to bear without the repeal of the Corn Laws becoming inevitable?

Mr. Entwisle is an addition to the Peel portion of the Parliament. He simply increases the pulp of the orange, which is between two screws. We shall have his vote whenever Sir Robert is squeezed hard enough. The existence of such a class is very contemptible; the return of such a man is very contemptible; the pursuit of such a policy is very contemptible; but still it is not the out-and-out, callous, bread-taxing cause that has triumphed. We are not beaten by Monopoly; we are only beaten by compromise, equivocation, and unprincipledness. The slimy creature is the hardest to beat of the two: just as the soap on a certain animal's tail makes it harder to catch. Still the selection shows that Monopolists were not quite so ready as Free-Traders to fight out fairly the plain battle of principle.

An accurate and complete analysis of the poll is in course of preparation, which will probably exhibit results of no little interest to the public. Something will be seen by it of that power of property over votes which makes electoral influence an important item in the worth of an estate. The operation of the Chandon Clause will also be traced,

There is no doubt of the fact, that striking the tenants-at-will off the poll would leave Mr. Brown in a majority of many hundreds. There are 4000 electors of this class, of whom a small proportion were at liberty to vote as they pleased. The League will not be unmindful of its pledges to labour for the purification of elections. Exposure, at any rate, awaits culprits whom no other punishment can reach.

What an odd notion the *Morning Herald* must have of vitality. It proclaims the League "defunct," because, in the first county contest ever attempted on Free-Trade principles, only about 7000 votes have been polled. At the same time it warns the Protectionists against "falling back into contented indolence," and foretells that, if so, "all their recent perils and alarms will inevitably return after the first bad harvest." Our contemporary, then, fears that even a dead League may be too much for living Monopoly. In his apprehension, its very ashes may prove destructive "after the first bad harvest." All the energy of Protectionists is invoked against that contingency. This note of preparation speaks volumes against the Corn Laws. Already the landowners are counselled to look out lest the pressure of impending famine should be destructive to their ill-gotten profits. They are advised that Humanity is in strength where multitudes are starving, and that they should be on the alert to prevent its effecting a diminution of their law-created prices. The cry of millions may rise to Heaven, if it can; but if the Richmonds and Buckinghamians attend to their Seer, they will take means against its stopping, or being heeded, on the way thither. There is truth in the foreboding. Whatever else may last over the next "bad harvest" it will assuredly not be the Corn Laws.

The League will not be in fault if the controversy and the struggle endure until a period so critical. Its efforts are directed to the settlement of the question in a time of comparative calm. Not that any postponement of the evil day affords any reason for compromise, or that compromise would ward it off. But a peaceful and constitutional decision is our object; we leave Monopoly the responsibility of running the risk of confusion.

While the number of Tories who not only voted for, but took an active part in endeavouring to secure the return of, the Free-Trade candidate was considerable, there were many Whigs who pursued an opposite course. The old party distinction is evidently fast breaking down. But it cannot be concealed that the advocates for further organic change, especially in the extension of the Suffrage and the Ballot, gain largely for their cause by such elections. The violations of electoral rights are too glaring for endurance. The League may restrict its own operations to its own question; but it cannot limit thoughts of reprobation, feelings of disgust, and the progress of discontent. The topics we refer to are forced upon men's minds. Monopoly may soon have other work upon its hands besides that cut out for it by the League. It is sustaining its parliamentary force by means that cannot but engender a tremendous reaction. Such is ever the lot of legislative iniquity. Let the fields be ever so fruitful, our dual protectionists are sowing and ripening a "bad harvest" for their own reaping.

ELECTION FOR THE KILMARNOCK BURGHES.—TRIUMPH OF FREE-TRADE.

The Kilmarnock election affords unequivocal proof of the great progress of Free-Trade opinions, and also of the wisdom of the course adopted by the Council of the League in directing its attention to the principles, not to the persons of candidates, and leaving in all cases the choice of the individual pledged to support Free Trade to the constituencies themselves. Three candidates offered themselves for this vacancy, each of whom was an avowed Free-Trader; the choice of the constituency fell upon the candidate most closely connected with the League, Mr. Bouverie having publicly given his adhesion to that body. One of the candidates withdrew; the other, Mr. Vincent, resolved to divide the Liberal interest, by going to the poll. This division seemed to open a chance of success to the Monopolists, and they accordingly brought Mr. Prinsep into the field. Thus, for one seat, there were two Free-Trade and one Monopolist candidate. It is obvious, therefore, that the aggregate of the votes given for Mr. Bouverie and Mr. Vincent is the correct index to the strength of the Free-Trade interest in the borough of Kilmarnock, and thus the true majority over Monopoly is 108 votes. Now, at the previous contested election the Free-Trade candidate, the late Mr. Alexander Johnstone, had

only a majority of 11, so that the cause of Free Trade has gained in that borough, within two years, by close upon 100 votes. It should be distinctly understood that, in the choice of a candidate out of the three Free-Traders who offered themselves for the representation, the League did not in any way interfere, but left the decision entirely in the hands of the constituency; under these circumstances it is peculiarly gratifying to find that the choice of the independent electors has fallen on the gentleman most closely identified with the League, both by his own public profession of principle and by his determination to adopt the course of his noble father, one of the illustrious few who has ever employed the privileges of his peerage to promote the prosperity and secure the rights of the people.

STATE OF THE POLL AT THE CLOSE.

| | Bouverie. | Prinsep. | Vincent. |
|-------------------------------|-----------|----------|----------|
| Kilmarnock .. | 163 | 189 | 88 |
| Dumbarton .. | 81 | 43 | 0 |
| Port Glasgow .. | 31 | 68 | 2 |
| Renfrew .. | 27 | 38 | 4 |
| Rutherglen .. | 87 | 41 | 4 |
| Total .. | 389 | 379 | 98 |
| Majority for Mr. Bouverie—10. | | | |

THE ANTI-LEAGUE AND THE MORNING HERALD.

Can any one tell what has become of the Anti-League and its Central Committee for the Protection of Native Industry? Is it defunct or merely in a state of suspended animation? Is its silence to be explained by shame for the detected falsifications of Mr. Cayley, or by the more substantial gift of office to one of the younger branches of the Goodwood-tree? After escaping strangulation by Buckingham's garter, has it been finally smothered by the Lennox embraces of the Treasury? So silent has it been, that we should have run the risk of forgetting that it ever existed but for a lugubrious article in "Granny," as the *Morning Herald* is irreverently designated, in which that venerable old lady having vented a little spleen at the naughty LEAGUE, and a good deal of petty spite on its formidable rival, the *Times*, turns fairly round on the Central Committee, and reads that body a pretty sharp lecture in the peculiar style of eloquence which has so long characterized the poor gentlewoman of Catherine-street. The meeting on Wednesday evening at Covent-garden answered by anticipation the *Herald's* lucubrations of Thursday; never were the members of the League more determined, more enthusiastic, and more confident of success at no very distant date, than they are at the present moment. Mr. Cobden's speech precludes the necessity of any comment on the election for South Lancashire. It is acknowledged on all hands to have been a signal proof of progress, and this is strongly put forward by the *Times*, a journal which has not been remarkable for showing favour to the League. Though we have spoken of that election in another part of the paper, we shall here extract the account of the League's progress given in the *Times*, for the purpose of contrasting it with the view of the Anti-League set forth by the *Morning Herald*. In recording the result of the election, the *Times* says:—

"Mr. Entwisle has been returned by a majority considerably reduced as compared with that obtained by the Conservatives in 1837. Mr. Wilbraham's majority over Mr. Towneley in the latter year was upwards of 1100; on the present occasion Mr. Entwisle's friends only claim 622, while the supporters of Mr. Brown only admit 578.

"It is useless to deny the fact that the large number polled by Mr. Brown is mainly to be attributed to the prevalence of Free-Trade opinions throughout the manufacturing districts of the county, and the influence and immense exertions of the Anti-Corn-Law League, assisted as it was by the absence of any popular grounds for supporting the successful candidate.

"Mr. Cobden, in a speech which he delivered last night at the close of the election, said he would not omit paying a tribute to those who on this occasion had come out from the Conservative party in support of Free-Trade principles. A vast breach had been made in party distinctions. That breach would go on widening, and would never again be closed. He looked forward to the time when the whole people of Lancashire would take up the question of Free Trade on one common ground, for they had all one common interest.

"As a proof that it was the influence of these opinions rather than any general political party bias which led to the comparatively small majority obtained by Mr. Entwisle, it may be mentioned that Mr. Brown, his opponent, was nominated by Mr. Gardner, a Conservative, of Manchester; and it is said that the present Conservative Mayor of Liverpool was one of his most active canvassers."

So much for the state of the League, after having received what many regard as "a heavy blow," but

what no one looks upon as "a severe discouragement." Now, what is the condition of the Monopolist confederation—the Anti-League? We are told by the *Morning Herald* that "there is a danger of their allowing their associations to slumber or to fall into disuse, and their ample funds to be drained away by some invisible and unavailing leakage." The remedies for this decadence are twofold. The London committee is indirectly advised to purchase advocacy in the press; this being, perhaps, an intimation that there are scribes on sale in Catherine-street. The second remedy is of no very peculiar a nature, that we must give it in the poor creature's own words:—

"If we might be permitted to offer a suggestion, we would submit to the London committee the propriety of sending to the local association of every county a circular proposing such inquiries as these:—

1. "What is the state of public feeling in your county, as to protection for native industry?" 2. What in the agricultural districts? 3. What in the towns?
4. "Have the efforts of the League, its lecturers and its tracts, produced any perceptible effects on public opinion; and to what extent?"
5. "Which of the sophisms of the Free-Trade party have made any converts to their notions?" 6. And on what point does information appear to be needed."

The League correspondence fortunately enables us to answer these six queries, which we have numbered for the sake of reference, and we shall reply to them in their order. 1. The public feeling respecting "protection to native industry" is everywhere that the industrious should have their earnings protected against the plundering propensities of Monopolists and class-legislators. 2. In the agricultural districts it is found that Monopolist protection renders the farmer the serf of his landlord, and prevents him from employing farm-labourers to the extent which the scientific principles of cultivation require by affording him no security for the return of the capital which he may invest in land. 3. In the towns, Monopolist protection has gone on depriving operatives of employment by closing the markets of the world against their productions.

To the fourth question, South Lancashire gives the answer of 270 less to Monopoly, and 402 more to Free Trade, than at the former contested election.

On the fifth point we find that Sir James Graham's declaration that "the principles of Free Trade are the principles of common sense," and Sir Robert Peel's assertion that it is the wisest policy "to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," have made most converts, and among those converts we could enumerate several of Mr. Estlin's supporters. Whether the *Herald* will continue to describe these principles, so enunciated by the Ministers of its affection as sophisms, will probably depend on the nature of the next communication sent to its office from Downing-street. This leads us to the concluding query, and we can confidently reply that the information most sought is—how far the Ministers we have named are prepared to carry out the principles which they have recognised? As we have been so generous with our information, perhaps the *Morning Herald* would reciprocate and tell us when Sir James Graham will put his "common sense" into practice, and when Sir Robert will act on his "sound policy?"

THE ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE AND THE SUGAR QUESTION.

Though the editorial columns of this paper have contained but few references to the controversy now waging upon this subject, our readers have, nevertheless, been made acquainted with all the bearings of the argument, *pro* and *con*, through the medium of the many speeches we have published—speeches in which, we venture to say, the strongest reasons of the exclusionists have been fully and fairly put forward, and treated with a degree of deference and respect (to say the least) quite equal to that which has been shown towards their opponents by the abolitionists. As matters, however, are drawing to a crisis on the question, both in the Anti-Slavery body and the Legislature, we deem this a proper time to say a few words. On Monday evening next the subject of the sugar duties will be discussed by the Government in the House of Commons; and, on the same day, there will be a meeting at Exeter-hall of the subscribers to the Anti-Slavery Society, to consider and determine of the propriety of retaining that part of the constitution which pledges the society to the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

On the 17th ultimo there was a great meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, to celebrate its anniversary. At that meeting an amendment, proposed by Mr. Thompson, intended to test the views of all present on the matter in dispute, was carried, notwithstanding an ingenious speech from Mr. O'Connell in favour of the course of the committee, and the most decided opposition from Sir George Stephen and the Chairman. It is necessary here to observe that the League altogether abstained from adopting or recommending any measures to obtain a majority in that meeting. Had the meeting been called to consider a railroad question it would not

have been less interfered with by the League. Yet in that meeting—a meeting of the warmest supporters of the anti-slavery cause—a meeting held at a season when the largest number of its provincial patrons are in town—a meeting attended by the whole of the London committee, whose apprehensions of some allusion to their cause on the Sugar Question had led them to strain every nerve to secure a verdict in their favour—at that meeting an amendment, suspending the action of the committee, was carried;—carried, too, after every effort had been made to weaken the force of the arguments brought forward to sustain it; carried, too, notwithstanding the Chairman's special and unprecedented appeal to the Ladies to vote, telling them at the time that his own opinions "admitted of no dispute!" and that "he was astonished at the assertions and declamations of his two friends," Messrs. Bright and Thompson.

We will not attempt to anticipate the decision of Monday's meeting. Whatever it may be, it will be of small importance compared with the vote of the 17th. It is well known that four-fifths of the money which sustains the operations of the society come out of the pockets of two or three of the rich and generous members of the committee; that the society has few subscribers in London; that but a small number of those summoned from the country will at a week's notice attend the meeting; and that it will, therefore, be composed principally of the committee, and such persons belonging to the Society of Friends as may find it convenient to protract their stay in town beyond the termination of the yearly meeting. Such a meeting, though highly respectable and embracing many of the most distinguished and ardent promoters of the Anti-Slavery cause, will not be a fair representation of the opinions of the subscribers at large, and still less of the hundred of thousands through whose influence the Anti-Slavery Society has in times past carried its measures; and we have that reliance upon the good sense and honesty of the committee, that we cannot bring ourselves to believe that, even should the obnoxious clause of the constitution be retained, they will consider themselves justified in acting upon it, until they have stronger proofs than they have at present that they possess the sympathy and support of the friends of abolition at large. We are prohibited by the crowded state of our columns from entering into the merits of the question at issue, and shall only, therefore, commend to the immediate and thoughtful consideration of our readers, and especially those who differ from us, the article we below reprint from the *Nonconformist* of the 22nd ult., which will be found to reduce the whole argument within the smallest possible compass. It may greatly assist the deliberations of Monday next, to make the propositions therein contained the basis of the gravest and most conscientious consideration:—

THE DUTY OF GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO SLAVE PRODUCE.

"The annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society on Friday last, the main topic which came under its consideration, and the result at which it arrived, render it imperative upon us, in the discharge of our duty, to discuss the question of the obligations of the Government of this country in regard to slave produce. We shall attempt to perform our task in a calm and conscientious spirit. Men, whose integrity of character and whose earnest philanthropy are placed above suspicion, have differed in their views of this important subject. We feel it to be unnecessary, therefore, either to call in question the motives of those from whom we differ, or to impugn their wisdom. We deem it quite sufficient to state, with all brevity, the reasons which have guided us to the conclusions we entertain, and leave our readers to decide upon their validity.

"The question, in its concrete form, is environed with considerations which appeal with almost irresistible energy to the compassionate feelings of our nature, and which, by means of that appeal, are apt to warp the decisions of the judgment. It will be, we think, for the advantage of all parties, that the subject should be looked at as abstractedly as possible; that, setting aside, for a moment, the legions of exciting facts which come rushing into the mind to divert attention, we should endeavour to settle general principles. If those principles be sound, we may safely follow them whithersoever they conduct us; if otherwise, no caution in the application of them, no purity of intention, no sagacity, were it superhuman, can prevent our being landed on ultimately disastrous consequences.

"The committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, in seeking the extirpation of slavery from the world, deem it incumbent on them to call in the aid of Government, and, by fiscal regulations, to promote the object at which they aim. They argue, and not without considerable force, that slave produce is stolen produce—they contend that Government is bound to take notice of this fact—and they conclude that, on every principle of morality, as well as of humanity, the import of such produce into Great Britain ought to be prohibited by law. If they are right in their principle, they are right in the application of it. It is on this ground, therefore, that the discussion must be taken.

"The general truth which this theory involves may be thus laid down:—It is the duty of Governments, in regulating the commercial intercourse between their own subjects and the subjects of other realms, to be guided in their policy by a reference to the moral habits which obtain in those realms; and, in deciding upon the admission or exclusion into their own markets of articles of trade, to take into consideration the mode in which those articles were produced, the moral character of the practices resorted to in securing whether their growth or their manufacture, and the influence which commerce may

exert in furtherance of oppression or of freedom, in the kingdoms from which these articles are obtained." Now, we demur to the soundness of this principle—and we shall content ourselves with stating, as nakedly as possible, why we thus demur.

"In the first place, then, we hold the regulation of commerce to be no proper business of Governments at all. The right of one man to dispose of the product of his own labour to any other man, who may offer him an equivalent, was antecedent to the institution of government, and, certainly, cannot be abrogated by it. Like all other rights, it is to be exercised by the possessor of it, on his individual responsibility, in subordination to the dictates of morality. Viewed in his relation to God indeed, he may not act as he pleases. He is under restrictions—restrictions which he will throw off at his peril. But, considered in his relation to Government, his right is circumscribed by no single exception which does not plainly spring up out of the objects or the necessities of Government. Where, for example, the exchange of his labour would obviously lead to the infliction of wrong upon another subject of the realm, the state, whose business it is to extend equal protection to all its subjects, is bound to step in and prevent the exchange. Quoad the Government, therefore, the right remains as it did, save where it clashes with the will of the Government in the execution of its proper and legitimate functions. Now, it is clearly one object of those functions to protect from injury, by fraud or force, the property of its own subjects; and, in attaining this object, its duty to punish the receivers of stolen goods must be admitted. There is no correct analogy, however, between this restriction of the right, and that which would prevent commercial dealing with slave-holding states. It does not follow that, because Government, in protecting its own subjects, draws a certain line across the exercise of an individual right, and says, 'Hitherto shalt thou go, and no further,' it is bound also to impose the same restraint in favour of humanity at large. The interests of humanity at large have not been committed to its keeping. Its business is to protect its own subjects, and, having done this, it has, in its governmental capacity, accomplished every object for which it was instituted. It cannot take upon itself higher duties without doing far greater mischief than good. The commercial intercourse carried on between the people of these realms and those of foreign realms is a matter with which the state, as such, has nothing to do. Its interference in relation to it is a trespass beyond its legitimate sphere; tramples upon individual right; takes from man what belongs inalienably to man; in a word, does evil that good may come.

"In the next place, were the regulation of commerce the proper business of Government, it could not, we contend, be guided, in admitting or excluding articles of consumption, by considerations of the mode in which such articles have been produced. The principle, if good for the exclusion of slave-grown produce, is good to the whole extent to which it applies. Mark, then, the consequences upon which its advocates are driven! 'That which is the product of proved injustice ought to be prohibited by Government from entering into the market.' Such is the naked principle. Is it, then, the business of Government to trace the history of every article of commerce, before it sanctions its introduction into the country? If not, what is the special law which devolves upon it the duty in reference to the produce of slaves? If it be, what Government on earth possesses adequate means for the accomplishment of its stupendous task? Why, the principle cannot be carried out even in reference to slave-grown produce. It is sought to be applied only to the article of sugar—simply forasmuch as its further application is purely impracticable. But were it sound, who can say within how narrow a range all commerce must at length be restricted? What article of trade, for instance, comes to us from Egypt which is not tainted with injustice? What from Russia which does not smell of oppression? What from America which has not some tale to tell us of the cruelties inflicted on the producers of it? Would the imports from the East Indies pass muster? Is there, in a word, a single article we could admit from any quarter of the world with a safe conscience? And, be it remembered, that the same principle which we adopt in reference to our imports from other nations, they are equally bound to adopt in reference to their imports from ours. The duty is certainly reciprocal. Are they, then, to trace the history of all our manufactured fabrics? and are they to admit our cotton, woollen, and hardware goods into their markets, to determine the question, whether or no they are the product of oppressed and down-trodden men?

"The general principle, then, we believe to be in theory unsound, and in practice impossible. We need not pursue the subject further. The inexpediency of resorting to it in the case of slave produce was pointed out with great force by more than one speaker on Friday last. We are, therefore, less anxious to touch upon this part of the question. It has been our single object to state our own views of the ultimate principle upon which the recommended interference of Government, for the exclusion of the sugars of Brazil and Cuba from the British market, must necessarily proceed. If those views be correct, the interference is unwarrantable—if incorrect, we shall be thankful to any party who will be at the pains to set us right."

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Sixteenth Week, ending Saturday, June 1.

Parliament re-assembled on Thursday, after the Whitsuntide recess; but as yet nothing has been done calling for attention as relating to Free Trade. But at this period of the session the state of public business will compel a better attendance of members, and more business-like procedure; and therefore we will have some opportunities of recording the sentiments and conduct of the representatives in relation to the leading practical question of the day.

Before rising for the holidays, the Government, pleading that it was usual to do so at this time of the year, got the consent of the House that every Thursday, for the remainder of the session, should be a "Government night."

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MEETINGS.

WEEKLY AGGREGATE METROPOLITAN MEETING OF THE LEAGUE.

The usual weekly metropolitan meeting of the League was held at Covent-garden Theatre, on Wednesday evening last, under the presidency of the Earl of Ducie, a nobleman who has been aptly described by Mr. Cobden as "the best practical arable farmer in the kingdom." The meeting was also addressed by the hon. member for Stockport himself, who was most appropriately introduced to the assembled Free-Traders of the metropolis and the country as "their own Cobden." Mr. M. Gibson, M.P., who was advertised to address the meeting, was unexpectedly prevented from returning to town, but his place was ably supplied by the veteran Free-Trader, Col. Thompson. Mr. Holland, a landowner of Worcestershire, and Mr. Bright, M.P., made most effective speeches. Every allusion to the recent contest in South Lancashire was enthusiastically responded to, and the gain of 1000 county votes in favour of Free Trade was hailed by the immense multitude as one of those "great moral victories" which, however their effect may be misrepresented by the monopolist press, are a more presage of the approaching overthrow of the Corn Laws.

Among the gentlemen present we observed

The Right Hon. the Earl Ducie, in the chair; Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P.; J. L. Ricardo, Esq., M.P.; Major-General Briggs; Colonel T. P. Thompson; Samuel Hanford, Esq.; Sir William Baynes, Bart.; Professor Huber, of Berlin; Captain Duberley; Dr. Cooke Taylor; Ed. Holland, Esq.; Rev. J. Martineau (Liverpool); Col. Tucker; Messrs. W. A. Wilkinson, J. Spowers, Isaac Hadwen, H. White, William Feller, G. Hyde, D. Dewar, H. Wedgwood, T. Johnson, Charles Mackay, Andrew Doyle, G. J. Dixon, W. Macmillan, J. Faulkner, J. S. Ashton, W. Farmer, W. Elliott, T. Oxford, S. King; Professors O. Byrne, Messrs. Lattimore (Wheatthampstead), J. E. P. Dean (of the United States), J. Thomson, W. Falconer, W. Thorabarrow, John Leach (Wattor, Herts), William Snelling, Thomas Dean, H. Crooks, P. Fairbairn (Leeds), T. H. Potter, J. T. Dunn (Nottingham), Joseph Glassey (Brighton), William Brady (Dewsbury), H. Crossfield (Liverpool), Joseph Bennett (Hitchin, Herts), James Clarke, Thomas Bull, W. Robertson, (Dumblaton, Worcestershire), T. Schunck (Manchester), John V. Lyons (Co. A), A. Feltott Oster (Birmingham), Thomas Ruston, C. S. Crowley, J. Angus, Henry Cove, P. A. Taylor, J. De Silva, R. W. Cole, W. Egan, W. J. Johnson, James Clarke, James Hotham (Leeds), Joseph Harris, J. W. Fletcher, Jonathan Harris, Joseph Cranstone (Hemel Hempstead), Joseph Bennett, Martin Robinson (Horley, Surrey), John Jackson (Halifax), John Harris, &c.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read by Mr. Saul, upon the motion of Sir WILLIAM BAYNES, seconded by C. S. CROWLEY, Esq., they were unanimously confirmed.

The Noble CHAIRMAN then came forward amidst reiterated bursts of applause. Silence having been restored, his lordship spoke as follows:—Ladies and gentlemen, in rising to open the business of this meeting, I must honestly confess that I do not do so without some little embarrassment at feeling myself in so novel a situation. I assure you, and you will readily believe me, that it is a very different thing to look at the stage from the boxes, and to look at the boxes, filled as they are to-night, from the stage. I am the more surprised at finding myself here, believing, as I do, the truth of the saying, that "All the world's a stage," and yet feeling conscious that I have been hitherto so indifferent an actor upon its great stage, that I hardly thought it possible that I should ever have appeared upon a stage so celebrated as that upon which I am now standing. (Cheers.) I am encouraged to appear before you because I hold it to be not only the imperative duty of myself, but of all those who believe with me, and I trust every one of you do, that the existing Corn Laws are absurd and ruinous in principle, and highly injurious to the people in practice. I say it is the duty of every person holding this opinion, however poor and insignificant their station in life may be, and how feeble soever their talent, to throw the weight of that influence into the scale of truth and justice, and endeavour to weigh down, by their united firmness, that powerful opposition which we have met heretofore, which we now daily experience, and which we must expect frequently to be called upon to encounter before we attain that great and glorious object which we have in view. (Loud cheers.) There was another consideration which also operated upon my mind, to remove any unwillingness I might have felt at appearing upon this stage, and that is, that no tragedy of so deep a die was ever performed in this theatre—no poet or tragic writer ever invented, or by fiction added painful incidents to historical facts, which could for a moment be brought into comparison with the real misery, sorrow, and distress, as well as lamentable loss of life, which have been produced on the stage of life by the operation of the accursed Corn Law, the abolition of which is our object in assembling here from week to week. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) It is indeed most painful to refer to the tragic scenes which have resulted from that iniquitous measure; but you will, perhaps, permit me to follow up the theatrical simile, a little further, by saying that as it appears to me, there is much *gentle comedy* exhibited in the way in which Sir Robert Peel at present manages his supporters, in the hope of continuing the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear, hear.) I should rather have said that there was a great deal of *low comedy* in the manner in which that right hon. baronet coquets with his two mistresses—his virgin love "Free Trade in the abstract," and his more meretricious mistress, Monopoly. (Loud laughter.) Twenty or thirty years hence, any person looking back upon the course of our Corn Law legislation would, indeed, see as much *broad farce* in it as ever produced laughter in this house. But when I speak of "looking back" upon the Corn Laws twenty or thirty years hence some persons will be disposed to inquire: "Do you really suppose that they will be repealed before that period?" I reply, undoubtedly I do (loud cheers); I do not believe there is a person in this theatre who entertains a doubt upon the point. And not only is this the opinion of those who are united with us in our efforts to overthrow the Corn Laws, but also of those by whom they are supported. (Hear, hear, hear.) It is admitted by all parties that these laws must go, and there is no doubt that they will. But, you will probably ask me, *how* and *when* they will be abolished? Do you suppose that they will be repealed by the party who advocate a fixed duty? (Cries of "No, no.") Undoubtedly not. Do you anticipate that they will be abolished by Sir Robert Peel and his supporters,

who have ever opposed a fixed duty, and have pledged themselves to support the sliding scale? Surely not. If, then, the Corn Law is to be repealed by neither of these parties, I readily know where we are to turn for this object unless we go, as a sort of forlorn hope, to "Young England." (Laughter.) If we go to that party, we have no reason to suppose that we shall have any great help from them. I do not know whether many of you have read a little poem, which has been lately published by a poetic brother of that fraternity, entitled "England and its Trust." I was very much amused the other day with what I read of that production, and I think it may serve to convince you that we have little to hope for from them. If I recollect rightly, this poetic lord says:—

"Yes, I could bear to see her crowded towns
Sink into hamlets and unpeopled downs."

(Laughter.) A very wise wish, certainly; it requires a very strong mind to enable one calmly to contemplate such a prospect. (Laughter.) In another part this Young England poet says:—

"Let wealth and commerce, law, and learning die!
But give us still —"

What do you think, ladies and gentlemen? Why, you would expect something very considerable in exchange for "commerce, law, and learning." But no; the author promises you nothing of the sort, he says:—

"But give us still —our old nobility."

(Loud laughter.) It must be a great satisfaction to the inhabitants of any country to be ruled over by persons who can tell who their great-grandfathers were; but it is buying that privilege rather dear to sacrifice for it "wealth and commerce, law and learning." (Hear.)

I do not think, therefore, we can place much reliance on our friend Young England; but I will tell you how it is to be won, *by yourselves*. (Loud cheers.) You must never be cast down by defeat; you must not be disappointed and cease from exertion when you are apparently unsuccessful; you must continue, in season and out of season, pressing your doctrines upon the people, and teaching them their real interests. Let us see the great masses in the great towns fully alive to the real question of Free Trade; let us see them return at a future general election members to support Free Trade; and, beyond all, let us see the great city of London do its duty. (Cheers.) That is the way in which the Corn Laws are to be repealed; and let me tell you, gentlemen, that there is no person in this theatre, and no man in any station, in whatever position he may be placed, who cannot, by his own individual exertions, and by his energetic support of our proceedings, to a certain extent accelerate the time when the repeal of the Corn Laws shall take place. (Cheers.) I feel convinced that it is the duty of every man to do what little he can to enlighten his neighbours on any points of the subject with which he may be most conversant; and that conviction induces me to offer you a few observations upon this momentous subject. Undoubtedly, in great towns, and more especially in this large metropolis, there must be a great number of persons very much unacquainted with agricultural subjects; and it is not at all unnatural that those persons should be alarmed when it is continually dinned into their ears by our opponents that the repeal of the Corn Laws would be ruin to the agricultural interests, and would throw vast tracts of land out of cultivation. There must be many in this great town having a little land of their own, or having connexions who are dependent upon land; and it is natural that they should hesitate and doubt, and say, "If I am to be injured, if my connexions are to be ruined, if the welfare of the agricultural labourers is to be set aside, I do not think that the repeal of the Corn Laws would be so great a boon as I at first supposed." Now, it is in the hope of dispelling such doubts, and of inducing all who may entertain them to go on without fear supporting us, and promoting in every way the repeal of the Corn Laws, that I shall now take the liberty of addressing a few words to you. Were I to go into the whole agricultural subject, it would occupy a great deal more of your time than I have a right to demand from you. I shall, therefore, take only a very limited portion of a part of the subject; and it shall be my endeavour to show you, *by tracing the expense of growing a bushel of wheat, that it is impossible any land can be thrown out of cultivation by the repeal of the Corn Laws*. (Loud cheers.) For the last eighteen years I have been actively employed in agriculture, and in the county of Gloucester, where I reside, I have, within that period, held six different farms in three different localities of the county; and, therefore, it would be almost impossible that I should fail to know something of the circumstances of the agriculture of the county. Gloucestershire contains within it a very large tract of that light land which our prophetic opponents say will be thrown out of cultivation if the Corn Laws are repealed. In the debate on the fixed duty, when proposed by Lord Melbourne's Government, I remember Lord Wilmot saying, that if a fixed duty were adopted all Lincoln heath would be thrown out of cultivation. It is not necessary to tell you that Lincoln heath and the Cotswold hills are almost of the same nature; they are on the same geological formation, and identical in their nature, except, perhaps, that Lincoln heath has been rather better cultivated than the Cotswold hills. I will read to you a few statements which I have received from different farmers as to the cost of a bushel of wheat. I procured them without mentioning for what purpose I wanted them, and therefore I am not at liberty to mention their names; I wished to have my statements above suspicion, and therefore I did not state why I wished for the information. I will read a statement of the expense of a bushel of wheat on my own farm, in the first place, and for this reason—that, not being afraid of having my books looked into, I am enabled to say that every penny which everything is stated to have cost can be proved to be most perfectly correct. (Cheers.) Having shown you what the different operations cost, you will be able to judge how far those other statements tally with mine; and, if there be no very great discrepancy, I think you may as there is no very great error in the statement. I may be objected to the way in which I shall lay these statements before you, that I should have taken the whole of the rotation into the calculation, and charged its proportion of the whole amount of the ameliorating crops to the wheat. But I have not done so for these reasons:—First, if I had, it would have made scarcely any difference; and, secondly, I should have had to alter the statements sent to me—my great anxiety being that I should present them

and, therefore, Mondays, Thursdays, and Fridays will be devoted to Government business. By this arrangement the only day left to independent members is Tuesday; and as there are a considerable number, all interested in particular questions, and all anxious to have them brought before the House and the public, it will become more difficult to obtain a hearing. It is quite hopeless to think that two important motions could be discussed in one night; even if it were practicable it would not be desirable, for as the object of discussion within the House is to act on and form public opinion, attention would be too much scattered and divided if two subjects were each struggling for consideration in the public mind. For this reason Mr. Villiers intimated, on Friday week, the course which he intends to pursue in bringing on his motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws. He had fixed it for the 11th of June, but was obliged to postpone it, in consequence of other members having notices of motions which had precedence, and being unwilling to give place. He has now fixed it for the 18th of June; but on that day there are also one or two motions which have precedence; and if he is prevented on that night, he has given notice to the Government that, however reluctant to do anything which might appear to interfere with their business, he must bring on his motion on the first order of the day for going into committee of supply, there being still a number of grants to be voted for different departments of the public service.

In this course he is quite justified, and perfectly right. The old constitutional rule is redress of grievances before supplies are granted; and, though there is a great difference between ancient and modern times, it is an exceedingly wholesome thing to maintain, in the House of Commons, that practical check upon an executive government by which they are obliged to listen to the complaints of the public before they get possession of the public money.

There was an instance on Thursday night last, when Mr. Roebuck brought on a discussion on Canadian grievances on the occasion of bringing up the Report of the Committee of Supply on Colonial Estimates—that is to say, not on the occasion of granting the supplies, for they were already granted, but on the mere formal proceeding of reporting to the House that the votes had been passed, and of getting them confirmed.

If ever there were a practical grievance of which a member may avail himself in order to raise a discussion on a supply night, it is the great grievance of the Corn Laws; if ever there were a member entitled to avail himself of the privilege, it is Mr. Villiers. From year to year continually, he has kept the question before the public eye; he did it when from without he had scarcely any support, and within he might say he had none except the faithful few who recorded their apparently hopeless votes in his favour; he continues it still, when public opinion is organized in his favour, and when, in spite of literally tremendous obstacles, arising from landlord influence and class interest, the repeal of the Corn Laws, like the bright star on the horizon, is approaching nearer and nearer to certainty.

This of itself would give Mr. Villiers an unquestioned right to use his privilege; but he has also another claim. Though steadily adhering to that question, which may be almost said to be his own, there is no man who is less obnoxious to the imputation of unnecessarily obtruding himself on the attention of the House. He never speaks unnecessarily; always seizes the fitting opportunity, and speaks precisely the fitting thing; his speeches are generally short, but are striking from their terseness and pithy point; and while he frequently utters very gallant truths to nowing ears, and that, too, in the most unflinching way, there is nothing in his manner which deviates from that gentlemanly style of which "Honourable House" is so tenacious. This much is due to Mr. Villiers, who, in cast of phrase, is the father of the Corn Law question, as it now stands before the public, nor is it one of the least of his characteristics that, should these remarks fall under his observation, he will be the first to take offence at them, as being, what he will consider, a deviation from that stern impartiality which should record only public men's acts, and leave them to find compliments in the conscious rectitude of their motives.

Great complaints have lately been made by the public on the frequent "coming out" of the House of Commons, and Thursday last afforded an instance that whenever the Government chooses, it can prevent it. When Mr. Roebuck brought the consideration of the state of Canada under the consideration of the House, there were not forty members present during the greater portion of his speech; and if any member had chosen, he could have "counted out" the House. But the Government wished to have a discussion; Lord Stanley was prepared to make a speech; and, consequently, there was no "count out." But in the case of any motion which it is not convenient to discuss there is always some Ministerial member on, who are ready to do the work. One comes members away; another stands in the lobby to prevent members from going in; and when they have thinned the House, the operation usually taking place during the dinner hour, from seven to about half-past eight) somebody notices that there are not forty members present, strangers are ordered to withdraw, and the House being counted, the adjournment takes place. Whenever any member brings on a frivolous motion, for mere talking's sake, this is a good way to punish his empty conceit; but it lowers the House of Commons when done repeatedly, and on important questions. But the remedy lies with the constituencies: if they return, as their representatives, young fops, fools, idlers, men who go to the House of Commons for amusement, Parliament will be an engine of the executive Government, assembled in order to register its edicts, instead of being the "collective wisdom" of "a most thinking nation."

SUGAR DUTIES.—The number of signatures to the Leeds petition for a reduction of the sugar duties, now exceeds 20,000, all male petitioners. The women complain that they are not allowed to exercise a franchise upon an occasion where their feelings and their taste are so materially involved.—*Leeds Mercury*.

to you just as they came from the farmers, fresh and undiluted. (Cheers.) We have a right to assume that the other crops—say barley and oats—can be grown to a profit without wheat; if they cannot, it proves that the system of agriculture must be extremely faulty, and that the arrangement between landlord and tenant cannot be quite right; for it were absurd to suppose that the profits of a wheat crop are to go to pay all the losses upon all the other crops in the rotation: it would, if it were possible, render the existing Corn Laws more absurd than they are at present. (Hear, hear.) I will produce an authority that they can be grown at a profit, and that authority is a man who is allowed by our opponents to be a shrewd judge of his own affairs, and one who can see as far into anything as most people—I refer to my friend, Mr. Gisborne (hear, hear), whom I believe you had the pleasure of hearing at this theatre. I remember that, in a speech which he made some years ago against the Corn Laws, he said, amongst other reasons for their abolition, that they prevented very hard upon him. He cultivated, from necessity, a large quantity of thin hill-side land in the county of Derby; and he said, "What a horrible thing it is that you should tax me for the benefit of those who can grow upon their lands wheat which I cannot grow upon mine." (Hear.) I conclude, therefore, that Mr. Gisborne can grow oats and barley to a profit. (Cheers.) I asked for the returns from my own farm which I am about to read, in February last, not thinking then of turning them to the use I am now making of them. The first is the expense of cultivating and marketing 120 acres of wheat on Whitfield Example Farm. We have the impudence to call it Example Farm for this reason—that it has acted as a guide in points on which we were right, and as a beacon to warn from those in which we were wrong; and I am happy to say that it has been useful in both ways. This is exactly as it is taken out from my books:—

The Expense of Cultivating, Harvesting, and Marketing 120 acres of Wheat on Whitfield Example Farm.

To 1864 days of a man and two horses ploughing, cultivating (i.e. working with cultivator), drilling and harrowing 120 acres, at 10s. per diem .. £93 2 6

That amounts to 15s. 6d. an acre for ploughing sowing, and preparing the seed.

To 173½ bushels of seed wheat, at 7s. per bushel .. 60 14 6

To harrow 120 acres, at 2. 61 per acre .. 15 0 0

To cutting, binding, and stacking 120 acres, at 8s. .. 48 0 0

To pitching to carts and ricks, building and loading, at 2s. 4d. per acre .. 14 0 0

To 72 days of one-horse cart and boy to haul the produce from the field to rickyards, at 4s. 6d. per diem .. 16 2 0

That amounts altogether, for harvesting and bringing home to the yards, and thatching, to 14s. 10d. per acre.

To thrashing and winnowing, and taking out, say 500 quarters, at 2s. .. 50 0 0

To marketing 500 qrs. at 5 qrs. per cart, 50 days of a man with two horses and carts, at 10s., and for expenses 2s.,—50 at 12s. .. 30 0 0

£326 19 0

The calculation of the produce on this farm is 33 bushels, the usual produce being upwards of 40; but it was put so low that it might be an average which one might be secure of, during a period of years, allowing for bad harvests; so that there should be no deduction from the account.

This sum amounts to 54s. 6d. per acre, or 1s. 7½d. per bushel

To half dung on last year's crop, 50s. per acre, or .. 1 6 per bushel

Rent, tithe, and taxes, on 120 acres, 50s. per acre, or .. 1 6 per bushel

4 7½ per bushel

But my wheat crop, having bought its manure, has a right also to sell its straw, for which we must give it credit; the calculation is, that we grow rather more than a ton and a half of straw, which is calculated to be worth, to consume on the farm, 36s., there being 35 bushels to the acre. In fact in a farm I have just let, I have had it valued at that rate to the incoming tenant; however, I will not take it to the full extent, because I wish to keep entirely within bounds, and therefore I will only put the ton and a half of straw at 35s. the acre. It will lower the cost something more than 1s. a bushel, and, as the original sum I read to you was 4s. 7½d., we may fairly, for the sake of even numbers, reduce it to 3s. 61., because the 1s. remaining over will only leave a fraction of a penny over the 3s. 61., which I am sure will be no very great matter. Now, the capital invested in that farm amounts to £15 an acre; therefore you will see that, if the price of the bushel of wheat exceeds by 1s. the 3s. 61. which it cost me to grow, it will give 10 1 7th per cent. on the capital invested; and, therefore, it shows that, if the price of wheat is 5s. 6d. the bushel or 4½ a quarter (which, by the way, is 3s. less than the average price of the Channel Islands for the last seven years), that will give me 20 2 7th per cent. on the capital invested; and that, you will admit, is not a bad profit. (Cheers.) Now, let us go on a little further, and see what the return is at the present price of corn. We will suppose that it is now 56s. (which is very nearly is, a good quality of corn is worth more; the last I sold was 59s.), that will give a return of 33½ per cent. on the capital invested. This farm, being alternate years wheat, yields 17½ per cent. on the entire capital employed on it. In these calculations of expenses on all the charges there is a percentage allowed to keep everything good; to maintain horses, harness, and machinery in repair. I thought it as well to go where I should have the highest calculation, and therefore I went to the bailiff of one of the largest proprietors on the Cotswold-hills, and this is the return he gave me. This, I should tell you, is the best class of land on those hills, which is generally cultivated on the five-course system; the wheat is generally sown on the second year's clover; therefore, instead of going to the expense of the whole rotation, the farmers on the Cotswold hills have, on these statements, charged the wheat crop with the entire rent and taxes of the preceding year: therefore, instead of charging the rent and taxes of one year, it is charged with the rent and taxes of two years. On this farm two years' rent, at 25s., with rates and taxes, amounts to £2 15s. 9d.; ploughing, harrowing, and drilling, £1 an acre (that is, about 4s. 6d. more than mine); seed, 2½ bushels at 7s. 6d. per bushel, 18s. 9d.; bird-keeping and hoeing, 5s.; reaping and harvesting, 15s. (that is about the same as the charge on my farm); threshing, winnowing, and taking out, at 8d. a bushel, allowing 30 bushels to the acre on the average, £1

(that is rather more than my charge). In addition to this, my friend charges wear and tear, 3s., so that he has put into the statement all he could. This amounts to £6 17s. 6d. an acre. Now, we will suppose that there was not so much straw on this land as upon mine, and therefore, instead of charging 35s. for their straw, I will only deduct 30s. to be placed to the credit of the wheat crop: that reduces the sum per acre to £5 7s. 6d. Now, we will just see how it paid. That amounts to 3s. 6d. 1-6th per bushel. Perhaps you will allow me to make the calculation on the 3s. 6d., and leave out the one-sixth. The capital invested in such land is certainly under £10 an acre, so far as I have calculated it; therefore, every 6d. in price per bushel above 3s. 6d., is 7½ per cent. on the capital of £10. Now, supposing the same price of corn, 44s. per bushel (that is, 3s. under the Channel Islands price for the last seven years), it amounts to 30 per cent. on the invested capital. Let us try the calculation with the higher price, as we have it at present, 7s. a bushel, or 56s. a quarter, there is then a return of 32½ per cent. (Hear, hear, hear.) Supposing this land cultivated on the five-course system, it gives a return of 10½ per cent. on the whole capital employed over the whole of the farm. Now, there is one remark which I should make here, which is this. When this return was sent to me, I thought that the rent was not put sufficiently high for land that produced 30 bushels of wheat on an average per acre; I have therefore made the calculation, adding 5s. more to the rent, which I think ought to be done. This statement being given to me by a gentleman's servant, he was anxious to make as good a show as he could of his produce, and therefore calculated the rent lower than it ought to have been. I will put his rent up to what it ought to be; that is, putting 5s. more on the expenses per acre, and that will, on 30 bushels, be an addition of 2d. to every bushel, increasing the price to 3s. 8d. per bushel. Every 4d. beyond that price will be 5 per cent. on the capital; and of course the price of 44s. amounts to 27½ per cent. on the capital; taking the price at 7s. a bushel, or 56s. a quarter, and that will produce a return of 50 per cent., or 10 per cent. on the whole capital employed on every acre of the farm, supposing no other acre to pay a sixpence. I thought it as well that I should put it as fairly as I could before you, and not make so good a show as my friend has done. You see that a bushel of wheat can be grown there, upon that sort of land, for 3s. 8d. Now, I have two calculations here, from two very clever agriculturists, one of whom is certainly a most superior man, residing in the county of Gloucester, who cultivates more land, and does a greater business in a better manner, than any individual I have ever met with. That gentleman gives this statement. He says:—

Outlay on an Acre of Wheat on two-year-old Seeds, Rent of Land in the neighbourhood of Stow and Northleach, from 15s. to 20s. per acre—Average, 17s. 6d.

Two years' rent .. £1 15 0

Two years' poor, church, and road rates .. 0 6 0

Ploughing, harrowing, and drilling .. 1 0 0

(That is the same as the last calculation I gave you)

Two-and-a-half bushels of seed wheat at 7s. .. 0 17 6

Bird-keeping and hoeing .. 0 5 0

Reaping and harvesting, including carting, stacking, thatching, &c. .. 0 15 0

Thrashing, winnowing, fetching into barn, and delivery, at 8d. per bushel—20 bushels per acre on an average .. 0 13 4

Wear and tear .. 0 3 0

£5 14 10

But this being a very inferior quality of land, the produce is only calculated at 20 bushels an acre. We have got now £5 14s. 10d. as the cost of 20 bushels; we are to deduct the value of straw, which I reduce again, from the quality of the land, from 30s. to 25s.; and that lowers the cost of the 20 bushels to £4 9s. 10d., or 4s. 6d. a bushel. I have a statement from another person, of whom I have also a very high opinion, which is so very identical with those made upon land of the same character, and of so equal an average of produce, that I think I need do no more than read you the cost in it, which is £5 13s. 1d., the other being £5 14s. 10d. So that I think the returns of these two gentlemen are so identical upon the same soil, that you will take them almost as facts. I take them, indeed, and know them to be facts. (Cheers.) The price of 20 bushels in one calculation is £4 9s. 10d., and in the other £4 9s. 1d.; being a difference of 9d. only. Now, I will merely trouble you with a little calculation on this. That brings the expense to 4s. 6d. a bushel. You perceive that the lower we get in the quality of land the more expensive the wheat is to grow; but this is the lowest quality of land which any man has a right to grow wheat upon: indeed, I think there is too much wheat grown on it as it is. The capital invested in this quality of land does not exceed, and indeed I know does not near come up to the £8. an acre; and, therefore, every 5d. in price in excess over the sum of 4s. 6d. is a fraction above five per cent. on the capital invested. Let me throw away the fraction, and say five per cent. Suppose the price of wheat to be 4½s.—3s. under the Channel Islands price—it gives eleven per cent. on the invested capital. That is the lowest price you can possibly conceive in any state of Free Trade. It returns eleven per cent. upon the growth of wheat. (Cheers.) Now, take the present price, as I did of the others, at 56s. per quarter, that gives a return of 27½ per cent. on the capital of £8 invested. Supposing that this farm is cultivated on the five-course system, it will yield five and a half per cent. on the whole capital invested on the entire farm, supposing there to be no profit on any other single acre of land on the other four-fifths of it. I am afraid that I have already trespassed a great deal too long on your time. (Cheers and cries of "No, no.") I was anxious to show you that that low quality of land which it is said must be thrown out of cultivation if the Corn Laws are repealed, can, under the lowest possible prices in free trade in corn, pay 11 per cent. for growing corn at 44s. per quarter. (Cheers.) I hope and trust that, if there were any here who doubted before in consequence of their being told by our opponents that Free Trade would throw land out of cultivation, they will set their minds at ease upon the point, and that they will believe with me that nothing can ever cause any land to be thrown out of cultivation in England so long as the manufacturers of this country are enabled to undersell those of the Continent in the world's market. (The noble chairman retired from the table amidst enthusiastic cheers.)

The Noble CHAIRMAN again advancing to the table

amidst considerable cheers, said, our excellent friend, Colonel Thompson, will next address you.

Colonel THOMPSON, who was received with the most vociferous applause, spoke as follows:—My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I am sent forward to address you at a moment when we have not to speak to you on the subject of a success, but being under the shadow of something like a temporary misfortune. Neither you nor I came here under the notion that misfortune was always to fly over our heads harmless. (Cheers.) Need I say to you how necessary it is that, being engaged in a cause like ours, we should look on all temporary evils as they are intended to be looked upon—merely as a means of sharpening our minds—as instruments of greater successes to follow. (Loud cheers.) A post, they tell me, has been driven in in South Lancashire. Well, that's not every where, nor everything. Wait, I beg of you, till we drive it back again. (Loud applause.) Why, it evils like this settled the dispute, the trade of war would be nowhere at all. If we all gave over at the first symptom of fortune failing us, fortune would be only one long misfortune for the best of us. (Cheers, and a laugh.) We knew when we came here that we were to witness many a turn of chance before we left to our children the enjoyment of that freedom and those blessings which we will leave them and shall leave them. (Cheers.) Is there any fear that this country, whose metropolis can thus pour forth its thousands week after week in support of the popular cause, can ever fail? (Cheers.) Now, if there be any here of the adverse party, let me warn them not to talk too loudly on the subject of their success. They know that, as for driving us back to the beggarly elements of olden times, they might just as well talk of driving back the Anti-Slavery Society (cheers)—just as well might they expect that great work of philanthropy to be undone at their bidding, as for us and our cause to quail before their threatenings. (Cheers.) We know our enemies and their strength; we can calculate and estimate too, the value of those who are for our country and of those who are against it. (Cheers.) Go to the Prince de Joinville, tell him England needs not his puny interference. She has a domestic enemy, an inbred foe, can do his work much better. (Great cheering.) We have these among us, who have the power to inform us that British commerce—which might have raised us above the fear, almost, of human ills—which might have carried our flag, not in sanguinary triumphs, but in the victories of peace, all over the globe with scarcely a competitor to meet us—that commerce, they tell us, shall be crippled and limited to suit the interest which their side-pockets dictate. (Loud cheers.) They say plainly—they keep no secret of it—men in office, men decked with power have told you, and will tell you again before they have done perhaps, that it was to make their daughters portions that they robbed yours. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Do Englishmen want telling that more than once? (Cheers, and cries of "No.") Is not one bidding sufficient to rouse the heart of every father here into fierce opposition to such horrible injustice? (Cheers.) Why, those men would lie on anything; there's no garbage they would not make their profit of; there's no trade so low, no calling so base—sinful, I might add—but those men, with their toll-dish, stand by and take their portion of the proceeds. (Cheers.) Yet those men, forsooth, look down on humble citizens, commercial men, tradesmen, as things beneath them, and hardly deserving of a glance. Do not you know, that for a man to bear an honest heart and a good conscience is vastly more valuable than to hold any rank this world can give him? (Loud cheers.) That such a cause as yours has always prospered and always shall, while be your and our sheet anchor, and we will hang by it till the day of success shall come. (Cheers.) England—great and glorious England as she might have been, and as in some ages of her history 'tis true she has been—will not see herself for ever trammelled and confined to suit the interest of those bad men—'tis well I did not give them a harsher epithet. (Loud cheers and laughter.) Oh! they shall not have me to truckle to them; they shall hear from me no compliments to their hospitality. "Light come, light go," is a story we have heard of before to-day; we know plenty who are hospitable when it suits their purpose. Thieves are hospitable: they drink all they can get, and give freely to their companions. (Loud cheers.) We cannot be deluded by such pretences as these, to look on and see the prospects of our children and our families scattered to the wind; we cannot bear that they shall rob us of a shilling to get sixpence for themselves. There the is rob, depend on it. (Cheers.) If it were fair, equitable thieving, there would be no getting rid of it. (Laughter and cheers.) You cannot stop a man that simply picks your pocket and spends the shilling at the wrong shop (cheers); if you could prove on him, as you can with these, that he took the shilling, getting only sixpence for himself, then there would be some chance, and that chance is before you now. Depend upon it, there is the rub, to which the question will be brought; and when that is settled we shall see the end. Ladies and gentlemen, I was sent forward here on one stipulation—which is not needful with me in general—that I should not detain you long. So one word more—a word which the place we are in prompts me to. I hear that a well-known favourite of yours, Miss P. Horton—whose name I mention with all the respect due to an individual so eminent in her profession (hear)—is singing elsewhere, and "Song of the Shirt." Now, all you that have shirts, and I am sure there are none of us here without them yet (great laughter), could you not go to increase her benefit and could you not, think you, instead of an *encore*, which might be troublesome to her, alter the exertion of singing so long a ditty, give in its place something like these cheers for the Anti-Corn-Law League? (Cheers.) Would that not be a fair use to make of a theatre which in our partially free country, is happily free, and which is, as I trust it always will be, under the direction of persons as take the lead there now, an instrument of promoting national freedom and morality, and not destroying them? (Cheers.) Gentlemen, if you admit that my allusion to this subject has been warranted by the occasion, bear it in your minds; and now let me most respectfully take my leave. (Great cheers, amidst which the gallant Colonel withdrew.)

The Noble CHAIRMAN next advancing, said:—I have now the pleasure of introducing to you a gentleman well acquainted with all farming details, a good practical agriculturist from the adjoining county to that in which I reside, and a gentleman of the highest character and abilities,—Mr. Edward Holland, of Dumbleton. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. HOLLAND then came forward, and was received with marked approbation. He spoke as follows:—My lord, ladies and gentlemen, this is the first time since the meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law Association in this theatre that I have had the pleasure of being present; but, having read the proceedings upon each and every occasion, I have constantly remarked that those speakers who are not amongst those that come the most prominently before you are continually in the habit of commencing their speeches with stating that they have been called upon quite unexpectedly to address you. (Cheers.) Now, I assure you that I am in that position also (cheers and laughter); for five minutes before I entered this theatre I was not aware that I should be a "stage-horse."—I thought I should only be a "stage-passenger." (Laughter.) However, a man who has his heart and soul in any cause—especially if he believe that cause to be beneficial, essentially beneficial—and I use the term in the strongest sense I can—to life's existence, depend upon it such a man is constantly ready to express his feelings upon so vital a subject to any body of his fellow-countrymen. (Great cheering.) All I beg of you, then, ladies and gentlemen, is not to expect from me any arguments, for those arguments which might arise from any practical knowledge at present in my possession should be advanced with so much care and so much thought that it is essential that I should have considered before coming here how I was to classify them and what they should be; for our opponents are ready to catch at the least tripping—all figures are scrutinized—all matters and points of fact and detail are sure to be examined and well sifted. I will, therefore, gentlemen, if you will excuse me upon this occasion, simply, as one fresh from the country, state to you as an eyewitness that I well know, so far at least as my part of the country is concerned, that our cause is prospering. (Cheers.) At first, indeed, for country gentlemen who espoused the cause of the League, it was all up-hill work with them—sour faces, or eyes askance—loss of temper—distance, and all the unpleasantness which can happen to those who live in the country, and who feel it also much more than you in town, because they are obliged to take their neighbours as they find them, and are not able to select from a multitude as you can who reside in the metropolis. (Cheers.) But now things have changed. I can go into the market and speak to the farmers openly and freely, as I can to you, upon Free-Trade principles; and I am not asked—"What do you mean—are you going to ruin the country?" and so on; but they say—"Ah! I see with you that it is impossible for us to oppose that question much longer, for though I may not agree with you, yet I do feel that your opposition is so strong, and is becoming so general, that we must yield." (Loud cheers.) But those are the worst sort of farmers—those are they of the old school who, if they were dissected, would be found to have a grumbling apparatus expressly made for such occasions. (Cheers and laughter.) And we may naturally suppose that men may be allowed to grumble who depend, in a great measure, upon the climate for their success, and not as the manufacturer or trader does, upon his own skill and handicraft. (Cheers.) A farmer, then, must be excused if he do now and then grumble more than other persons who are less at the mercy of the elements. But, with others, I feel that we did not make so much way, perhaps, as we might have done, in consequence of the name of the association. The Anti-Corn-Law League they were prepared to regard as an opponent to the Corn Laws alone. Now, thanks, not only to this society, but thanks also to the existence of protection societies, the farmers have been taught to think, and to act for themselves as well as think. (Cheers.) And I can assure you that I know, by living amongst them as I do, that, since the existence of the protection societies, thought has been so rife that we have gained some few converts from amongst the agriculturists of Worcestershire. (Cheers.) I believe that many who, at first, would have been so thoroughly opposed to us as to imagine that they were bound to oppose and crush us, would now be ready to join us; and I know that the exertions made in populous towns, and especially in the metropolis, cheer the hearts of those who sojourn in the country, and aid and encourage them to such an extent as you could hardly credit unless you were yourselves resident among us. (Cheers.) I remember once going into a museum, and among other things that were exhibited there was a short spear, strong and stiff in its nature, sharp at its point, and about two feet from the point was a cross-bar. "What on earth is this for," said I, "almost too heavy for a man to carry to battle?" "Oh, Sir," said the man, "it is for killing bears—it is a Norwegian bear-spear." "But," said I, "what is the use of that cross-bar?" "Oh, Sir," replied he, "that is very useful indeed; it saves us a great deal of trouble—the bear, immediately he is pricked by the point of the spear, embraces the bar in his arms, and presses the spear home and kills himself." (Loud laughter and cheers.) Now, thought I to myself, this is exactly what the agriculturists are about. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) The sharp point is the Corn Law—(hear, hear)—the cross-bar is the bar of protection—the farmer feels pricked by the Corn Law, and embraces the bar of protection. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I hope that those who have felt so bitterly against us, and those who are now embracing this cross-bar of protection, are diminishing in number; and if ever I have the pleasure of meeting you again, I hope and trust that I may be enabled to rejoice with you that the time is fast approaching when we may all be one united body—not those only who are here, but those who are opposed to us—that we may all, protectives and anti-protectives, be one united body, enjoying the benefits of Free Trade. (The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amid loud and prolonged cheers.)

The Noble CHAIRMAN then came forward, and said, Ladies and gentlemen, you will now be addressed by your own *Coblen*. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. CORNEN then came forward amid most enthusiastic bursts of applause, which were renewed again and again, and which lasted for some minutes. As soon as the honourable gentleman could obtain a hearing, he addressed the crowded assembly as follows:—My Lord, ladies and gentlemen, if I had returned from South Lancashire, where I have been doing my duty as a freeholder of the southern division of that important county, victorious and decked with laurels, you could not have given me a more favourable reception. It is a proof, at all events, that we do not desert our friends in what our enemies call "the hour of adversity." Gentlemen, I come here not to talk of "misfortunes," "losses," or

"defeats," but to claim for ourselves, as Free Traders, a great moral triumph. (Cheers.) We have been out-nosed, I admit; but we will count the noses and see what they are made of. Gentlemen, we have not lost a member for South Lancashire, but we have failed in gaining one. (Hear, hear.) The late amiable representative of South Lancashire, who was suddenly and at an untimely period of his life snatched from us, was opposed to the League in its principles. We were upon this occasion brought to the contest for South Lancashire suddenly, unexpectedly, and in an unprepared position. Let us see, if you please, how the contest stands now, and how it stood when that late worthy representative—for he was a most amiable and excellent man in private life—was elected as member for the southern division of Lancashire. The last contested election for that part of the county was in the year 1837. That contest was between two Tories on the one side and two Whigs on the other. Lord Francis Egerton, who was at the head of the poll, was 1200 above Mr. Stanley, and 1700 ahead of Mr. Townley, the lowest on the poll. But in the year 1841, when the last general election took place, the leading friends of the Reform party in Lancashire were preparing to contest the county again with the same candidates, and they investigated the registration, and came to the conclusion that if they did contest it they would be in a minority of 2000, and they left the field in the possession of their adversaries. It was a contest between Whig and Tory in 1837. We were, therefore, then totally ignorant of our strength as Free-Traders; for, bear in mind that the gentleman for whom we fought in 1837 has not turned out to be a Free-Trader. Mr. Stanley, for whom we contended so ardently, has now sent down a distinct disclaimer of our principles, and his tenantry have, I believe, been to a man polled against us in the recent contest in South Lancashire. (Hisses.) If we have gained nothing else by this contest we have at least sifted the wheat from the chaff, and now know where we stand. Gentlemen, we have on this occasion had for our candidate a commercial man, the head of one of the largest firms in Liverpool, totally unconnected with the soil of Lancashire, without the slightest influence with any of the landed proprietors there. He came forward as a mercantile man, and he stands on the principle of the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws and all other monopolies. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, we have fought this battle against the combined influence of every large landed proprietor in South Lancashire, with the single and splendid exception of Lord Sefton, who has given us, I believe, all the assistance which he could do legitimately in the exercise of influence among those who are connected with him in that county. (Cheers.) The result is, that we have polled 6972 of the Free Traders of South Lancashire, being 400 more than were obtained by the highest of the two Reform Whig candidates in 1837; and we have polled within 500 of our opponent with the whole weight of the landed aristocracy to aid him. Gentlemen, we know our strength; we have 6972 of the freeholders of South Lancashire who are pledged to the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. We are told that, on this occasion, it has been a fair contest for Free-Trade principles, inasmuch as there has been no aristocratic or territorial influence arrayed against us. I have here the *Standard* of this evening (groans), and I will just read you what that veracious print says on the subject:—"The South Lancashire election has terminated by the return of the Conservative candidate, with a majority of nearly 600; the whole number of electors polled being 14,458. The result of the South Lancashire contest is one, on many accounts, deserving of observation. An election at which between 11,000 and 15,000 electors polled, must, of course, be free from suspicion of any internal influence, whether of the Government or the aristocracy, and an election in a district almost as densely peopled as a great city, must be equally free from the suspicion of any local territorial influence." Not content with one assertion—for the *Standard* does not do things by halves—a little further on it repeats it in these words:—"As we have said, Government influence, aristocratic influence, local territorial influence, are wholly out of the question in a district like South Lancashire, all cut up into small possessions, with a population of more than half a million, and between 14,000 and 15,000 electors actually brought to the poll." Gentlemen, let us see how far we have been free from aristocratic influence in this election, and what truth there is in the statement that Lancashire is all "cut up into small possessions." Is the Earl of Derby a small proprietor? (Hear, hear.) I do not know whether it is 12 or 15 miles that you may ride in one direction upon his land, but it is one or the other. Are Sir John Gerrard and Mr. Scarsbrick small proprietors? Both of these gentlemen are Catholics, and yet their tenantry came up to the poll, under the stewards' influence, almost to a man against us. Are they small proprietors? I rode over the district owned by Mr. Scarsbrick, the extent of which is 14 miles by 7, including a great portion of the district at Ormskirk. Are Lord Francis Egerton, Lord Wilton, and Lord Stamford and Warrington, small proprietors? Why, I am speaking to you of noblemen owning from £50,000 to £100,000 a year in this district: is their land "cut up into small possessions?" (Laughter.) And yet these men of "territorial influence," whose names I have given you, were dead against us upon this occasion. Lord Derby did not issue his *flat* that his tenantry should vote against us; and there was, nominally, a kind of neutrality; but there is a way of signifying through the steward, and from him to the underlings, and from them to the tenants, in what manner the *rising sun* wishes the tenantry to vote. (Hear, hear.) There was a placard put out to this effect, and canvassers went about repeating it:—"That Lord Stanley would be very much obliged to them if they would vote on this occasion for Mr. Entwistle. I believe, almost without exception, the Derby tenantry, as well as those other great proprietors of tenantry of whom I have spoken, almost to a man were arrayed against us. (Hear, hear, hear.) Gentlemen, how far does this influence extend? There were 14,000 and odd electors polled; there are 3600 £50 tenants-at-will on the register at the disposal of these great proprietors. Now, we are told that the Manchester polling district showed a very small majority; that that locality presents a very trifling balance in favour of Free Trade; and, therefore, it is quite clear that the League principles do not prevail in Manchester. Why, gentlemen, the Manchester polling district extends over 30 agricultural townships, all of which are entirely at the mercy of those large proprietors. It stretches out for 12 miles, from Lord Francis Egerton's estate at Worsley, down to the confines of Stockport; and I can bear testimony from

actual observations that the tenantry of those large proprietors—Tatton Egerton, Lord Francis Egerton, Lord Wilton, and the others who hem in Manchester, as it were, and keep us in a state of siege—that those tenantry came in in dense masses, in a body, decked up with blue ribbons, and marched to the poll under the guidance of the steward, with just as much will and discretion of their own as if they had been their own quadrupeds. (Groans and hisses.) Gentlemen, we stand thus in the polling district of Manchester:—in the boroughs of Manchester and Salford—that is, those who poll within the parliamentary boroughs having qualifications there—there were polled 1164 for Mr. Brown, and only 659 for Mr. Entwistle. (Cheers.) We were swamped by the tenants-at-will, who were brought in from the neighbouring agricultural townships. How stand we upon the whole of this poll? We have a very large majority of the *bond fide* freeholders pledged to the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. Taking away the tenants-at-will, who have been forced to vote at the bidding of their landlords, there is a large majority of independent and *bond fide* freeholders of the county who have returned Mr. Brown to Parliament on this occasion. (Cheers.) Now, I have told you the way in which these tenants are brought up to the poll. I never had so much experience before upon this matter as I have had upon this occasion. I have gone through the whole of the county with Mr. Brown, and have seen the working of the system, and I will give you an illustration of it. In 1837, at the last contest, I was at Southport, a small watering-place at the extremity of the Ormskirk polling district, which is a purely agricultural part of the county. I rode up from Southport to Ormskirk along with a procession of voters, who went up from that place to poll for Mr. Stanley and Mr. Townley, the two Reform candidates. I proceeded to the place where these men were getting their breakfasts, and a shrewd quiet man, standing in the room, said to me, "You see all those men sitting there drinking their coffee, wearing orange and green rosettes?" I replied, "I do." "I saw," said my informant, "those same men, who are the tenants of the proprietor here"—whose name I will not mention, from circumstances that you will perceive probably—"I saw," said he, "those same tenantry at the last election, two years ago, sitting in this very room eating their breakfast with blue favours on their breasts." (Laughter.) "But," said he, "since that time the proprietor of the estate on which they are living as tenant-farmers has thought proper to change his politics from Tory to Whig, and they are now going to vote with him upon that side." (Renewed laughter.) Gentlemen, since 1837 that same property has changed hands, and has been sold by its former proprietor to a Tory landlord; and those same tenants were seen on Monday last marching up in a body again to Ormskirk to poll for the old colour, blue. (Laughter.) I was curious to watch this little batch of "free and independent electors" (laughter); therefore I commissioned a very trustworthy friend in that neighbourhood to write me an account of what was going on at Southport, and here is his letter written from that place:—"The rector of Southport, at the head of a procession" (cries of "Oh, oh") "came into Ormskirk, and led above one hundred to the poll, yesterday. The stewards and agents of Lord Skelmersdale, of Squires Scarsbrick and Plume Tempest, stood in the booths and feed the tenantry as they gave their votes. The same was done at Wigan by the steward of Lord Balcarras." These are all proprietors of the small possessions cut up, you know. (Laughter.) "The same at Newton by other stewards. I saw a woman running to stop her husband from voting at Newton, and did stop him, because the steward had been to her house and threatened her. The agents had no other canvassing but to intimate that they desired such a one to vote, and he voted." We were under a delusion as regarded the Ormskirk district, from which we were swamped by those tenants-at-will, up to the last moment. As there was no canvassing, and no activity on their part, we thought there probably might be a chance that we should get a considerable number of votes in that locality. Canvassing was out of the question; the signal was given to the steward, the steward simply gave his instructions to the tenants, and to a man they mustered at the breakfast-table, or any other point of designation, and came from thence to the poll. (Loud cries of "Same, same.") So completely do these men regard their tenants as their goods and chattels at the time of an election, that it is positively considered a breach of etiquette, and an intrusion and unwarrantable liberty, for a man to go and canvass a tenantry at all, unless he first goes and gets the landlord's permission. (Hear, hear.) This is the kind of opposition by which we have been defeated at this contest. Bear in mind that in the towns of South Lancashire there are comparatively few freeholders. If you want to know the sense, the will, and feeling of the townspeople—take their returns under the £10 franchise if you please—and then what say Manchester, and Salford, and the rest of them to Free Trade? But in the county contests, the numbers which are registered in the towns are comparatively few, for this reason: if men in business own property which they occupy for their business, they vote for it in the borough election, but they are disqualified from voting in respect of that property at the county election; and therefore they must be the owners of real property in the borough, apart from their business, to have a vote at all for the county. You will see from this circumstance the reason of the very small proportion of the voters that are actually included in the boroughs at all in South Lancashire. If you take these points into consideration, and bear in mind what I have stated to you, that we have been fighting Lord Derby, Lord Balcarras, Lord Skelmersdale, Lord Francis Egerton, Lord Stamford and Warrington, Lord Wilton, Mr. Scarsbrick, Sir John Gerrard, and the whole host of large proprietors of that county, with the exception of Lord Sefton—if you bear that in mind, I say, I am entitled to come before you, and claim a great moral triumph. (Cheers.) A mercantile man from his counting-house, drawn forth at an hour's notice, without the slightest preparation, has polled within 500 of his opponent, and we have actually upon the poll a large majority of the independent, *bond fide* freeholders of that county in our favour. (Loud cheers.) Whatever our opponents say, or Mr. Entwistle may assert in Parliament, I am prepared here to declare, and there to maintain, that he goes to that House not to represent the mind, wealth, intelligence, and independence of South Lancashire, but that he is the *bond fide* representative of the droves of bipeds that were driven up to vote for him at

the late election. (Loud and continued cheering.) Gentlemen, this contest has been productive of advantages which will turn to good account in future. We know our strength; we have ascertained our enemies' weakness, and they know it too. (Cheers.) Why, this has been a battle to prepare us for the real contest in future. It is like clearing the decks, collecting our forces, and knowing who are our friends and who our enemies. We know now what is the strength of League principles in Lancashire. They tell us that the League is dead and defunct in this contest. I see in the *Standard*, a statement to this effect:—"This monster, the League, is now strangled." (Laughter.) I think you can make some tolerably cheerful guttural sounds, considering you are "strangled." (Renewed laughter.) Gentlemen, there is one point that I dwell upon with peculiar satisfaction in this contest. We have placed the League upon high—indeed, the very highest possible—moral ground in the county of Lancashire, for we have fought this battle purely upon Free-Trade principles; and I cannot help giving to the men of Lancashire of all political opinions—for there are no exceptions—the credit due to them for having on this occasion treated Free Trade as the great practical question of the day—that without having abandoned their politics, or turned their back on one point in their political creed, they have, for the present, merged other questions that are not the practical questions of the day, and with one accord, Tories, Whigs, Radicals, and Chartists in many districts, polled side by side in favour of the Free-Trade candidate. (Loud cheers.) Now, take the borough of Oldham. I was there with Mr. Brown at his recent canvass. Oldham is a place entertaining, probably, an extreme opinion on political questions as any borough in the kingdom; Mr. Brown was there catechised by individuals holding those ultra opinions, and he did not, on any one point of their political faith come up to their standard; but, nevertheless, at a crowded meeting in the townhall of that borough, I saw, certainly, an unexampled thing in the history of that town—a unanimous resolution passed to support Mr. Brown on Free Trade principles, which was moved by a man who himself professed Radical principles. I wish I could say that there had been the same unanimity on the part of those who call themselves "Conservatives," or "Tories," in that district. We have made a breach in that party on this question; that breach will never be healed again, but will go on widening. We have drawn men out from the slime of party, and we have compelled them, by the force of justice and truth, to record their votes for a Free Trader. The gentlemen who nominated Mr. Brown, himself professed to be a Conservative; and we have a great many instances of leading men, who, for the first time, on this occasion have polled irrespective of party. We have an immense number in that district who, as of old on the present occasion merely to obtain a safe future time, and I believe that in less than two years from this period of all parties in our midst during these years in the North, I except the lunatics of party, those men to whom reason has been denied. I say, with those exceptions, in less than two years I firmly believe we shall take no common ground on this question of Free Trade. We will make short work of the landlord's monopoly, when we under take our own interests, and come to a conflict upon this kind. There can be no doubt we have been defeated on this occasion on account of our disunion. Because there have been men who have sprung from commerce and manufactures, creatures to their order, true to the interests to which they are allied, who have called out from one town, who have gone to bring the warts from the agricultural districts to swamp the honest, independent votes of their neighbours. I know nothing to compare with such conduct as that of these few—I call them insane and suicidal politicians—unless it is the conduct of men of whom we read in the time of the war between the manufacturing towns of the Low Countries and the feudal aristocracy who then made war upon them, where we find among men of their own class—burghers—these individual cases of treachery, such as when they opened the gates of their boroughs, spiked their own guns, and brought in their enemy to devastate their streets and ruin their neighbours. One thing I have to congratulate you upon on this occasion, and that is, the importance which is attached by our opponents to this contest for South Lancashire. They say, "defeat in South Lancashire is death to the League." Now, let them hear that a mind, if they please; for I suppose they will not refuse to admit by and by that *success in South Lancashire is death to Monopoly*. (Cheers.) I am glad of the importance which they attach to this great contest, because it has come out in what I have stated on former occasions, that this question of Free Trade will not be carried by a mere numerical majority in the House of Commons. I have stated again and again, and now we have a proof of it, you need not wait for your nomination boroughs or pocket boroughs of Wilt and Dorset send up a majority to carry a repeal of the Corn Laws, it is with constitutions such as South Lancashire, Middlesex, London, Bristol, Hull, Liverpool, and Leeds, it requires that those various constitutions should be side by side with such places as Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Birmingham, and other large boroughs that are now united in this question, and no Prime Minister in this country will dare to maintain monopoly one hour longer than public opinion, through those formidable channels, is declared in favour of commercial freedom. (Loud cheers.) Then, gentlemen, our course is clear. We will leave Lancaster, Huntingdon, and Aylesbury; we will give up Hastings, too, if you like. We have to do with the large constituencies, and I tell you what our intention is with respect to South Lancashire. It has been wholly lost sight of that the first duty of men in the towns of Lancashire who have the means to become freeholders is to arm themselves with electoral weapons with which to fight the enemy in the polling booths. Every one must become a freeholder who can afford to invest £50 at four per cent. per annum. It requires only £50 to bring you 40s. a year; and it is the duty, and is felt to be so, of every man, whether here, the West Riding, or in South Lancashire, to become a freeholder and entitled to vote at a county election; and we have it in our power to carry the repeal of the Corn Laws by that simple means. (Cheers.) Our opponents, you may say, will play the same game. They have done this while we have been asleep. They have split their farms, and have compelled the tenants to take their sons or their brothers as joint partners, in order that more votes may be at the command of the landlords. We have comparatively done nothing; but I will under-

take to say that, at the next revision in November, South Lancashire shall be placed, with a clear majority, above the number that our opponents can put on the register; and if they will only give us another registration before the election takes place, we will make that number four-fold. (Cheers.) You have in existence, for similar purposes, a Registration Society, which has been for some time most diligently and systematically at work in the city of London. Their place of business is No. 68, Cheapside. There every one who applies will find all necessary instruction, advice, and aid, to save him even the least possible trouble in this matter. It will be attended with no expense; you may there learn the law of the registration courts, and be put in the way of becoming electors, whether for the boroughs or the counties. You will be glad to hear that great progress has been made in this respect in the city of London. I know our opponents feel that there is a rod in pickle for the city of London. (Cheers and laughter.) I have before explained in this place that, by a recent decision in the Court of Common Pleas, lodgers, who pay £10 a year, can, if they like, become qualified to vote. I know that large numbers of young men live in London, who pay more than £10 a year for a floor or an apartment. Those are the very class who wish to aid us in the cause; for young men who have their way to make are not generally so blind as to wish to have the avenues stopped up by which they have the chance of reaching to fortune. Let them inquire as to the means by which to become electors; and let not a man who has it in his power find his name absent from the registration lists at the next election. I should not be doing justice to my feelings if I did not express the sense of obligation which I feel to my Lord Ducie for his attendance here to-night (cheers), and thank him for those valuable documents which he has presented to the meeting, and which will be far more serviceable out of this house when they are printed, minute and, unquestionably, accurate as they are. I thank him for those statements, completely proving, as they do, and establishing our case on that very ground where we were supposed to be the most vulnerable—I mean as to the power of farmers to compete with foreigners, and to sell their grain at a good profit, with perfect freedom of trade in corn. (Cheers.) There is one encouraging fact, namely, that, go where we will, if we find men—whether they be proprietors, like Lord Ducie or Mr. Holland, or tenant-farmers, like Mr. Lattimore and Mr. Hunt—if they are for Free Trade, they are the men most eminent for skill and intelligence as agriculturists. Go into the manufacturing districts, and find men who own establishments with tall chimneys, but who are Monopolists, and the very reverse of the rule applies. You will not find that they are the men to whom a Government commissioner, or a traveller from abroad who is in this country to make inquiries, would think of applying for information, either about their own business, or respecting principles of social policy. You will not find in Manchester that the men who run out of the borough to bring in these landlord-ridden serfs are the men who are promoted to offices of honour by their own townsmen. But in regard to the turning interest, where you have an intelligent man, ten to one but he is a Free-Trader, or in the high road to become one. I thank them for the sacrifices they have made, the sacrifices to which Mr. Holland has alluded, of social comforts which men have seldom the moral courage to forego. (Hear.) I thank them for what they have done for us. Let them not be dismayed at the threat of putting down the League. What is the League? The League is nothing but the impersonation of the anti-monopoly principle. Would the League have been more in favour with our opponents if they had called themselves by any other name? Had we designated ourselves an angelic choir (laughter) they would not have disliked us the less. It is not the League they dislike, but its principles of commercial policy. (Cheers.) Why, there have been Leagues in existence before this; and Leagues have been generally successful. There was the Solemn League and Covenant in Scotland. That was a League most obnoxious to ecclesiastical monopoly and tyranny (cheers); and why was it? Not because they called themselves "the Solemn League," but because their principle was religious freedom and liberty of conscience. (Loud cheers.) They had a League in Germany—the Hansatic League, which was a union of the merchants in the towns of that country, to put an end to the brigandage of the feudal aristocracy, who had planted themselves in their castles on the banks of the rivers, and sallied out thence with their mailed attendants to harass the commerce of that day. Thank you that the League would have been more in favour with those brigands had they called themselves by any other name? No; it was not as a "League" they were obnoxious, but because their purpose was to put down spoliation and robbery. Our League has no other end; this is the only object we have in view. (Cheers.) They may taunt us, and call us by what foul names they please; they have exhausted their vocabulary; they cannot call us by names half so bad as they did this time two years. We survived their slanders then, and we are in a better position now, with an exchequer well replenished (loud cheers) to meet their calumnies when they fall stillborn—for they know that they are not true themselves. (Laughter.) The League is not strangled; the League is not dead. (Cheers.) The League is the anti-monopoly principle in this country. The League will die only with the death, or, I would fain hope, the repentance, of the commercial monopolists. (The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amidst vehement cheering.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Cobden's address, there were loud calls from all parts of the theatre for Mr. Bright, and the desire to hear that gentleman being very loudly manifested, he at length came forward.

Mr. Bright then said:—I confess that I have never before come from an election contest in which we have been in a minority, with so little of that feeling which men are supposed to experience when they have been defeated. The ardent labourers in the Free-Trade cause, from whom we parted last night in Manchester, exhibited no symptoms of defeat; on the contrary, they were persuaded that they had made an enormous advance. (Hear, hear, hear.) They were satisfied that, at the large meeting which they knew was to be held here to-night, there would be a sympathy expressed with them in their struggle, and that you would be willing to cheer them on in the continued contest in which they are engaged, and to which they have devoted themselves. (Cheers.) I can bear testimony to the noble manner in which many hundreds of men in South Lancashire have fought during

this struggle; to the days and the nights which they have spent in disseminating Free-Trade principles, and in bringing to the poll Free-Trade voters. And, bear in mind, there is, as regards canvassing, a great difference between us and the steward of a large landed proprietor going out to seek votes. That important personage merely intimates his lord's pleasure, and the tenants, as a matter of course, most obsequiously obey. With us it is necessary, if men are not already convinced, to talk and argue, to debate and reason with them, in order to show them that it is their duty and interest to support Free Trade. The labour, then, in our share of the contest, is infinitely greater than that which is necessary for our opponents. We have first of all to beat down the whole of that large number of electors who are already, by their own necessitous circumstances, pledged against us; and then we have to obtain a majority of those who remain. You have heard a paragraph read from a monopoly newspaper relative to the South Lancashire election. The monopolist press will chuckle over what they are pleased to term this victory of their party; they may well be thankful for it. Monopoly has had few triumphs in this country of late years, and fewer still are in store for it in years to come. But there are other public journals, the writers in which think it their duty to find fault with the conduct of the League; journals too, which do not profess to be in the interests of the monopolists. Two papers I have seen this evening one is that from which a quotation has been already made. The other is the *Globe*. I will take the liberty of reading a paragraph from its leading article, that you may see how far the party it represents sympathise with us in this struggle. (Hear, hear, hear.) After speaking of the tenacity of the League in adhering obstinately and resolutely to the principle of total and immediate repeal, the writer says, "Here, we think, the League has taken an untenable and, therefore, detrimental position. Tenacity in striving for that which is unattainable has created or increased the difficulties of beating down the sliding scale, and substituting for it the better system of a fixed duty. Instead of regarding every advantage gained over the advocates of restriction as a victory, the unprincipled abolitionists subject themselves, and the cause of Free Trade generally, to defeat, by aiming to accomplish that which is unattainable." Now, in the first place, I give this a flat and an unmistakable contradiction. It is utterly false in fact; for there has been no election yet in which we have been concerned, and where we have failed, in which with a view other than a thoroughly Free-Trade canvass we could have polled as many votes as we did. (Cheers.) "They thus exhaust their resources, and subject the Liberal party to reverses and discouragements in places where, by union and combined exertion, they might become increasingly strong, and eventually triumphant. Our remarks may be unpalatable; but we know them to be founded in truth; and that they have been practically exemplified in several instances." (Hear, hear, hear.) He does not state any one of these instances. "We believe that had the supporter of a low fixed duty, in the person of a gentleman of landed property, and connected with one of the influential families of the county or of immediate neighbourhood, stood in opposition to Mr. Entwistle, South Lancashire would have been wrested from Tory domination." Before going to Lancashire I was spoken to by a member of the House of Commons on this very subject. He said, "Your electioneering policy appears to me most unwise; you lose seats which otherwise, you might secure." I asked him where that would be, and to give me a single instance of the description alluded to. He could not; in fact, there is not one such instance. It is true there is one case in which the party alluded to was returned a member since we adopted our present electioneering policy; but that man, Whig though he be, is a thorough Protectionist; and, therefore, their electioneering policy, so far, has not been very favourable to the cause of any relaxation of commercial restrictions. (Cheers.) I asked him if he knew South Lancashire and the spirit that prevailed there. He replied that he knew very little about it; but I told him, and I can tell you, that if any man in South Lancashire had come forward in opposition to Mr. Entwistle, holding what we called "Liberal principles," but refusing to vote for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law, I believe—and I speak with the utmost sincerity, and with a slight knowledge of the fact—that he could not, by the utmost exertions, have polled one-half of the number of electors that were obtained for the League candidate. (Cheers.) It may be "unpalatable" to hear these remarks; but it should be borne in mind that it is disagreeable to the party who has written this leading article that we should adopt a course which beats down the fence between Whig and Tory. Those terms have never been made use of in the contest in South Lancashire. Men of all parties have voted for the Free-Trade candidate; and no man who has had any connexion with that county will deny that we have there done more to abolish old party cries and distinctions, and all those delusions by which the people have suffered so much in past times, than has ever been done before in any election, or in any number of elections that have taken place there. (Loud cheers.) Let men who profess not to be monopolists take care how they find fault with us. It may be they cannot approve of everything we do; but while they are doing little or nothing towards overthrowing monopoly, we are doing all that lies in our power to do. We have subscribed our money freely; and hundreds of men who have gained every farthing they possess by the sweat of their brow, have subscribed liberally towards this great cause; and hundreds and thousands have made sacrifices for it which the great leaders of political parties know not of; and I say it all becomes this party, if they have, as they profess, any sympathy with our object, thus to step forward at the moment like this, and help the men whom they pretend to call their opponents to strangle, if it were possible, this "vile and hated conspiracy," on which you have set the seal of your approbation over and over again. (Loud cheering.) I know not that I have much to add, for I was not present to-night with the intention of speaking; but I will say—and I do so with the utmost sincerity—that all I have witnessed during the past week connected with the election just terminated convinces me, if possible, more than I ever was before, of the wisdom of the League in taking up a principle which can be easily understood, and from which no man can be driven. (Cheers.) We have seen men working with an energy unknown in all former contests. "How we were deluded," they now say, "in 1837! We thought that

with some kind of ardour in favour of a candidate who, at the present election, has done all he can to defeat the object we aim at. Were we not then running after a false scent? Were we not fighting for a man merely because he hoisted a certain party colour? It is well for us that he was not returned then, for we might have found it as difficult to get rid of him as of Mr. Estlin. (Cheers and laughter.) I am satisfied that we have placed this question on a basis such as will ensure its speedy triumph in the county of Lancashire. We have had Free-Trade elections in boroughs, and have won them; but there has never before been a county election conducted on the principle of a total and immediate abolition of all commercial monopolies. (Loud cheers.) If, in the first county election, we have fought under circumstances not the most favourable,—opposed by the combined influence of all the landed proprietors of the county,—we have succeeded in striking off a thousand of our hostile majority; if our opponents only yesterday morning trembled in their shoes because they believed the majority which they had gained was rapidly dwindling away; and if they now can make a great triumph and glorification because, out of 11,000 voters (3000 or 4000 of whom are seigns), they have secured a majority of less than 600, why, then, we have done something for South Lancashire; and I can tell you that, whatever exertions you may make when your opinions may be called for in a similar manner, your exertions, I will not say shall be surpassed, but shall at any rate be equalled by the intelligent freeholders of the north of England. (The honourable gentleman retired amidst the loud plaudits of his audience, and waving of hats and handkerchiefs.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I am requested to state that Mr. Milner Gibson, who was expected to address you, has been prevented from returning to town. Before declaring this meeting to be adjourned, I will just state that, besides the calculations which I read to you, I had in my hand another paper which I did not read; and I may perhaps be called to account for suppressing it, because it may be said it was not so favourable as those I have read. But I refrained from reading it because I considered it so absurd that it would be folly in me to place the slightest faith in it. I merely mention this, in order that I may not be attacked for having left the calculation to which I refer altogether out of view. (Cheers.) It is now my duty to declare this meeting adjourned till Wednesday evening next.

At the instance of Mr. GORDON, three cheers were given for Lord Duncannon, the honourable gentleman described as the best practical arable farmer in the country.

The meeting concluded shortly before ten o'clock.

FREE-TRADE MEETING IN NEWBURY. On Thursday evening, the 23rd of May, the advocates of Free-Trade held a public meeting in the Fanners-street School-room, for the purpose of assisting the Anti-Corn-Law League in their noble endeavours to abolish the iniquitous tax on food. Mr. John McKinnell was called to the chair; and a resolution pledging the meeting to raise subscriptions in support of the League—after having been well spoken to by Mr. David McKean and Mr. Bald—was carried unanimously. Several persons then handed in their subscriptions, collectors were appointed, and the meeting separated. —A Correspondent.

We have heard from good authority that the notice issued by the steward of the Earl of Derby, to which we directed attention in our last number, had no special reference to the South Lancashire election, but was a mere repetition of an annual form of notice and was published before the vacancy occurred in the representation. We know not whether the concluding threat of severity to defaulters forms a customary part of these annual notices, but, whether or not, it is one which reflects little credit on the Earl's name and forbearance of the agent, or on the intelligence and independence of the tenantry.

FREE-TRADE BENEFIT SOCIETY FESTIVAL.—SALISBURY, May 27.—This society, which in the little space of four months consists of nearly 100 respectable young men, assembled at the Dolphin Inn, this morning, being Whit Monday. At an early hour workmen were busily employed in erecting a triumphal arch, consisting of laurels and other evergreens, surmounted with a garland of flowers, from one extremity of the said inn to the corner of Culver-street. At ten o'clock, the society, having partaken of refreshment, formed into a procession, and left the inn to pay respects to the honorary members. Several tasteful banners having Free-Trade mottoes were borne by some of the members. The society first proceeded to Milford, the seat of Richard Fowler, Esq., M.D. They next visited John Lambert, Esq., of Milford Hill (the Chairman of the Salisbury Branch of the National Anti-Corn-Law League), and W. Fane, Esq., of Belle Vue. They then returned to the Dolphin Inn, where a dinner was prepared. The dining-room was tastefully decorated with evergreens and flowers. After dinner the society proceeded to the pleasure-grounds of the Rose and Crown Inn, Milford, and after enjoying themselves there for some hours, they returned to the Dolphin Inn and took supper. The next evening, Tuesday, the members again supped at the Dolphin, after which J. Lambert, Esq., very ably addressed them. It is confidently expected that before this year closes the society will consist of some hundred members: such is the march of Free-Trade principles in the cathedral city of Salisbury!

LEGISLATING AGAINST FOOD.—What an enormous immorality it is, when one looks at it with unsophisticated mind—this legislating against food! These people really seem as if they had a sort of horror of food. They are in arms against plenty; they fear much bread; they abhor the abundance of meat. We have this on their own showing of their own case. It is the drift, the point of all the monopolist argument, that, if it were not for monopoly, there would be more bread in the land than there is. This is their case. We all remember Lord St. Albans's famous Tribulation, in which his lordship showed how many millions of quarters of best wheat, as cheap as an old song, would come rushing in upon us like a deluge, from a single province of Russia, the moment the monopoly should be abolished. The statistics of that oration have long since had their due: but what shall we say to the morality of it? What does the argument mean but that much bread is a nuisance to be abated, and abundance of wheat a curse to be averted, by dexterous and provident statesmanship. —Hardwood's Lectures.

WHO ARE THE CUSTOMERS OF THE LINCOLNSHIRE FARMERS?

At a railway meeting held recently at Lincoln, Mr. Seely, an extensive miller, in order to show the advantage of one line over another, entered into detailed statements as to the traffic, especially in goods, and gave the following particulars as to the agricultural produce of the district and its destination:—

"The chief produce of this district (Lincolnshire) was cattle, corn, and wool. He had addressed to several farmers some circulars, requesting information with regard to the weight of wool which they sold last year, the weight of corn, and the number of fat beasts and sheep sent to the different markets, and what markets they were. He was sorry he was unable to give the meeting any definite information as to the best market for cattle for the farmers of this district; but, as far as he could learn, at least two-head of cattle out of every three went to Rotherham market, and the third to Wakefield. There was also the advantage which Rotherham had in the market being two days before that of Wakefield; so that the cattle, if not sold in the former, were transferred to the latter. Mr. Joshua Lupton, who was pretty well known in this city, when present a few days ago, stated that there was another advantage which the Rotherham market had over the Wakefield market, as the Lincolnshire men were met at Wakefield by a large supply from the North Riding of Yorkshire; and he said that the Rotherham market had only grown up in consequence of the cattle from this district being met by the cattle of the North Riding, and thus being driven down, as it were, to Rotherham for the supply of the Manchester and Sheffield markets. * *

With regard to the articles of wool and corn, he had sent circulars to some of the leading farmers; from some he had obtained answers, and he found that for every ton of wool they sold last year, they sold 119 tons of wheat and barley. He had had answers from three farmers, and he found that they had sold 613 tons of wheat and barley, and only 5 tons 8 cwt. of wool. Now, with respect to corn, there could be no question that wheat and barley were the sorts of corn that were chiefly produced here, and he found that, from the 1st of October to the 1st of April last, 59,365 quarters of wheat were sold in Lincoln market; the different merchants of Lincoln (and he had inquired of every one of them) had shipped to Leeds during that period 2119 quarters; and to Wakefield, during the same period, 1382 quarters; he also found that the three firms at Lincoln—Alderman Rudgard, Messrs. Hill and Rook, and Messrs. Keyworth and Seely, purchased 32,277 quarters; that the total of wheat they shipped was only 572 quarters, and that all the rest they ground. Then he (Mr. Seely) further found that Mr. Thorpe, of Newark, had purchased, during the same time, 8,513 quarters; and Mr. Hold, 2606 quarters. He was not aware what the town millers purchased; but there were twelve windmills, and if they were averaged at ten quarters a week, there would appear to be a consumption during that period of 3120 quarters; so that, out of 59,365 quarters bought, the five wholesale millers took 43,126 quarters, leaving but 9288 quarters unaccounted for. He did not know where this went to; but he apprehended the greater portion of it was conveyed to Nottingham, Derby, and that district. Now, speaking in the presence of Mr. Hill (and he had no doubt he should have been borne out by Mr. Rudgard, had he been present), he could affirm that the great proportion of the wheat ground by the Lincoln millers went to Manchester—both flour and bran. There was much said about the valley of the Calder, and its large population; but respecting this he (Mr. Seely) would remind them of an old proverb (and proverb generally embody great truths), that "men did not send coals to Newcastle," and the millers of Lincoln were not such fools as to send their produce to the valley of the Calder, when that same district was well known to be studded with flour mills. (Hear, hear.) He wrote to his partner and friend, Mr. Keyworth, of Manchester, for information with regard to the quantity of flour he had sold from the 1st of October to the 1st of April, and the places where it was delivered: the answer was, that he had sold at Rochdale 618 sacks, at Oldham 2,141, at Heywood 1,912, at Ashton and Stalybridge 3,067, at Stockport 2,202, and at Manchester 11,351. Rochdale, Oldham, and Heywood, were on the Leeds and Manchester line; Ashton and Stalybridge on the Sheffield and Manchester line; Stockport communicated with the same line, but the Manchester and Leeds did not. They met with much greater competition from the millers of Yorkshire along the Manchester and Leeds line and this was a sufficient reason why they did not go into the valley of the Calder. Thus, what he (Mr. Seely) had said was true: they had shipped only 1851 sacks of flour and 1500 sacks of bran along and connected with the proposed line they had sold 5260 sacks of flour and 3598 sacks of bran. With regard to barley and malt, the facts were pretty nearly in the same proportion: from the 1st of October to the 1st of April, there had been sold in these markets 26,685 qrs. of barley; of this, 700 qrs. went to Leeds, 577 qrs. to Wakefield; of malt, 100 qrs. were shipped to Leeds, and 100 qrs. to Wakefield. In the same time, 5598 qrs. of malt were sent to Manchester; and Mr. Thorpe, the largest miller in that place, had that morning informed him (Mr. Seely), that before the season closed he should ship 5000 qrs. more, and all to Manchester. He apprehended there would be other shipments made to Manchester by other millers in the town; but he was unable to inform the meeting of the quantity. Thus it might be fairly assumed, that Manchester and the places around were the districts that consumed the chief part of the wheat and barley grown in the Lincoln district; and this was what they had to bear in mind, notwithstanding anything that railway shareholders and canal proprietors might say to the contrary."

[From the above statements it will be tolerably clear, that the Lincolnshire farmers, or at all events the millers, are a little more enlightened as to who are their best and largest customers, than their redoubted city representative, Colonel Sibthorp. With these facts before their eyes, they will be in no humour to respond to that memorable and philanthropic wish of the Standard, touching the utter razing and ploughing over of Manchester and other manufacturing towns; for in that case their best, if not their only market for their wheat and other produce, would be wholly lost to them.]—Manchester Guardian.

THE FACTORY DISTRICTS.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

In my last I introduced a subject which certain philanthropists of the present day seem to forget, namely, the cheap and abundant articles of clothing produced by the aid of machinery. It is certainly an unaccountable paradox that noble lords and gentlemen should come from among their farm-labourers, who have barely a change of clothes—who have barely enough of potatoes and bread—who, many of them, do not eat a mouthful of beef or mutton from year to year—who, once in two months, it may be, eat a pound or two of bacon—who, in short, are employed in raising crops of human food, but who themselves are living on the meanest kinds of it, with not enough of that meanest food to fill their bellies—I say, it is a strange paradox, and proves, though there has been no other proof, that the creature man is the most unaccountable and fantastic being of creation—to see those who come from among the field-labourers, who cannot spare a shilling to buy out on articles of clothing but by pinching the belly, and who are pinched though they buy no clothes—to see these advancing to the relief of the factory operatives, who are comparatively well paid, well fed, well clothed, and well lodged!

I have before me published and unpublished facts, some of them parliamentary and some of them not, which either professedly or incidentally give evidence of the food consumed by farm-labourers. Besides which, I have had a wide range of personal observation in many of the agricultural counties. From what I have seen of the style of living among the factory workers in and around Manchester, at Ashton, Stalybridge, and Bolton and neighbourhood, I shall make a comparison, and shall be ready to support it hereafter, namely, that the 1220 factory workers of the Messrs. Whittaker, at Ashton—and they are only a fair specimen—eat as much butcher's meat, that is to say, beef, mutton, pork, and veal, as all the farm-workers and their families, not themselves farmers, nor overseers of farms, nor fed in the farm houses, nor in the workhouses, nor in the prisons, in the whole of Oxfordshire; or in the whole of Buckinghamshire, and adjoining half of Hertfordshire; or in the whole of Dorsetshire and southern division of Wiltshire united; or in the whole of Somersetshire; or in the half of Devonshire; or half of Essex; or half of Suffolk; or whole of Gallogway and Wigton, in Scotland; or whole of West Lothian; or whole of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan united; or whole of Forfarshire; or the whole of the counties of North, West, and South, in Ireland; or the whole of the provinces of Munster and Connaught, with all their counties combined.

I repeat, that in those districts of country here specified, as in others not specified, if the gentry, and farmers, and tradesmen, and artisans, the overseers of farms, and all who are otherwise provided for, be it in farmhouse, or hospital, or workhouse, or in prison, are deducted, and none left but those who are actually the labourers and their families living on their wages received for farm labour, they do not eat more butcher's meat, collectively, in those specified districts, than do the 1220 factory operatives and their family dependents at Ashton under Lyne. I am as sure as I am of anything that I ever saw, or heard, or felt, that they do not eat anything approaching the quantity of butcher's meat used by these 1220 factory hands; but, for my present purpose, it is enough to say that they do not eat more. I shall be glad if this assertion of mine provokes inquiry. Meantime, it is there before the reader, before the world, and it can be proved true.

Now, I ask again, if it is not a strange and inexplicable paradox, that, full of humanity, a large section of our legislators should come from among these farm labourers, who plough and plant, and sow and reap the fields from which they, our legislators, derive their incomes; and who plough and plant and reap those fields, driving nothing more than a stunted diet of the poorest food, seldom able to buy clothing of even the meanest kind, if not assisted by the charitable hands of the clergy and gentry who live around it, if not a strange paradox that the machinery which makes clothing cheap, which produces scarves and flannels, and put them into the hands of charity at a low price, and makes charity cheap also, and clothes the farm-labourer's family better than they would be clothed if each and flannel were dearer, and his share of the fruits of the fields in which he works remained small and distant, and not most unaccountable that such humane persons should seek to make clothing scarce and dearer? But is it not stranger still that the pretence for doing so is to give exercise to a sentiment of benevolence in behalf of the factory worker, who, in every aspect in which they can be viewed, are in a condition superior to farm labourers; in some respects as regards the two great essentials of life, food and clothing, greatly superior? But is it not more strange still that those who take all that can be spared from the land in the shape of rent—who cause every bushel of grain and pound weight of meat to be sold, save what the farmer and his family choose to eat, and save what the labourer, from their number and competition, are forced to subsist upon, which, God help them, is small enough in quantity, and mean enough in kind—should not see that this grain, and oil, and mutton, and bacon, and butter, and cheese, is sold to one trading and manufacturing people, who, because they trade and manufacture, are able to buy it? They buy it, and they eat and are comfortable, if they have enough. Whether all people engaged in trade, as masters or operatives have enough or not is another question. The breakfasts of tea and coffee, and butter, and bread, and bacon; dinners of meat and vegetables, and puddings and pies, teas of bread and butter, and coffee or tea; suppers composed of some portion of all or each other meet—these are what I see the factory workers eating every day. If people are not employed, or but partially; or if they are so numerous that their competition brings down wages, as is peculiarly and habitually the case in the agricultural counties at a distance from manufacturing localities, they must eat food accordingly; and the producers of grain and other provisions must pocket less money as profits or as rents.

Men will improve themselves, if the circumstances in which they are placed furnish a stimulus to that improvement. They will also acquire wealth, if their industry be rewarded, and its fruits enjoyed; and, generally speaking, they will become intelligent and virtuous, if the means of obtaining knowledge be fairly within their power.—Prof. Dewar's Ireland.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, May 29, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

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| Butler Adams, 11, Union-court, Old Broad-street .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Three Crowns Anti-Corn-Law Association, New-road, City-road (2nd subscription) .. | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| Joseph Ferris, draper, Totham .. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| J. R. Mott, St. Paul's terrace, Birmingham, in addition to 10s. subscribed in February .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Samuel Colford, 13, Jeffrey's street, Camden-town (additional subscription) .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Miss Emma Crowe, St. John street, Clerkenwell .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Philip Grosier, 3, Gloucester terrace, Hoxton .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Thomas Wilmet, Little Hell alley, Coleman-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robert Wilmet, do. do. do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| E. and W. Pontifex and J. Wood, Farringdon copper, brass, lead, and engine works, Shoe-lane, Fleet-st. .. | 6 | 6 | 0 |
| Samuel Parker, 58, Marylebone-lane .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Paisley, 7th Reprint. | | | |
| Allan Bowie, at Thomas Shanks and Co.'s, Johnstone, near .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Shanks and Co., do. do. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Hall, grocer, Kilbarchan .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| C. Pender, bleacher, Blackland Mill .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| W. S. Nichols, per Hugh Brown, Causeyside .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Per Robert Urrie, manufacturer, Broomlands .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. J. J. Freeman, Marsh-street, Walthamstow .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Clarke, Shire Hall-street, do. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Clarke, Shire Hall-street, do. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| R. J. Hendrie, Sybora Corner, Leighton .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Small sums, Walthamstow .. | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| John Rorbeck, Thurston, near Barnsley .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Jones, Market place, Mold, Flintshire .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A few Handloom Weavers in the employ of George Kinnock, Wirksworth, Derbyshire .. | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| Mr. Taylor, do. do. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A few Friends, do. do. .. | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Small subscriptions, do. do. .. | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| Balance of Moses Milward's account, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Thomas Holmes, Hull .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Peck, cabinet maker, do. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| T. C., do. do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Launcelet Tottle, High-street, do. .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| P. Dresher, Mytongate, do. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Brown, tobaccoist, Portland-street, Kilmarnock .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Subscriptions from Knaresborough, per Martin Sweeting .. | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| Win and J. Sleeman, Menage-street, Helatone .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Pearson, Wenden street, do. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Wellwater, Church street, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Wellwater, do. do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Wellwater, do. do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Henry Roberts, Coinage Hall-street, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Jonathan Hodge, Menage-street, do. .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| William Caddy, do. do. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Henry Clarke, 9, Browning-st., Salford, Manchester .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Wood, Cook-street, do. do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. Pater-on, do. do. .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend, do. do. .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Isaac Higgins, Bilston, Staffordshire .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |

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| Glasgow, 9th Remittance. | | | |
| James Clarke, clothier, 186, Trongate-street .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| David Stewart, bookseller, 181, do. .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| John Blair, 120, do. .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Two Friends .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| M. P. 5s.; G. S. 2s. 6d.; M. D., 1s. .. | 0 | 8 | 6 |
| William Arbuckle .. | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| David Brown, 54, Trongate street .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| George Thompson, 48, do. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Dixon, of Govanhill .. | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| J. Harrison, 6, Russell street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Farnham, do. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Hamilton, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Matthew Nish, 1, 143, Trongate-street .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| T. H., do. do. .. | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| A Friend .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Levison, 91, Trongate street .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John P. Kelly, 50, Gordon street .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Thomson, bookbinder, 5, Hutcheson st. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A Ramsay, 23, Hutcheson-street, 1s. .. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| A Friend to the Cause, 1s. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Buchanan, 105, Hutcheson-street .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. and F. Moore, stationers, 198, Trongate .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| David Dunn, 151, Trongate-street .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| A Friend .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Dr. Murray, Powles Matin, by Stirling .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Mathison, dyer, 70, Queen-street .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Anonymous .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |

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| Accrington, 8th Remittance. | | | |
| Haworth Maxwell .. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| James Sutton .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Greenhalgh .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert J. Wilson, Messrs. Macmillan and Wilson's .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Beca, Messrs. Fort, Brothers, and Co., Garsington, near Blackburn .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Wood .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Lawrence Taylor .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |

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| Fremont, 3rd Reprint. | | | |
| Rev. C. J. Muddelitch, Baptist minister .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| J. H. Smith, draper, Storey-street .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert M. on, Ship Inn .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Samuel Moon, Fountain Inn .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Green, South Parade .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |

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| Birmingham, 10th Remittance. | | | |
| Francis Newman, 87, Summer lane .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| William Moss and Friends, Woolpack, do. .. | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| T. Pratt and Son, 28s. do. .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Workpeople, 28s. do. .. | 0 | 5 | 9 |
| J. I. Davis, 2, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Alford, 12, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Smith, 38, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John J. Maybury, 52, Howard-street .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Mr. Wakefield, Bricklayers' Arms, New John-street West .. | 0 | 3 | 3 |

THE SOUTH LANCASHIRE ELECTION AND THE MAYOR AND EX MAYORS OF STOCKPORT.—The Mayor of Stockport and five ex Mayors recorded their votes for Mr. Brown and Free Trade. Since the incorporation of the borough, in 1835, the present Mayor is the eighth. One ex-Mayor is dead, and the other not qualified for South Lancashire only about a fourth of the borough is in Lancashire. At the booth in Manchester, at which these voters polled, Cephas Howard, Esq., mayor, was the first, Alderman Andrew, ex-mayor, the second, and H. Coppock, Esq., town clerk, the third, to poll on the morning of the day. This looks like being in earnest against monopoly.

The great evil of protection is, that it cannot be made just, equal, and equitable.—Deacon Hume.

SOUTH LANCASHIRE ELECTION.

NOMINATION OF THE CANDIDATES.

The nomination of the candidates having been appointed by the Sheriff for Friday, the 24th of May, at ten o'clock, the little town of Newton presented a lively appearance as early as nine o'clock. The hustings were erected in the usual place, in front of the church, opposite the Horse and Jockey Inn, fronting down the principal street. From that hour until ten o'clock several carriages arrived, and those containing ladies were drawn up on that side of the street opposite the Horse and Jockey Inn. Amongst the parties on the ground were:—

Messrs Thomas Bolton, Henry Holmes, Hardman Earl, Richard Earl, Edmund Molyneux J. P. Maitley; William Whalley of Clark hill, near Clithero; W. C. Cleaver, of Liverpool; P. Rushton, jun., of Liverpool; Samuel Holme, of Liverpool; William Broome, of Liverpool; Messrs. C. Ewart, William Garnett, J. I. Blackburne, M. P., G. C. Leigh, William F. Hulton, James Holme, C. Rawdon, George Holt, R. Cobden, George Wilson, Edward Lloyd, of Manchester; Clement Royds, J. Wilson Patten, M. P., Robert Garner, J. Muncaster, of Liverpool; Sir Thomas Potter; Jonah Harrop; J. Wilkinson, of Liverpool; J. Bentley, &c.

The High Sheriff, John Fowden Hindle, Esq., of Woodfold Park, near Blackburn, accompanied by Robert Brandt, Esq., barrister-at-law, the Sheriff's assessor, arrived about a quarter before ten o'clock. Mr. Brown, the Free-Trade candidate, arrived in a carriage and four a minute or two before ten o'clock. Mr. Entwistle, the Conservative candidate, arrived by railway from Liverpool shortly afterwards, with a procession, blue and white flags, and a band of music. There was also a procession of the supporters of Mr. Brown. Great numbers arrived by the trains from Manchester, Liverpool, Bolton, Wigan, Leigh, &c.

Mr. Brown, being the candidate first in the field, having the choice of sides on the hustings, selected the booth to the Sheriff's right hand; Mr. Entwistle and his friends occupied the booth to the Sheriff's left.

Amongst the gentlemen in Mr. Brown's booth we observed—

Messrs. R. Cobden, M. P.; J. C. Ewart, Hardman Earl, Richard Earl; Thomas Bolton, of Liverpool; Sir Thomas Potter, Mr. Alderman Kershaw, Mr. Alderman Armitage; Messrs. Robert Gardner, George Wilson, Thomas Bazley, jun., William How; and many other gentlemen from Bolton, Rochdale, Wigan, Ashton, Oldham, Warrington, and other parts of the division.

Amongst the gentlemen in Mr. Entwistle's booth were—

Messrs. John Wilson Patten, M. P.; John Ireland Blackburne, M. P.; Colonel Plumbe Tempest; Sir Thomas Branker; Edmund Molyneux; Samuel Holme, of Liverpool; Messrs. Edward Lloyd, Thomas Townsend, William Townsend; Thomas Hurley, of Manchester; Clement Royds, of Rochdale; W. F. Hulton, of Hulton; Jonah Harrop, of Ashton, &c.

The proceedings were commenced by the Sheriff's assessor, Mr. BRANDT, reading the Queen's writ, and the act and oaths against bribery and corruption. The usual oath was administered to the High Sheriff, who, after having subscribed the declaration, proceeded briefly to address the meeting in explanation of the important duty they had assembled to perform. He eulogized the character of the late representative of the district; and, having congratulated the electors on the peaceful manner in which the canvass of both candidates had been hitherto conducted, assured them that in the performance of his duty he should endeavour to act with the strictest impartiality, and to secure for every freeholder who might wish to address them, a fair and patient hearing.

ROBERT GARDNER, Esq., of Manchester, came forward amidst loud cheering to propose Mr. Brown. After some preliminary remarks he said:—Gentlemen, this county, which was formerly an agricultural county, has become a great commercial county (hear, hear); and it requires a man well versed in all commercial business to represent it in Parliament. (Cheers.) This division of the county in which we are now engaged, not many years ago, was a complete morass. It comprehends an area of 441,000 acres—(great interruption from the Monopolists, followed by cries of "Order," and cheers from the Free Traders)—it covers, I say, a space of 441,000 acres, and it is rated at very nearly five millions. (Hear, hear.)

The northern division covers a space of 721,000 acres, and includes within it several important towns, such as Preston, Blackburn, and about twelve large manufacturing places, whose inhabitants are about 200,000 in number, yet the whole of it contains a population of only 402,000 (though it has nearly double the number of acres), whilst the southern contains a population of no less than 1,264,000. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) This barren morass, which was really worth nothing for agricultural purposes, perhaps, not worth half-a-crown an acre—"Oh, oh," from the Monopolists, and counter cheers—"I say there are districts in it—[Mr. William Hulton: "Ah, ah!"]—comprehending twenty square miles, that contained, not very long ago, only fifty, eighty, or a hundred inhabitants, which now contain some twenty or thirty thousand. (Loud cheers.) Now, see what commerce has done for this county—for this division. (Cries of "Question" from the Monopolists.) I am to the question—this is the question. (Free-Trade cheers.)

This county now contains the largest population of any in the kingdom, not excluding Middlesex—(cheers)—this county is rated for a higher amount than any county in England, not including Middlesex. (Hear, hear.) The population of this county exceeds that of Yorkshire by 500,000. (Great applause, and renewed cries of "Question" from the Monopolists.) Why, it is the question. [Mr. Cobden: Those facts and figures do not suit them.] (Great cheering.) Mr. Gardner: I say, then, that this county has become completely a commercial county, and that it requires a man to represent it who is thoroughly versed in all commercial transactions—a man who is thoroughly conversant with our trading interests—(cheers); and every wise constituency, that will study its own welfare, will seek out for that man to represent them who is best acquainted with their individual interests. (Renewed cheers.) Mr. Gardner then proceeded to notice and refute several charges that had been made against Mr. Brown, whose claims, founded on his great practical commercial knowledge, he ably supported. Having pointed out many of the evils inflicted on commerce by restriction, he concluded, amidst loud cheers, by proposing Mr. Brown.

JOSEPH CHRISTOPHER EWART, Esq., in a short speech, seconded the nomination.

Colonel PLUMBE TEMPEST, of Tonge-hall, near Leeds, came forward amidst some cheers to propose Mr. En-

twistle. He said that the contest was as to whether British industry should or should not be protected. He considered that the nation should, as far as possible, be rendered independent of other nations for its bread; that agriculture and commerce should go hand in hand for the prosperity of all classes; that the home market was the best, and that no increase of trade from the repeal of the Corn Laws could compensate for the injury the small traders especially would thereby sustain. After urging these and other oft-refuted fallacies, Colonel Tempest concluded by proposing Mr. Entwistle as a fit and proper candidate.

Sir THOMAS BRANCKER, of Liverpool, in seconding the nomination of Mr. Entwistle, after proclaiming that he was the friend of Mr. Brown, whom he highly respected, made the following characteristic remarks:—My friend, Mr. Ewart, who seconded the nomination of Mr. Brown, has appealed to all parties to return a Free Trader to Parliament as the representative of South Lancashire, in the person of my friend, Mr. Brown—for Mr. Brown is my friend, and I highly respect him. In this respect, however, I do not wish to follow his example. I do not call upon the Radicals for their support in favour of Mr. Entwistle, because I know that, if I did, they would not answer to the call. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) But I do call upon the Tories or Conservatives, or whatever they call themselves—for my part I am myself a bigoted old Tory—(laughter, and partial cheering)—I call upon the Tories to merge all minor differences. The Radicals never split from their party, and, although I am a bigoted old Tory (hooting and laughter), I confess that, in this respect, I am prepared to follow their example. I may think that one man goes too far, and another not far enough, but I do not think that sufficient to justify me in deserting my party. (Laughter, and "Hear, hear.") With Mr. Entwistle, however, I do agree. He has been called an old Tory of forty or fifty years ago, and if you return him to Parliament he will serve you well and faithfully, and do all in his power to promote your interests. He concluded by seconding the nomination of Mr. Entwistle.

WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., then stepped forward, and was received with great cheering by the Free-Traders, and hisses from the blues. When silence was in some degree restored, he said:—Mr. High Sheriff and gentlemen, I have the honour now to stand before you in the proud position of a candidate for the honour of representing you in Parliament. Gentlemen, I cannot omit on the present occasion, as I have availed myself of every opportunity when I have appeared before you, to mention to you the high estimation in which I held your late lamented representative. He was one of the most amiable and most accomplished men whom I have had an opportunity of knowing, and I am quite sure it was only necessary to know him to appreciate his worth. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, from the character of the gentlemen who have done me the honour to put me in nomination, and from their taking different sides of politics as we have hitherto considered them, I think you will see that I am presented to your notice not as a political partisan (hear, hear), but as the uncompromising advocate of that which will promote the interests of our country—Free Trade. (Cheers and hisses.) It is a right we claim, gentlemen, to exchange the equivalents of one country for the equivalents of another, with mutual advantage to both parties. ("Hear, hear," and "We don't want it.") Gentlemen, the effect of those mutual exchanges is to cement those friendships between nation and nation which prevent us going to war (hear, hear)—which prevent you being burdened with taxes consequent upon such events. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I am only desirous of carrying out what the Premier has told us that he is desirous to carry out—the principle, that this country should buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest. (Cheers.) If it is your pleasure, gentlemen, that I should be your representative (cheers and disapprobation), and if you return me to the Commons' House of Parliament, I never will offer a factious opposition to any good measure, whether it originates with Whig or Tory, Radical or Conservative. (Hear, hear.) I never will place myself in a position to fear the frowns or the smiles of any administration. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Measures, not men, you may rest assured, will have my support. Mr. Brown then proceeded to combat the usual fallacies of independence of foreigners, the lowness of wages resulting from cheap food, &c., and continued:—Something has been said of the desire of the Free-Traders to interfere with the aristocracy of the country. I assure you, gentlemen, I consider them a necessary spoke in the balance wheel, and I should be the last man upon earth to deprive them of their privileges and their honours. I stand before you, gentlemen, in the double capacity of a landed proprietor and of a merchant. (Hear, hear.) As a landed proprietor I am not less anxious than the gentlemen whom I see around me to support the rent-roll of myself and family (hear, hear); but I see most clearly that the best mode of doing that is to throw open our trade to all the world. (Cheers.) I must again, gentlemen, refer for statistical facts, which are now in my possession, to the United States of America, and I must tell you that during my experience in business I was in the habit of passing through my hands a vast amount of property, and a vast number of articles with respect to which our restrictive policy has compelled them to issue hostile tariffs against us, and which they now manufacture themselves. (Hear, hear.) They, at this moment, gentlemen, employ nearly a million of men, and produce to the extent of 250 millions of dollars, or 50 millions sterling a year, of the fabrics that we could supply them with, with much greater advantage. (Hear, hear.) Your exports to them at one time amounted to upwards of 12 millions sterling per annum; now they are about one-half that amount (hear, hear), all arising from the bad commercial legislation with which you have inoculated them; and we have not only inoculated the United States with bad commercial legislation, but we have done the same to other countries of the world. France and Germany, with the German league, fancy that we have risen to be the first nation in the world in consequence of our restrictive measures; while, in reality, we have risen in spite of them. (Hear, hear.) I know we have risen from our mineral wealth, from the physical energy of our working population, from the accumulated capital of this country, from the enterprise of our merchants, from the position of our island, so favourably situated for commercial pursuits; unto our hands, then, and we are a match for all the world (cheers)—either in commerce or in war. Gentlemen, I am the uncompromising advocate of Free Trade (hear, hear); and my opinions are supported by Adam

Smith, who first opened our eyes upon the subject; by the great Lord Chatham, whose transcendent mind and powers fitted him to govern the destinies of the world (hear, hear); by his no less illustrious son, William Pitt; and by the late George Canning, who was a Liberal at heart, but was tied by his party and prevented going that length (hear, hear);—but how did he treat us in Liverpool? He sent us that individual whom I never think of but with grief of heart, the Right Honourable William Huskisson. He said, "There, gentlemen, is my tutor; and, gentlemen, I recommend him as your representative, as one who understands the commercial affairs of his country." (Hear, hear.) If we are to persist in this commercial policy of ours, I would ask the landed interest what are we to do with the surplus population, increasing at the rate of 1000 a day, nearly half a million a year? (Hear, hear.) We must, gentlemen, take off their fetters, or we cannot feed their bellies. I am clearly and decidedly of opinion, gentlemen, that the taking off the duty on corn will not materially interfere with the rent-rolls of those gentlemen; but I believe it will operate greatly to the advantage of the labouring classes, it will enable them to get more from their employers for the work they do. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I always like to refer to high authorities for the opinions I entertain. Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Ducie, Earl Spencer, Mr. Samuel Jones Loyd (hear, hear)—a man of unquestionable knowledge as respects his own interests and the interests of his country—the Marquis of Westminster, and a host of other illustrious names that I could present to you. But I will return to Earl Spencer, the first farmer in this or any other kingdom (hear, hear); a man to whom his political opponents always give the credit of being an honest politician, who never would deceive any man upon earth; and he states to you, pointedly and distinctly, that he considers the removal of those restrictions would not only benefit the landed interest, but every subject in her Majesty's dominions. (Hear, hear.) I am afraid that some gentlemen of large landed estates fancy, that the number of inhabitants being limited necessarily imposes the consumption of a fixed quantity of the productions of the earth; but, gentlemen, they don't look quite far enough; for I feel a thorough conviction in my mind, that if we make the great masses of our population comfortable, and happy, and prosperous, and comparatively rich, as we could very well do at this moment, we should thereby increase the consumption of our agricultural products. (Hear, hear.) Why, look at Ireland; look at some parts of this country, where the poor fellows are obliged to live for weeks together upon buttermilk, and probably upon potatoes and salt. (Hear, hear.) It is less applicable to England, perhaps, than to Ireland; but every gentleman who knows the condition of the labouring population of the country, knows it to be the fact. (Hear, hear.) I am, therefore, an enemy to all countervailing or protective duties upon commerce; and, for the information of the landed interest, although it is a very dry subject to read statistics, I will read an extract from the speech of Mr. James Wilson, which will convince them, I hope. I only want to convince those who conscientiously differ with us in opinion, that their interests will not be injured by adopting our views. ("Talk; we'll have no writing," and great clamour.) That is exactly what I am afraid of, that you are determined to remain in ignorance. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Brown then read a passage from Mr. Wilson's speech recently published in the LEAGUE, in which it was clearly proved that the removal of the several restrictive duties on wool had invariably been followed by not only an increased importation of foreign wool, but an increased consumption of the home-grown article. Gentlemen, said Mr. Brown, in conclusion, I have now said all that I mean to say on this occasion. I have a personal favour to ask, that during this contest the gentlemen who espouse the views I entertain will, when they meet an adversary of different opinions, quietly and honestly reason with him as to your differences of opinion, and convince him if you can (hear, hear); but, if you cannot convince him, treat him as a gentleman, stating that you claim for yourself the right of private judgment, and that you will freely concede it to him. (Great cheering.)

WILLIAM ENTWISLE, Esq., then presented himself, and was received with considerable applause by his party. He said—Gentlemen, at the commencement of this contest I was indeed greatly surprised to find that the electors of South Lancashire were called upon to decide their votes in this struggle upon one point alone to which their attention was directed, and that it was expected that they would leave out of sight all the other principles of the constitution—those institutions—"Oh, oh," laughter and cheers;—but, gentlemen, my surprise has been greatly diminished, and I must say that I much congratulate all the electors of this district, when I find that my honourable opponent is put forward, with that one exception, upon precisely the same grounds as I appear before you myself. (Hear, hear.) In fact—(Cries of "Free Trade.") That is the one exception which I have mentioned. With that one exception, I will say that it is an assertion I have been met with in my canvass, that Mr. Brown is a better Conservative than myself—[A Voice: "But are you a Free-Trader?"]—and it has now been put forward by his party that he would give his support to the Ministry which now holds the reins of power in this country; that is put forward as a claim for the support of the electors; and I say that, if there is one argument more than another which establishes the claims of those Ministers, it is that both sides appeal to the electors for support, on the ground of supporting them and their measures.—[A Voice: "Are you a Free-Trader? Answer the question."]—I am not at all surprised that the contest has taken that turn, when I look back at the circumstances in which we were left at the last election, at the election of 1841, and when I see the circumstances in which this country now exists, and the comparatively great degree of prosperity to which we have attained. I am not surprised that great confidence should be attached to those Ministers, when our trade was depressed to an extent almost unparalleled, when we were engaged with foreign nations in hostile wars, and when our national revenue was greatly deficient.—I am not surprised that great confidence should be attached to those Ministers who have restored peace to the country—(hear)—under whose government trade has been greatly extended, and by whom our revenue has been again placed in a situation to be sufficient for the expenditure of the country. ("Income tax.") Do you pay the income tax? It is said, gentlemen, that this is done by means of an income tax. I am not here to discuss by

what means it was done. ("Hear, hear," "Oh," and disapprobation.) I am quite ready, if you wish for my opinion, to express my opinion that the tax was a good tax, and was imperatively called for by the circumstances of the case. Great diseases, gentlemen, require severe remedies. The remedy may have been severe, but it has answered the purpose (hear, hear); and, for the first time for many years, the Ministry have had the agreeable duty imposed upon them of considering in what manner the surplus revenue should be applied. ("They are robbing the country.") We were not troubled with any such consideration under the late Ministry. (Hear, hear.) We have had just now a considerable detail with regard to wool read to us in this meeting. I did not hear a great part of it, and I happen to recollect that there is just now passing a measure for the total abolition of the duty on wool. I don't know whether that may in some degree answer the expectations of those gentlemen. But, gentlemen, it seems that a great cry is to be raised upon the subject of Free Trade, and in this instance the question of Free Trade appears to be narrowed to one individual question, that of the repeal of the Corn Laws. ("No, no; sugar.") Gentlemen, is it so, or is it not? (Cries of "No," and "Yes.") Is my opponent the candidate of the League, or is he not? ("Hear, hear," and cries of "Yes.") If it be not so, I would ask how it is that that gentleman has been making his progress through the county attended by the most active, and, I believe I may add, the most able member of the League. (Shouts of "Three cheers for Cobden," followed by immense cheering and clapping of hands, mingled with hisses.) Mr. Entwistle then went on to contend that the League had failed to convince the great majority of the people of the country of the soundness of their views. He deprecated trials and experiments as hazardous. He dwelt on what he termed the inconsistencies of the League, many of whose members, he said, notwithstanding the alleged ruinous effect of restriction, had realized fortunes. The cry of "Cheap bread!" was raised, while at the same time the League told the landlords and farmers they were not to be ruined. The entire abrogation of rent would only make a small reduction upon the price of bread. A large portion of land would also be thrown out of cultivation, and ruin would inevitably follow. (These assertions were followed by cries of "Nonsense!" and "Fiddle-dee!" which caused much laughter.) Mr. Entwistle, after some further observations, concluded by expressing his thanks for the kind manner in which he had been listened to, and a hope that the struggle might continue as it had commenced, without animosity or enmity on either side, and that when the contest was over it might be quoted as an example to the rest of the kingdom. (Loud cheers.)

MR. JOSEPH HOLLAND, a farmer and freeholder, and a collector of rates, was desirous of addressing his brother electors; but, it being intimated by the sheriff that he could not be allowed to do so unless he wished to propose another candidate, he was about to desist; but he was told that he might put questions to the candidate. He accordingly asked if Mr. Entwistle, if returned to Parliament, would vote for the repeal of the window tax?—Mr. Entwistle: I may be allowed to answer that question as I shall do all others of a similar nature, namely, that I decline to pledge myself to support or oppose any particular measure. ("Ah!" "Oh!" and cheers.)—MR. HOLLAND: Will you vote for the tax to be taken off farmers' dogs? I am a farmer, and, as a collector, I know a poor washerwoman who is forced to pay tax on a dog she keeps to watch her clothes drying.—MR. W. F. HULTON: A sheep-dog does not pay a tax.—MR. HOLLAND: But an old washerwoman, between 70 and 80 years old, pays for a dog, for I have had to receive it as a tax-collector.

RICHARD COBDEN, Esq., M.P., asked if the sheriff had decided that no one could speak unless he had to nominate or second a candidate?—The sheriff replied in the affirmative.—MR. COBDEN then intimated that he would propose another candidate.—MR. BRANDT: The time to do so is before the candidates speak. You are now quite out of time.—MR. COBDEN: No, I believe I am quite in order. (Cheers.) MR. COBDEN then came forward to address the electors amidst loud cheers from the majority of the assemblage, and considerable uproar and hooting, and all sorts of clamorous vociferation, from Mr. Entwistle's booth, which the sheriff for some time in vain endeavoured to restore to something like decent quietness and order. At length Mr. Entwistle essayed with better effect, saying: Gentlemen, I do beg of you that you will give every man a patient hearing and be quiet, and allow every man to speak.—The gentlemen in the booth having subsided into a momentary hush, the mob below took their cue from them, and were tolerably quiet for a minute. But Mr. Cobden had no sooner again commenced by asking, "Why, what are you afraid of?" when he was again assailed by an uproar of yells, shouts, groans, and shrieks, in which we are bound to say those which proceeded from the hustings equalled, if they did not surpass, those which emanated from the crowd. MR. BRANDT loudly called "order," but in vain; and, turning to Mr. Cobden, he said, "If the gentlemen on the hustings would be quite silent, you might proceed." MR. COBDEN: Yes; but they are by far the worst.—The Sheriff: Gentlemen, Mr. Cobden, as a freeholder of this county, has declared that he intends to propose another candidate. He has a right to be heard, and I shall insist upon having him heard, or I shall adjourn the meeting.—MR. COBDEN: Now, gentlemen, respect your high sheriff. (Renewed uproar.) Gentlemen, I will stand here till midnight, but I will be heard. (Groans and hisses, responded to by loud cheering from the Free Traders.)—MR. JOHN WILSON PATTERSON, M.P. (to the friends of Mr. Entwistle): Gentlemen, Mr. Cobden has a perfect right to be heard, and you will do yourselves no good by this.—MR. COBDEN: Now, gentlemen, shall I go on?—[Immediately a large drum was beaten, close by the Horse and Jockey Inn, about thirty yards from the hustings.] Gentlemen, that is their argument.—The Under-sheriff requested Captain Woodford, the chief of the county constabulary, to give orders to stop the drum; but he coolly replied, "The drum is half a mile off;" and gave no directions concerning it that we saw or heard, although he had previously given various directions to stop the music of the bands which were playing while passing the hustings.—The uproar, both on the hustings and in the crowd, continuing, Sir Thomas Brancker said, Gentlemen, pray hear Mr. Cobden; he has a right to be heard.—MR. COBDEN: Now, gentlemen, are you ready to hear me? (Renewed yelling, hissing, and clamour.) Addressing the sheriff, Mr. Cobden said, Pray, Mr. Sheriff, request

those people on the other side of you to be quiet.—The Sheriff: I have requested them, but in vain.—(A voice on the hustings: "Get down with you, Cobden.")—The Sheriff suggested to Mr. Cobden, that, if he commenced speaking the noise would probably cease in a while; and Mr. Cobden said he had no objection to try that experiment; but, at all events, he was determined to be heard if he stayed all day. He then came forward, and spoke for a time amidst all sorts of discordant noises, which, however, gradually diminished; and during the greater part of his speech he was only occasionally interrupted in this way. So far as we could hear him for the clamour, he said,—Gentlemen, I will detain you but a short time, but claim the right, as a freeholder of this county, to appear before you. I will maintain my right to be heard in this meeting, even if I am obliged to remain till twelve o'clock at night. (Cheers, hisses, and "Off, off.") Our opponents have stated (uproar)—ah! it's a very few of them that are making all the noise. Our opponents on this occasion have made one great admission, to which I am very anxious to draw your attention. Mr. Entwistle has stated that there is no point of difference between himself and Mr. Brown on general politics; he has let us know that Mr. Brown is as good a Conservative as he is himself, and that the only point of difference between them is on the Free-Trade question. (Hear.) Now, I thank him for that admission, because it at once proves that the Free-Traders of South Lancashire, who are willing to support Mr. Brown, whether they are Whigs, Radicals, or Chartists, are sufficiently in earnest in support of that principle to throw aside party on this occasion; and if we gain nothing else by this election—and I think we shall gain a great deal more—we shall at least gain this,—that we shall have a moral standing hereafter, as being an honest party, caring neither for Whigs nor Tories, but having at heart the principles of Free Trade, which we have been so long contending for. (Hear.) But Mr. Entwistle has stated—(great uproar from Mr. Entwistle's booth)—that Mr. Brown comes forward claiming the patronage of her Majesty's Government, and anxious to seek popularity as the supporter of Sir Robert Peel. (Hear.) Now, Mr. Brown distinctly stated that he would support any government, whatever it might be, so long as their measures were good; and that he would go to Parliament neither to wear the colours of Sir Robert Peel, or to bow to his dictation, any more than he would to that of Lord John Russell. ("Question.") But the honourable candidate on the other side has said more. He says Mr. Brown has narrowed this question to a mere question of corn. Why, Mr. Brown distinctly said that he was opposed to all protective and differential duties, whether in corn, or sugar, or coffee, or in any other article. ("Off, off.") Gentlemen, it is not very easy to learn, from the speech of Mr. Entwistle, what his own principles are in reference to trade or anything else (hear); but there is an old saying, that you may know a man by the company he keeps (laughter), and therefore, if we would learn Mr. Entwistle's opinion, we cannot do better than refer to the opinion of the hon. gentleman who nominated him. I declare to you most solemnly, that the fallacies that gentleman used on the subject of the Corn Laws have been dead and buried, even in the House of Commons, where these things generally are very long-lived, for the last two years. (Hear.) If it were not that I would not wish to be personal, I would ask the hon. gentleman where he had been for the last five years; for I think, if we had found some antediluvian remains of a politician, he could not be more hopelessly in the dark as to the question of the Corn Laws. (Laughter and applause.) MR. COBDEN then went on to answer the several arguments of Mr. Entwistle. We can only give a portion of the hon. member's able speech, which strikingly illustrates the evils which the farmers suffer under the restrictive system.—Gentlemen, the Corn Laws cause a constant fluctuation in prices, making the price go up to 73s., and down to 39s.; but, gentlemen, your rent is fixed at high prices, and then it is to be paid when prices are low, and the consequence is, that the farmer is always on the books of his landlord. ("That's true.") Hence it is that farmers are so often sold up; and that is the reason why land-agents, and valuers, and auctioneers, are always on the side of the landlords. (Hear.) I have got a letter to read to you, and I will have it published too, and this letter lets the secret out. It is well worthy of hearing; but they won't let you hear it if they can help it. It is from a respectable gentleman, a member of the Society of Friends, living at Manchester. He says:—

"No. 20, Market-place, Manchester, 5mo. 20, 1844.
"Richard Cobden—Respected Friend,—In reading different speeches which have been delivered by thee, I have remarked that thou hast frequently made allusions to the claims of individuals in the agricultural districts by whom the present Corn Law is supported, and amongst others auctioneers have been named. I was much struck, a short time since, by the remarkable manner in which thy assertions were borne out. About six weeks ago I had occasion to employ an auctioneer in an agricultural part of this county, and during our conversation I asked him if he were an advocate for the repeal of the Corn Law, when he immediately answered—'No, I am not.' On asking his reason for supporting the present law, he said—'My business is almost entirely confined to the agricultural districts, and I believe that where I now sell ten farmers up, I should not sell one up if the Corn Laws were repealed.' Well, I said, that is can't be at any rate; then, I suppose, thou art actuated entirely by self-interest. 'Exactly so,' he replied. The only motive I have for withholding the individual's name is the fear of injuring, if not ruining, the man if his name were made public. I have, however, two respectable witnesses who will vouch for the accuracy of the above statement; and thou art at perfect liberty to make use of it in any manner thou thinkst proper, if in thy opinion it will have the least tendency to erase from the statute book one of the most obnoxious laws that ever disgraced it.—I am, respectfully, thy friend, "JOHN WHITLOW."

MR. COBDEN concluded by proposing Sir Thomas Potter, but the nomination not being seconded, fell to the ground.

The SHERIFF then called for a show of hands, when, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, whose report we abridge, nearly two-thirds of those present held up their hands in favour of Mr. Brown. The sheriff, however, after a second call, declared the show of hands to be in favour of Mr. Entwistle.

MR. ROBERT GARDNER then demanded a poll for Mr. Brown.

The polling was announced to commence on Monday, the 27th of May; and the court was adjourned to Thursday the 30th, that the sheriff might declare the numbers, and which candidate had been duly elected.

MR. ENTWISLE and MR. BROWN severally returned thanks to the electors; and moved and seconded a vote of thanks to the sheriff, who briefly acknowledged the compliment.

Three cheers being given for Mr. Brown, and three more for Mr. Cobden, the proceedings terminated about half-past one o'clock; and within an hour, two trains of enormous length had borne away towards Manchester and Liverpool several thousands of the parties assembled at this county nomination at Newton.

MONDAY.—THE POLL.

The polling commenced briskly this morning in all the districts at nine o'clock, and closed at four; and in the seven hours, at the ten polling towns, there were polled 11,459 votes. The following table will exhibit the returns of both parties at the close of the first day's poll in every district, and also the majorities for the respective candidates in the several districts on the day's poll:—

| Polling Districts. | Free-Trade Return. | | Monopolist Return. | |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------|--------------------|------------|
| | Brown. | Entwistle. | Brown. | Entwistle. |
| Ashton | 321 | 263 | 321 | 263 |
| Bolton | 413 | 597 | 402 | 613 |
| Bury | 431 | 497 | 439 | 419 |
| Liverpool | 1062 | 845 | 1043 | 863 |
| Manchester | 1168 | 1369 | 1161 | 1357 |
| Newton | 422 | 775 | 419 | 778 |
| Oldham | 325 | 216 | 325 | 216 |
| Ormskirk | 317 | 683 | 353 | 691 |
| Rochdale | 516 | 367 | 550 | 361 |
| Wigan | 221 | 396 | 219 | 399 |
| Total | 5559 | 5990 | 5578 | 5966 |

Total majority 341 388

The total number of electors polled during the day was 11,459.

From the above return, it will be seen that Mr. Brown, the Free-Trade candidate, headed the poll at six of the ten polling places, namely, at Ashton, Bury, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, and Liverpool; and that his opponent headed it at four, that is, at Bolton, Newton, Ormskirk, and Wigan, the very centres of landed influence, and the hotbeds of tenancy-at-will.

TUESDAY.

The poll commenced this morning in the polling districts of this part of the county with great spirit; and in several of them, especially in Manchester, Ashton, and Bury, the majority of Mr. Entwistle was considerably reduced; but in other districts he gained ground, and the result will be found below.

| Polling Districts. | Free-Trade Return. | | Monopolist Return. | |
|----------------------|--------------------|------------|--------------------|------------|
| | Brown. | Entwistle. | Brown. | Entwistle. |
| Ashton | 119 | 46 | 122 | 43 |
| Bolton | 44 | 106 | 55 | 89 |
| Bury | 83 | 61 | 83 | 61 |
| Liverpool | 385 | 418 | 347 | 382 |
| Manchester | 398 | 333 | 393 | 317 |
| Newton | 85 | 131 | 85 | 135 |
| Oldham | 37 | 40 | 37 | 40 |
| Ormskirk | 117 | 279 | 103 | 237 |
| Rochdale | 108 | 139 | 104 | 143 |
| Wigan | 43 | 99 | 43 | 97 |
| Total | 1119 | 1652 | 1312 | 1541 |
| Total majority | 233 | | 202 | |

CLOSE OF THE POLL.

Newton, 10 o'clock P.M., Tuesday, May 28.

| Polling Districts. | Free-Trade Return. | | Monopolist Return. | |
|---|--------------------|------------|--------------------|------------|
| | Brown. | Entwistle. | Brown. | Entwistle. |
| Newton | 507 | 906 | 504 | 913 |
| Ashton | 439 | 304 | 416 | 306 |
| Bolton | 157 | 703 | 157 | 702 |
| Bury | 511 | 468 | 522 | 480 |
| Manchester | 1866 | 1693 | 1827 | 1671 |
| Oldham | 362 | 256 | 362 | 256 |
| Rochdale | 651 | 506 | 651 | 507 |
| Liverpool | 1147 | 1251 | 1141 | 1259 |
| Ormskirk | 464 | 962 | 456 | 931 |
| Wigan | 261 | 495 | 262 | 496 |
| Total | 6971 | 7517 | 6931 | 7521 |
| Majority by Mr. Brown's Committee | 546 | | | |
| Majority by Mr. Entwistle's Committee | | 546 | | |

We are engaged in preparing a complete analysis of this poll; but the return, as it now stands, presents on the face of it some important results, to which we are anxious to direct attention. The Free-Traders have had a majority in the only six districts in which an expression of free opinion was possible—a majority amounting to 800. Now, in those very districts, at the election of 1837, the Liberal candidates were in a minority of 171, so that the actual gain is nearly 1000 votes. In the purely agricultural districts, persons who might be generally regarded as supporters of Liberal opinions went against the League, as they thought that their class-interests were endangered; and among these was the Liberal candidate of 1837, Mr. Stanley. Now, the equivalent to the number of votes thus added to Monopoly must be reckoned among the gains of the Free-Traders; and thus their progress becomes very striking, and quite sufficient to justify their claim of a triumph. At the election of 1841, when the Liberal committees went to investigate their chances of success, they found that there would be something like a majority of two thousand against their candidates; so that the result of the present election shows a progress of Free Trade opinions to the amount of fifteen hundred votes. This result should cheer our friends as it has alarmed our adversaries.

AMERICAN BREAD STUFFS.—The stock of wheat and flour now in the warehouse on the margin of the Western Lakes, on the American side, is estimated at 1,000,000 barrels, and the stocks at the depots on the interior communications are enormous, yet it is thought the farmers have fully one-half their crops remaining in their barns. The surplus from Canada West, it is estimated, will, out of the last crop, exceed 300,000 barrels, which will nearly all find its way to Britain.

NEWTON-LE-WILLOWS.—THURSDAY.

(From our own Correspondent.)

This morning a grand display was expected at Newton-le-Willocks, to await the declaration of the poll by the High Sheriff. There was, however, nothing seen but a miserable muster of the blue. The declaration was to have been given at 10 a.m. At that hour, around the hustings, there was but a stray person here and there. Two or three vehicles drove up, and the inquiry put by one to another was—"Do you think they mean to do anything?" By-and-by the Sheriff and a dozen others were seen advancing to the town. They placed themselves upon the hustings, and for an hour sat perfect mutes. A few dozens of men, women, and boys gathered around. At length it came out that the Sheriff was waiting the arrival of a band from Rochdale, there being none elsewhere to be had. In the meantime a whipper-in of the Monopolists—a neighbouring village officer, who mustered the serfs, &c., for the nomination—was observed very busy giving out bands for the hats, with "Entwistle for ever" upon them. Some labourers, and poor-looking objects from the workhouse, were formed into a procession. These, together with a few dozens of more respectable-looking Monopolists, with blue knots upon their breasts, and nine blue flags, stood at the railway station awaiting the band. The band arrived after twelve o'clock. They seemed a parcel of boys, with a drum, some jingling bells, and other small instruments. The ragged regiment, with their flags, advanced to the town amid a faint huzza. The Sheriff commenced proceedings by declaring the majority for Entwistle over Brown 598—some cried out, 591. At this time there were not 350 men, women, and children present. Poor Mr. Entwistle seemed to be perfectly paralysed: his tongue and address betrayed a faint heart. The most of his speech was in reference to allusions upon the canvass of a personal character, and some vain vituperation of the League. He defied all opposition, and declared himself for *more trade*, hoping that all *South Lancashire* would leave the proper ways and means to his superior judgment; and boasted that he went to Parliament the representative of independent electors. Thanks being moved to the High Sheriff, he dismissed the assembly, declaring himself a Tory of the old school.

Mr. Entwistle attempted to defend his party from having brought voters to the poll like cattle. This is all lost upon those who know this district. The Monopolists used the most desperate efforts, and your correspondent is aware of instances where they were literally made wretched by polling contrary to their consciences. They dreaded the consequences of a refusal. Collectors of assessed taxes were pulled up to vote for Entwistle; others voted who had no claim; the agents of the Monopolists went round to the tenantry, and stated it to be the desire of the proprietors that they should vote for the blue. From scenes encouraged and got up by the opponents of Free Trade on the nomination day and at the declaration of the poll, as well as during the election, monopoly and immorality would seem to be inseparable.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A PLANTER'S VIEW OF THE SUGAR QUESTION.

To the Editor of the LEAGUE.

Judging from the detail of the late budget, it would appear that the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinks we are likely to thrive better upon the sour rather than the sweets of life. We may have as much of the former as we please, but a surfeit of the latter would not be good for us; and, therefore, as a kind and watchful guardian of our welfare, he keeps it out of our way. I hope, however, that a little discretionary judgment may be allowed to us, the patients, in this case, and if so, it must be confessed that the plea assumed for keeping us upon such short commons of sweets is the hollowest and most insincere which in these days of legislative humbug has ever been palmed off upon a most gullible public.

The right honourable gentleman perhaps glorifies himself that there is now no longer any slavery on his own sugar estates, but we may be allowed a little to doubt his sincerity when, like the old broken-down prude, he cries out "Oh, fy!" upon the sins of others, which she has no longer power to commit herself.

But be this as it may, it is a sad impertinence to put forward the existence of slavery in this quarter or that as a plea for preferential duties in favour of our own sugar, when, at the same time, fifty other articles, all the produce of slave labour, are, and will, *volens volens*, continue to be in daily and hourly use among us, and among none more than the very class who are now so earnestly protesting against it.

It fell to my lot, some years ago, to become connected with property in the island of Jamaica, and, of course, I became also a participator in all the benefits which are alleged to attach to the existing principles of monopoly and restriction; but I am not prepared to admit that they were in any degree beneficial to me: on the contrary, my conviction is, that my interests were extensively injured by their operation, and that if I had been left to myself, and permitted to carry out the mercantile dictates of common sense, by selling in the dearest and buying in the cheapest market I could find, I should have succeeded vastly better than I have done, and should have had in my pocket many thousands of pounds, for the loss of which I am persuaded I have nothing to thank but monopoly and restricted trade.

As to myself, I do not entertain a doubt as to the benefits which would arise to all parties from throwing open the sugar trade. I deny that it would militate against the profits or the produce of the careful or intelligent sugar-grower. At present no one, without witnessing the fact, would believe to how low a standard agriculture in Jamaica has degenerated, although, indeed, experience amply proves that such has always been the result of agricultural protection.

A reckless extravagance in the expenses of farming, and a total regardlessness of economy of labour, have been glaring features in the system; and having superadded to this a most imperturbable and impenetrable bigotry in favour of every old and worthless mode of tillage and management, you will have something like a view of the average of Jamaica farming.

I here mention an occurrence which may in some degree tend to exemplify what has just been alleged. A friend

of mine, a Jamaica proprietor, was called to England by urgent business, and detained there for some time. On leaving the island, he placed his estate in charge of an individual who stood very high as a planter and manager; in fact, one of the first, if not the first attorney in the island. What was the upshot? Why, no sooner was the proprietor gone, than the attorney sent a jobbing gang upon the estate, cleared and holed 300 acres of fresh land at the charge of £10 per acre, when it might have been done at little more than half that cost by using the plough. But what will be thought of this instance of insane extravagance when it is stated that not one single cane was ever planted in any of the holes, and it became a dead loss. But, indeed, had the affair been otherwise, the case would not have been bittered; for, independent of these 300 additional acres, there was barely strength enough to take off the usual crops of the estate as they were!

Now, under a free trade in sugar, such doings as these would, of necessity, cease. If that rotten staff of protection, upon which they have been accustomed to lean, were taken away from our West Indian planters, it would beget a state of wholesome energy amongst them; they would be compelled to bestir and avail themselves of more rational and scientific, as well as less extravagant, modes of culture. Hence would arise more produce, better in quality, and far more profitable to the importer. Let him only bring to market good samples, made at a reasonable cost, and he need not fear competition!

Only observe what a miraculous effect the very mention of Free Trade has had upon our corn monopolists at home. Here are our landlords awakened from a long and profound doze, running about the country under the discovery that their broad acres are miserably cultivated—calling for this improvement, and that—and fairly confessing that, under judicious management, their land is capable of producing full 1-4th more food for the people than it has hitherto done. A similar cause would have a similar effect in our sugar colonies.

It does seem strange why the West India interest, as it is called (as if the rest of the community had no interest in the question), should hug this delusion as they do. What is their condition under this covet monopoly? Are they thriving and prosperous? Certainly not; on the contrary, we hear continued declarations that they are ruined, and nothing is talked of but the abandonment of estates one after another, as not only not paying for the expense of cultivation, but involving the owners in increasing difficulty and debt. Why, Sir, I conceive that, if Free Trade were actually fraught with all the evils which its adversaries attribute to it, the West Indians could not, under its operation, be in a worse condition than they describe themselves to be in now. Their monopoly has not saved them, and in my humble opinion never will.—I am, Sir, yours,

A PLANTER.

To the Editor of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—Will you have the goodness to transmit to the honest elector of Exeter, Charles Snowdon, the enclosed half-sovereign, as a testimony of my respect for a man who appears to have duly appreciated the sacred nature of the duty with which the franchise invested him; since he exercised it with a spirit of independence that does him honour, thereby incurring a heavy penalty.

I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,
85, Kennington-street, May 27. T. W. THORNTON.

THE CORN BILL OF 1815.

The following is an extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Edward Taylor, at a common hall held at Norwich, in May, 1815, to petition against the Corn Bill brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Robinson (now Earl of Ripon):—

"If I believed that the bill now proposed in the House of Commons would really benefit the farming interest, I should not be here to oppose it; but my firm conviction is that it will utterly fail to accomplish this end, while it will inflict a grievous and permanent injury on the manufacturing interest of this kingdom. The professed object of this bill is to secure to the farmer a steady price for his corn. This is the plea of its advocates—this is the argument they use in its support. They disclaim all intention to raise the price of corn; they only intend to secure, by act of Parliament, a steady price. Now, with all respect for the power of the Legislature, this, I affirm, *they have no power to do*. The price of corn depends in a great measure upon its abundance or its scarcity, and whether it shall be abundant or scarce—whether we shall be blessed with a succession of plentiful harvests, or whether we shall have to suffer from scanty ones—depends on that Almighty Will which governs and controls the seasons. It is absurd, it is impious in any human power to affect here a power of control. But the effect of this measure will be to induce the farmers to regulate by it his future contracts. The proposed Corn Bill will be used by landlords as an argument for keeping up rents, and tenants will trust in it. The latter will confide, as they are told to do, in 'the wisdom of Parliament'; they will believe that this act of the Legislature will have the power to ensure them at least 80s. per quarter for their wheat;—they will be deceived, and hundreds of them will be ruined. This will be the effect of the proposed bill on the farmer. To the manufacturer it will be equally injurious. The very essence of trade is barter—the exchange of one commodity for another. Now the chief, almost the only commodity which some nations have to offer in exchange for our manufactures is corn; and if we refuse to take it, we cross them out of our books as customers. Nor is this all. The time may come—and in unfavourable seasons *must* come—when our home growth will not supply us. We must then buy corn at any price. But those who have hitherto been accustomed to look to the English as customers, and who have regularly exchanged the produce of their soil for our manufactures, will now find our ports shut against them, except in times of scarcity, which neither they nor we can foresee. We must then buy our corn wherever we can get it, and for hard cash: all commercial intercourse will have ceased, and the trade in corn, instead of being a regular exchange of produce for produce, will become the speculation of jobbers and gamblers; and our continental neighbours, so long our excellent customers, will be compelled to turn manufacturers. The order of Providence is that nations should traffic with nations, each supplying from its own natural resources the wants of others; and if we attempt to array ourselves against it by the puny efforts of human legislation, depend upon it we shall deeply repent and dearly smart for it."

AGRICULTURE.

MONOPOLY PRICES AND MONOPOLY RENTS.

THE COST OF PRODUCING WHEAT.

If those persons, who have little or no knowledge of the art of husbandry, or acquaintance with the condition of the tenant-farmers, should feel perplexed between the confident assertions of the Monopolists that Free Trade would injure the farmers, and the undeniable fact that they have not prospered under a protecting monopoly, there is one simple practical test for resolving such perplexities. That test is the state of opinion upon the subject amongst the best agriculturists. Tried thereby, the monopolists' assertions will invariably be found to be based on falsehoods or fallacies. All our best farmers are Free-Traders, while the bad ones are usually desperate sticklers for "protection." Now, at the very head of the practical agriculturists of this country stands Earl Ducie, who is alike eminent for his scientific knowledge of husbandry, and the business-like method in which he has shown to the farmers of England what are the real capacities for production of the soil they occupy. Every one knows that Earl Ducie is a Free-Trader, and that he declares the Corn Laws to be a positive injury to the British cultivator. And no one can read or hear the arguments of the Free-Trade agriculturists on the one side, and of the Monopolists on the other, without being sensible, however little acquainted with rural affairs, that the former refer to distinct and tangible facts in the sober, business-like way in which men conduct their own every-day avocations, while the latter deal in mysterious prophecies and oracular predictions of what might possibly happen under certain combinations of imaginary or impossible circumstances. As a specimen of the plain common-sense view of the subject we would refer our readers to the admirable speech of Earl Ducie at Covent Garden, on Wednesday last, of which a full report will be found in another column, and to some parts of which we shall presently refer; and, as an example of the fanciful assumptions of the Monopolists, let our readers peruse the following passage from a leading article of the *Morning Post*:

"In conformity with those irresistible influences which the arrangement of society generate, the labourer is the natural ally of the great landowner. The labourer thrives on high wages. The landowner prospers when rents are high. High wages, high rents, and those profits on production which are intermediate between these extremes, flow naturally from high prices. In high prices, therefore, labourers, landowners, farmers, and tradesmen are interested. High prices are, in truth, in all artificial states of society, the great bulwark of productive industry. To great landowners, therefore, the interests of productive industry are emphatically committed. They are the natural guardians of the interests of labour. They betray their trust, therefore, when they lend themselves to schemes which have 'cheapness' for their object; and, in betraying their trust, they are preparing their own ultimate punishment."

No one can read that passage without being convinced

"That true no-meaning puzzles more than wit."

But, though the writer has not expressed any meaning, he has implied one which is perfectly intelligible to the Monopolist landowners for whom he writes, which being interpreted into ordinary language means this:—"High prices produce high rents, without the necessity of undertaking agricultural improvements,—the *Post* always sneers at 'scientific farming'—or of seeking independent and responsible tenants." Such, if anything, is the meaning of that passage, and upon this position the writer advances the naked lie that such high prices and such high rents produce high wages. This is simply untrue. Rents may be high under two sets of circumstances directly the reverse of each other. First, when any article of prime necessity, such as wheat, can only be supplied to a numerous and increasing community from a particular district or from one country, as, for instance, if the people of this country should only be supplied from the growth of the United Kingdom, or if the people of the metropolis could be compelled to subsist on the wheat grown in Middlesex, and the quantity grown in the United Kingdom, in the one case, or in Middlesex in the other, be insufficient to supply the demand for wheat, prices might rise to any extent, and the owners of the land within the charmed circle would "prosper" upon high rents. That would be the golden age of the "Protectionists." There would be monopoly prices and monopoly rents, the bread-eaters would be absolutely at the mercy of the bread-growers. And that is precisely the state of things which the landowners have sought to create and make perpetual by the Corn Laws. It is for the maintenance of this system that tenants are driven to the polling booths, like herds of cattle to market, that "Protection Societies" are formed, that Cayleys disgrace themselves and their class by literary lying, and that Dukes bluster and bully their own Minister, and are to be quieted only by Garters and places at the Treasury.

Secondly, high rents may arise from high cultivation. A rich and growing population offers a

certain market for grain, meat, and other agricultural productions; and the skilful farmer applies all his capital, his knowledge, and his industry to tillage, with a view to produce abundant crops. That is his main object. He does not rely on accidents of the seasons, or look for periods when, by reason of scarcity, he may make a temporary profit out of his underfed fellow-citizens. He knows that there is a steady and constant demand for grain and cattle, and that, with access to the world's market, his customers will never be compelled to give him any very exorbitant prices. He, therefore, does not sit waiting upon Providence; he knows that he can only be successful by a large produce and by a constant produce, and to attain those ends he must cultivate his land highly and carefully; he cannot afford to have bad crops, and, let the season be what it may, he will never have them. He will of necessity employ many labourers, for high cultivation and the employment of much rural labour are convertible terms; and the labourers finding constant occupation will obtain good wages, and, the prices of the necessities of life being moderate and steady, they will be in a state of prosperity. Here we find a large amount of produce to be divided between the labourers, the farmer, and the landlord; and after the labourers are paid, and the farmer has replaced his capital and industry, which the competition amongst farmers will permit him to retain for his own use, the surplus will go to the landlord as rent. Under these circumstances the landlord's rent will be a natural rent, generally tending upwards, and will assuredly be far greater in amount and more permanent than the Monopoly rents of our present system. Now, the present is a season to exhibit the difference between good and bad farming. In many instances, upon lands which are in a low condition, there will be literally no crops, and the cultivator will have an absolute loss from which no prices could relieve him, while land in high condition bears the drought in a manner perfectly surprising to those who have not studied the science of agriculture.

But the *Post* tells us that "cheapness" is the great thing the landowners are to eschew, and it is by exaggerating the cheapness of foreign corn and the cost of corn-growing in this country that the Monopolists now mainly rely, as the bugbear by which they are to frighten the farmers from inquiring into the pros and cons of free and restricted trade. Of the utter fallacy of such notions every day's experience gives evidence, and the practical statements of Earl Ducie of the cost of growing wheat on his own farm, and of those of other farmers in the same county, shows the absurdity of the Monopolists' assertions. His lordship proved that on land paying for rent, tithes, and taxes 50s. an acre, 33 bushels of wheat per acre can be grown at the cost of 3s. 6d. a bushel; and, taking the capital required for so doing to be £15 per acre, that return when wheat sold at 41s. a quarter—which is 3s. a quarter below the average price of the Channel Islands, where trade is absolutely free—would give a yearly profit of 35½ per cent. upon the capital employed; or supposing wheat to be grown (as it is on his lordship's farm) every other year, and that the intermediate green or root crop gave no profit (which it will give), there would be a yearly profit of 17½ per cent. on the whole capital employed. Thus it is that the experience of the best farmers shows the fears or the pretended fears of the Monopolists to be as baseless as they are dishonest; and the whole plea of the Protectionists comes to this, that, if the trade in grain were free, landlords could not obtain high rents from unimproved and ill-cultivated farms.

IS IT A HOAX?

The following paragraph appeared as an advertisement in a daily paper, which is really so ludicrous that we are half inclined to believe, as a friend on reading it said, it is a hoax:

"The Publication Committee of the Agricultural Protection Society hereby offer four prizes of £25 each to the writers of the best Essays on the Advantages of Legislative Protection, as enjoyed by 1. Tenant-farmers and labourers. 2. Cotton manufacturers. 3. Woollen and silk manufacturers. 4. Hardware and other manufacturers. Such Essays not to exceed 16 pages each, octavo, and to be sent directed to the Chairman of the Publication Committee, 17, Old Bond-street, on or before the 1st of July."

Now, we defy any man, woman, or child who can read, write, and understand what he reads, to compete for one of these prizes without becoming a Free Trader, and proving, if he proves anything, that the "legislative protection enjoyed by tenant-farmers and farm-labourers, and by cotton, woollen, silk, and hardware manufacturers," is just the sort of enjoyment of those whose friends say they "enjoy a very bad state of health." But the report of the committee shows where their literary strength lies, for they say:—

"With regard to placards, we have forwarded them to country societies, whenever a wish has been expressed; and we take this opportunity of inviting our friends to let us know the particular part of the question to which they wish public opinion, by means of placards, to be directed. We are enabled, by statistical details of unquestioned accuracy, to point out to our friends the wisdom of reducing wages, the state of foreign labourers; the comparative demand in the home and foreign markets for our manufactures; the proportion of protection enjoyed by other trades; the manner in which our

Free-Trade advances have been met by other nations; or those many other bearings of the subject that will easily suggest themselves to the experienced in particular districts.

Now, what does this mean but this: "Though we don't shine in pamphlets, and are rather chary of publishing again, we can lie in large letters in any way which may suit the peculiar local prejudices to be pandered to, or the particular character of ignorance to be deluded." Why, this is worse, at all events more dirty, than passing laws to cheat the public out of a penny a pound upon salmon.

WHAT IS THE ANTI-LEAGUE DOING?

We have more than once asked this question somewhat ironically, and we have heard several farmers who plumped over head and ears into the Anti-League "flare up" (for it was too transient to deserve the name of an agitation,) ask the same question in all sober and somewhat doubting seriousness. For ourselves, we beg to offer to the "Central Protection Society," and especially to the noble president thereof (the Duke of Richmond), our most humble apology for imagining that they and he were not effectively doing that which they had organized themselves to do, namely, looking after their own interests. The dual president of the society very aptly represents the society, for he is one of those who "Do good [to themselves] by stealth, and blush to find it fame." He opposed the reduction of duty on wool solely from self-love for the "English short-wool masters," and behold he is supposed to be animated by the most disinterested love for the Australian wool-growers. Again he opposes his party-leader on the tariff question, and is thereupon exalted by all the bad farmers of the country into a patriot, while all the time he is only seeking to keep up the rent of his own salmon-fishery. Just so of late he was supposed to have a most irrepressible determination to displace Sir R. Peel and his Administration, on account of the Minister's coyly expressed admiration of a Free-Trade policy; and the undrained and over-rented farmers, to a man, declared that their only protector against the insidious Peel, and the insinuating Cobden, was the unflinching Duke of Richmond, and behold the following paragraph:—

"The vacant Lordship of the Treasury has been accepted by LORD ARTHUR LENOX, brother of the DUKE OF RICHMOND, which will cause a new election for the representation of Chichester." *All the Papers.*

Farmers, well has it been said, "Who can tell what a day or an hour shall bring forth?" You will now comprehend the full meaning of the ominous menaces against the Government which the Duke of Richmond uttered at Steyning just before the opening of the session. You can now comprehend why you were hurried to death by stewards and land-agents, lawyers and auctioneers, to attend—"without being expected to subscribe to"—protection societies. You now see the Central Society has not hired a room in Bond-street and appointed a secretary for nothing. The Duke of Richmond has taken the chair in his own house to some purpose, for he has hoisted his younger brother—one of those blister plasters of our poor-rich aristocrats—into a seat at the Treasury Board, at £2000 a year.

We do not know whether the Duke of Richmond is one of those in whose settlements there is a clause which directs the income of the younger brothers' portions charged on the family estate to remain in abeyance while the incumbent is in the receipt of Government pay or pension through the family influence; or whether by this masterly stroke the duke has merely relieved himself from the ordinary pressure of one of his poor juniors. At all events, the farmers will smell a rat, and those who have not subscribed to the Protection Society will congratulate themselves on their abstinence, while those who have been caught once will take care not to be caught again. One old farmer of our acquaintance, after coming over the above paragraph for some time, burst out into the exclamation, "Why, bless me, this is the old story of 1841 over again! I am afraid these great gentlemen have been again humbugging us farmers."

But we owe another excuse to the Monopolists for supposing the Central Protectionists have been doing nothing, for in their recent report they show that they have been working most assiduously in the cause of Free Trade, by proving their own utter disregard of common sense and common honesty. Notwithstanding the exposures Mr. Cayley's pamphlet has met with, the chivalrous chairman of the room in Bond-street—who shall dare to say again that their soul, like their locality, is that of a non-milliner?—declares, in the name of the society:—

"We have considered it, on the whole, best to make an exception to the rule of not being our own publishers, in favour of Mr. Cayley's pamphlet; and the result has been such as to leave us no cause to regret our having done so."

This declaration bespeaks high moral courage, for assuredly a gentleman who now identifies himself with Mr. Cayley and his tract, must have nerves as well strung as the Indian who bears, without flinching, the tortures of the stake. And her symptom that the landlords are letting off the Pro-Corn-Law steam is, that a subscription is advertised to reward Mr. Robert Baker, of Writtle, the Essex lion, or, as many farmers call him, the "gentleman, in a lion's skin, of the Monopolists!"

OH, IT IS A LABOURERS' QUESTION!

True, Monopolists, it is a labourers' question, and you know it. See how the Labourers deal with the question in the Monopolist county of Wilts:—

"PRO-CORN-LAW PETITION MANUFACTURE!—This branch of business is not going on, but, although the employees of the Monopolists are working hard to obtain numerous signatures, they don't succeed quite so well as their masters wish. Nevertheless, a good many names are attached to the petitions, for, as we have before stated, scruples of conscience do not prevent these jackals from putting down the names of many who refuse to sign, and of more who have not even been asked to sign. Since our last notice we have heard of several flagrant instances of dishonesty in the getting up of these petitions: in one case the worthy caterer for names visited a farm, and when the men and boys were all assembled, he told them they were to sign what he had brought, adding, that if they did, probably their wages would be raised; but if they refused, most likely they would be cut down to 4s. or 5s. a week! The labourers all refused, upon which this precious specimen of a Monopolist's slave said:—'If he were their master he would soon let them know his mind; they should either sign or cut their sticks.' At last, under the threat, he did get two names! In another instance the farmer, in his grief at not getting his men to sign, exclaimed that they had turned their backs on him and his landlord (Mr. Sotheron). At Bechingstoke, the farmers had a meeting to consider the best means to be adopted for getting the labourers to sign one of these Pro-Corn-Law petitions. It was agreed that they should be called together for that purpose.

The men all refused! A second time they were asked, but again in vain. Upon this their masters said to them—'Well we shan't force you to sign, but if you don't we'll drop your wages to a week from this very day!' In the adjacent parishes similar conduct has been pursued; and in very many instances the names of the labourers have been put down without their consent. At one farm within two miles of D. vizes, the hack employed to get signatures obtained a list of all the labourers, and, *sans cérémonie*, attached them to his petition, their leave to do so not having even been asked! Rotten, indeed, must be the cause that requires to be supported by such means."—*W. W. W. Independent.*

No comment can add to the effect of this extract. We know the parish of Beechingstoke well, which is occupied by a few large farmers, some of whom are their own landlords, and others hold under Monopolist landowners; and the labourers are as completely in the farmers' power as it is possible for even oppressed agricultural labourers to be. This speaks volumes in favour of the common sense and honesty of the peasantry.

A WORD FROM A FARMER.

The following extract from a farmer's letter, which appeared in one of the public journals, bespeaks pretty accurately the frame of mind with which the more intelligent regard the present state of the Free-Trade question:—

"Speaking as a farmer, I say the sooner this climax is arrived at the better: we shall then know how to adjust rent. Nothing could exceed the blunder of reducing the tariff duties on animal food prior to repealing the Corn Laws, the effect of it upon the farming interest has been to destroy profit in the rearing and fattening of cattle. Any one may prove the fact by purchasing a lean animal, and feeding it fat upon grain. The result would be found to amount to a considerable loss. Speaking as a farmer, I say the question is not so much *what the actual market price may be*, but *is there a profit on the article when brought to market?* I care not whether the price is 6d. or 4d. per pound, providing there is a profit. Now, I maintain that with a restrictive Corn Law and a liberal tariff there cannot, on the average, be a profit on feeding stock; and further, that this very principle will enforce a repeal of the Corn Laws ultimately, even should the Anti-Corn-Law League not be able to procure that result. *We, the farmers, must have the means of rearing and feeding stock cheapened, otherwise the land will deteriorate in quality, and, as a consequence, rents must come down.*"

This bears out what we have frequently said as to the advantages the farmer would receive from Free Trade, by getting cheap food for his stock.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"A Friend."—The bond of union in the League is advocacy of Free Trade, irrespective of opinions on any other subject. It is always a source of regret to the Council when speakers wander, however slightly, into other topics very remotely connected with the main subject; but, when the various shades of opinion of the gentlemen who come before the public are taken into consideration, every candid mind will acknowledge that such aberrations are less frequent than could have been reasonably expected.

"No. 22,210" is informed, that by law the goods and chattels of every occupier of any part of a house or other premises are liable to distraint for the poor-rates due upon his own and all the other parts of such premises. To have himself rated for the specific part he occupies is, therefore, to limit and restrict his liability, not to increase it. The only effect of his being rated is to make him personally liable, but to a much smaller amount than his goods would be were he not rated. In reference to the second point, he would not be subject to any separate rating.

Once for all, we have to announce that an office expressly for registration on purposes has been in active operation at No. 68, Cheapside, for the last six months; and that competent persons are always in attendance there to afford every information and assistance to the public. Under the superintendence of the Registration Committee there, a complete "Guide to the Framing" has been printed.

"B. T."—We should be very unwilling to enter into a controversy with so staunch a friend, but we do not quite assent to his opinions. We have received another letter on the subject, signed "Omicron," taking a very different view of the question; we agree with the writer that the word "immediate" includes the entire question, for the widest monopolist would not assert that the Corn Laws should be maintained under all possible circumstances. To have open the choice of a proper time for their repeal would be to render national interests subservient to the exigencies of party.

"W. M. S."—The passage is marked for extract so soon as we have an opportunity of continuing our review of Mr. Davies's admirable "History of Holland."

"A. S." very judiciously directs attention to the following interesting extracts from Sir James Mackintosh's "History of England:—

"When Parliament at this time (1661) were at leisure from the usual occupation, of raising up or deposing sovereigns, they applied themselves very diligently to regulate commerce. It is hard to say whether the regulations which they proposed more betray their strong sense of the rising importance of trade, or their gross ignorance of its true nature, and of the only effectual means of promoting it. The importation of foreign corn was prohibited, because it ruined the people by making their food cheap, and foreign manufactures were forbidden wherever the like articles could be produced at home; a similar discretion being shown in both cases to the interest of the body of the people who consumed food, and who wore clothes. But the same astonishing errors still pervert the judgment of, perhaps, the majority; and we must not blame the parliament of the fifteenth century for prejudices which to this day taint the statutes of the nineteenth."—Vol. II., p. 35.

Referring to the commercial treaty between England and Burgundy in 1496, Sir James remarks:—

"The vast importance of a free and active exchange of all the products of human industry manifestly appears, from this treaty, to have become an article in the political belief of some in the states which had been taught the value of traffic by experience. When we read such national transactions, we feel our approach to those mighty, but then unobserved, changes which were about to raise the middle classes of men to more influence than they had ever before enjoyed, to restore personal property to that equality with real estate which the feudal institutions had robbed it; in due time to extend political importance to the lowest limits of liberal education; and at length to diffuse that education so widely as to alter the seat of power, and to bring into question many opinions hitherto prevalent among statesmen."—*Ibid.*, p. 103.

He proceeds to show the beneficial effects of the rise of the "pacific and industrious classes," whose hope of new produce and more profitable exchanges were the impelling motives of voyages of discovery, which have enriched and raised them to power; and "no man can now either limit the extent or foretell the remote consequences." America, with her popular rights and liberty, Sir James exhibits as the fruit of the commercial system.

"K. T."—The lines are not quite up to the mark.

"S. D." has done better: there is a good spirit in the following verses:—

SUGGESTED BY THE CALL OF THE LEAGUE UPON THE ELECTORS OF ENGLAND.

"Up to your duty! this is the hour!"
Ay! up to your duty, Oh, brave men and true!
This, this is the hour! we have waited for you!"

Long and painful our watch, while the sun on his way
Waked year after year, and went down day by day;
The stars saw us looking aghast in the gloom,
The seasons pass'd by, or in seed-time, or bloom.
Want and woe pressed upon us, but yet watch'd we still,
For the beacons of hope were lit up on the hill,
And ever around us came breathing the hum
Of hearts inly voicing—"Have patience,—they come!"

As the sap in the root brings the leaf to the bough,
As the fount in the earth bids the broad river flow;
No now shall be seen Freedom's green leaf and dew,
If ye to your duty are constant and true!
This—is this the hour; never faint, never fall!
Corruption shall shrink, and bribed treachery quail.
Your voice hath the way, let your hearts and the will—
Be firm and be honest,—we trust in you still!
The foundations we lay on your courage and power,
Thun up to your duty! Let this be the hour!

On, on! be ye stirring! be first in the strife!
England bids you all hail for Free Trade and for life:
To the land's furthest limits, from ocean to sea,
One thought fills our bosoms—let commerce be free!
Ye, whose word legislators create, you who hold
O'er the rights of the many your right uncontrolled,
For the weal of the many that right now make known,
In the scale of our hopes be your weight bravely thrown,
Combine every heart as bright drops in a shower,
And show for your duty, that *this* is the hour!

May 18, 1844. S. D.

"An Essex Landlord," we are much obliged, but the matter is of little importance.

"A Constant Reader," and "An Islington Leaguer."—The honesty of the supporters of the ten hours' bill will be tested by their votes on Mr. Villiers's motion, and we shall not fail to watch them.

Our old friend "O" sends the following, which needs no introduction:—

A VISION OF THE FUTURE.

"Coming events cast their shadows before."
"I had a dream which was not all a dream."
Musing on men and things, I fell asleep;
And as strange images, and stranger thoughts
Arose unbidden, to shine for a time, then flee,
Leaving the mind in intricate confusion,
So it fell out, that of the forms that thronged
The presence-chamber of my soul, but these
My memory can retain.

A brave, bold man
Stood in St. Stephen's, 'mid his stern compeers;
And in a tide of burning eloquence
Proclaimed the people's wrongs. The mass outside
Watched their strongest and their last appeal
To those who made the nation's laws, and gave
The acts that made the rich man richer still,
And took the bread from out the poor man's mouth.
Almost alone their champion stood—alone,
To grapple with the hydra-headed form—
Monopoly—the giant who had sucked
The blood, and fattened upon famished millions.
His was no stripling's task, no coward's part:
Before him men of substance and of wealth,
Fresh from the table, redolent of wine,
Were ranged, and laughed and mocked at all he said;
Still he stood firm, and thundered in their ears
The last—sole warning of the mass he served.

"A change came o'er the spirit of my dream."
A vast assemblage listened to the tale
Of all their wrongs, with flashing eyes, and hands
Firm clench'd, with lips compressed and white with rage;
Want was in their faces, and their haggard forms
Told of starvation, and starvation's pangs.
They heard how their petitions with contempt
Had been received. They heard how years had passed,
And he, who should do something, had done nought.
The muttered curse and darkened brow revealed
How dark and deadly were their silent thoughts.
They passed away, and all was still—as still
As the last hour before the tempest bursts.

Then in the darkness of the night arose
The cry of man's surprise, and woman's wail,
And childhood's bitter shrieks from blazing homes;
And Darkness, wondering, fled before the glare
Of burning cornstacks, and of kindled barns.
The terrible illumination glowed
Night after night, through all the land, and still
Increased, and spread with more relentless force.
Men quaked, for none were safe; and statesmen wore
The look of men perplexed, and shook with fear.
Anarchy prevailed, and the civil power
Grew powerless, and nerveless, and expired!

And bands of men, made desperate by their wrongs—
Hardened by staring famine in the face
For long, long months—mad with excess of rage—
Drunk with vengeance, thirsting still for more—
Plundered in daylight, robed in night.
Horror was everywhere, for in the land
The fearful reign of Terror had begun!

"A change came o'er the spirit of my dream."
Upon the howling waste of waters rose
A form that spoke, and hushed them a l to sleep;
Upon a million crushed and prostrate slaves
The sun of Freedom rose resplendently;
Upon the great highway of nations poured
A fresh myriads of commerce-laden prows;
Upon a discontented nation, rife
With all the horrors of internal war,
Broke forth the beams of Peace; for one, ay more—
A whole united Nation's powerful voice
Had said—"Let trade o'er all the world be free!"

My dream was done: it had no further change;
For when that voice that thundered through the world
Fell on my ears, I woke—and only heard
Echoed from every shore—"LET TRADE BE FREE!"

Salisbury. O.

"E. J."—The subject has not escaped attention; it is admirably discussed in Lawson's "Lectures on Political Economy." Among several short pieces of poetry we find the following, to which we give insert on, and at the same time beg to assure the authors of the rest that we find rejection the most painful part of our editorial duties:—

A grievous law is now in force,
Of woe and crime and death, the source;
Which, to adorn the princely dome,
Makes desolate the poor man's home—
Diverts the law by Nature made,
That nation shall with nation trade,
And stands unrighteously between
Man and his food:

Making the subjects of our Queen
A famish'd brood!

And therefore, we who deeply feel
Th' unjust effect of upon our weal—
Who bear Oppression's searing brand,
The unfranchised of the land—
Expect you'll prove, in spite of gold,
Worthy the sacred trust you hold,
And vote against as foul a law
As groaning nations ever saw;
That which, to glut the nobly born,
Depresses Trade and taxes Corn!

"W. T." is thanked; we shall use the extract when we have space at our disposal.

"A New Voter."—Attention shall be paid to his suggestion. "P." is under consideration.

"A Stench Free-Trader."—Apply at 68, Cheapside.
"S. H."—We are grateful for the communication, but cannot avail ourselves of it under present circumstances.
"A Working Man."—The information he communicates is gratifying, and will be turned to good account.
In the following lines we recognise with pleasure the hand of an early contributor:—

HURRAH FOR OLD ENGLAND!

Hurrah for the trade of England,
Her commerce unhackled and free;
What has she to fear from foreign compeer,
Or rivals wherever they be?

Away with the bugbear Protection,
She hurls her proud scorn on the name
That hangs like a blight, and withers her might,
And reddens her children with shame.

Have her artisans lost all their cunning,
Is her genius departed, or dead?
Has she ever been behind in the race of mankind,
Will she be so when centuries have fled?

She asks the wide world for a market
(Mock patriots may croak of her fall);
Let her sell, let her buy, and procure her supply
Where she can, free and open to all.

Away with the laws that degrade her,
Let the obstacles be what they will—
There are bees in her hive that shall struggle and strive,
And come off the conquerors still.

Give, give to her commerce full freedom,
Sweep, sweep all restrictions away;
She then can procure food and clothes for her poor,
When are ended the toils of the day.

And again in her vigour and greatness—
Her millions contented and free—
Their shout and acclaim, with a pride in her name,
Hurrah for Old England shall be!

W. W. W.

RECIPROCITY.—The letter with this signature has been handed to the editor of the LEAGUE by the gentleman to whom it was addressed.

We need not give specific answers to those correspondents whose letters refer to matters of temporary interest, which the unavoidable delay of these notices has placed out of date. The number of such is very great, and we trust that they will grant us their indulgence. Several communications stand over for further consideration; and there are about half-a-dozen which we find it very difficult to decipher. It would be a convenience if those who send letters designed for publication, would write only on one side of the page. The Secretary has to acknowledge several contributions and offers of assistance to the Bazaar and the Exposition.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE WEEKLY MEETING of the LEAGUE will be held in the THEATRE-ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN, on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, the 5th of JUNE.

The Chair will be taken by GEORGE WILSON, Esq., precisely at HALF PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK.

The meeting will be addressed by the Hon. Edward Bouverie, M.P. for Kilmarnock; Thomas Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; and Mr. Josiah Hunt, farmer, of Aldmondsbury, Gloucestershire.

Cards of admission may be had on application at the Offices of the League, on Monday and Tuesday, between the hours of eleven and four o'clock.

Applications for Private Boxes to be made personally or by letter on Monday.

The cards of registered Members will admit, as heretofore, to Pit and Galleries.—DOORS TO BE OPENED AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, June 1, 1844.

The Monopolist party of South Lancashire is so little satisfied with its victory or its position, that the cry of "Register, register, register," is raised as loudly as "Help, help, help," when a house is on fire. An office is opened in Manchester, and advertised italics warn to "lose no time." This is a game at which two can play. Every such cry is a warning voice to Free-Traders; every such movement an example and stimulus. Let the hint be taken, not in South Lancashire only, but everywhere throughout the kingdom. The Registration Court is the arena of the bread-tax battle. Into this court the cause has been moved. We have lodged there our appeal from Parliament. All exertion has tended to this point. A good registration this year is the crown of all past endeavours. Every man who can make himself a voter anywhere should be alive to the work as a bounden duty. Our number of the 11th ult. contains the needful forms, and gives distinct information of the rights of different parties. If Free-Traders generally claim the votes to which they are entitled, or to which they can easily entitle themselves, the result is beyond doubt. The League has done its part, and continues to do it, by all the faculties that such a body can afford. For the rest, individuals must act for themselves. We entreat them to do so forthwith. The enemy is in the field. Thousands of sagot votes will increase the dead weight already presented by tenants-at-will and other helpless and dependent possessors of the nominal franchise, who are only a multifold register of their master's edict. All this has to be overcome. We have to outnumber, at the poll, multitudes who are merely the puppets of the wealthy few. The odds against us should only stir up zeal. We have to prevail, not only over erroneous opinion, but against an unfair position, and an anti-national interest. And, unless this be achieved, we have leagued in vain for the noblest cause that ever stirred the energies of humanity. The selfishness of a small body of sordid, insolent, and wrong-headed men will sacrifice to its shortsighted views the hopes of millions and the well-being of a nation. Be assured the great electoral struggle is impending. All parties are looking forward to it. Make sure of your names on the register. We echo the admonition of our adversaries—"Lose no time!"

THE BAZAAR.

It will be in the recollection of our readers, that when Mr. Cobden announced the holding of a bazaar in Covent-garden Theatre, in July, in aid of the Great League Fund, he intimated his hope that a display would then be made of the productions of our manufactures in all the great trades of the nation, in order that, *through their works*, so to speak, the skill, industry, taste, and energy of that important portion of the population might be seen, and their claim for freedom of trade be strengthened by this material demonstration of the intellectual and moral qualities of our artisans and manufacturers. Manchester, it appears, responds to Mr. Cobden's call. He speaks positively that specimens of all its fabrics, and in every stage and process of manufacture, will be sent to the bazaar, such as will vindicate its claim to pre-eminence amongst the trading cities of the world; and we do not doubt that his pledge will be fully redeemed. We understand that Leeds also will respond to Mr. Cobden's call. We feel no small degree of anxiety as to the manner in which Bradford will be exhibited in this National Bazaar. Will it even have a stall? And if it should, will it be such that the name of our town may appear—blazoned above it, challenging the inspection of the curious and the critical, the British and the foreign competitor alike? We are somewhat jealous of the fair fame of our enterprising town, as connected with this movement. Bradford is no longer a small fifth or sixth rate town—it is a great commercial and manufacturing city, we had almost said, but we may say, with propriety—emporium. It must shortly rank with such places as Leeds, Birmingham, and even Manchester, as the centre of a vast and most important manufacture, and the principal mart to which buyers—home and foreign—shall resort for their chief supply of the varied productions of that manufacture. We are startled, almost, when we recollect how few years have passed since Bradford was an unnoticed and obscure town—known chiefly because it produced a few plain stuffs, and lay in the coach road betwixt the great seats of the woollen and the cotton manufacture! Now, it is a densely peopled town—its fabrics known in every clime; and everywhere, not merely admired for their beauty and sought after for their cheapness, but disputing the palm of lightness and elegance with the once unrivalled fabrics of the cotton and the silk loom. Surrounded as we are with evidences of the rising importance of this manufacture, in the rows of substantial cottages and elegant houses which start up, as by a magic power, almost in a day, and in the elegant erections destined as repositories of our varied fabrics, we do not grasp the whole extent of our own greatness (and, be it admitted, that of the whole worsted district around us) until we compare the export of our peculiar fabrics at this moment with the exports of a few years, *a very few years* back. Will our readers believe us when we say, that the number of *pieces* of stuffs exported for the years 1820-4, 1840-2, and 1843, are respectively 1,064,441, 1,901,734, and 2,443,771; and the number of *yards* of mixed cotton and worsted fabrics for the same years respectively, 893,470, 5,199,244, and 11,129,975,—and yet so it is. Nor does this convey a correct or adequate idea of our progress. The export of yarn for the years 1831, 1841, and 1843, was respectively, 1,592,455lbs., 4,903,291lbs., and 7,410,313lbs. Nor is this all. We know the home consumption is vastly augmented; but, unfortunately, we have no means of accurately measuring it; unless, indeed, we took the number of spindles and looms at work now and at any former year during the last 20 or 30. The comparison would amaze us, we are sure! Well, but what of all this, our readers may say. Why, just this, that such a trade, so wonderfully enlarged, so important to the national greatness and wealth, ministering to so much of the comfort, convenience, and elegance even of life, and linking us with so many nations by the process of exchange, *ought* not to be unrepresented in the approaching bazaar. What would it be for our merchants and manufacturers, each to send a dozen or a score of their choicest fabrics, or a score of assorted qualities and fabrics, to the bazaar? A justifiable pride would be gratified, and a great cause forwarded by a small sacrifice. The dyers would be emulous to dye the specimens gratis, for the mere love of their art. If we may hope that a generous spirit of emulation will prompt to a liberal and large contribution (large and liberal in the *aggregate*, we mean), then we would suggest that some scribe, famous for proficiency in the art of caligraphy, should record on vellum the population of our town in 1811 and in 1841, and the exports of our fabrics in such years, betwixt 1820 and 1843, as might best illustrate our progress,—show with what nations we hold intercourse; and we would get some eloquent pen to inscribe underneath the proud record, words which should express the desire of the producers of the fabrics over which it was placed, that they should enjoy freedom to dispose of the fruit of their industry, skill, and taste, with all people, ministering to the enjoyment of others, and receiving back contributions to their own; and whilst thus linking together, by mercantile dealing, nation and nation, insensibly binding them together in the more imperishable bonds of a *felt* mutual obligation and dependence. There is an old proverb, which says something about the sufficiency of *few* words, when addressed to wise people;—without flattery to our merchants and manufacturers, we do not say *more* on the subject of this article, because we take them to be included in the honourable category just named.—*Bradford Observer*.

The Bazaar to be held in Covent-garden Theatre in July next, in aid of the £100,000 fund, will embrace specimens of British skill and industry in arts and manufactures from all parts of the kingdom, thus illustrating the progress of the national mind in the useful and ornamental arts. Nor will this be all. The ladies have taken the matter up, and numbers of stalls will be covered with their delicate handiwork, in the shape of drawings, Berlin wool, embroidery, needlework, and other elegant feminine productions. The bazaar, too, will be national rather than metropolitan in its character, and will partake in no small degree of the "representative system," it being, we understand, the intention of the ladies of the leading cities and towns to have stalls on the occasion, each to bear the name of the town to which it belongs. This will, no doubt, create a laudable rivalry, each place striving to show itself thoroughly in earnest in the cause. The county of Cornwall will, we hope, take a conspicuous place in the exhibition. It affords a most excellent opportunity for making the inhabitants of the Metropolis, as well as people from all parts of the kingdom, especially acquainted

with the great progress made in this country in the construction of steam engines and other kinds of machinery connected with mining, &c.—*Falmouth Packet*.

The great Bazaar, to demonstrate the powers of England's mechanical skill, and devotion to the principles of commercial freedom, will be held in London in the month of July. We trust that Preston and all the Lancashire towns will be foremost in their contributions to this national offering. Let the leisure time of the ladies and the ingenuity of the mechanics be called speedily into action, and when help is wanted to provide materials to work with, let the idle rich be appealed to, to supply these requisites. We have no doubt but there are clever workmen who would willingly give their labour, but, unless assisted with materials to work upon, that labour will be lost to the Bazaar.—*Preston Guardian*.

The Council of the League, in pursuance of its great object—the emancipation of British industry from the commercial restrictions to which it is subjected—has resolved to combine with the Free-Trade Bazaar, about to be held in Covent-garden Theatre during a part of this summer, an exhibition of the products of British arts and manufactures; and has applied to Cambridge for an assistance, which has been accorded. It has long been desired by all who take an interest in the intellectual and mercantile progress of the nation, that England, like France, should have a periodical exposition of the artistic condition of the different branches of industry, so as to afford the means of judging how far intellectual refinement has kept pace with the advance in physical comforts. As the League is the only great body before the country which has no connexion with party politics, it is peculiarly fitted to undertake the task, and is, indeed, to some extent bound to do so, for it is believed that very few Englishmen are aware of the wonders that have been wrought by British skill and industry, particularly in the ornamental manufactures; and still fewer are aware of the vast and varied advantages we possess for commanding pre-eminence in the world's markets, if they were opened to our free competition.—*Cambridge Advertiser*.

REPLIES TO THE LEEDS MEMORIALS ON THE CORN LAWS.—Replies have been received from the members for this borough to the memorials from a considerable majority of the electors, requesting them to support the intended motion of the Hon. C. P. Villiers for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. A memorial from Holbeck having been sent to the West Riding members, a reply has been received from the Hon. John S. Wortley. Mr. Aldam writes as follows:—"House of Commons, May, 16, 1844. My dear Sir: I received your letter in due course, and at the same time the memorial of a large number of the electors of Leeds respecting the Corn Laws, and the import duties on necessities of life. I shall continue to give my support to Mr. Villiers's motion; and I hold with undiminished strength my opinion of the impolicy of laws which prevent the articles of greatest consumption from becoming the subjects of our extended commerce. I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully, W. Aldam, jun. To J. G. Marshall, Esq."—Mr. Beckett states that the subject shall have his best attention, but that at present his views are not in unison with those of Mr. Villiers. Mr. Stuart Wortley expresses his regret that it will not be in his power to support Mr. Villiers's motion, but that he will feel it his duty to resist it.

PRICE OF BREAD IN PARIS AND IN LONDON.—The highest price of white wheat of the first quality in Paris is 33s. per 1½ hectolitre, which is equivalent to 50s. 5d. per quarter; and the highest price of white wheat of the first quality in London being 62s. per quarter, it follows that wheat is about 23 per cent. dearer in London than in Paris. The highest price of flour of the first quality in Paris is 40s. 7s. 6d. per 100 kilogrammes, which is equal to 40s. 9d. per sack of 280lb. English; and the highest price of town-made flour in the London market being 50s. per sack, it follows that flour is 22½ per cent. dearer in London than in Paris. The price of bread of the first quality in Paris is 35s. per kilogramme, which is equivalent to nearly 6d. per 4lb. loaf English weight; and the price of bread in London at the shops of the full-priced bakers being 8½d. per 4lb., it follows that bread is 4½ per cent. dearer in London than in Paris. It appears, therefore, that, at present, flour in London and Paris bears nearly the same proportions as the prices of wheat in the two countries, being in either case about 23 per cent. dearer here than in Paris; the price of bread in London is, however, upwards of 18 per cent. above this difference, being 4½ per cent. dearer than in Paris.—*Times City article*.

A MODEL FOR EMPLOYERS.—Adam Brown, in an able communication to the LEAGUE, gives various extracts from a letter received by him from an "Essex Farmer," whom we may safely conclude to be Mr. Biggs, the enterprising and philanthropic tenant of Earl de Grey, of whose immense services to the poor in his neighbourhood Mr. Brown gave an account in a former communication. The account then given of Mr. Biggs's practice we laid before our readers; but, fluttering as was the picture drawn, it was scarcely sufficient to display all the merits of the truly good and high-minded individual in question. In the communication now before us an additional trait in his character is pointed out, by which he is entitled to peculiar admiration. Among the passages cited by Mr. Brown from the letter of his correspondent, is the following, in which he speaks of some labourers who are, by most people, considered too bad to be employed. In regard to individuals of this ill-fated class, he observes:—"These, of all persons, should be employed; for those men, by mixing with the sober and industrious in employment, will be shamed out of their evil practices. When there is no employment the mind is unoccupied, and all kind of evil and base thoughts are generated, and, in many instances, put into practice." So much for the humane and noble sentiments entertained by this man, who was himself at one time no more than a poor labourer. His sentiments, however, are not confined to barren expression. The paragraph from his letter given above is followed by the unjoined observations of Mr. Brown:—"This 'Essex Farmer' does not merely write this benevolent philosophy on paper: he practises what he writes. Some of the working men about his farm told me when I was there, that such was his practice. If he saw an outcast—a man fresh from prison, it might be—whom no other farmer would employ, he took that man and put a spade or a hatchet in his hand, after filling his belly, and sent him to work, and paid him for his work, and tried to reclaim him. This is noble philanthropy."—*Wexford Independent*.

REVIEW.

Coningsby; or, the New Generation. By B. Disraeli, Esq., M.P. London, Colburn.—(Second Notice.)

More than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the cessation of foreign wars has permitted the administration and the people of England to look each other fairly in the face; and the result has been, as Coningsby intimates, the creation of a mutual distrust, which every day grows wider. Our statesmen have no faith in the people, and the people have no faith in our statesmen; a cold scepticism pervades every social relation connected with the Government—parties are held together by names and not by principles—political leaders have neither confidence in the public nor in themselves. It is this want of faith which has produced the necessity for the League. We find that we cannot trust either of the great bodies which divide the state; but we have unshaken trust in the British nation, and we, therefore, turn from parties to the people. On this point the League is in unison with the small body of independent thinkers, known by the name of Young England; like them, the League rejects the mere cant of party, spurns the hollow sophistry of name, recognises no political sectarianism, and demands the assertion of universal principles. The nation wants something intelligible and substantial; it cannot be much longer beguiled by mere plausibilities. It asks the Conservative what it is he means to conserve, and it demands of the Destructive what it is he means to destroy. This craving for some definite policy and statesmanship has been admirably set forth in the reviews of "Coningsby" which have appeared in the *Times* newspaper, and which we sincerely hope to see published in a separate form. Let us in the mean time examine Mr. Disraeli's historical survey of political parties, beginning with that to which Sir Robert Peel unfortunately attached himself at the commencement of his public life.

"The chief members of this official confederacy were men distinguished by none of the conspicuous qualities of statesmen. They had none of the divine gifts that govern senates and guide councils. They were not orators; they were not men of deep thought or happy resource; or of penetrative and sagacious minds. Their political ken was essentially dull and contracted. They expended some energy in obtaining a defective blundering acquaintance with foreign affairs; they knew as little of the real state of their own country as savages of an approaching eclipse. This factious league had shuffled themselves into power by clinging to the skirts of a great minister, the last of Tory statesmen, but who, in the unparalleled and confounding emergencies of his latter years, has been forced, unfortunately for England, to relinquish Toryism. His successors inherited all his errors without the latent genius, which in him might have still rallied and extricated him from the consequences of his disasters. His successors did not merely inherit his errors; they exaggerated, they caricatured them. They rode into power on a spring tide of all the rampant prejudices and rancorous passions of their time. From the King to the poor their policy was a mere pandering to public ignorance. Impudently usurping the name of that party of which nationality, and therefore universality, is the essence, these pseudo Tories made Exclusion the principle of their political constitution, and Restriction the genius of their commercial code.

"The blind goddess that plays with human fortunes has mixed up the memory of these men with traditions of national glory. They conducted to a prosperous conclusion the most renowned war in which England has ever been engaged. Yet every military conception that emanated from their cabinet was branded by their characteristic want of grandeur. Chance, however, sent them a great military genius, whom they treated for a long time with indifference; and whom they never heartily supported until his career had made him their master. His transcendent exploits and European events, even greater than his achievements, placed in the manikin grasp. (The English Ministry—the settlement of Europe.)"

When we look back upon the termination of the great continental war, and the force that succeeded its tragedies, we feel sometimes disposed to believe that there are periods in history which should be called epochs of national fatuity. The Congress of Vienna was the most miserable diplomatic failure which the annals of the world record, and England has the bad pre-eminence of having exhibited the greatest amount of incapacity among the incapables, and of weakness among the feeble. One anecdote connected with the sacrifices of colonial dominion then madly made deserves to be known. Sir Stamford Raffles, at the table of one of the Ministers, was speaking on his favourite topic, the incomprehensible abandonment of Java. He was told in reply, to his utter astonishment, that if he had given timely information of the great value of that island, it would never have been yielded to the Dutch. He declared, with truth, that he had sent a very full account of the country to the Colonial Office; and in the archives of the office his despatch was subsequently found unopened! Mr. Disraeli's account of the domestic policy of this miserable Ministry is written with great power, but it derives its principal force from its justice and its truth:—

"The peace of Paris found the Government of this country in the hands of a body of men of whom it is no exaggeration to say that they were ignorant of every principle of every branch of political science. As long as our domestic administration was confined merely to the rules

ing of a revenue, they levied taxes with gross facility from the industry of a country too busy to criticise or complain. But when the excitement and distraction of war had ceased, and they were forced to survey the social elements that surrounded them, they seemed, for the first time, to have become conscious of their own incapacity. These men, indeed, were the more children of routine. They prided themselves on being practical men. In the language of this defunct school of statesmen, a practical man is a man who practices the blunders of his predecessor.

Now commenced that Condition of England Question of which our generation hears so much. During five-and-twenty years every influence that can develop the energies and resources of a nation had been acting with concentrated stimulation on the British Isles. National peril and national glory; the perpetual menace of invasion, the continual triumph of conquest; the most extensive foreign commerce that was ever conducted by a single nation; an illimitable currency; an internal trade supported by swarming millions, whom manufactures and enclosure bills summoned into existence; above all, the supreme control obtained by man over mechanical power; these are some of the causes of that rapid advance of material civilization in England to which the annals of the world can afford no parallel. But there was no proportionate advance in our moral civilization. In the hurry-scurry of money-making, men-making and machine-making, we had altogether outgrown, not the spirit, but the organization, of our institutions.

The peace came; the stimulating influence suddenly ceased; the people, in a novel and painful position, found themselves without guides. They went to the ministry; they asked to be guided; they asked to be governed. Commerce requested a code; trade required a currency; the enfranchised subject solicited his equal privileges; suffering labour clamoured for its rights; a new race demanded education. What did the ministry do?

They fell into a panic. Having fulfilled during their lives the duties of administration, they were frightened because they were called upon, for the first time, to perform the functions of Government. Like all weak men, they had recourse to what they called strong measures. They determined to put down the multitude. They thought they were imitating Mr. Pitt, because they mistook disorganization for sedition.

Their projects of relief were as ridiculous as their system of coercion was ruthless; both were alike founded in intense ignorance. When we recall Mr. Vanittart with his currency resolutions; Lord Castlereagh with his plans for the employment of labour; and Lord Selbourn with his plots for ensuring the Liberator's silence; one is tempted to imagine that the present epoch has been one of peculiar advances in political ability, and marvel how England could have attained her present pitch under a series of such governors.

There is a dark chapter in our history at which Mr. Disraeli only hints, but which we may some time or other be tempted to open, the mystery of iniquity connected with the forging of plots, and the manufacture of conspiracies. Selbourn's detestable emissaries and spies will not always remain safe in the obscurity which has hitherto shrouded them; there are twilight periods in political life when the ominous birds of prey, together with the bats and owls, emerge from the hiding-places where they lay during sunshine, and are seen prowling about the dim horizon: it is at such a period that the managers of Manchester massacres and Bolton Blackfries are found to brave popular indignation, and venture to show themselves abroad. They must be effectually taught that their occupation is gone; instead of furnishing cases to Crown lawyers, they can only supply columns for an effete article in *Regis's* review. There is little chance of the world being frightened with the hideous fables and ugly words which served to support the Ministry of Lord Liverpool. Our author justly remarks that, even in the palmy days of Quarterly rent, the systematic falsehoods of the *Regis* journalists were insufficient to support an administration.

Notwithstanding, however, all this successful mystification, the Arch-Medusa who presided, rather than ruled, over the Cabinet of Ministers, became hourly more conscious that the inevitable train of events fulfilling the duties of an administration to perform the functions of a government could not be conducted without talents and knowledge. The Arch-Medusa had himself some glimmering tradition of political science. He was sprung from a noble stock, had received a liberal training, and, though not a statesman, might be classed among those whom the Lord Keeper Williams used to call "statesmongers." In a subordinate position, his meagre intelligence and his timid method might not have been with advantage; but the qualities that he possessed were amplified; nor in any country could he have been invested with the high properties of a leader. In the conduct of public affairs, his disposition was exactly the reverse of that which is the characteristic of great men. He was presumptuous in little questions, and great ones he left open.

In tracing the subsequent history of administration, the author of "Cunningby" shows some symptoms of wavering and hesitation when he comes to speak of the Duke of Wellington's first appearance as a Cabinet Minister. He has either concealed or forgotten that the Wellesley family had been distinguished as the most prolific of political jobbers in the jockeying Parliament of Ireland, and that the Duke of Wellington in his earlier days had held a seat in that corrupt assembly, where he served his apprenticeship to the art of ruling a nation by the unscrupulous use of corruption and terror. The lessons which he then learned were very emphatically renewed when, as Sir Arthur Wellesley, he held the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland; fortunately for himself he was called away from political to military life, and the merits of the successful general effaced the failures of the blundering politician. There was

one person, however, who did not forget the blunders and worse than blunders of Sir Arthur Wellesley when Irish Secretary, and that was the Duke of Wellington himself, when he declared that "he would be mad to think of becoming the head of an administrative cabinet." He did subsequently take upon himself that office; he introduced into the Ministerial ranks the drill and discipline of the parade; he taught the Conservative party to forget everything but the word of command; he schooled them into marching and countermarching, wheeling and holding line, advancing and retreating, without ever venturing to ask the why or wherefore of a single movement. This discipline has rendered his party exceedingly formidable in attack, and has just in the same proportion diminished its power of holding a defensive position, which has ever proved the most dangerous to mercenary troops. He refused to them the slightest freedom of thought, word, and action; and hence a few years sufficed to reduce them to mere machines, equally destitute of intellectual and moral exertion. The results of the Wellington discipline on what is called the Conservative party cannot be better stated than in the words of the *Times*:—

"England at the present day is a gathering of sects, and classes, and factions, all equally selfish, equally blind. The power of the monarch, in whose person the wisdom of the past ever recognised the leader of the people, gone; the universality of the Church, pervading every rank, and alone equalizing all by a dignified isopotism, a thing unknown;—and in its stead a respectable establishment, frigid,itudinarian, alarmed, decorous; composed of priests who write books on Algebra and Greek metres, but powerless to mould the conscience and touch the feelings of the rugged multitude;—and, lastly, a peasantry, estranged from Church and March and aristocracy, by the suicidal neglect of all—consigned alternately to the dreary walls of grim bastilles and the dreary consolations of infidelity and Chartism. Such are the elements of our social state. To rescue the country from a position so dangerous—to substitute principles, acknowledged in men's hearts, for words which are but as a lie—to renovate by restitution, and to conserve by shrinking from concession—to destroy for ever that painful medley of selfish exclusiveness and ponderous mediocrity which for many years weighed on England like a nightmare, under the assumed name of Tory Statesmanship—a statesmanship of blunders and expedients and restrictions—these are put forth as the objects of men whom youth may have made too bold and confident of success, but whom history has taught not to despair while there is aught of private virtue or national character remaining among us—as long as forms remain to inspire reverence, and opinion to influence conduct."

Mr. Disraeli avoids entering upon the discussion which must, at no distant date, be forced upon public attention—the effect of the Duke of Wellington's dictatorship upon political party, especially the military discipline which he has established among his followers, and of which the recent divisions on the factory question furnish a flagrant example. We turn, however, to another subject, the sudden loss of power by the Whig party at the moment that their tenure of office seemed most secure. After relating the history of a contested election, Mr. Disraeli continues:—

"And here in a work which, in an unpretending shape, aspires to take neither an unimpaired nor a partial view of the political history of the ten eventful years of the Reform struggle, we should pause for a moment to observe the stringency that, only five years after the reconstruction of the electoral body by the Whig party, in a borough called into political existence by their policy, a manufacturing town, too, their candidate comprising in his person every quality and circumstance which would recommend him to the constituency, and his opponent the worst specimen of the old generation—a political adventurer—who owed the last desperate part of his notoriety to his opposition to the Reform Bill; that in such a borough under such circumstances there should be a contest, and that, too, one of a very doubtful issue."

"What was the cause of this? Are we to seek it in the 'reaction' of the Tories and the Tapers? That would not be a very satisfactory solution. Reaction to a certain extent is the law of human existence. In the particular case of affairs before us—England after the Reform Act—it never could be doubted that time would gradually and, in some instances, rapidly counteract the national impulse of 1832. There never could have been a question, for example, that the English counties would have reverted to their natural allegiance to their proprietors; but the results of the appeals to the third estate in 1835 and 1837 are not to be accounted for by a mere readjustment of legitimate influences."

"The truth is, that, considerable as are the abilities of the Whig leaders; highly as they are held as many of them; unquestionably must be acknowledged in parliamentary debate; experienced in conduct; sedulous in office; eminent as scholars; powerful from their position; the absence of individual influence, of the pervading authority of a commanding mind, has been the cause of the fall of the Whig party."

"Such a supremacy was generally acknowledged in Lord Grey on the accession of this party to power; but it was the supremacy of a tradition rather than of a fact. Almost at the outset of his authority his success or was indicated. When the crisis arrived, the intended successor was not in the Whig ranks. It is in this virtual absence of a real and recognised leader, almost from the moment that they passed their great measure, that we must seek a clue to the fall of the Whig party. All those distempered elections of 1832, all those dark intrigues, that finally broke up not only the Whig Government, but the Whig party; demoralised their ranks; and sent them to the country, both in 1835 and 1837, with every illusion which had operated so happily in their favour in 1832, scattered to the winds. In all things we trace the irresistible influence of the individual."

"And yet the interval that elapsed between 1835 and

1837 proved, that there was all this time in the Whig array one entirely competent to the office of leading a great party, though his capacity for that fulfilment was too tardily recognised."

"Lord John Russell has that degree of imagination which, though evinced rather in sentiment than expression, still enables him to generalise from the details of his reading and experience; and to take those comprehensive views, which, however easily depreciated by ordinary men in an age of routine, are indispensable to a statesman in the conjunctures in which we live. He understands, therefore, his position; and he has the moral intrepidity which prompts him ever to dare that which his intellect assures him is politic. He is, consequently, at the same time, sagacious and bold in council. As an administrator, he is prompt and indefatigable. He is not a natural orator; and labours under physical deficiencies which even a Demosthenic impulse could scarcely overcome. But he is experienced in debate; quick in reply, fertile in resource; takes large views; and frequently compensates for a dry and hesitating manner by the expression of those noble truths that flash across the fancy, and rise spontaneously to the lip, of men of poetic temperament when addressing popular assemblies. If we add to this a private life of dignified repose; the accidents of his birth and rank, which never can be severed from the man, the action of a great historic family, and born as it were to the hereditary service of the state, it is difficult to ascertain at what period, or under what circumstances, the Whig party have ever possessed, or could obtain, a more efficient leader."

The fall of the Whig party was predicted by all thoughtful politicians from the introduction of the Irish Coercion Bill. Never was there a more monstrous abandonment of all former professions, and all recognised principles. The measure bore all the appearance of haste and passion; it was carried through both Houses with an utter disregard of the very appearance of consistency; and when at length it became law, the Ministers stood before the country in the very ridiculous position of one who has got a wolf by the ears, is afraid to hold him, but is still more afraid to let him go. It was a measure which proclaimed that the Whig statesmen had neither confidence in themselves nor in the people; and their incapacity to devise remedial measures was their only apology for having recourse to unconstitutional violence.

Every one knew that the English people did not obtain the Reform Bill to the extent which had been originally intended; the two capital defects of admitting tenants-at-will to the franchise, and preserving the right of voting in the old freemen, both of which the Whig leaders had resisted, were thought to require a counteracting extension of the franchise to independent classes, and the protection of the ballot to dependent voters. These measures were a logical deduction from the principles on which the Reform Bill was declared to be based; but when these measures were sought, Lord John Russell answered with the assertion of finality; an assertion to which he clung the more tenaciously as it was the more illogical if not irrational. The great body of the nation understood this strange declaration as the announcement of a ministerial resolution to put an end to all improvement, and from that hour thinking men began to be persuaded that even administrative reform should be sought from other quarters. The celebrated Whig budget was regarded as little better than a mockery by the parties it was intended to conciliate; such measures proposed by a Government in the very decrepitude of weakness, seemed to be a palpable delusion. Mr. Disraeli's view of the state of parties in 1841 is, on the whole, correct, and is calculated to suggest much useful reflection.

"The state of political parties in England in the spring of 1841 offered a most remarkable contrast to their condition at the period commemorated in the first chapter of this work. The banners of the Conservative camp at this moment lowered on the Whig forces as the gathering host of the Norman invader frowned on the coast of Sussex. The Whigs were not yet conquered, but they were doomed; and they themselves knew it. The mistake which was made by the Conservative leaders in not retaining office in 1839—and whether we consider their conduct in a national and constitutional light, or as a mere question of political tactics and party prudence, it was unquestionably a great mistake—had infused into the corpse of Whig authority a kind of galvanic action, which only the superficial could mistake for vitality. Even to form a basis for their future operations, after the conjuncture of '39, the Whigs were obliged to make a fresh inroad on the revenue, the daily increasing debility of which was now arresting attention, and exciting public alarm. It was clear that the catastrophe of the Government would be financial."

"Under all the circumstances of the case, the conduct of the Whig Cabinet in their final propositions cannot be described as deficient either in boldness or prudence. The policy which they recommended was in itself a sagacious and spirited policy, but they erred in supposing that at the period it was brought forward any measures promoted by the Whigs could have obtained general favour in the country. The Whigs were known to be feeble; they were looked upon as tricksters. The country knew they were opposed by a very powerful party, and, though there certainly never was any authority for the belief, the country did believe that that powerful party were influenced by great principles; had in their view a definite and national policy; and would secure England, instead of a feeble administration and fluctuating opinions, energy and a creed."

"The future effect of the Whig propositions of '41 will not be detrimental to that party, even if in the interval they be appropriated piecemeal, as will probably be the case, by their Conservative successors. But for the moment, and in the plight in which the Whig party found themselves, it was impossible to have devised measures

more conducive to their precipitate fall. Great interests were menaced by a weak Government. The consequence was inevitable. Tadpole and Taper saw it in a moment. They snuffed the factious air, and felt the coming storm. Notwithstanding the extreme congeniality of these worthies, there was a little latent jealousy between them. Tadpole worshipped Registration; Taper adored a Cry. Tadpole always maintained that it was the winnowing of the electoral lists that could alone gain the day; Taper, on the contrary, faithful to ancient traditions, was ever of opinion that the game must ultimately be won by popular clamour. It always seemed so impossible that the Conservative party could ever be popular, the extreme graciousness and personal popularity of the leaders not being generally esteemed a sufficient hedge against the inveterate odium that attached to their opinions, that the Tadpole philosophy was the favoured tenet in high places; and Taper had had his knuckles well rapped more than once for manœuvring too actively against the New Poor Law, and for hiring several link-boys to bawl a much wronged lady's name in the Park when the Court prorogued Parliament.

"And now, after all, in 1841 it seemed that Taper was right. There was a great clamour in every quarter, and the clamour was against the Whigs and in favour of Conservative principles. What Canadian timber merchants meant by Conservative principles it is not difficult to conjecture; or West India planters. It was tolerably clear on the hustings what squires and farmers and their followers meant by Conservative principles. What they mean by Conservative principles now is another question; and whether Conservative principles mean something higher than the perpetuation of fiscal arrangements, some of them very impolitic, none of them very important. But no matter what different bodies of men understood by the cry in which they all joined, the Cry existed; Taper beat Tadpole; and the great Conservative party beat the shattered and exhausted Whigs."

It was at this crisis that the League first rose into importance; everywhere there was felt a want of something on which the nation could rely more substantial than that aristocratic patronage of popular measures which was ever ready to sacrifice national objects to the exigencies of party. It was the first time since the days of Cromwell that the middle classes, self-officered and self-disciplined, appeared as a political body in the State. It was the first time since the days of the Long Parliament that popular leaders reposed full trust in the people alone, and that the people responded to them with more than an answering share of confidence. The League has a simple creed and an intelligible faith; mutual and unlimited confidence is the bond of its union and the primary condition of its federation; in an age of general distrust and almost universal scepticism, it exhibits to the world an organization of faith, a union of self-reliance and mutual reliance which has had no parallel in modern history.

Here we must pause for the present; but "Comingsby" has still some historical lessons which we have left untouched, but to which we shall return at an early opportunity.

Patriotism, and other Poems. By George Richardson. London: Adms. Manchester: Falkner.

An interesting autobiography forms the introduction to this little volume, and conveys a very favourable impression of the taste and feeling of the author. His poems maintain the same character; for though the metre is occasionally rough, and some of the epithets not very appropriate, there is not a line which does not bear the stamp and impress of an honest heart, alive to every generous sympathy, and responsive to every noble emotion. We are always glad to receive accessions to literature from the manufacturing districts, for, though there may be some deficiency in artistic skill, the poets of Lancashire exhibit a genuine love of nature, and an earnestness in the cause of humanity, which may well atone for mere structural deficiencies. If, on the one hand, they are wanting in metropolitan polish and scholastic refinement, on the other they are free from conventional cant and sentimental affectation. Like Bamford, the author before us is a poet of the poor, and earnestly pleads their cause by appeals not to benevolence but to justice. There is an indignant energy in the following lines very different from the maudlin sentimentality which is just now fashionable in London:—

"Look on the crowded streets, and trace
The aching breast in many a face!
The lowly mass, the labouring band
Who prop the grandeur of the land,
The vigour that upholds the state,
The blood and vitals of the great!
Oh! deep the hardships that the poor
With sad humility endure—
The battling destiny of years,
Through toil and sweat, through want and tears,
Which they must brave, which they must bear,
Nor murmur at their slavish care;
Scarce look or speak—a tyrant's curse
Might make their slavery doubly worse!
Preferring (calmly great) a wrong,
They learn to suffer and be strong!
In misery they live—they die,
And this is British Liberty!"

Though usually affectionate in his remonstrances against oppression, there are some passages in which he pours forth a spirit of honest reprobation against the hollow pretences by which oppression is attempted to be justified:—

"Ye proud voluptuaries of earth
Who boast—how vainly boast of birth!
Yet ask Protection! shame, oh, shame!
Degraded and perverted name!"

Protect ye, millions of the land,
Against a trammelled, hungry band!
Protect ye, in your chariot pride,
Against the houseless at your side!
Protect ye, at your orgiastic rites,
Against the squalid foodless wights!
Protect ye, 'gainst the low, obscure,
The weakly, harassed, prostrate poor!
Protect ye, whilst ye dare to hold
Heaven's bounty for the lust of gold;
What know ye in your princely domes
Of thousands and their narrow homes?
What know ye of the common want—
Of wages, or of warmth the scant?
What know ye of the lack of bread,
The throb of woe, the fevered head?
No anxious days, no nightly throes,
Perplex your minds, or wound repose,
Tho' near, yet far, ye dwell apart,
And reck not of the anguished heart!
Vouchsafe to open 'one cottage door,'
And yield some solace to the poor;
Approach with sympathetic care,
And see the sickly misery there!"

Another passage, in a similar strain, deserves to be noticed:—

"Lo, where Corruption, as a demon, lurks,
And in dark guise the mesh of misery works;
There the Monopolist, with glib tongue,
Adds ill to ill, and selfish wrong on wrong;
There the aristocrats in riches shine,
Mammon at once their homely and shrine;
Taxing their market, for their country's grief,
The workhouse or the dungeon for relief.
There, too, Oppression makes his grim abode,
Opposed to Freedom, Nature, and to God!
Whilst rankling scorn and festering hate, the while,
Degrade for worldly lust the sons of toil;
There feudal lords confer in bitter mood,
And over partial laws in baseness brood,
Lay sinful imposts on the fruitful sod,
Taxing the living grain—the heritage of God!"

Although there are some weak lines in the passage descriptive of the social blessings to be derived from Free Trade and unfettered commerce, there runs through it such a healthy spirit of religious sense of right that we cannot refuse it insertion:—

"Let Commerce, with its genial smile,
Spread its bright wings o'er every isle;
Our ships be freighted with free store,
And blessings bring from shore to shore—
From north to south, from east to west
And make the world with comforts blest!
Labour!—a great, a mutual good—
Would yield us profit, raiment, food,
And free exchange would grant to all
A golden boon 'gainst needy thrall;
Promote a social, friendly tone,
With tribes and states as yet unknown;
Convinced that God for great and small,
Gave produce of the earth for all!"

"Unshackle all—let free the Patriot voice!
To urge their wish—have rulers of their choice;
Nor subsidy presume, with golden gloss,
To tempt the hushing with its guilty dross."

"List to the voice of Mercy sweet—
'Give to the hungry food to eat!'
And will they not his goodness share,
Who tend the poor with watchful care?
And will not penal judgment wait
On them who bind the humble state
Who tax their corn—a grievous wrong—
And trample on the suffering throng?
Mysterious Power! oh, dign to scan
This wayward, finite atom—man,
And bless with motives thoughtful, kind,
The stubborn passions of the mind;
Let fall Thy providential will;
Oh, turn away the impending ill,
And to the rulers wisdom give,
For better laws, that man may live,
Enjoying bounties sent by Thee,
Eternal, infinite, and free!
Oh, let them, like the chosen band
Of Israel, reap the fruitful land,
When the great kings and furious host
Fought 'gainst the Lord by Merom's coast;
For Joshua, at the sacred word,
Unsheathed his just and righteous sword,
And Hazer's mighty kingdom's lay
In ruin, on that fatal day!"

There are several picturesque descriptions of scenery in this little volume, which show that the author has viewed nature with the eye of a poet and a painter. We take one of these, not because it is the best, but because it is of the most manageable length:—

"SUNRISE IN SPRING."

"The shadow of night from the east hath rolled,
Now the Sun comes forth on his throne of gold!
And around his heavenly pathway bright,
Like an ocean appear vast gleams of light;
And tracks of purple and azure are seen,
As a glorious land in the far serene;
And shapes are there like a citadel rent,
With rampart, and tower, and battlement!
Now the hills, which were lately cold and dun,
Are fringed with the glare of the burning sun;
And the dew appears to nourish the birth,
And moisten the shoots of the droughty earth.
A freshness comes with the blushes of morn,
Like a zephyr with fragrant riches borne;
And the trees, which drooped as a maiden grieves,
Now quiver and flutter their myriad leaves,
And seem to rejoice in a matin lay,
Which floats aloft to the Giver of day!
Behold, in the sunlit meadow and glade,
A glittering gem on the verdant blade;
And purely bright is each dewy bead,
Like an orient pearl on an emerald bed!
The birds are awake, and on rapturous wing
Are greeting the morn and the budding Spring;

And the lark is up with its trilling lyre,
Like a messenger sent from the feathered choir,
To soar unseen 'neath the temple of God,
And utter their thanks from the tree and sod!
What a lesson for man, of praise and love,
To the essence of glory and goodness above!"

Although the poetry in this little volume is not of the highest school, and sometimes manifests a want of artistic training, yet it is, on the whole, highly creditable to the writer's intellectual powers, and still more creditable to his moral feelings.

THE FOREIGN CORN TRADING.—We find the following curious note in a work on the corn trade in France:—"During the period of 27 years, from 1815 to 1841, 17 harvests were insufficient, and rendered the importation of foreign corn necessary. In 1838, this corn amounted to 1-75th part of the consumption. Two years ago France paid 92,000,000*l.* for wheat alone brought from abroad; and, in 1817 purchased to the amount of 72,000,000*l.* Once, in 1832, the importation amounted to 4,000,000 hectolitres. The average per annum, during the 27 years from 1815 to 1841, was 800,000 hectolitres. (The hectolitre is rather more than 2½ bushels.)"

SILK MONOPOLY AT ROME.—The frequent allusions to silk in the complimentary poems of Claudian, receive illustration from various imperial laws, which were promulgated in the same century, and in part by the very emperors to whom his flattery is addressed, and which are preserved in the *Code of Justinian*. Their object was not to encourage the silk manufacture, but, on a principle very opposite to that of modern times, to make it an imperial monopoly. The admiration excited by the splendour and elegance of silk attire was the ground on which it was forbidden that any individual of the male sex should wear even a silken border upon his tunic or his pallium, with the exception of the emperor, and his officers and servants. To confine the enjoyment of these luxuries more entirely to the imperial family and court, all private persons were strictly forbidden to engage in the manufacture, and gold and silken borders were to be made only in the imperial city.—*Fate's History of Weaving among the Ancients.*

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.—A copy of the following resolutions, agreed to at a late meeting of the Northamptonshire Agricultural Book-Club, has been forwarded to us, with the request that we will give them our consideration. We think that we cannot better meet the views of the members of the club than by laying the resolutions before our readers:—"On the best Method of Improving the Condition of the English Agricultural Labourers. Resolved—That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the best mode of improving the condition of the agricultural labourer is,—1. By establishing and encouraging, in every village, daily and Sunday schools, for useful and religious education. 2. By promoting the establishment of clubs upon a sound and permanent basis, for providing funds for the relief of the sick and superannuated, and also clothing and provident clubs. 3. By procuring cottage gardens, not exceeding one rood of good land, near to the residence of the occupier, and, where practicable, attached to his house. 4. By providing labourers with comfortable cottages, containing no less than two bedrooms. 5. By paying the labourers weekly on a Friday instead of Saturday, thereby giving them an opportunity of laying out their earnings to the best advantage. 6. By adopting every possible means of giving constant employment to the agricultural labourers throughout the year, and of paying them according to the work performed, and not according to their necessities. 7. By pressing upon the attention of the members, composed of landlords, land-agents, and tenant-farmers, the importance of carrying out the spirit of the 6th Resolution, by devising means of increasing labour in such a manner as will secure to the employer a return equivalent to the additional outlay, without which the occupier cannot afford the expense consequent on such increase of labour."—*Birmingham Advertiser.*

COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES IN GREECE.—Commercial occupation were never in great esteem among the ancient Greeks. No person of ancient nobility ever condescended to them, although conversely a manufacturer might raise himself to the head of public affairs, such as Cleon, Hypocholus, and others. The early statesmen, however, encouraged industry, especially Solon, Themistocles, and Pericles, partly with the intention of improving the condition of the lower classes, and partly of increasing the population of the city; as well as of advancing the cause of commerce, and of manning the numerous fleets, by which, after the time of Themistocles, the Athenians held the mastery of the sea. And it was this circumstance that rendered the resident aliens indispensable for Athens, who carried on manufactures and commerce to a great extent, and were bound to serve in the fleet. It even appears that the useful arts were encouraged by honorary rewards, though, even by these means, they could not rank in the public estimation. There were prizes for the common people, for which the higher ranks did not compete with them. At the same time the respectable citizens, who had none of the higher aristocratic notions, like Pericles, Alcibiades, or Callias, the son of Hippocrates, whose pride yielded in nothing to the haughtiness of the modern nobility, were not ashamed of superintending extensive manufactories worked at their own expense. The inferior citizens were as much reduced to the necessity of manual labour as the poor aliens and slaves. It was not until after the balance had been turned in favour of the aristocracy that measures of severity were brought forward; as, for example, Diophantus proposed that all the manual labourers should be made public slaves. There was again another reason why no restriction should have been imposed upon the freedom of industry, viz., the little importance that was attached to it; an alien was allowed to carry on any trade although he was prohibited from holding any property in land, with regard, indeed, to the sale in the market, strangers were on a less advantageous footing than natives, as they were obliged to pay a duty for permission to expose their goods there. The law of Solon, that men should not deal in ointments, was only founded on principles of education, in order to withdraw men from womanish labours; subsequently, however, it became a dead letter, for Machines the philosopher had a manufactory of ointments.—*Bosch's Economy of Athens.*

POOR LAW COMMISSIONERS' REPORT.

(EXTRACT.) May 1, 1844.

We rejoice to be able to state that, since the date of the last report, the demand for labour, both in the manufacturing and agricultural parts of the country, has continued steadily to increase, and that during last winter (which was, indeed, on account of its mildness, eminently favourable to the working classes) the administration of relief to the unemployed poor was not attended with any serious difficulty. The regulations respecting the out-door relief of the able-bodied, which were in force in the several unions, were generally observed, and we were not required by special circumstances to modify our general orders on this subject.

The expenditure for the relief of the poor, which decreased annually during 1835-6-7, the three years which succeeded the year of the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act, began to increase in 1838, and has continued to increase steadily, in each successive year, up to the year ending Lady-day, 1843, the last parochial year for which the accounts are complete.

The amounts for the two last parochial years are as follows:—

| Years ending Lady-day | Total expenditure for the relief of the poor. |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1842 | £4,911,498 |
| 1843 | 5,218,027 |
| Increase | £296,529 |

The expenditure for the relief of the poor in the parochial year of 1843 is, however, still considerably less than the expenditure for the parochial year 1841, the last parochial year previous to the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act:—

| Years ending Lady-day | Total expenditure for the relief of the poor. |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1841 | £6,317,255 |
| 1843 | 5,218,027 |
| Diminution | £1,100,228 |

The expenditure for the year 1843, therefore, falls short of that for 1841 by a sum exceeding a million sterling; and in comparing these two years the increase of population and wealth which has taken place since 1834 should be considered.

The number of paupers relieved both in and out of the workhouse has increased annually, and by a tolerably rapid rate of progress, since 1840. The total number of paupers in the quarter ending Lady-day, 1840, was 1,199,529, and in the quarter ending Lady-day, 1843, it was 1,539,490, showing an increase in the latter quarter of 339,961. For the last two years the comparison stands thus:—

| Quarters ending Lady-day | In-door Paupers. | Out-door Paupers. | Total. |
|--------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| 1842 | 222,612 | 1,204,545 | 1,427,157 |
| 1843 | 238,560 | 1,300,930 | 1,539,490 |
| Increase | 15,948 | 96,385 | 112,333 |

The total number of persons relieved in England and Wales during the three months ended Lady-day, 1843, exceeded a million and a half, and amounted to one-tenth of the entire population.

The rates of increase have been widely different in different parts of the country. Whilst in 11 counties the increase in the year 1843 over the previous year has exceeded 10 per cent., in 9 counties the increase has only been 1 per cent., in three counties it has been less than 1 per cent., and in six counties there has been even a diminution. It is further to be observed that the counties in which the largest increase has taken place are those which contain the principal seats of manufactures and mining. In the parochial year 1843, compared with 1842, the increase in Staffordshire is 32 per cent., in the West Riding of Yorkshire 26 per cent., and in Lancashire 23 per cent.

We rejoice, however, to be able to state that the progress of pauperism, which had been constant from the year 1837 to Lady-day, 1843, was arrested in the course of last year, and that the expenditure for the half-year ending Michaelmas, 1843, exhibits a diminution of £139,926 as compared with the corresponding half-year for 1842.

In some of the counties in which the increase was greatest in the year ending Lady-day, 1843, the diminution was greatest in the succeeding six months. Thus, in Lancashire, an increase of 23 per cent. is followed by a diminution of 16 per cent.; in Staffordshire an increase of 32 per cent. is followed by a diminution of 10 per cent.; in Leicestershire an increase of 17 per cent. is followed by a diminution of 12 per cent.

For the quarters ended Michaelmas, 1842 and 1840, the comparative numbers of paupers relieved stand thus:—

| Quarters ending Michaelmas | In-door Paupers. | Out-door Paupers. | Total. |
|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| 1842 | 197,397 | 1,175,215 | 1,372,612 |
| 1843 | 186,256 | 1,108,318 | 1,294,574 |

Decrease in 1843 11,141 .. 66,927 .. 78,068—6 per cent.

In our report of last year (section 11) we adverted to our former reports on the difficulties attending the relief of casual and wandering poor, and the inconveniences connected with it. We further stated that those inconveniences continued to be felt in many parts of the country, especially in and near London, though they had been somewhat mitigated by the provision contained in the act 5 and 6 Vic., c. 57, s. 5.

We have continued to give our attention to this subject for many reasons. Some of the most urgent cases of distress occur occasionally among this class of poor, and the denial of relief to persons thus situated may lead to the most fatal consequences. We have not ceased, therefore, to assert the existence of the duty imposed by the law, as it now stands, on parish and union officers to relieve persons in a state of destitution, wherever they may be, and irrespectively of their settlement. On the other hand, we have felt, and still feel, that in no class of cases is it more necessary to administer relief, subject to proper conditions. A neglect of such conditions carries with it, not only the extension of relief to the idle and undeserving, but it tends, at the same time, to promote habitual vagrancy and all the degraded habits which are implied by such a course of life. The difficulty is to steer between two sets of errors—to provide temporary relief for the labourer or mechanic, who may be surprised by sickness or unforeseen misfortune, whilst searching for that employment which he has been unable to procure at home, and at the same time to favour as little as possible a mode of life, squalid indeed, and apparently wretched, but which experience shows us is often preferred by many to the monotony of steady labour on the same spot. This subject assumes

peculiar importance in connexion with the question whether it is expedient at the present moment to authorise the erection of distinct asylums for the class of persons of whom we are now speaking.

LABOUR.—An acre of land that bears here twenty bushels of wheat, another in America which, with the same husbandry, would do the like, a without doubt of the same natural intrinsic value (utility). But yet the benefit that mankind receives from the one in a year is worth five pounds, and from the other possibly not worth a penny, if all the profit an Indian received from it were to be valued and sold here—at least, I may truly say, not one-thousandth. 'Tis labour, then, which puts the greatest part of value upon land, without which it would scarcely be worth anything. 'Tis to that we owe the greatest part of all its useful products; for all that the straw, bran, bread, of that acre of wheat is more worth than the product of an acre of as good land which lies waste, is all the effect of labour. For 'tis not barely the ploughman's pains, the reaper's and thresher's toil, and the baker's sweat, that are to be counted into the bread we eat; the labour of those who broke the oxen, who digged and wrought the iron and stones, who felled and framed the timber about the plough, mill, oven, or any other utensils, which are a vast number, requisite to this corn, from its being sown to its being made bread, must all be charged on the account of labour and received as an effect of that—nature and the earth furnishing only the most worthless materials as in themselves. 'Twould be a strange catalogue of things that industry provided and made use of about every loaf of bread, before it came to our use, if we could trace them. Iron, wood, leather, barks, timber, stone, bricks, coals, lime, cloth, dyeing drugs, pitch, tar, musts, ropes, and all the materials made use of in the ship that brought away the commodities made use of by any of the workmen to any part of the work—all which 'twould be almost impossible, at least too long, to reckon up.—Locke on Civil Government.

THE FUNDS.

| | May 25 | May 27 | May 29 | May 31 | May 31 | May 31 |
|--------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Bank Stock | 198 | 198 | 199 | 199 | 200 | — |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann .. | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | — |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann .. | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | — |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann .. | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 | — |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann .. | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 | — |
| Long An. Ex. 1860 .. | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | — |
| Cons. for Acc. | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | — |
| Exc. Bills, pm. | 72 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 72 | — |
| Ind. Bds. und. 10000 .. | 92 | 92 | 92 | 92 | 92 | — |
| India Stock | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | — |
| Belgian | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 | — |
| Brazilian | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | — |
| Chilian | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 | — |
| Colomb. ex. Venez. .. | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | — |
| Danish | 88 | 88 | 88 | 88 | 88 | — |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. .. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | — |
| Dutch 2 1/2 per Cent. .. | 61 | 61 | 61 | 61 | 61 | — |
| Mexican, 1837 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | — |
| Portuguese, conv. .. | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | — |
| Buenos Ayres | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | — |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. .. | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | — |
| New do. 3 per Ct. .. | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | — |
| Peruvian | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK LANE, Monday, May 27.—There was a pretty good supply of English Wheat to this morning's market; the best samples sold at the prices of this day week, but inferior qualities were 1s. cheaper, and the whole was not cleared at the close of the market, though offered at the above decline. The trade in Foreign Wheat was slow at last week's prices. The arrivals of Barley were moderate, all descriptions readily brought an advance of 1s. from this day week. Beans and Peas were very moderate, and trifling quantities of Oats from Ireland were very moderate, and trifling quantities of Irish were fully 6d. dearer, and for the best samples last week's prices were more readily obtained; the few English and Scotch offerings brought high prices.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

BRITISH.

| | Per Imperial Quarter. |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Wheat Essex, Kent, & Suffolk .. | Red 55 to 60 White 58 to 64 |
| Lincolnshire & Yorkshire .. | 54—58 .. 57—60 |
| Scotch | 52—56 .. 54—60 |
| Irish | 50—52 .. 52—55 |
| Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire .. | Feed 20—22 |
| Do. Do. Do. .. | Short 22—24 Potatoes 22—25 |
| Scotch | Feed 22—24 Potatoes .. |
| Limerick | 20—21 Short 21—24 |
| Cork | 20—21 .. 21—22 |
| Waterford, Youghal, & Cork .. | 19 .. Black .. 20 |
| Sling | 20—21 .. 21—22 |
| Galway | 18—19 .. 19—20 |
| Barley, Grunding .. | 28 to 30 .. Distilling .. 29—31 |
| Multing | 32—34 .. Irish .. 26—30 |
| Beans, Mazagan | 30 .. Tick .. 32—34 |
| Harrow | 34—36 .. Small .. 37—38 |
| Old Tick | 31 to 34 .. Boilers .. 33—36 |
| Peas, White | 31 to 34 .. Boilers .. 28—30 |
| Maple and Grey | per sack of 280 lbs. .. 46—48 |
| Flour, Best Town-made .. | per sack of 280 lbs. .. 40—42 |
| Norfolk and Suffolk .. | — .. — .. — |

FOREIGN.

| | | Per Imperial Quarter | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----|-------|--|
| Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed | | 56 to 63 | 42 | to 46 | |
| Rostock | | 51 — 63 | 42 | — 45 | |
| Stettin | | 48 — 56 | 40 | — 43 | |
| Hamburg | | 48 — 56 | 34 | — 42 | |
| Odessa Polish | | 48 — 53 | 36 | — 38 | |
| Barletta | | 48 — 61 | 32 | — 38 | |
| Russian | soft | 48 — 62 | — | — | |
| Ditto | hard | 45 — 50 | — | — | |
| Spanish | Red | 49 — 55 | — | — | |
| Ditto | White | 52 — 56 | — | — | |
| Barley, Grunding | | 26 — 28 | — | — | |
| Dantzic | | 28 — 30 | — | — | |
| Oats, Archangel | | 20 — 21 | 13 | — 14 | |
| Swedish | | 21 — 22 | 14 | — 15 | |
| Dutch Poland | | — | 19 | — 20 | |
| Beans, Egyptian | | 27 — 28 | 20 | — 21 | |
| Peas, White | | 30 — 34 | — | — | |
| Ditto Boilers | | 32 — 35 | — | — | |
| Flour, Canada | per barrel of 196 lbs | 29 — 31 | — | — | |
| United States | — | 30 — 32 | 22 | — 24 | |
| Dantzic | — | 28 — 30 | — | — | |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 20th to the 25th of May, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 6138 | 1078 | 198 | 916 | 315 |
| Scotch | 170 | — | 248 | — | — |
| Irish | — | — | 30898 | — | — |
| Foreign | 30782 | 12647 | — | — | 57 |

Flour, 6548 sacks, — barn.

FRIDAY, May 31.—The supply of English Wheat alone Monday is moderate, 10,950 qrs. of Foreign have arrived during the week. There is not much activity in the trade, but Monday's prices are supported both for English and Foreign. The supply of English Barley is quite trifling and the arrivals of Foreign are moderate. Monday's rates are well maintained for all descriptions. We can have very scantily supplied with English Oats, and the expected arrival of Irish is delayed by unfavourable winds. There is not much left on sale of the late arrivals, and Monday's prices are readily obtained for all descriptions. Beans and Peas scarce, and fully as dear. The duty on Barley rose yesterday to 7s. Rain fell for some hours during Wednesday night in London and the neighbourhood, but none has fallen since, though the weather is frequently gloomy.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 27th of May to the 31st of May, both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 8130 | 349 | 2870 |
| Barley | — | — | 3760 |
| Oats | 10950 | 6500 | 2220 |

Flour, 3450 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT of the NUMBER of QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE of CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED MAY 25, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. |
| Weekly | 110798 | 3610 | 28386 | 212 |
| Average | 110798 | 3610 | 28386 | 212 |
| Aggregate | 110798 | 3610 | 28386 | 212 |
| Duty | 110798 | 3610 | 28386 | 212 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MAY 24.

CROWN-OFFICE, MAY 23.

MEMBER RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

Borough of Lancaster—William Bowles, Esq., Rear-Admiral of the Blue, Companion of the Bath, in the room of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, who has accepted the office of Governor General of India.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

T. BAKE, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Lancashire, common brewer.

BANKRUPTS.

B. WEBB, High-street, Southwark, cheesemonger. [Brown and Co., Commercial-chambers, Mincing-lane.]

J. W. MARTIN, Newmarket, chemist. [Marriott, Colchester; Jones and Co., John-street, Bedford-row.]

J. M. PIKE, Great Bath-street, Coldbath-square, licensed victualler. [Stuart, New-inn.]

W. PARSON, Southampton grocer. [Walker and Co., Southampton-street, Bloomsbury.]

T. DAVISON, Stockton-upon-Tees, Durham, grocer. [Nixon, Symond's-inn; Brignal, Durham.]

J. SMITH, Manchester, calico printer. [Atkinson and Saunders, Manchester; Makinson and Sanders, Temple.]

J. C. JOHNSON and W. CHAPMAN, Manchester, manufacturing chemists. [Hall and Mourilyan, Verulam-buildings, Gray's-inn; Leeming, Manchester.]

J. PITT, Longdon, Worcestershire, innkeeper. [Bird and Co., Upton-on-Severn; Bloxham, Birmingham.]

DIVIDENDS.

June 14. C. Clarke, Banbury, Oxfordshire, linen-draper—June 14. T. Reynolds, jun., Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street, merchant—June 14. M. Otley, St. James's-street, milliner—June 14. Joseph Vanzeller, New Broad-street, City, merchant—June 14. J. Jardine, Richebucto, New Brunswick, merchant—June 20. C. Pope, Gloucester, copper manufacturer.

CERTIFICATES.

June 14. C. Staples, Southampton, milliner—June 14. T. Anon, Kingsland-road, builder—June 14. J. Tarver, Daventry, Northamptonshire, ironfounder—June 15. T. Bryson, Adle-street, City, commission agent—June 14. J. Cunningham, Newport, Monmouthshire—June 17. G. Wood, Ingram, Northumberlandshire, banker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

C. M. BANNERMAN, Glasgow, merchant—R. Park, East Kilbride, Lanarkshire, innkeeper—A. M'GREGOR, Glasgow, baker—W. KING, Glasgow, victualler.

TUESDAY MAY 28.

BANKRUPTS.

E. G. FLIGHT, Adam-street, Adelphi, publisher [Turner and Henman, Basing-lane, Chapside.]

E. LOUIS, Gerrard-street, Soho, wholesale perfumer. [Crosby and Compton, Church-court.]

E. OXLEY, jun., King's Lynn, Norfolk, hatter. [Dixon, New Bossall-court, Carey-street; Ransom, Salisbury.]

T. BRAND, Stamford-street, Blackfriars, livery stablekeeper. [Harman, Earl-street, Blackfriars.]

J. SISON, Brighton, dealer in toys. [Rickards and Walker, Lincoln's-inn-fields.]

J. BERWICK, Windhill, Yorkshire, worsted stuff manufacturer. [F. and Co., Henrietta-street; Weatherhead and Burr, Biggley; Naylor, Leeds.]

T. KEARSLEY and F. WATF, Run-corn, Cheshire bone merchants [Harrison, Birmingham, Smith, Bedford-row.]

W. MONK, jun., Nottingham, currier [Parsons, Nottingham; Sparrier and Chispm, Birmingham.]

J. BARNARD, Cheltenham, clothes dealer. [Messrs. Winterbotham, Cheltenham; Dix, Bristol.]

DIVIDENDS.

June 18. R. Everard, Pulborough, Sussex, timber merchant—June 18. T. D. Alderson, Great Marlborough-street, porter—June 18. W. R. Pigott, Goldsmith-street, City, carpet warehouseman—June 18. J. Bennett, Rea (ing, Berkshire, railroad contractor—June 18. W. Baker, Lower Grosvenor-street, surgeon—June 18. T. Corrish, Great Marlborough, wine merchant—June 19. W. Scott, Regent-street, wine merchant—June 20. J. M'Connell, Liverpool, tea dealer—June 20. G. F. F. Irclough, Liverpool, money scrivener—June 20. C. Morrell and I. Burland, Liverpool, merchants—June 20. T. White, Liverpool, merchant—June 20. J. Howie, Manchester, merchant—June 19. R. Atkop, Manchester, grocer—June 19. J. Coes, Penrith, Cumberland, linen and woollen draper—June 21. B. Gardner, Leigh, Worcestershire, farmer—June 21. W. Parr, Smallthorn, Staffordshire, shopkeeper—June 19. T. L. Parker, Edgbaston, Warwickshire, coal merchant.

CERTIFICATES.

June 18. J. Todd, Hartfield, Sussex, dealer and chapman—June 20. T. Wilkinson, King street, Holborn, boot and shoe maker—June 18. J. Milner, Brook-street, New-road, engine manufacturer—June 20. T. Watson, Camomile-street, City, victualler—June 20. W. Copper, Reading, Berkshire, grocer—June 19. Z. Parkes and R. Henderson, Duke street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, carpenters—June 18. C. Williams, Sunderland, Durham, currier—June 27. T. Shillito, Leeds, Yorkshire, chemist.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

G. WHITE, Greenock, rice and dye wood miller.

London: Printed by ROBERT PALMER (of Providence-place, Upper Marlborough-lane, in the County of Surrey) and JESSIE PALMER (of Number 230 Strand, in the County of Middlesex), at their printing-office, Number 10, Crane-court, in the Parish of St. Dunston-in-the-Fields, in the County of London, and published by ANTHONY WALTON (of Number 21, Norfolk-street, Strand, in the County of Middlesex) the Office of THE LEAGUE, Number 67, Fleet-street, in the Parish of St. Dunston-in-the-Fields, on Saturday, June 1, 1844.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 37.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1844.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

REGISTER, REGISTER, REGISTER!

The Free-Traders qualified to vote must everywhere prepare to enrol themselves and their friends on the register for the NEXT year.

To entitle a voter to be registered, he must have occupied during the twelve months previous to the 31st of July, premises of the value of £10 a year. He must have been rated for twelve months to the relief of the poor.

He must have paid, on or before the 20th of July, all poor-rates and assessed taxes due to the 6th of April preceding.

Further information and directions will be furnished on application, personally or by letter, to the Local Registration Societies; to Mr. Sidney Smith, 68, Cheapside, London; or to Mr. Hickin, League Offices, Newall's Buildings, Manchester.

For the convenience of individuals whose avocations render it difficult for them to call at the Registration Office, 68, Cheapside, during business hours, arrangements have been made by which attendance will be given every evening at that office until eight o'clock, to fill up and serve claims, and to supply every information relative to Parliamentary registration for counties, cities, and boroughs.

THE LEAGUE, ITS OBJECT AND ITS NECESSITY.

Every great measure of reform is resisted by a powerful and organized body, for all who have an interest in the maintenance of abuse are banded together by the mere fact of participation in profit. Selfishness gives supporters to the cause, and the desire of gain secures discipline. When we look back to the history of past times, and see how long several wrongs have been maintained after the injury they wrought to the community had been repeatedly and palpably demonstrated, we shall find that the strength of the wrong-doers consisted in the compactness of their association, which enabled them, though few in number, to show a firm front, and maintain a successful resistance against the isolated and desultory attacks of the friends of truth and justice. In every age monopolists have shown how deeply they are sensible of their union being the chief source of their strength; in every age the advocates of right have lamentably wasted much strength in separate and individual assaults on evil institutions, which could not long have resisted them had they combined their efforts. There have been many exposures of the iniquitous system of the Corn Laws, and some efforts made to procure their modification or removal, but such efforts were laughed at by the nobles and squires; they knew that, while the Free-Traders fought singly and separately, they would have little chance against the phalanx which monopoly had placed in the Legislature. The League was formed because association was necessary as a means for obtaining the great national object—the emancipation of British industry from the fetters and trammals to which it has been unwisely and mischievously subjected. Those who profess themselves

friends to Free Trade, and yet feel, or pretend to feel, some dread of an association formed for the sole purpose of getting rid of an iniquitous law, are bound to point out the means by which the repeal of this oppressive statute, without the formation of a League, to give its assailants the same advantages which the monopolists possess in its defence. Do they think that we ought to wait until some unparalleled miracle had given wisdom to the heads and mercy to the hearts of the bread-taxers? We have waited for the greater part of the average time which the laws of nature assign to a generation without seeing any symptom of improved science, or improved humanity, among the monopolists of corn. Are we to look entirely to the progress of intelligence and the development of knowledge in the community? Much as may be expected from such a source, there is an obvious necessity that intelligence should be guided, and knowledge directed, in order to lead to a beneficial result. Monopolists would not be silent if Free-Traders held their tongue; the taxers of bread would not have been idle had those who seek food for the poor folded their arms. "Behold, while men slept, the enemy sowed tares."

The right of association has been always highly valued by the friends of liberty, and always proscribed by despots. Whenever the powerful have resolved to obstruct reform, the means they have adopted have been invariably the suppression of discussion, and the prevention of organization. Hence arises the violence of revolutions in despotic states; men suffering under social evils, pressed down by burdens without understanding their nature or discovering their source, rush with blind fury against all elements of constraint, and run riot in destruction. The League is, and has been, a strictly Conservative association: it has protected our social system from the perils by which it would be menaced if the operative classes were left in ignorance of the nature of those evils which at once limit the field of their employment, and abstract a large portion of their earnings. It was chiefly owing to the League that society escaped dangerous dislocation during the late outbreak in the manufacturing districts; and the existence of the League will be absolutely necessary to the continuance of social order should a perseverance in impolitic legislation expose England to the hazard of another commercial crisis.

Some people speak as if the very name of League had in it something perilous and threatening; they are at liberty to call the body what they please, provided they recognise the principle of a protective association against monopolist aggression. The name, however, is dear to humanity, for it is associated with the remembrance of the noble confederation of the Hanseatic merchants against the aristocratic plunderers who obtained by brute force and open violence that share of the profits of the industrious which modern monopolists attempt to grasp by legislative fraud and artifice. Had not these merchants formed the Hanseatic League, the system of extortion and violence would have run its course unchecked; European commerce would have been reduced to the miserable condition of that of Asia, and civilization would have been driven from this quarter of the globe.

What would be gained if, to gratify those who dislike or pretend to dislike the name of "League," we laid it aside and took that of "Association?" Would they not be reminded of that memorable Association to which the Catholics of Ireland were indebted for their emancipation? The political foresight of Pitt, the nervous eloquence of Grattan, the acute logic of Plunket, the keen wit of Canning, and the combined talent of nearly all the best parliamentary orators of our day were wasted in vain efforts to remove the iniquitous principle of religious exclusion from our constitutional code. But when O'Connell collected the Catholic strength in an Association, he soon succeeded in extorting emancipation from an unwilling Parliament, a hostile Ministry, and a reluctant Sovereign.

The means by which religious exclusion was overthrown are a precedent to guide us in our great struggle for the removal of commercial restrictions. Such means are the more necessary because the various monopolies have already organized Leagues to protect their selfish interests. There is a League of Canada merchants to protect the timber monopoly; of West India proprietors, aided by their co-partners of the East, to protect their darling sugar monopoly; and there is also the Monster League of all, falsely calling itself the agricultural interest, to protect the corn monopoly. These are just as independent of the Government, and just as likely to interfere with the course of administration, as the Anti-Corn-Law League. In point

of fact, they have often so interfered, and have mischievously dictated to the Government and forced measures upon the Cabinet against the will and opinions of the Ministry. There has been scarcely one Prime Minister for the last thirty years who has not been an avowed advocate of Free-Trade principles, but has been prevented from acting upon them by the leagues of monopolists, who threatened to withdraw parliamentary support if any attempt was made to diminish their privilege of extortion. On such occasions, Ministers have had to succumb to a League of Leagues: the sugar-jobber joined the corn-jobber, and the timber-jobber stood ready to lend them assistance; the commercial boons which the Government was prepared to offer to the country were thus obliged to be withheld, because there was no organized body in favour of Free Trade on which the Minister could fall back for support. The commercial policy of unshackled industry was advocated by Lord Shelburne in 1783,—his arguments were felt to be unanswerable, his principles were as fully recognised then as the principles of common sense as they are now by the existing Cabinet; Pitt preceded Peel in declaring that it was the obvious policy of a commercial nation to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market; Lord Liverpool was as firmly convinced as Mr. Huskisson or Lord Sydenham of the impolicy of restrictions on commerce and fetters on industry: had there been a Free-Trade League they would have given effect to their wise economy; but because such a body was wanting, they were obliged to give way to the formidable league of monopoly, to the borough-mongers of the towns, and the slave-drivers of the counties. Small as the modifications in monopoly are which Sir Robert Peel has made, there is not a man in the country who does not feel that he never could have carried them into effect but for the direct support given him by the League, and the indirect assistance he has derived from its moral influence in the country. Dread of the League drove monopoly into its citadel, and thus facilitated the conquest of the outposts by the Minister. Without the League Sir Robert would never have ventured to touch the West India monopoly, or despise the remonstrances of the Duke of Richmond against the removal of the wool-duties.

It is a convenient excuse for selfishness to pretend sound faith in the end and quarrel with the means. Hostility to the League is a ready plea for excusing the hypocrisy which recognises the justice of Free Trade, but pockets the profits of monopoly. There are more Free-Traders in the abstract than Mr. Thomas Baring. They are like Christians in the abstract: they profess the creed, but they keep not the commandments. We prefer open enemies to such pretended friends. If Free Trade be confessed to be an act of justice, of sound policy, and of vital importance to the country, the association formed to gain the object must command the support of all who are honest and sincere in the cause. Abuse of the League by pretended Free-Traders is a mere cloak for selfishness, a specious pretext for avarice, and an excuse for a secret wish to preserve the profits of monopoly, and share in its unhallowed gains.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE AND THE SUGAR QUESTION.

The meeting of the subscribers to the Anti-Slavery Society, alluded to in our last number, was held in the small room, Exeter Hall, on Monday last. As a meeting representing any important part of the anti-slavery public it was a ludicrous failure, not more than ninety persons being present, including several ladies and some very young persons, and these, for the most part, were members of the Society of Friends, intimate connexions, and a large number of them personal friends or relatives of the New Broad-street Committee. Of course, in such an assembly, an opinion adverse to that of the committee was not likely to find much favour. The policy of the Committee on the sugar question was approved, and the gentlemen who compose it seemed somewhat consoled that opinions utterly rejected by the thousands assembled in the great hall at their annual meeting should have found adherents in the snug family gathering to which they were on this occasion submitted. A facetious friend of ours, who observed the parties entering the room, remarked that "it was a nice little Tottenham meeting," and the family compact was so complete that argument fell utterly harmless upon minds more disposed to be led by others than to examine the question for themselves. We are curious to see what the Committee will say on the matter; much exultation will be sorely out of place; they could scarcely have a smaller egg to cackle over. It

remains in the public mind that a meeting of at least 4000 persons, the very strength of the anti-slavery public, at the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, condemned, by a very large majority, the mistaken policy which the Committee has pursued. In the settlement of the question of the Sugar Monopoly, we suspect the Committee will for the future have small influence; our only fear is that their readiness to furnish weapons to the abettors of one of the foulest monopolies which ever existed will shake the confidence which many have been disposed to place in them, and will impair their influence to work out the liberation of the slave.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Seventeenth Week, ending Saturday, June 8.

The week opened auspiciously in Parliament for FREE TRADE. On Monday both Houses were occupied, not merely in discussing, but in voting, for farther reductions in our Import Duties; and as every step, however slow, or however tortuous, evidences the irresistible tendency of our commercial legislation towards the realisation of the grand object which the Anti-Corn-Law League has in view, we may congratulate our readers on the significant symptoms of vitality which the Question is exhibiting in the Legislature.

The third and final reading of the Customs' Bill took place on Monday night in the House of Lords; and as this is the bill by which the Government repeal the wool duty, and effect the other small reductions on currants, vinegar, &c., it gave rise to some amusing debate. Previous to its coming on, Lord Kinnaird reminded the Duke of Richmond of his assertion that the tariff had struck off £2000 a year from the rent of his Scotch salmon fisheries, and asked how that could be, seeing that only about 800 cwt. of foreign salmon had been brought into this country since the tariff was passed. He coupled this with some allusions to the appointment of the Duke's brother, Lord Arthur Lennox, as a lord of the Treasury, and asked if the threatened opposition to the repeal of the wool duty was abandoned.

The Duke of Richmond was rather sulky in his reply. The appointment of his brother would not, he said, "gag" his mouth, or deprive him of his independence. Yet somehow or other he seems obliged to confess that Sir Robert Peel has got the upper hand of him, and that if the Government were resolute enough to go further in the straight road, the boasted dual power of making and unmaking Prime Ministers would be found but an impotent vaunt. Amongst various things uttered by the Duke was his disclaimer of being the leader of the agricultural party, as well as his inoperative disapproval of the successive steps taken in the direction of Free Trade by the Government; nor was it one of the least noticeable things in the discussion on the passing of this Customs Bill, that while Lord Wharncliffe was professing himself a fast friend to the agricultural interest, he was obliged to admit to the Earl of Radnor a great Free-Trade principle, having a far wider application than the limited reference to the case of wool. While Lord Wharncliffe was speaking, the Earl of Radnor interposed this most important remark, that "In the years when the importation of foreign wool is largest, the price of the native article is highest," to which Lord Wharncliffe replied, "That, he believed, was the state of the case." We hope our readers see the pith of this remark, and the importance of the admission, for we firmly believe that in this great commercial country, with a perfect system of Free Trade, the same result would take place in the case of corn. Certain folks in male attire, but who, if properly dressed, would appear as old women in petticoats, are in the habit of screeching out, "How inconsistent Mr. Cobden is! He wants Free Trade to make corn cheap, and yet sometimes he says that Free Trade will make corn dear." Let these venerable people rest assured that Free Trade will enable the community permanently to thrive; that a permanently thriving community is a far better consumer than one exposed to the fitful alternations of abundance and scarcity, high prices, middling prices, and low prices; and that in such a community—consuming largely, buying largely, industrious, active, and enterprising—there is a far better chance of a steady remunerating profit, than in one where prices are at one time unnaturally high, and at another unnaturally low. But our protectionists treat the people as the Irishman treated his pig: he fed it one day, and starved it the next, in order, as he fancied, that he might have a streak of fat and a streak of lean alternately.

It is refreshing to see the Earl of Radnor, in his green old age, ever in his place in the House of Lords whenever any measure is to be discussed affecting the rights of the people; and it must have been as refreshing to him to hear, on Monday night, how near an approach to Free-Trade principles was made by the young Earl of Dalhousie, Vice-President of the Board of Trade.

But it was in the House of Commons, on Monday night, that there was evinced still more the progress of Free-Trade principles. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a speech of some length, stated the intentions of the Government with respect to the SUGAR DUTIES; and in doing so, laid down, officially, authoritatively, and broadly, the great Free-Trade principle, which requires that the community shall have access to a sufficient supply of all essential articles. Here is the principle in his own words: it is very true as applied to SUGAR, it would be exceedingly true as applied to CORN. "On one point," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "he expected the unanimous concurrence of the House, and that was as to the importance of securing for this country a sufficient supply of an article which, once a luxury, had now become almost a necessary of life, the supply of which, as conducive to the health and the comfort of the people, had been admitted on all hands to be an object of very chief

importance. The securing for the people, then, this essential article in sufficient supply was a subject on which there would be no difference of opinion. When he considered the increase which had taken place in the price of the article, amounting to no less than 2s. per cwt. in the course of last year, he had thought it his duty to submit a measure which should provide not merely for the supply required for the consumption of the country, but also to create something of a surplus."

The plan of the Government is now known to every one. At present all foreign-grown sugar is kept out of consumption in this country by a high prohibitory duty, amounting to 63s., while the sugar of our colonies comes in on payment of a duty of 24s. The Government feel this prohibition to be utterly wrong—a gross injustice, as well as a great mischief—and, therefore, they wish to remove it. But having come into office on the plea of due consideration for West India interests, and a great zeal against slavery, they declare that, in consistency, they cannot admit foreign sugar on precisely the same terms as colonial, nor permit the introduction of slave-grown sugar. They, therefore, propose to admit free-grown foreign sugar at a differential duty of 10s.: that is, while West Indian or colonial comes in at 24s., free-grown foreign may come in at 34s. This is to take effect from November next; at that time our treaty with the Brazils expires; we shall no longer be under the necessity of admitting its produce on the terms of "the most favoured nations," and are, therefore, free to open our ports to the sugar of free-labour countries.

Bearing in mind that this measure comes from a monopolist Government, it is a great step towards Free Trade. We may mourn over the want of straight-forwardness which plays with principles, half admitting, half denying them, and brings in measures which are neither one thing nor another, but which, in relation to consistency or even common sense, look as ridiculous as a lawyer's wig stuck over with roses and lilies. Still, be it remembered, by this measure the sugar monopoly is broken in upon preparatory to its overthrow; and that cannot take place without the corn monopoly ultimately following.

The proposition is, to permit sugar from Java, from the Philippine Islands, and from China to be admitted at a duty of 34s. What amount of sugar may yet come from China is at present quite unknown; but it is, at all events, an important article to be added to the list of our imports from that great country. There is likely, however, to be no inconsiderable quantity from the Philippine Islands, which constitute a portion of the Indian Archipelago. Since the Spanish colonies in America have obtained their independence, the commerce of Manila, the capital, has been rapidly extending, in consequence of the opening of the trade to all commercial nations; and sugar is one of the articles of export which exhibit the greatest increase. In addition to the countries which are to be included, at present, it is intimated that the great empire of Siam may hereafter also have the permission of sending its sugar directly to this country. Mr. Gladstone told the House that the information of the Government was not sufficiently explicit as to whether or not slavery existed in Siam, and therefore that country remains over for future consideration. But it seems exceedingly unlikely that we will have to wait for that permission, before we receive Siamese sugar. The sugar cane has been grown in Siam from time immemorial, but only for the internal consumption of the country. But about the year 1812 some Chinese began to cultivate it on an extensive scale, finding a ready market for the production in their own country; and so rapidly did this trade increase, that in ten years from its creation upwards of 8,000,000 pounds of Siamese sugar were annually exported to China, the western parts of Hindostan, Persia, Arabia, and Europe. Now, if China itself do not supply enough of sugar to meet the demand from this country, the Chinese are knowing enough, enterprising enough, and industrious enough, to extend the cultivation of Siamese sugar, carrying it to China, and sending it to Great Britain with a certificate that it is the produce of the "celestial" or "flowery" land. It is stated that the cultivators of the cane of Siam are always Siamese, but that the manufacturers of the sugar are invariably Chinese.

The debate which followed the speech and the propositions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not very animated, because only one portion of the question was discussed, the other views of it being held over for future discussion at subsequent stages of the measure. There were three notices of amendments to the Government proposition. First, there was one by Lord John Russell, the object of which was to overlook all considerations of slave-grown and free-grown, and to admit all foreign sugars at the same rate of differential duty. Then, Mr. Philip Miles, the member for Bristol, proposes to admit colonial sugar at 20s. instead of 24s., the object being to raise the protection proposed to be left to the West Indies, or, in other words, to make the differential duty fourteen instead of ten shillings. Again, Mr. Ewart would abolish the differential duty, and admit all sugars, foreign and colonial, at the same rate. Only the first of these amendments was discussed on Monday night—that of Lord John Russell—the others remain for future debate. Mr. Ewart's will come on on Monday, that being the day fixed for the committee on the bill.

Lord John Russell made an excellent Free-Trade speech in proposing his amendment, but his practice fell short of his principle, for by admitting that the West Indians still required the aid of a differential duty, he gives his countenance to protection. But his arguments in favour of freedom of commerce were excellent, and delivered with great vivacity and spirit. His ridicule of the distinctive principle between slave-grown and free-grown was happy; telling the Government that they were erecting a pulpit in every custom-house, and making their landing-waiters preachers of anti-slavery doctrines; and censuring them for departing from the commercial principle for the mere sake of bolstering up the consistency of the Cabinet.

Mr. Gladstone, in reply, was tamer than ever we heard him. Usually he is uncommonly fluent, and never pauses for a word, even if he should lack an argument; but on Monday he seemed to lack not merely arguments, but words. He frequently paused, seemed to hesitate as if he had not got his speech off by heart, and was trying to recollect it; and spoke in a tame, unimpassioned, embarrassed way, as if his heart and his head were holding an internal controversy. He made, however, one very important admission. The West Indies could not, he thought, be restored to a healthy state for twenty years to come, even if the old sugar duties were continued, giving

them the exclusive possession of the English market; and he very plainly intimated that it was impossible for the people of this country to be deprived of the use of foreign sugar until it should please the West India monopolists to say that they could afford to withstand foreign competition. If they grumbled, let them recollect that the Government, for their sakes, was imposing a duty of 10s. 6d. on foreign sugar, equal to fifty per cent. to be paid by the British consumer to the West Indian interest, on an article now become all but a necessary of life; and was this, he significantly asked, nothing? The Government had done all for the West Indies which they had any right to expect, consistently with what was due to the interests of the great consuming community; and for his part he would not have consented to laying so heavy a tax as fifty per cent. on sugar, if the matter were merely one of revenue. Sentiments like these, coming from members of the Government, are signs of progress.

Lord John Russell's amendment was defeated by 197 to 128, making a majority of 69.

On Tuesday night there was a lively debate on the subject of the export duty on coals, which was imposed in 1842. That this export duty is injurious, there seems no reason to doubt; and the benefit which the revenue derives from the tax is too trifling to be put into consideration with it. At the same time, those gigantic monopolists, the coalowners, did not escape. The system by which, through the means of a formidable combination, they limit the quantity of coal raised from the pits, and keep back cargoes from being delivered in London, in order that the supply may be diminished and the price kept up, was exposed; and the fact was once more brought before the public that the coal combination compels the people of London to pay from 25s. and 26s. to 30s. and 32s. a ton for the same coal which the foreigner can get from the same pits at 15s. It is well thus to bring public opinion to bear upon these things. Hitherto the producer has had almost a monopoly of parliamentary attention. Now, the consumer comes in for some consideration. There is, however, this difference:—the Producer clamours for acts of Parliament; but the Consumer only asks it to take its hands off—to leave him to buy where he can and how he can; and, in the long run, he will take better care of himself than all the Parliaments in the world.

MEETINGS.

WEEKLY METROPOLITAN AGGREGATE MEETING OF THE LEAGUE.

The weekly meeting of the League was held on Wednesday last at Covent-garden Theatre. The house was crowded in every part by a highly respectable audience. Mr. George Wilson in the chair. The reception of the chairman was most enthusiastic, the audience rising and greeting his re-appearance with several rounds of applause.

Among the noblemen and gentlemen present were—George Wilson, Esq., in the chair; the Earl of Radnor; Hon. Edward Pleydell Bouverie, M.P.; Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; Thomas Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; Benjamin Smith, Esq., M.P.; General Briggs; Colonel Tucker; W. Ackroyd, Esq., of Otley; Dr. Cooke Taylor; Dr. Epps; George Thompson, Esq.; Robert R. Moore, Esq.; Provost Henderson, Paisley; Baile Murray, Paisley; Messrs. W. A. Wilkinson, P. A. Taylor, J. Booth (Rochdale), S. D. Driver, H. R. Stainton, Charles Tye (Manchester), W. Thornborough, H. Day, Wm. Lockett (Salford), John Kay (Salford), H. Franklin, H. White, W. G. Gower, Wm. Austin, Alexander Carruthers (Macclesfield), J. Coulthard, H. H. Stansfeld (Leeds), T. E. Ward (Sheffield), J. Moir Ware, R. Palmer, J. P. Burnard, J. Ridge, J. Granger, W. P. Longdill, W. Macmillan, — Caddell, — Eversley, Wm. Cunningham (Devizes), W. Butterworth (Rochdale), — Felch, — Gessin, G. Aldeney (Baling), T. Alleney, P. Stuart (Liverpool), Charles Horsley, W. D. Starling, W. M. Wardon, Charles Marshall, &c.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read by Mr. Saul, upon the motion of J. Bright, Esq., M.P., seconded by W. Ackroyd, Esq., of Otley, they were unanimously confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN then advanced to the table amidst enthusiastic cheers, accompanied by waving of hats and handkerchiefs. Silence having been restored, he proceeded to address the meeting as follows:—Ladies and gentlemen, you have had such a number of distinguished individuals occupying the chair, and presiding over your meetings since I last had the honour of appearing before you, that an humble instrument, and a fellow-labourer in the cause like myself, may feel some little trepidation in again assuming an office, the duties of which have been so much more ably and appropriately discharged by the noble lords and honourable gentlemen who have from week to week supplied my place. (Cries of "No, no.") If we are to take for granted what the monopolists and their press are stating, from day to day, it will not be of very much consequence who takes part in the proceedings of these meetings in a very short time. (Hear, hear.) If we may believe what they state, the League, if not quite extinct, is on the very verge of dissolution. (Laughter.) Its treasury, it is said, is exhausted, its candidates have been defeated, and, in every respect, it is a very different body from what it formerly was, and in a very short time will only be talked of as a thing of yesterday. (Renewed laughter.) Now, gentlemen, it may be presumption in me for a moment to call in question such great authorities on this subject; but I confess, upon a careful inspection of our position, I can discover no reason for believing that we have not gained ground—and material ground—since I last had the pleasure of attending one of the metropolitan League meetings. (Hear.) It is quite true we may not have as much money in our treasurer's possession as will be necessary to carry on the war against monopoly till it is completely humbled; but still we have more in hand now than all the Protection Societies have ever had, or will receive for the next twelve months. (Cheers.) We may not have carried every election in the counties and close boroughs; and yet we may bring abundant evidence to show that in three instances out of four where an election has been lost, it has been attended with most beneficial results, and the League has left traces on record and influences at work which promise future victory at the next general election. Gentlemen, South Lancashire is no exception to this rule. What are the facts connected with that contest? At the election in 1837, which was a party conflict, two monopolists were returned to Parliament; at the general election in 1841 no one could be found to contest the county on Liberal principles. What is the case now? There are ten polling districts, and

that division of the county; in six of them we have now a majority. In the general election in 1837 we had only majorities in two out of the six; in the whole six in 1837 the Liberals were in a minority of about 200 votes; at this election in those six polling districts we have a majority of 800 at the poll (cheers), evidencing a change of opinion to the extent of 1000 upon the registration as compared with the election of 1837. In addition to this great advantage, in three out of the four remaining polling districts we have greatly reduced their majority as compared with what it was in 1837, and in Ormskirk, the only district in which they have increased their numbers—and that a purely agricultural locality, entirely removed from the influence of trade—the voters have not changed their opinions, but merely their owners; the property which used to qualify for votes on the Liberal interest having been transferred to an individual in the monopolist interest, so that the same tenants who voted in 1837 for the Liberals have polled this time for the monopolist candidate; in fact, they are so completely under the domination of the landlord, that if the steward had gone to the returning officer with the poll-book in his hand, and told that functionary to write off the names of the voters, without going through the farce of an election, the thing could not have been more completely managed than it has been this time. But, gentlemen, let us turn from South Lancashire to Kilmarnock. What will the monopolists say to the election which has recently taken place there? It is quite true the League has lost, by death, one of its oldest supporters in the late member for that borough, and that in the House of Commons our friend Mr. Bouverie will only give a vote for Free Trade, as Mr. Alexander Johnston did before him. But in the election for 1841 Mr. Johnston, the Free-Trade candidate, was only returned, after a very severe contest, by a majority of eleven votes over his opponent; at this election we have had two Free-Trade candidates in the field, and notwithstanding that disadvantage at the poll, by which the monopolist expected to slip in between them, Mr. Bouverie has been returned by a majority of ten over the monopolist candidate. Now, as Mr. Vincent, the other Free-Trade candidate, polled 98 votes, the clear Free-Trade majority, which was only 11 at the last election, has been increased to 108 on the present occasion. I might go over other grounds to show the progress which has been made in our cause. We wanted this contest in South Lancashire in order that we might test and know our strength preparatory to a general election. We have torn down the monopolist flag in six out of the ten polling places in that county; we have lowered their colours in three of the remaining districts, and I have no doubt that, at the next general election, we shall find that we have cleared the decks and shall return two Free-Traders to Parliament. (Loud cheers.) But let the monopolists rejoice over their victories, and talk to us of defeat as they think proper;—let them remind us of Hastings, Exeter, Salisbury, and South Lancashire if they please;—our reply is, Nottingham, Durham, Kilmarnock, Kendal, and though last, not least, London (loud cheers); which several victories I take to be more than a receipt in full of all demands which the monopolists may have upon the League. There are other proofs of the progress of Free Trade which I might refer to. Memorials are now being numerously signed by the constituencies, and presented to the various members of the cities and boroughs of this country, soliciting their support in favour of the total abolition of the Corn Laws when Mr. Villiers should bring forward his motion in the House of Commons upon that subject during the present session. (Hear.) These memorials have not been got up with a view of awing those members of Parliament, but merely to convey the special yet strong request of the constituencies that their members, without reference to party, should support Mr. Villiers's motion in the House of Commons. (Cheers.) Take, for example, the case of Leeds. In 1841 that borough returned to Parliament one Monopolist and one Free-Trader, the former being at the head of the poll. Upon that occasion the Monopolists polled 2076 votes; but the electors of Leeds during the present year have presented to that Monopolist member and his colleague a memorial requesting them to vote for Mr. Villiers, signed by 2700 votes, or an actual majority of persons upon the register who are qualified to vote of 521, and numbering 700 more than polled for the highest candidate at the last election. (Loud cheers.) I could refer you to a number of other cities and boroughs where the results have been equally as satisfactory as in Leeds. In Falkirk, for instance, a borough which is represented by Mr. Baird, a Conservative, there are 1000 persons upon the register: 700 out of the 1000 who returned the Conservative to Parliament have requested that gentleman to vote for Mr. Villiers whenever he may bring on his motion. (Cheers.) Great Yarmouth, Bradford in Yorkshire, Huddersfield, and other places give us similar results, which I need not now detain you by repeating. We know that no great principle ever yet, amidst all the strife of party and the animosities and struggles through which it has to be carried, failed to be triumphant. At least we know that the right of every man to exchange the produce of his labour and industry wherever he thinks proper for whatever the markets of the world may give him in return, is a just and great principle, and must ultimately be recognised both on the hustings and in Parliament. (Great cheering.) I have now, ladies and gentlemen, great pleasure in introducing the Hon. Edward Bouverie, M.P. for Kilmarnock, to the meeting.

The hon. gentleman then advanced, and was received with three distinct rounds of applause. He spoke as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for the cheers with which you have greeted me, not that I take those cheers to myself personally, but because I look upon them as a tribute of your gratitude and of your sympathy with those Free-Traders in the sister country of Scotland who, in spite of the division which might have let in a Monopolist, have returned, I may say I think confidently, a good Free-Trader to Parliament. (Immense applause.) And allow me to say, gentlemen, that the opinion of a constituency like Kilmarnock is, perhaps, a far better test of public opinion—a far better test of the feeling of this country, and of the independent judgment of the constituencies of the country than the result of such an election as that of South Lancashire, or the result of such an election as that which I have myself fought twice upon one ground—I mean the election of Salisbury (great cheering); and I say so for this reason, that in the counties of England, and in many of the boroughs connected with the agricultural districts in England, the ex-

pression of the opinion of the constituencies is not the honest and real expression of their opinion, but it is an expression of the opinion of those who have a majority now in the House of Commons, and who will continue to have a majority, unless the people are determined to get what they want, and what, if they are determined to obtain, they certainly will have. (Loud cheers.) I have had nothing at Kilmarnock, as I have had at Salisbury, of voters saying to me, "We wish you well, Sir; we agree with your opinions; we think Free Trade ought to be carried; we believe the Corn Laws to be unjust, but we cannot vote for you." I have had, I say, nothing of that kind at Kilmarnock. (Loud cheers.) There are no squires, or squire's ladies, to drive into the town there, and tell the tradesmen that they must vote this way or that way, and not as they please themselves (cheers); but there are honest, hard-working, intelligent weavers—men who think and who act for themselves, and who vote according to the best of their judgment; and I think I may fairly say, that the universal opinion amongst that class—and a very intelligent and a very superior class they are in Scotland—is, as all you think, that the Corn Law is a crying evil, and, as such, ought at once to be repealed. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, it is too true, however, and the result of the South Lancashire election proves it to a certainty, that the battle of Free Trade is not yet fought to victory. Much remains to be done, and much, I believe, that is not to be obtained from the present House of Commons. (Great cheering.) When last I addressed a meeting here it was upon the eve of the meeting of Parliament, and I endeavoured to conjecture, and ventured even to prophesy, that there would be but little done upon the part of the House of Commons, when it met, to advance those principles for which you meet here weekly to contend, and in which I may safely say that the heart of by far the greatest portion of the population of this country is embarked. (Great applause.) Now, if we look back at the three months that have passed since that period, I think it will be seen that I was no bad prophet. (Cheers.) We have had, first of all, Mr. Cobden's motion. Mr. Cobden moved for a committee to inquire into the advantages of protection to agriculturists, to farmers, and to labourers; and one would think that those gentlemen who take such an active part in maintaining the Corn Laws, who advertised themselves as the "farmers' friends," who set themselves forth as the agriculturists of this country (but who are no more agriculturists than any one of you, because they are merely the possessors of the land and have nothing whatever to do with the tillage of it)—one would think, I say, that those persons would have been too glad of an opportunity to show to the country at large, and to those classes whom they say they represent, the advantages of those laws, which they so strenuously maintain and uphold, to be not for their own benefit but for the benefit of those very classes. (Great applause and laughter.) It signifies nothing from what quarter the offer comes, whether it comes from Mr. Cobden or from the Duke of Buckingham; but the opportunity was offered them of having an inquiry into those advantages. And what did they do? Why, they refused it, and said "We will have no inquiry." (Cheers.) And they were right in doing so, because they knew if an inquiry took place that it would show the absurdity, the futility of those doctrines which they put forward; that it would show that protection was a delusion; that it would show that protection was no benefit to those classes themselves; that it would show that it was a plunder upon the public at large (loud cheers); and therefore it was that they refused it: "ignorance was bliss; they loved darkness better than light; they dreaded the light because their deeds were evil. (Loud cheers.) Well, gentlemen, there has been another measure which to a certain extent has tested the sympathy of the House of Commons with the wants of the people in this respect. I allude to the Factories Bill (cheers); and what do we find there? We find a majority in the House of Commons affecting a sympathy with the wants of the labouring classes, voting in support of a proposition which declared that the people of this country were overworked; that they did more than was consistent with the health either of their bodies or their souls; that their children were overworked; that their wives were overworked; and, therefore, that there ought to be a law to limit the hours of labour. Why, gentlemen, that very majority is the majority which maintains the law that compels those people to work so much for their very existence—the Corn Law. (Loud cheers.) It is the Corn Law which says, "You shall not have the same means of subsistence that you might have if the trade in corn was free;" it is the Corn Law that says "the means of employment to the people shall be less than it might be;" and it is the Corn Law, therefore, which grinds those who have to toil with the sweat of their brows for their daily bread, and which compels them, if they would win their hard-earned subsistence, to exert themselves beyond their strength, and to perform an amount of labour utterly at variance with their continuance in prosperity, in health, and in good condition. (Cheers.) But that is not all. The majority which voted for the proposition with an affected (for I think I may fairly call it affected) sympathy for the wants and sufferings of the working classes—why, what did they do? (Cheers.) The very moment that the Ministry declared that the proposition which they brought forward was one upon which they must stand or fall, that sympathy disappeared altogether. (Hear, hear.) It was no longer a question of the wants and sufferings of the working classes, but, looking merely to the continuance of a set of men in power, they cast away that sympathy, and again voted by a majority that what they had before called black was now white. (Loud cheers.) But we have had also some alteration in the duties affecting the articles of consumption in this country—there have been some little, faltering steps taken in the right road—some attempt to curry favour with those who maintain Free Trade to be the right, and proper, and just principle of commercial legislation. But where are the monster evils? (Cheers.) Have they been touched at all? It is merely little insignificant matters—it is the tithe of mint and rue and not weighty matters that have been touched upon on this occasion. (Cheers.) The people should say to the House of Commons, "These ought ye to have done, but not to have left the others undone." (Cheers.) We have had an alteration in the duty upon currants—I congratulate the lovers of pudding and of cake upon that reduction in their current expenses. (Great cheers and great laughter.) But there are other ingredients in pudding and cake, as I believe; I think flour is an essential one (loud cheers), and that is the much more important ingredient of the

two, and a much more important matter, because many people may be affected by the tax upon flour who never dream of puddings or cakes from one year's end to the other. (Cheers.) Then, I believe, to make a pudding good, sugar is required. (Cheers.) True, there has been an alteration in the sugar duties of late, but is it an alteration in the right direction? No; it is an alteration that leaves the matter very much in the position that it was in before. To a very slight extent it may be beneficial; but one of the certain results of that alteration will be, if any of the sugar which is to come from foreign countries is sold at all, that upon all the sugar imported from our own colonies there will be a tax of 10s. per cwt., amounting to about two millions a year, paid by the people of this country, not into the Treasury for their own benefit, but paid for the benefit of those who have the sugar monopoly, and who maintain and support it by the present majority of the House of Commons. (Cheers.) For this reason it is that I say the alteration in the sugar duties is not one in the right path; upon this account I say that it is fallacious, and for this reason I say we had better have had no such change. To a certain extent this is a change of the law, but every such change ties up the question for a period, and those who opposed the alteration are driven to consent to the change, and then they make up their minds to a stout resistance to any future change. If the law were changed at all, that change might as well have been based upon right principles. (Cheers.) I will not detain you by adverting to the question which has been raised with respect to the nonsensical distinction between slave-grown produce and the produce of countries where labour is free. That fallacy has been often reverted to, and successfully refuted in this place, and it is one for which there is a very complete answer, viz., that even if there are some benevolent individuals who think that a distinction should be made, yet it is out of the question to make it practically. (Cheers.) We cannot do it, and we had better not pretend to act upon it—we shall only boggle the matter and make a mess of it. (Cheers and laughter.) But if that is to be the principle on which we are to act, where are we to stop? (Hear, hear.) If we are to inquire into the social, moral, and political condition of every people from whom we receive commercial produce, where shall we draw the line? (Cheers.) A great portion of the wheat, for example, that comes in under the present law (and there would be much more if that law were repealed) comes from a country where slavery to a great extent exists—I mean from Russia. (Loud cheers, and a few hisses.) Really I am quite surprised that these protection societies, who seem to beat about the world for arguments, and at last concoct such bad ones, have not laid hold of this, and told us that, if we admitted corn free, we admitted slave produce. "Why, that is very bad morally; how can you think of it: let us have the Corn Law to keep out Russian corn." (Loud cheers.) But we need not stop there even; why should we limit it to the question of sugar alone? It is only an evil as concerns the degradation and moral condition of the people, and surely in almost every country with which we have commercial dealings the labouring classes are in a degraded moral condition. I do not know even that we should stop with foreign countries—I do not know that there is not a country no very great distance from here—a sister country—(great cheering)—having a very large population—a population of industrious people, but who, if all accounts are to be believed, are, generally speaking, in a very degraded physical and moral condition. (Cheers.) I have lately been reading the work of an intelligent traveller upon this subject, and he says, though he has visited the poorest classes in Poland and Livonia, where the peasants are in the greatest distress, that he never found anything there to be compared with the misery which he met with in Ireland. (Cheers.) So, I suppose, that these protection folks, when they have got us to exclude Russian wheat, will likewise come and say we must shut out Irish corn, and Irish cattle, and Irish oatmeal, and, perhaps, even the Irish people. (Great cheers and laughter.) Therefore it is, gentlemen, that I think the proposition about the distinction between slave-grown and free-grown produce is perfectly absurd. The public should not be imposed upon by it. It made a very good party agitation some years ago, when those now in power were in opposition, and were looking for some debatable objection to those then holding the reins of government, and who brought forward some proposition for an alteration in the sugar duties; really the consistency of the present party in power is such a rag that they cannot afford to part with the slightest portion of it, and have, therefore, stuck to this proposition; but the distinction is so absurd that I am sure the people of this country will never for a moment admit of its reasonableness or its truth. (Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, I think there is no denying that I was a true prophet. (Cheers.) I said much was not to be got this session from the House of Commons in the cause of Free Trade, and I do not think much has been, or will be, got. (Cheers.) But there remains in your hands the question that is still to be solved, "How long will the people of this country submit to the existence of laws which they know to be not merely not for their benefit, but to be absolutely injurious to them, to be pressing upon their industry, and to be crushing them for the advantage of a small portion of the community?" (Cheers.) That is the question, and we cannot stop where we are. (Cheers.) This you may be assured of, that this country has risen to great power and great eminence as a commercial and manufacturing country, but yet "progress" is the great law written in its history, and we have come to the limit of our tether under the present system of restriction: unless, then, we get Free Trade, we shall go back instead of standing where we are, to the great injury of the people of this country. (Cheers.) It is commerce and manufactures which have placed us in the position which we now occupy as a great country; it is commerce which has created this great city; it is commerce which has filled our ports with shipping and called into existence numberless flourishing towns over the whole surface of the country; and if that commerce departs from us, if that trade leaves us, or if those manufactures are destroyed, where are we to look for subsistence for the great portion of our population? (Loud cheers.) It is not merely the soil, as the protection folks would lead you to suppose, which is the great source of prosperity to the country. If it were merely that, and we had never had trade or commerce at all to enable us to bring in foreign productions and to give a spur to our industry and to our manufacturing skill, we should have

remained just like our ancestors, the ancient Britons, clothed in skins and our bodies painted blue. (Cheers and laughter.) But that is not the case; and if we want to flourish again—to see everybody well employed; to see everybody who is willing to work hard for the maintenance of himself and family fully employed and able to obtain a subsistence—we must have Free Trade, or else we shall go backwards and downwards instead of forwards; and we shall see misery and “rebellion.” I was going to say, because “rebellion of the belly” is the worst of all rebellions (cheers); we shall see that misery and suffering and lawlessness will be the inevitable consequences. (Loud cheers.) Now, this is simply what the people of this country have to contemplate. They must solve the question whether we are to have Free Trade or not. Their voice—if they express it loudly, yet peaceably, firmly, yet legally—must ultimately be obeyed. I have no doubt that prosperity shall revisit our shores, and that we shall not be clothed in skins this time or reduced again to paint our bodies blue. (Great cheering, and a laugh.) I believe most sincerely that we shall have a greater continuance of happiness and prosperity amongst the commercial and manufacturing classes, which, reacting upon the agricultural classes, will cause a greater continuance of prosperity amongst them also than has ever been known in past times. (Great applause.) But those gentlemen in the present Ministry, some of whom affect to be Free Traders, have no faith in their principle, that great principle being that the operation of Free Trade is beneficial to all, and that it is not required to protect this class in opposition to that class, but that if the principle were once carried out, prosperity to all would at the same time be the result. (Cheers.) That is the great and general principle, and though those people have no faith in it themselves, there have been, in past times, Ministers who have had: Mr. Huskisson had faith in it, and he showed it and tried it (cheers); and before I sit down I will, with your leave, just give you a proof of it. (Cheers.) With reference to the silk trade, that great commercial Minister altered the duties upon silk, and allowed the importation of raw silk at lower duties, whilst he also admitted the importation of manufactured silk, which had heretofore been prohibited. That change was effected in 1825, and, at the time, he was told that he had ruined all the silk trade of this country, that the ladies would be dressed in French silk, that we should have nothing but French silk pocket handkerchiefs, and a lot of nonsense of that sort. But what was the result? Why, in 1840, it was given in evidence before the House of Commons, that, in Manchester alone, where there had, previous to the alteration in the duties, been only 3000 persons employed in the manufacture of silk, there were, at that time, 30,000; that where there had been only 10 silk factories, there were then 30; that where there had been not above £450,000 worth of goods turned out, there were then £1,600,000 worth. (Great cheering.) That, perhaps, was good evidence of what the working out of the principle might be expected to lead to. Mr. Huskisson had full faith in the principle, and, had he lived, he would have rejoiced to witness the good effects which have resulted from his liberal and enlightened policy. (Marked applause.) I allude to this to show that those Ministers who have been put into, and who occupy the places of their predecessors solely through you, should have faith in those principles, and should, at your bidding, be willing to work them out fully and fairly. (The hon. gentleman retired amidst overwhelming applause); and

The CHAIRMAN, advancing to the front of the platform, said: Our excellent and tried friend, Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P. for Manchester, will now address the meeting. (Tremendous cheers.)

Mr. MILNER GIBSON, M.P., then advanced, and was greeted with loud bursts of acclamation. He said:—Sir, I rejoice to have the opportunity of meeting our friends here this evening after a temporary absence, to discuss the great and important question of commercial freedom. I rejoice, sir, to hear from your opening remarks that there is no disposition to abate your efforts; and when I address you I mean to address you as the chairman representing this evening that large and important association in the country called the Anti-Corn-Law League. I say, sir, I rejoice to hear from you that there is no desire to abate your efforts until you have accomplished the great object for which you were at first associated. (Cheers.) I rejoice, to hear from your remarks that you feel a strong consciousness of the justice of your cause, for I know that this association and these meetings did not spring in the first instance from a new and sudden impulse, that they do not rest upon any temporary or passing interest, but that they are founded upon the broad and eternal basis of immutable justice. (Loud cheers.) Sir, I believe that the cause of commercial freedom is not a mere question of pounds, shillings, and pence of any one class in this community. It is a question involving the most important civil rights of free men; it is a question involving the right to buy and sell, the right that men should have a full reward for their own industry; and I say that there is no right which Government was ever formed to protect, or which society can recognise—no right so sacred as that man should have the power to live by his own unfettered industry and exertions. (Loud cheers.) It is true, as has been remarked, that there is not the slightest ground, the smallest shadow of a pretext, for any feeling of despondency in the progress of this great cause. (“Hear, hear, hear,” and cheers.) We, I have always understood, are not a mere party of politicians. We are not merely testing the question as between Whig and Tory; and when we get rid of that consideration, I will appeal to every dispassionate mind, I would appeal to any man, of whatever political party he may be, to ask himself the question whether he can look around him and not observe a steady progress in public opinion in favour of a relaxation of restrictions upon British industry. (Loud cheers.) Why, look at the course which the Conservative Ministry were compelled to take when they came into office in 1841. The cry of the electors was “no surrender;” the cry throughout all the counties was, “the existing Corn Laws and no alteration.” And yet we see a Minister, having an immense majority ready to back him in any measure he thinks proper to propose, compelled to come forward from a sense of necessity and propose something of a relaxation in our tariff and in the Corn Laws of this country. (Loud and long-continued cheering.) There was great distress in the country; there were complaints from the manufacturing districts; there were complaints from the agricultural and commercial classes; and if “protection,” as it is called, “to native industry” is really the basis of

the promised prosperity of the country,—why, I ask, did the Minister, with a large majority at his back, capable of carrying whatever measure he chose,—why, I ask, did that Minister come forward with an attempt to relieve distress, not by increased protection, not by this saving remedy, on which he felt depended the prosperity of the nation, but by a sort of relaxation in the commercial code of the country? (Cheers.) If protection is to save the country, when there were complaints of distress and of non-employment they should have made the Corn Laws and protective duties more stringent—they should have given the country another dose, if this really was the legitimate medicine. (Loud cheers.) Sir, I see around me in every direction strong proofs of the progress of public opinion on this important question. I see it daily among the farmers, among whom I pass a great portion of my time, living in a purely agricultural district. I do not mean to say, Sir, that the farmers have told me that they would advocate a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws; but what they told me is this—“We do begin to think that these men who induced us to invest our capital upon an unsound basis were our worst enemies, for we do feel that the day is coming when the necessities of the country will compel the abolition of the Corn Laws, and a complete freedom of exchange in all the articles of food.” (Loud cheering.) They begin to feel, Sir, that the landed interest, the landed proprietors, in inviting them to invest their capital upon the rotten and unsound basis of the Corn Law, acted a faithless part—acted the part of men who, for a present pecuniary advantage, were resolved to risk the future safety not only of their own tenants, but of other classes of society. (Loud applause.) And that was in reality the fact; for to the close of the war what was the course the landed interest took? Did they give time for things to settle? Did they give time for a landlord and tenant to make new bargains, and to set new rents, with reference to the new state of things that had arisen since the war? No; but at once refusing all previous inquiry, without a moment's delay they proceeded to concoct the Corn Laws, telling the tenantry that they must rally, that they might be able to keep up the price of corn to the point to which it had attained by the war, and that they might safely invest the capital not only of themselves, but of their families, upon this unsound, this rotten, this precarious basis. (Loud and long-continued cheers.) What I would observe of the farmers is this. They feel that, if they were going to business free and for the first time, they would prefer going into the farming business on the basis of Free Trade rather than on the basis of protection; that they would prefer to rely upon the natural rather than on the artificial prices maintained by the Corn Laws. That is their feeling. The pinch of the question therefore is, “how, having embarked our capital in these Corn Laws, are we to get out of the difficulty?” All that I can say is this, that it is the retribution—the necessary retribution—on bad laws and bad legislation. (Loud cheers.) The landed proprietors of this country, when they passed the Corn Laws, did it under a protest from the commercial and manufacturing classes. The manufacturing classes were not represented in Parliament at the time that they passed these laws. It was at a time when the representatives of the country to a great extent were returned by the rotten boroughs. The Reform Bill had not passed. The commercial and manufacturing interests, badly as they are represented now in Parliament, were not represented then, and strong memorials were signed by them and presented to the Government of the day. The most earnest protests were forwarded to all parties who had influence in enacting laws in this country; but in the teeth of these protests, with a full knowledge beforehand of all the consequences predicted by the opponents of these laws, that they would be repealed the first moment that the commercial classes had the power to repeal them—with a full knowledge of that power they passed these laws; and if the farmers suffer—and God forbid that we should not deeply sympathise with them if they do suffer in this necessary change—it is to the landed proprietors that they must look for compensation. (Loud and marked cheers.) The occupying tenantry of England have a strong, a just, an undeniable claim upon the landed proprietors for compensation for the injury that has been done them by inducing them to embark their capital in the way they did. (Renewed cheers.) The commercial classes, the great body of the working classes—those who do not hold land, those who earn their bread by their own industry, either through the exertions of their mind or the exertions of their sinews and muscles—they have nothing to do with this unfortunate business between the landowner and his tenant. They demand the inalienable right of freedom of exchange, because, whatever wrong might be done by the landed proprietary towards their own tenantry, whatever wrong might be done by the class of owners and the class of occupiers, the wrong done to them never could prejudice the rights of the rest of the community. (Great cheering.) If A does a wrong to B, how can it prejudice the rights of C? C was a party who protested in the first instance against the transaction. He told A and B, you are embarking in a system of legislation which will bring down ruin on yourselves. It is injurious to me; now, I protest against it. I ask you not to pursue it, and A and B cannot, after having so persisted, come to C and say, in consequence of the wrong done to you, you now have no claim to ask for justice. (Loud cheers.) I observe that there is growing up a want of confidence between what are called the farmers' friends and the farmers in the country. My hon. friend, the member for Kilmarlock, alluded to that want of confidence in his speech, and I think with great justice. I say that the farmers begin to think that the great men in Parliament have rather a disposition to make use of them for political purposes. (“Hear, hear,” and laughter.) There is a suspicion, a growing suspicion, that they have not been fairly dealt with by their leaders in the House—the hereditary legislators. (“Hear, hear,” and cheers.) Now, there was the case of the Duke of Buckingham. I would not for a moment stand here and say that the Duke of Buckingham did anything in the world to forfeit his claim on the confidence of the protection party; but somehow or other he is now deposed, as I understand. He is no longer the leader. He is supposed to have come under the particular influence—I don't know what it is—which Governments do contrive to obtain with gentlemen with whom they have connexion. He has been deposed, and his grace of Richmond is now the professed leader of the protection party—(“Hear, hear,” and laughter);—at any rate he is President of the Central Society for the

Protection of British Agriculture. Now, the *Morning Post*—(ironical laughter);—I feel the greatest difficulty in quoting from that newspaper, because there is always a predisposition to laugh when its name is mentioned. (Cheers and renewed laughter.) But there is a letter in the *Morning Post* of this day, which takes the Duke of Richmond to task for not having taken a bolder course in reference to the duties on foreign wool. These duties have been totally and immediately repealed, and it is said that the fact of the Duke of Richmond's relative having recently received an appointment in the Treasury has had the effect of influencing his course of conduct. (Loud cheers.) That has been the sort of insinuation. Now, my opinion is this, and it is with confidence I express it, that the Duke of Richmond was not influenced by that circumstance; I do not credit it, and I will tell you why—because the Duke of Richmond has been the supporter of the Conservative party—his brother has been the supporter of the Conservative party—and there is nothing of itself improbable in the circumstance that he should have an appointment given him; but I mention the letter in order to show what a disposition there is among the farmers and the protection party to suspect the “farmers' friends.” (Cheers.) The moment any fact occurs with a sort of *prima facie* appearance of betrayal, but without the slightest foundation for it, somehow or other they will have it that they are betrayed; there is a sort of predisposition amongst them to feel that they have not been dealt with fairly by their “friends” in Parliament. I do not mean to say that, if the Anti-Corn-Law League had places to give away, there might not be some influence produced amongst the protection party. (Great laughter and cheers.) I should be sorry to hint that we could act so directly at variance with all our professed pledges as to sanction any sort of political bribery whatever (cheers); but we cannot, Sir, disguise from ourselves the fact that, some way or other, Government, when gentlemen get into London, does obtain a great influence over them, which leads the innocent and simple-minded rustics to believe that they are betrayed and that justice has not been done them. (Great cheering.) The Duke of Richmond, I remember at a former time, expressed very strong opinions, and I believe always against the repeal of the Corn Laws. He said: “If you abolish the Corn Laws, I will go away out of the country altogether.” (Great laughter.) But he was told, “If you do, you cannot take the land away with you.” (Cheers.) Now, let us consider what is the position in which a person places himself who makes such a declaration. What are the Corn Laws? What is their nature? Simply this, that certain parties in this country dealing in the articles of bread and beef, having shops open to supply the community with those necessary articles, are very unwilling that any body else should open shops of a similar description. Now, his grace is extensively concerned in this “victualling” business, and he wants to take upon himself to be a sort of “licensed victualler” (loud and continued laughter); but I say that any Englishman has as good a right as another to supply the market with provisions, provided that he comes by them honestly. (Hear, hear.) I have a right as an Englishman to supply the market with corn by the operation of trade just as well as the Duke of Richmond has a right to supply it by the operation of agriculture. We contend that trade is a legitimate calling, and as proper to be pursued as any other branch of national industry, and that there can be no earthly reason, if it pleased me to send my capital to the Continent and there turn it into corn, and bring that corn to the English market and sell it at a profit again, I should not be permitted to perform that operation. (Cheers.) If I propose to bring corn to London from the Continent and sell it, what am I told? “You must not do it.” Why? “Because, if you do, some other gentlemen in the country will not get so large a pecuniary return from their property.” Well, but what claim have these gentlemen over me? I am not aware that there is any account between us, or that they have any control over my exertions, or demands upon my industry. (Cheers.) Put it in this light, and how monstrous an interference the Corn Law is with the civil liberties of her Majesty's subjects! (Great cheering.) What are governments for? What is society for? Why, the only object of government is to prevent men from trenching one upon another—to prevent one class from invading the rights and properties of another class. Now, I say that the right to follow a branch of business, viz., trade, is placed within my reach, that it is my property, and that Government ought to protect me in my honest calling. But what has Government done in this country? It has assisted a class in this community in opposition to this freedom of trade—this property of mine—this exchange of my industry in every quarter of the globe—it has assisted a party to invade my rights, and thus it has completely departed from the true functions and proper ends of any just government. (Loud cheers.) I trust, Sir, I am not dwelling on this point too long, and that I am not becoming tedious. (Cries of “Go on.”) But I do feel that this is the most important view that can be taken of the question. (Cheers.) I do feel that we have not sufficiently considered the Corn-Law question as a question of civil liberty. I contend that as you have abolished slavery in your colonies—as you have totally abolished the right of man to hold a property in his fellow-man in any part of the British empire—the same principle, if carried out, must lead to the abolition of monopoly. (Loud cheers.) What was slavery? What is slavery? (Cheers.) Why, one portion of the community claiming a right over the industry of another portion—one set of men claiming a right to control the exertions and to possess themselves of the results of the exertions of another set—and is not monopoly the same thing? (Immense applause.) If you destroy slavery, I say, *à fortiori*, you are bound to destroy monopoly. (Cheers.) Slavery recognised an inherent right in one man to possess the mind, the muscles, and the body of another: I say, the Corn Laws recognise a sort of inherent right in the landed aristocracy of this country to possess the reward of that industry which belongs to, and ought to go to other classes of the community. (Loud and long-continued cheering.) I see no difference between monopoly and slavery, except in degree. It is precisely the same in principle, or of what use was it for the planter to possess the slave? He did not possess him for mere ornament, or for the mere pleasure of looking at him as you would a canary bird in a cage (cheers); but he possessed him that he might eat the fruits of his industry; and that is the principle which, I believe, actuates a great many ap-

porters of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) I believe it is a desire to take to themselves a larger share of the industry of the commercial and manufacturing classes than they are of right entitled to. (Cheers.) Now, I have seen, within a day or two, what I thought would hardly have been put forward in public, a statement to the effect that there was some inherent right in the landed aristocracy of this country to interfere with freedom of trade. (Oh, oh!) I have copied a little extract to that effect, from a publication called the "Quarterly Review," in which there is an article on agricultural improvement, and in that article I find the following paragraph: "The people forget that the land, and the owners and cultivators of that land, form the primary essentials, and that the mercantile and manufacturing establishments are the accidental adjuncts of our state" (cheers and laughter); so that all we who do not own land in this country are merely "the accidental adjuncts of the state." (Renewed laughter.) We are not to be recognised as free citizens, as having claim to equal laws; we are merely to be recognised as human beings sojourning upon this island, and are to engage just so much in trade, and to enjoy just so much of the comforts and conveniences of life, as it suits the pleasure of the landed proprietors to allow us. That seems to be the sort of principle avowed? but what a principle it is! When I hear the debates in Parliament I sometimes ask myself, "What are we in this House of Commons?" Are we employed here in making equal laws for all classes of her Majesty's subjects, or are we merely carrying on particular branches of business and making particular employments pay? What have we to do with making land pay in Parliament, whether in the West Indies or in England? Are we to be considered in the House of Commons as sugar-planters and corn-growers, or are we to be considered as men dealing, not with land and inanimate substances, but with human beings who demand of us the discharge of the true functions of civil government? (Loud cheers.) Are we to consider ourselves as interested in establishments in the West Indies? If so, why not go there—why not let the Speaker appoint different members to be bailiffs in the different districts, to look after the returns to be made to each proprietor? (Cheers.) This would be a far more reasonable course than sitting there talking about such affairs. (Cheers.) Now, this question, as connected with civil liberty, appears to me to be a very simple and, at the same time, a very important subject. I have heard learned divines, skilled in the philosophy of the ancients, knowing mathematics, and capable of writing and composing in the dead languages, say that this Corn-Law question is so complicated, so difficult, so intricate, that they could not approach it or touch it. (Cheers.) But I am afraid that these excellent divines of the Church of England (a laugh), when they view these immense difficulties, forget the maxim which they sometimes make use of, that their "kingdom is not of this world." (Cheers and a laugh.) I am afraid that the Tithe Commutation Act has had a very curious influence in preventing their coming to this question with an unbiased power of reflection, which they would otherwise have been able to give it. I am afraid there is an idea amongst the clergy of the Church of England (with a few exceptions) that, if we repeal the Corn Laws, the price of corn will fall very greatly, and that then the tithe-rent charge will fall with it. If it were not for this unfortunate influence, I think we might have on this question of the Corn Laws the assistance of all men who profess to act from the spirit of Christianity. It appears to me that it is instinctively connected with the whole code of Christian morals, and I do believe, although I know we have been found fault with for introducing scriptural quotations in this Corn-Law discussion, that the best arguments in favour of the Anti-Corn-Law League are to be found in the Bible itself. (Great cheering.) I have said that I saw a want of confidence in the agriculturists in their leaders; and in the chance of maintaining this Corn-Law protection nothing is more true than what my hon. friend said—that we were threatened with fine speeches in Parliament, and great denunciations of the Anti-Corn-Law League, but those promised speeches have

"died upon the lip,
Faint as a chicken's note that's got the pip."

(Great laughter.) There never was anything so absurd in this world as the attempts that have been made to justify monopoly, and I do not believe there is one of its advocates that would get up in the House of Commons and say, "I came here to keep up rent on land, the price of corn, and I will not have any alteration in the Corn Laws." (Cheers.) This is, mind you, what these gentlemen have virtually told the agriculturists, and, as I believe, in the remote agricultural districts amongst the great body of the people there who believe that county members go up to Parliament with the one sole simple object of keeping up the price of wheat. (Cheers.) An agriculturist in the county of Suffolk said to me since the prices have fallen, "I wish our member had stopped at home and spent his money amongst his neighbours, for he does not appear to me to have done anything—the price of corn has fallen, and what good has he done?" (Great laughter.) This, I believe, is no exaggeration of the opinions of the agricultural body. The question, however, is this:—Are the commercial class, the great body of the intelligent and thinking community, to be ruled by a species of "farmers' ordinaries" and "market tables?" (Cheers.) Are they never to vindicate their rights, and to demand from the Legislature in a voice that cannot be resisted, that they must have granted to them the inalienable rights of free citizens to sell in the dearest and buy in the cheapest markets? (Cheers.) That feeling, I trust, will continue to gain ground in consequence of the studied and constant attempts daily witnessed in Parliament to blacken and degrade the commercial and manufacturing community of this country. (Cheers.) Can you not see always when you take up a paper which announces any meeting assembled on some charitable occasion, allusions to the "dreadful vices and horrid state of the manufacturing districts?" (Cheers.) And why is all this long-continued and studied system of attempting to degrade the manufacturing population perpetually pursued, but because they know that amongst that population there is a tone of free and independent thought—they know that there lies the germ of civil and religious liberty—they know that from the great body of the commercial classes of this country have always sprung, and are now springing, those great changes which have freed the country from thralldom, both intellectual and physical—they know that it is amongst that class the first dawn of religious liberty broke forth—that amongst

them are to be found the stern enemies of monopoly, and the least respecters of hereditary wisdom. (Loud and continued cheering.) Why, Sir, what a monstrous thing it is that, at the very time when our agricultural districts are flaming with incendiary fires—at the very time when reports on the table of the House of Commons tell us that the agricultural labourers are in the depths of misery—their cottages ill-built and ill-ventilated—disease and misery rife—when you see barbarism increasing in those districts—when you behold these horrible, these fiendish atrocities, these incendiary fires—that at such a time Parliament should occupy itself with lectures on the vices of the manufacturing and commercial community! (Cheers.) Why, these violences are not going on in the manufacturing districts. (Hear, hear.) We do not hear of incendiary fires in the cotton districts. We have heard, it was true, of combinations of men in strikes, but unaccompanied by violence or any attacks upon the person. (Loud applause.) Instead of pursuing these attempts to degrade this body of the community, gentlemen would do much better to turn their eyes to the state of the agricultural districts; and representing, as I do, an important manufacturing constituency—I may call it the metropolis of manufactures—I think it the interest of all that the agriculturists should be well instructed, trained, and fed; otherwise there will be a mass of men growing up, ignorant and untutored, without religion or morality, in the manufacturing districts, casting a taint upon the community originally located there, upsetting all the efforts which had been made in those districts to elevate the moral and religious tone of the great body of the working population. (Cheers.) These agricultural districts are the sources from which must flow the population of the manufacturing districts; our population is increasing at the rate of 700 or 800 a day, and the land increasing not at all; and it is possible that, as no agriculturist can proceed to employ one more than he does at present, we can any longer restrain the extension of our manufactures, our trade, and our commerce, or employ this increasing population, unless we wish to see this loved land of ours at some future day one formidable scene of convulsion, bloodshed, and disorder? (Loud and long-continued applause.) I say that must be the consequence; poverty and distress will upset reason, religion, moral training, and every thing else; for when a man is in despair, when he sees his wife and children famishing around him, and knows that there are no means of existence in his power, I ask you of what use is it to go and preach to him a sermon? Will you not rather find him partaking of the character almost of a savage animal, feeling that he is reduced to the condition of a mere brute on this earth, and that he cannot enjoy any of the advantages of an intellectual man? (Enthusiastic cheers, renewed again and again.) Although there may be less distress in some particular districts in this country than there was a short time since; although there may be less fluctuation and changes, I cannot look around me and perceive that there is any thing very encouraging in the present aspect of affairs. I cannot find any class in this country, among whom I go and converse, from whom I do not hear well-founded complaints of excessive competition, and the great difficulty there is in finding employment and situations for the younger branches of families. I hear it complained of, ay, in all professions, in the law, and even in the church itself. Wherever I go, amongst all classes, I hear this one complaint, of the great competition and struggle there is for men to obtain a living who are not born to an independent fortune. (Hear, hear.) I do in my conscience believe that these restrictions on trade, and this interference with freedom of action, are the causes of all these difficulties. (Hear.) We have all natural advantages; our disadvantages, I believe, are our own creation—they are artificial. Providence has provided in this country the means of a comfortable subsistence for all classes of her Majesty's subjects; that is my conscientious belief; but certain particular interested classes have interfered with the distribution of all this wealth and all these facilities which Providence has bestowed upon us; and I believe that nothing but the removal of these obstacles will enable society to enjoy the full reward of those advantages which Providence has really placed within their reach. Commercial freedom contains within itself all the objects that the philanthropist can desire to see attained. It embraces the means of diffusing civilization and religious freedom not only through the United Kingdom of England, but through all parts of the globe. Commerce will spread blessings which no missionary efforts can ever accomplish. Opinions upon slavery, and upon all other great questions which influence men's actions, can only be supported through the instrumentality of commerce. If we desire to see the day when the Brazils and Cuba shall abolish the slave trade, we must not isolate those countries from communication with more civilized parts of the world which already hold sentiments adverse to the continuance of slavery. What was our own act when we were slaveowners, and when we—ay, even our very bishops in the House of Lords—were advocates for the slave trade? What were our acts? Why, the Government of this country knew the danger of commercial intercourse in spreading opinion, and what was the course they adopted when the slaves were freed in St. Domingo? They passed a law to prevent any communication between St. Domingo and our West India colonies, for fear the infection of freedom should spread to them. (Hear, hear, hear.) Commercial intercourse is the grand means, depend upon it, which Providence has designed to civilize mankind—the means, at any rate, of spreading the truths which are to civilize mankind. We have at this moment the Emperor of Russia in England. (Vehement groans and hisses.) When I spoke of the Emperor of Russia, I did not do so for the purpose of eliciting marks of disapprobation. I think we ought not to carry our feelings beyond the mere circumstance of his coming here as a simple individual man; I do not think we ought to carry our ideas into Russia. The remark I was going to make was, that we have that monarch here; we have also the King of Saxony; and we are expecting a visit from the King of the French. We are told that the visits of all these monarchs, from one to the other, will tend to ensure peace throughout the world. I am glad to see these friendly communications; but if we want to maintain peace upon right principles, ours, Sir, I believe, to be the true method for linking nations together by the tie of a common interest, which will prevent wars and outbreaks, by putting an end to the jealousies of the different powers. (Loud cheers.) Emperors and diplomatists may do something by their amicable communications, but depend upon it they can do nothing so effective as that which will be

brought about by that feeling of interest amongst nations which will arise up when they are bound together by the ties of commercial intercourse. Make men your customers, depending upon you for their comforts, for the reward of their own industry, and then public opinion in all states will not allow the various monarchs and ambassadors to involve people in war as they have done in bygone times. I have detained you too long. (Cries of "No, no." "Go on, go on.") I will conclude simply by saying, there is no need for despair respecting the progress of our cause. No one that I have heard of considers the Corn-Law question in the least degree settled, except Mr. George Robins, the auctioneer. (Laughter.) He, "small blame to him," as they say in Ireland, in his advertisements when he wants to sell an estate, is very apt to say, as he said in an advertisement in a paper which I have seen to-day, that the Corn-Law question is settled, in consequence of the declaration of Sir Robert Peel during this session, that he does not contemplate a change. (Laughter.) And Mr. Robins advises persons to sell out their stock and purchase this estate, and give more for it in consequence of Sir Robert Peel's "contemplation." I must say, Sir, that I think the "contemplations" of this distinguished Minister are not a very good security for capital. (Cheers.) I would give as much for an estate without the Corn Laws as I would with them; but I certainly would not recommend gentlemen who think that the Corn Laws are necessary to maintain the value of estates, to place much reliance on the contemplations of the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government. I think we may with truth apply to him the term which the late Lord Grenville used with reference to monopoly—that he is the "parent of uncertainty." (Laughter.) I believe that he congratulates himself—only it must not be mentioned in public—on the progress of this Anti-Corn-Law League. (Hear, hear.) I have known cases myself where a Minister has been anxious to resist some job that he has been asked by his supporters to aid, and has, therefore, given a hint to the Opposition to be very uproarious against the job, in order that he might have an excuse to offer his friends for not adopting it. Now, that I believe is the position of her Majesty's Government: they want forcing; they are inviting you to force them. The stronger you put on the screw, the more they will give you. I am persuaded that in no period of the history of this country have such a number of direct invitations to agitation and to forcing been given by any Minister of the Crown to the Opposition. You see Ministers usually carry their questions not by the strength of their own supporters, because they are generally mere dupes, but by the influence of the Opposition. "See what a noise these gentlemen who are connected with the Free-Trade party are making. We really cannot maintain these laws any longer, you must give way, the country is in danger, if you do not surrender these laws you will have to give up something better worth keeping; therefore, be wise in time, for the pressure is too strong to be resisted. You cannot compose a government out of the 'Central Society for the Protection of Agriculture;' there are no men of sufficient talent capable of forming a cabinet in the Jamaica House of Assembly; there are no men who can carry on a Conservative Government unless you come to us, and, I tell you, gentlemen,"—this will be the language of Sir Robert Peel,—the pressure of the Free-Trade party has become so strong that I will not let any consideration of consistency stand in my way when I have an important public duty to discharge; therefore, I say, at once, that you must have Free Trade, or you must part with me." (Laughter.) It would be good and sound advice. We are taking, I believe, by these assemblies a truly patriotic and proper course in every point of view, whether in reference to moral considerations, or to the question of the accumulation of wealth. I say we are taking a proper course in endeavouring, as far as in us lies, to form that public opinion which is to be the instrument the Minister will use for the repeal of these obnoxious laws. The advice the Minister would give his friends in telling them they would lose other things better worth keeping, unless they gave up the Corn Laws, is true advice, for I recollect, and I dare say many of you remember also, that eloquent expression of the Rev. Robert Hall, when he said, "There is a taint of rottenness at the root of society which will wither the remotest and highest branch of the tree, be it ever so lofty." (The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amidst prolonged and most enthusiastic cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN came forward and said—I now beg leave to call upon Mr. Moore.

Mr. ROBERT R. R. MOORE on presenting himself at the table was received with enthusiastic cheers: silence having been obtained he spoke as follows:—I come before you to-night in the place of Josiah Hunt, a tenant-farmer; I would much rather that he were himself upon this stage to address you, as he has done before, proving from his own experience that the Corn Laws have never benefited him nor any tenant-farmer that he was ever acquainted with. I do not know any class of this community of whom I would rather be the advocate in this cause than the tenant-farmers. I do not know any other portion of the community that have suffered more continuously and more deeply from the Corn Laws; and I do not know any other set of men that would sooner reap the benefit of their total and immediate abolition. (Hear.) I am glad of an opportunity of appearing as the farmer's advocate against the Corn Law, because in the name of the farmer, unjustly and falsely, was the law originally passed and is now continued. As Mr. Gibson has said, the supporters of this law—the landowning lawmakers—shortsighted men, who imagine, that by crippling this nation's industry they can increase the wealth of a particular class, assert that they passed and maintain this law for the benefit of the farmer and the farm-labourer; and yet upon no other portion of the community has more bitter distress fallen than upon the farmers and farm-labourers of this country. But I am not going now to speak of farmers and the Corn Laws in what may be called the agricultural view of the question. I am not now about to argue that the impulse of competition must give rise to improvement in agriculture—and spur, to community of exertion and industry, the landlord and the farmer—bringing them to call to their aid all the discoveries that science has made and which might be brought into practice for the increase of agricultural production. (Hear.) I am not about to speak now of farmers as oppressed by the pauperism of labourers, who are paupers because there is no work for them to do upon this Corn-Law-protected land. I am not going to say anything of farmers with their fences broken down,

their crops eaten up by game, protected, no doubt, for the benefit of British industry and agriculture. (Hear, hear, hear.) But I speak of the farmer as a serf,—as a man not allowed to act upon his own judgment; an individual who, if in secret he cherish an opinion in favour of Free Trade, dare not express it in public. (Hear, hear, hear.) This South Lancashire election, which I have had some share in, has made me hate the Corn Laws more than ever. Every election that I happen to be engaged in has made me feel more anxious that the people of this country should be roused to a practical effort against this Corn Law; that they should be brought to throw aside party, and come forward in the spirit of men who love industry, to protect that industry from the oppression that stalks through the land under the cloak, and cover, and name of protection. (Cheers.) In the southern states of America for every five slaves the proprietor has a vote for members of the local Legislature and the Congress. Every intelligent man's feelings somewhat revolt at the idea that a man should have a vote and go and express it for those who are only considered men enough for another to count their heads. But I wish that that were the case in this country; it were less degradation to the "Independent Englishmen," to the "bold peasantry, our country's pride," to the "Britons."

"who never, never will be slaves."

It were relieving them from a load of degradation if the landlord, as in America, had a vote for every five tenants, and went and gave them himself at the hustings, instead of making these men go through the form of being recorded on the register as John, William, Thomas, Henry So-and-so, and then bringing them to the polling booth, and asking each his name and qualification, and for whom he votes, as if it were a form invented publicly to degrade the man. (Cheers.) When you go to the tenant and canvass him, and speak to him of the Corn Laws, not a word has he to say in their favour. When you talk to him of the sugar monopoly, not a syllable has he to utter in its behalf. When you show him men out of employment who are willing to work, no means does he know of employing them save by extending the markets for our productions, and letting their industry be free. He is a repealer of the Corn Laws, and a Free Trader; he tells you so plainly he shakes hands cordially with you—he wishes you God-speed, hoping your cause will prosper; but he has, in reality, no vote, although he is recorded on the register, he is a mere voice—a chattel with a tongue—a slave, not voted for by a master, but driven up by a master to record his vote, and announce, in the face of the country, his own degradation. "Independent Britain" as he is; "farmer" as he may be; legislated for in Parliament as he professes; he has been; quoted as a reason why the Corn Law should be continued he is, nevertheless, but a land-thrall—a voting bondsmen, a voice through which that person who calls himself "man," the landlord, declares that he, the farmer, contrary to all his knowledge and conviction of right and wrong, in opposition to all his sympathy, feeling, and real interests, shall speak against his conscience, and vote against his country. (Cheers.) If I speak here to-night in some sort as the representative of a tenant-farmer, I ask you, electors, and you who have the power to become such, to take these oppressed serf-made farmers under your protection, and say, "It shall not avail you, landlords, you men-degraders, to dictate to these farmers; for we will outnumber you at the poll, and will carry this question for the sake of which you degrade these men. (Cheers.) It is no light matter that these men should be so degraded—that they should be dictated to—that they should be commanded not to think—that when you go and ask men looking and working like yourselves, having sympathies like you, and anxious to be independent,—for their votes, they should tell you, "that they vote for so-and-so," mentioning the name, not of the candidate, but the steward of the estate. (Hear.) If you wanted anything to make you more earnest in carrying the repeal of the Corn Laws, such domination should rouse you to that additional energy. An end must be put to this landlord dictation; and if the farmers cannot be roused to spirit enough to do it of themselves, if the interests they have at stake, and the risk they run, be too perilous for them to attempt it then every man who can do it, even though it should cost him some inconvenience, should acquire the power to vote at an election; and should take these farmers under their true protection, be their real friends, and say, "You farmers shall be raised from this thralldom to the dignity of men not only having an opinion, but daring to express it; you shall not be canvassed for and counted through the landlord only; you shall not be their voice but your own; you may henceforth call your minds your own, and tell these landlords that from this time you are resolved to look your fellow-men cheerfully in the face. We forgive the farmers for the injury they have done us; and by that injury we vow in the face of the country that the cause of it shall cease, and that the independent men in the town shall set not merely trade, but the farmers themselves, free." (Loud cheers.) You know, all of you here, "accidental adjuncts of the land" as you are, the mode by which the League proposes to accomplish the repeal of the Corn Law. You are aware that we seek to effect our object through the registration courts—you men of London are active on that subject. It is not merely when an election comes that you must commence your canvass, but you must urge all men who are in a position to register votes to do so; it is not when the struggle comes and the battle is at hand that you are to begin to see whether the weapons of your warfare are in order (hear), then is not the time to ascertain whether your taxes and rates are paid, and your name is upon the register. It is an important right—that of voting; it is a privilege by which you ward off oppression, and keep the landlords from levying a sort of tax on your industry. (Cheers.) At the election for South Lancashire the landlords did, by bringing in their tenants and commanding them to vote, precisely the same thing to trade as if they had come into the town and levied a tax from door to door, in the town. They came in plundering the industry of the people. (Hear.) These monopolies are not anything dead or inactive; it is not something abstract we are talking about; neither is it a mischief that might come to pass at some future time; but it is a hardly-crushing reality that we are resisting. Every year every year increases competition for employment in this country; you have more men bidding for work and running up the rent to an amount which the

farm is not worth; you have more men bidding for employment and beating down wages; you have no more food, and yet increased numbers; you have more men needing to open shops, and no more people in a fit condition to be well paying and profitable customers to this increased number of shopkeepers; this monopoly is an ever-pressing injury, therefore you should be perpetually active against it, not merely coming to meetings such as this, cheering and holding up your hands for Free Trade, but going home and asking, "What can I find to do to forward the repeal of this law, and the abolition of all monopolies?" (Loud cheers.) You would deserve well the name of "accidental adjuncts" if you did not do something. "Accidental adjuncts!" I think we have reason to thank our enemies for that term. We "accidental adjuncts" will try if we cannot teach those "originals of the country" that, after all, the "accidental adjuncts" are powerful enough to win liberty for the industry of the people. (Cheers.) Now, we have not merely to attend to the registration, but we have to find out what condition of mind the present members of the House of Commons are in upon this question. The Parliament will, in the common course of things, sit about two years longer, and then again it will rest with the country to say who shall represent them. If the people be well taught and thoroughly in earnest, they will send Free-Traders in a majority to represent them, and the first session of that new Parliament will be rendered memorable by the triumph of Free Trade. (Loud cheers.) If the people are not sufficiently in earnest and thoroughly taught, then you will have a Parliament again to talk and squabble about compromises, spending their time in great and small changes, and talk about overthrowing old-established interests; you will have all the twaddle of Monopoly before you again, and, if you are prepared to be drugged with that for another Parliament, then do not do anything now to be ready for a future occasion. (Cheers.) The constituencies want to bring their members to a plain declaration upon Free Trade, "Ay or no;" not to have them coming to the hustings making fine promises; but to learn from them now, "How they will vote?" they will look at the Parliamentary list to see how they really have voted. A promise on the hustings will go for nothing, deeds in this Parliament will only be relied upon. Members have had enough to teach them while the present Parliament has sat; they have had distress during high-priced food, and a comparative return of prosperity when by the blessing of a good harvest bread was somewhat cheaper. They have no excuse for ignorance or for hanging back; and if they will not give their constituents proof that they are in favour of Free Trade by their support of Mr. Villiers's motion, then the constituents will select other men, and these lingers in the ranks of monopoly will find themselves left out of the list of members of Parliament at the next election. (Cheers.) I have here the answers to two memorials from constituents to their members. I wish it to be observed that in reading these documents, and in any remarks I may make upon them, I am not to be understood as using a word harshly or disrespectfully to either of these honourable gentlemen. I am speaking of the question, and not of the men. Letters have been received from Lord Seymour and Mr. Baldwin, members for Totnes, in answer to memorials signed by a majority of their constituents, calling on them to support Mr. Villiers's motion for the abolition of the Corn Laws. Lord Seymour says, "I have received your letter with the enclosed memorial. With regard to the question of the Corn Laws it may be remembered that, in 1831, when I first addressed the electors of Totnes, I told them that my opinions were in favour of an alteration of the Corn Laws, and I should vote for any motion tending towards greater freedom of trade in the admission of corn. At that time no large party in the House agreed in these views, and no association existed in the country for the purpose of advancing them. The question is now in a very different position; the Government, having passed a law which is in my opinion very insufficient to remove the evils which were before complained of, seem yet determined to go no further: the party calling themselves the League declare that they will be satisfied with no other measure than an immediate and entire abolition of all duty. Their mode of proceeding, which has been useful in leading to more general consideration of the question, has not apparently won the support of the manufacturing and commercial classes, since their defeat in South Lancashire seems to show that there is not, even in that district, any great confidence in their proposed measure. I think that, by their mode of dictating to the country this one measure, to be at once adopted as the criterion of political wisdom, and at the same time denying to their opponents common sense and common integrity, they have injured the cause, and I therefore do not support a plan which seems unlikely to lead to any settlement of the question. My own views can hardly be fully stated in a letter, but whenever I come to Totnes, if any of my constituents wish to hear them at more length I shall be happy to state them." Lord Seymour admits that the mode of League procedure, and their vigorous agitation, has led to a more general consideration of the question, but he argues that the election in South Lancashire seems to show that there is not any great confidence in total and immediate Free Trade felt even there. Then Lord Seymour, as he is opposed to the present Corn Law, and is also to the League movements, must mean that he is in favour of some system of compromise. Now, I ask, where is the evidence from South Lancashire, and where is the proof anywhere in favour of compromise? At our county meetings, now and then, some one has proposed an amendment in favour of a fixed duty; but I never saw more than three hands held up for that proposition upon any such occasion. (Hear.) Where was the fixed-duty candidate brought forward in South Lancashire? Who spoke of such a measure there? Mr. Entwistle was a sliding-scale man, pledged to its maintenance; and the serf-farmers were driven up to vote for him, having told our canvassers that they were in favour of total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) Which is to be taken in proof of the will and knowledge of the country upon the subject—the opinion a man expresses when you go to him as a stranger and ask him what he thinks upon the subject of the Corn Laws, or the vote he records when under the landlord's dictation at the poll? I think that, if Lord Seymour would examine the case of South Lancashire, and be at the trouble of reading the speech of our Chairman to-night, and if he would also remark the progress we have made, he will see in every place a farmer could escape—where he was left to himself—he came out for Free Trade,

and that only where he was domineered over and dictated to did he vote for monopoly. (Hear.) If that noble lord would go down into South Lancashire among the men who voted for monopoly, he would not find any manifestation of triumph for the return of their candidate, but rather a grieving over the present baffling of principles that they themselves would have wished to have seen triumphant. (Cheers.) He would find the private efforts of the very men who have given their votes against the Free-Trade candidate exerted for the promotion of the very objects which they were compelled to vote against. (Hear.) If Lord Seymour really imagines that there is any party in this country who are in favour of compromising this question, he evidently knows little of the state of feeling throughout the land upon the subject. (Hear.) The farmers complain that they have had compromises enough, and have had quite a sufficiency of changes in the Corn Laws. They are aware that they have suffered too long from the delusion of steadiness of price and good markets being established by law; for too many years they have been vainly told that the Corn Laws would give them prosperity. The labourers will tell you that they are tired of hearing it said that the Corn Law is especially for their protection, and that by it alone can they be taken care of. The noble lord would find that, even amongst those who in party are opposed to us, there is principle in favour of Free Trade at work. If he will look over the poll-books of South Lancashire, he will find indications there that men in this country are now being universally brought to say, "Manufactures, trade, industry, wages, and food first; and then party—if there be any need for it." (Cheers.) If Lord Seymour thinks that our mode of "dictating to the country this one measure as a thing to be at once adopted as the criterion of political wisdom is not judicious," I reply, that we have not dictated this one measure. All that the League has done, is, as his lordship says, to "raise up a giant power of spreading knowledge upon the subject." The League has simply taught the people that it is their interest to have Free Trade. The League has done nothing more than turn general attention to the works of the greatest writers upon the mode by which nations can prosper. It has only brought into common use the instruction given at the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, in each of which places a professorship of political economy is established for the purpose of teaching the students the principles upon which national prosperity is to be secured; and it has shown that every one of these celebrated seats of learning have never existed a professor of political economy who was an advocate for the principles of monopoly; but that, on the contrary, they were all Free-Traders;—that a man in such a position would be laughed at, unless he were an advocate of Free Trade, and in the examinations of candidates for these professorships, he would lose all chance of success if he were to declare himself in favour of monopoly. (Hear.) The League, then, has done nothing more than to carry the instructions of all these learned universities into practice,—teaching merchants, shipowners, traders, shopkeepers, manufacturers, and hard-working men, both in towns and rural districts, principles which have so long, and without exception, been taught in the universities of the land. (Cheers.) These business, practical men are not satisfied with abstract knowledge, but come forward and say, "Give to us workers, to us industrious men, to us skilled artisans—give to us, to whom all that the earth can produce is property when we labour for it—give us our share of the world's produce." Free Trade is the one question, because the people of England are taught, and begin to give up party. They say "Live industry, and perish party!" (cheers)—we must be free to work there must be no shackles on the hands; there must be no crushing down of the spirit, even though the man be a mere adjunct of the land." Let no man expect to put any other question forward till this is settled. There it stands: we have struggled for it long enough. We have in this country passed through periods of distress and oppression frequent enough; we have even now amongst us, thick enough, the traces of the periods of distress which we have passed over: we have seen people growing up in ignorance and exasperation from distress. Those only who have been in the manufacturing districts in a time when the Corn Laws were doing their best work, and prices were high, and we have seen how the people struggled against the dependence of pauperism, and laboured to keep up the appearance of having enough to live upon while they were pinched from want,—they have seen enough to make them say, "This shall be the one question." Those who have seen men who were rising in the world thrown suddenly down to poverty, who have beheld men broke before their time by anxiety brought on by these monopolies, and watched the spirit of this country and learn to love a people who were willing to work, and asked nothing but room to labour, and that monopolists would keep their hands off their working arms,—they, I am sure, have seen enough to make them exclaim, "This shall be the one question." (Loud cheers.) We shall have been engaged in election contests, who have been watching more closely than most people the progress of opinion, have seen sufficient to justify us in telling you here to-night, that this one question cannot be stayed in its progress; that it is certain to triumph. (Cheers.) I feel always inclined to repeat what is to me one of the greatest gratifications on this subject, and that is, that those who have voted against us at elections,—who have been driven up from their farms as serfs to poll for the monopolists,—that those who have worked against us will be brought to acknowledge that, after all, we were right. The worst I wish them is, that they may live long enough to feel the burning blush of shame rise high in their face when any one points to the country's prosperity, and says, "Free Trade won it—a few men laboured long and earnestly in the cause, and you held them back, and reaped the benefit, and blush that you withstood the cause." (Mr. Moore retired amidst loud and protracted cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward, and said, Ladies and gentlemen, in closing the meeting I am requested to make two announcements. The first is, that all those parties who have qualifications for electors, and wish to be placed on the register for the city of London, should apply at the Metropolitan Association Rooms, 68, Cheap-side, to Mr. Sidney Smith, the Secretary. And the second announcement I have to make is this: I trust we need not prove to the world that here, at least, we are no monopolists. The Conservatives of the city of London are anxious next Wednesday to have a dinner,

some other meeting, in this theatre, and we have been asked to waive our right of holding our meeting, in order that they may have this place for that evening; we are quite willing they should have it, and we hope they will make as good a use of it that night as we should have done. (Hear, hear.) You will, therefore, have the goodness to understand, that the meeting stands adjourned till this day fortnight; and should the Conservatives next week take an opportunity of uttering any fallacies bearing upon our question, I have no doubt the speakers who will then address you will take an opportunity of answering them. (Loud cheers.)

At the suggestion of Mr. Bright, three cheers were given for Free Trade, and the meeting separated.

EDINBURGH ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.

On Wednesday, the 29th ult., a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Corn-Law Association was held in the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce.

The Secretary stated, that, as directed by the committee, he had written a letter to Mr. Macaulay, and had received an answer. They were as follows:—

"TO THE RIGHT HON. T. B. MACAULAY.

"Edinburgh, Fifth Month, 16th, 1844.

"RESPECTED FRIEND,—I received thy letter of 1st instant, but not till five days after its date. It was immediately printed and circulated among the members of the large committee of the Anti-Corn-Law Association of this city; and, on considering it at a numerously attended meeting, held here on the 9th instant, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

"That having heard read the letters from the city members—Resolved, that while there is much in Mr. Macaulay's letter of which the association disapprove, they desire to consider both communications as conveying the impression, that our representatives are now convinced of the propriety of supporting the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, as opposed to any duty whatever, in terms of the second resolution passed on the 22nd of April; direct this resolution to be communicated to them by the sub-committee; and in the meantime delay all further proceedings until the sub-committee shall think fit to call another meeting of the association."

"The executive committee of the association, who were charged by the meeting with the transmission of this resolution to thee and thy colleague, have directed me candidly to state to you the different views entertained of your letters which led to the adoption of this resolution. The greater number believed that you wished to convey to the association the impression that you were now prepared to give a cordial support to the cause of total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, as opposed to any duty, whether fixed or sliding. While others understand that although prepared in theory to approve of total and immediate repeal, and in certain circumstances even to vote for it, you would be ready to abandon the cause, and to advocate a fixed duty in preference to it, whenever any Government which you esteem liberal shall propose such a measure. The committee have given expression to their views in the above resolutions; and, in accordance with the general understanding of the meeting as to what is implied in it (in respect of which an amendment proposed on the motion was withdrawn), the executive committee have directed me respectfully to request that thou wilt favour them with an answer. In making this request, the executive committee desire me to express the cordial satisfaction which it will afford them to know that the committee have adopted that view of thy letter which it was thy intention to convey. Thoroughly convinced that the continued prosperity of the nation is dependent on the establishment of Free Trade without delay, the association will rejoice to be assured that thy great talents are enlisted in advocating its principles and promoting their final triumph."

"From a sincere desire that an harmonious feeling shall be restored between thee and the constituency by which thou wert elected, and wishing to avoid the needless discussion of matters in which thou and they differ in opinion, the executive committee forbear from noticing those parts of thy letter which have been generally disapproved by the committee. I am, however, particularly requested to explain that the third resolution adopted at the meeting of the association, held on 22nd ultimo, was not communicated to thee and thy colleague, simply because it was not intended for you, but for the direction and guidance of the committee during their tenor of office. That resolution expresses the opinion and determination of the association in a matter involving at once the interests of the kingdom at large, and the objects and business of the association. Not intended by the committee as a threat, but for another purpose, it was not communicated, lest it might wear the semblance of one. The collective opinions of a constituent body like the association can be gathered only at a public meeting, by the discussion and adoption of resolutions embodying their views. We know thy character sufficiently to prevent us from imagining that a threat would induce thee to swerve from any course which thy judgment might lead thee to adopt as the path of duty. We submit to thee, with much deference, that the representatives of the city have no just cause of offence, on account of the association adopting resolutions which they considered necessary for the guidance of their committee; however these resolutions may in their operation eventually affect their connexion with the city. Such an idea would unduly interfere with the freedom of discussion in public bodies; and the executive committee of the Anti-Corn-Law Association cannot recognise it as legitimate."

"I am thine, very respectfully,
(Signed) "JOHN HOWISON."

"Albany, London, May 21, 1844.

"DEAR SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter conveying to me a resolution passed by the Anti-Corn-Law Association of Edinburgh, on the 9th of this month.

"The sense put on my letter by the majority of the association is correct. It is only as compared with a fluctuating duty on foreign corn that I think a fixed duty of low amount entitled to support. I have no doubt that a perfectly free trade is preferable to a fixed duty, and it is my intention to act in strict conformity with these views."

"I learn from your resolution that there is much in my letter of which the association disapprove. I think it right to say that I have carefully reconsidered that letter, and that it contains not a single statement or argument to which I do not deliberately adhere."

"I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

"Your faithful servant,

"J. Howison, Esq., Edinburgh." "T. B. MACAULAY."

After a number of members had expressed their opinions fully on the subject, the meeting unanimously agreed to the following minute:—

"Having heard read the letter of the Secretary to the members for the city, transmitting the resolution of the general committee, and the answer of Mr. Macaulay, the executive committee rejoice that, according to the interpretation proposed by that resolution to be put on his letter of the 1st instant, now homologated by himself, they can reckon on his cordial and unqualified support to the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, as opposed to all duty, whether fixed or sliding; and feeling assured that he will lend his powerful talents in actively advocating, and his personal influence in promoting, a measure so vitally affecting the prosperity and best interests of the nation, they refrain from any observations to which his adherence to his previous letter might have given rise."

It was explained that no answer had as yet been received from Mr. Gibson Craig, and the Secretary was in consequence directed to write to him requesting an answer.—*Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle.*

POLITICAL ECONOMY AT CAMBRIDGE.

The following is an extract from a lecture on agriculture, forming one of a series on political economy, delivered by Mr. Banfield in the University of Cambridge, with the permission of the Vice-Chancellor. We shall occasionally recur to these lectures, which we understand are shortly to be repeated in town.

"To the indirect proofs that I have endeavoured to adduce of the little danger that need be anticipated from increased production to the vested interests, whether of the landlord or of the farmer, direct evidence may be added from the history both of tropical and of European agriculture. Since the extension of navigation beyond mere coasting trips, various additions have been made to the catalogue of our nourishing plants, that, could their introduction have been calculated beforehand, must have appeared to threaten the annihilation of agricultural property in Europe."

"Rice, we are told, was not known to the Greeks and Romans. It made its appearance in Europe about the middle of the 11th century. Its cultivation is said to have been first attempted in the low lands adjoining Verona by a patrician of Milan, named Theodore Trivulzi, in 1522. Since then, the cultivation of this plant, which occasionally yields 100 bushels to the acre of the most nourishing description of grain, has furnished us with an immense supply of food. The consumption of Europe is now estimated at 3,000,000 cwt. annually."

"The potato made the next change in the amount of farinaceous food placed at our disposal. This root did not become of general use until the commencement of the present century. It is now found in great abundance in every part of northern and central Europe."

"The third addition to our supplies consisted in the pungent herbs, such as tea and coffee, with which it is possible to consume a vast quantity of sugar. The sugar consumed with tea and coffee at present, in England alone, has been estimated as equivalent to the saccharine matter contained in six millions and a half gallons of beer."

"A plant that was much prized on its first discovery, but that is only now drawing the attention that it deserves, as a valuable article of food, is Cacao, or 'Theobroma.' This delicious production is grown with the least toil and expense of any vegetable that we know in the tropical parts of our globe. One thousand trees, capable of yielding each twelve fanegas or cwt., can be tended in the Canaries by one man, when the first arrangements, at planting, for occasionally irrigating the ground they stand upon have been well made."

"As the fruit of this tree is highly nourishing, and is sweet enough to require no mixture of sugar, the cheapness and the delicacy of the drink prepared from cacao will recommend it generally, and it will doubtless produce a revolution in our taste for tropical produce."

"Yet in spite of these constant additions to our supplies of food, instead of finding that the culture of grain can be diminished, we see that it must daily be produced in increased quantities to keep pace with the demand."

"The same experience is furnished by the history of the raw materials produced for our manufactures. The quantity of cotton wool imported for consumption in 1810, was 90,000,000 lbs. In 1810 we imported nearly 600,000,000 lbs.; yet the demand for wool was not diminished by this increase. Australia sent us 2,500,000 lbs. of wool in 1830, and nearly 10,000,000 lbs. in 1840. Our importation from other countries likewise increased within the same interval, and yet our linen manufacture was able likewise to extend itself. The consumption of silk has in the meantime not declined. The same phenomenon meets us in the other countries of Europe, where supplies have likewise increased of every description of raw produce contemporaneously."

"With this experience, one would think it must be easy to detect the economical law of progress by which these phenomena are produced. Their recurrence pointed to a necessary connexion between the increasing supply and increasing demand for agricultural produce that ought to have been sooner recognised than has been the case."

"The law is simply this, that an abundant supply of objects of primary necessity is the condition of a great demand for objects of less urgent utility, and for luxuries. As we advance in the scale of wants thus classified, the desire to satisfy each less-pressing deficiency increases according as the more essential requisites to our existence or our comfort are supplied. Thus the demand for clothing is increased by an abundant supply of grain. Flax, silk, and cotton are in greatest demand amongst nations that are best able to supply themselves with food. The condition of the demand for flax is, that there shall be a supply of corn or of potatoes."

"Again, in the crops of food, the cultivation of luxuries must depend on the supply of necessaries. Meat, butter, cheese, fruits follow in a natural succession. In an open market each refinement in the description of food produced becomes more remunerating as a crop in proportion as indispensable food is more abundant. In the same manner an abundance of cotton increases, instead of diminishing the demand for flax and silk, when the free action of trade is unimpeded. That the price, under these circumstances, does not always rise, may be accounted for by various considerations, to which I shall presently recur. But this is the theory of consumption, and consequently of demand."

LORD RADNOR AND THE WILTSHIRE FARMERS.

The following letter has recently appeared in the columns of the *Wiltshire Independent*, addressed by Lord Radnor to the farmers of that county. It is illustrative of the harsh and tyrannical attempts that the "Agricultural Protection Societies" are now making to force some apparent expression of public opinion in favour of the Corn Laws. Some hundreds of petitions—most of them signed by an exceedingly small number of persons—have lately been presented to the House of Commons, praying that no further concessions may be made to the principles of the Anti-Corn-Law League. We have received numerous letters from various counties, complaining of the reckless and cruel compulsion to which the agricultural labourers have been subjected to induce them to sign these petitions. Surely such proceedings can only tend to render more desperate the spirit of discontent that already reveals itself with such fearful ferocity in the wide-spread incendiarism of the rural districts!

"TO THE FARMERS OF WILTS."

"I have read in the *Wiltshire Independent*, and have heard from other quarters, such instances of gross oppression and flagrant injustice towards agricultural labourers made use of by their employers to compel them to sign petitions in favour of the Corn Laws, and I feel so forcibly, not only the iniquity, but also the folly and impolicy of such conduct, that I cannot refrain from addressing these lines to you on the subject."

"Well-authenticated cases and the names of parties are in my possession, but I do not by any means wish to expose them. It is very possible, indeed, if these practices are persevered in, that it may become necessary, hereafter, to do so. At present I will only argue the matter abstractedly, and endeavour to put before you such reasons, as I think, ought to weigh with you to abstain from anything like compulsion."

"1. The labourer is a free man, and has as good a right to his opinion on the subject as any of you. He is, in no respect, bound to follow your opinions, and to act under your directions in anything, except in matters connected with his service. Signing a petition with reference to the Corn Laws cannot in any way be considered so."

"2. The labourer has an immediate and direct interest in the matter. My belief, indeed, is, that the repeal of the Corn Laws would be as beneficial to you as to him; but his interest is more evident. He is a consumer; you are both consumers and producers. His interest in having what he consumes abundant and cheap, is palpable, and he knows it. Why should he not be at liberty to express his opinion? Still more, why should he be called upon to express a contrary one?"

"3. It is your manifold interest to promote and encourage morality in your labourers, and especially to discourage falsehood and lying; but when you urge a man to put his name to the expression of an opinion, contrary to that he really entertains, you urge him to commit a deliberate falsehood in the most formal manner. How can you, after this, blame him, if on any other occasion he lies to you?"

"4. I would ask what you gain by this? Nothing but the expression of an opinion, which you know to be untrue, and which your employers and landlords, if you are candid with them, also know to be so."

"5. Again, I would ask, what do you lose by this? The respect and good opinion of your men. How can a man respect one, who, for his own purposes, urges or compels another to tell a deliberate lie?"

"6. But this is not all you lose. The men, knowing as they all, I believe, well know, that the Corn Laws are injurious to them, being so called upon, naturally suspect that you must have some view or object detrimental to them; or, at the very least, that you are indifferent about their welfare. I ask every farmer in Wilts, and in the south of England, whether there exists between him and his labourers such cordiality as could neutralize that suspicion, or prevent its being highly dangerous?"

"But it may be said you have a right to employ whom you like and to give what wages you like; to dismiss those who do not agree with you about the Corn Laws, or to give to them lower wages. True, the right you have—whether it be right or proper to exercise it is another question. And, on the other hand, the men have a clear right to stick to their opinion, and if they prefer doing so to accepting the wages of falsehood and iniquity, to take your dismissal; would the Boards of Guardians refuse to admit them, with their families, into the workhouses, because they had refused to sign their names to a lie?"

"I throw out these things for your consideration, and I think they are deserving your attention. I wish to say nothing to irritate or annoy. I have no desire to expose the names of any who have acted, as I think, so unjustifiably. But I will do what I can to save the labouring men from oppression and injustice; and I care not whom I may offend, or what offence I may give, if it is necessary to do so for that purpose."

"To conclude: be just and fair—do unto others as you would that others should do unto you—keep your opinions and act upon them if you please, but let your labourers keep theirs. You probably know my opinion, that your landlords have no right to coerce you; in the same way you have no right to coerce your labourers. Act on these principles, which are the principles of justice and truth, and, take my word for it, you will never have cause to repent of so doing."

"Grosvenor-street, May 28, 1844. RADNOR."

SCENE AT THE ORMSKIRK POLLING BOOTH.—Returning officer: "Well, who do you vote for, my man?"—Voter: "I votes for—for—for—I votes for Maister Blue."—Returning officer: "What do you mean? Who do you vote for?"—Voter: "Why, I votes for—(after a long pause)—I votes for this" (showing an E. & W. ribbon).—Returning officer: "That won't do." Voter goes down to consult his friends, then comes up primed and loaded. Returning officer: "Well, who do you vote for?"—Voter: "Why, I votes for Mr. Twizzle."—*Liverpool Times.*

A wise man by his speeches does things which a hundred armies conjoined could not execute.—*From M. Galt's Maximes des Orientaux.*

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, June 5, 1844.
N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | |
|---|---------|
| James Broadhurst, Mayor of Congleton | £5 0 0 |
| The Workmen of Joseph Twigg and Brothers, New Hill Pottery, near Rotherham (8th subscription) | 1 10 0 |
| James Bell, Low Barton, Whittingham, Alnwick | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Callander, North Herwick, Haddingtonshire | 1 0 0 |
| A Friend | 0 1 0 |
| Alexander Wilson, 22, Milk-street, Cheap-side | 1 1 0 |
| J. D. | 1 1 0 |
| W. French, 10, Holland-place, North Brixton | 1 0 0 |
| John Poole, 19, Surrey-square, Old Kent-road | 1 0 0 |
| John Burdett, near the Three Kings, Mitcham Common | 0 7 0 |
| Henry Higginson, 26, Gloucester-street, Queen-square, Bloomsbury | 0 5 0 |
| Charles Martin, Merton | 0 1 0 |
| W. Abbott, 36, Chilton-street, Somers-town | 0 4 0 |
| Daniel Jones, 12, Jewin-crescent, City | 0 2 6 |
| Thomas Jones, 12, do., do. | 0 2 6 |
| W. M. | 0 2 6 |
| From an Admirer of Sir Robert Peel, but no Conservative | 0 5 0 |
| Fenton, J. K. Knight | 1 0 0 |
| Staffordshire Potteries, J. Cope | 1 0 0 |
| From a poor Woman | 0 7 8 |
| One who glories in our cause | 0 2 6 |
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| Small subscriptions | 3 0 0 |
| Small subscriptions from Liverpool, per Thos. Shaw, 8, Lawrence-street | 0 5 0 |
| The Workmen of Mr. Marler, Newton Moor, near Hyde | 1 8 0 |
| John Murphy, Manchester | 0 2 0 |
| Thos. Sherrard, colliery agent, Pemberton, near Wigan | 1 0 0 |
| William Eastwood and other Workmen at Shaw and Phillips's, Colne | 1 8 0 |
| J. and E. Waters, Charles-st., C. on M., Manchester | 10 0 0 |
| Wells, Cooke, and Potter, Mosley-street, do. | 50 0 0 |
| W. and E. Wilson, 44, George-street, do. | 50 0 0 |
| Stanton and Sons' Workpeople, Stafford Mills, Stroud, Gloucestershire (2nd subscription) | 2 0 0 |
| Stockport, Henry Marsland, Esq., M.P. | 100 0 0 |
| 11th Remit. Edward Hollins | 50 0 0 |
| Staffordshire { William Ridgway, Northwood, Hanley 10 0 0 | |
| 2nd Remit. { W. Ridgway, Son, and Co. do. 10 0 0 | |
| Thomas Hill, do. 1 0 0 | |
| Wood and Brownfield, Cobridge 10 10 0 | |
| Jones and Walley, do. 5 0 0 | |
| Rochdale, 13th Remit. James Butterworth, currier 5 0 0 | |
| Huddersfield, Jonathan Townsend, Milnes-bridge, near 0 5 0 | |
| 18th Remit. John Sugden and Sons, Dockroyd, near Keighley, Yorkshire 5 0 0 | |
| Cross Hills, near Bradford, Yorkshire, 2nd Remittance. { Thomas Greenlay, Bradford 1 0 0 | |
| A Friend 1 0 0 | |
| Richard Overend 5 0 0 | |
| William Greenwood 5 0 0 | |
| A Friend 5 0 0 | |
| "Plenty of Clothes, and Plenty of Porridge" 5 0 0 | |
| Edward Hall 2 6 0 | |
| Richard Petty 2 6 0 | |
| John Turner 5 0 0 | |
| A Friend 5 0 0 | |
| Thomas Peel 5 0 0 | |
| A Friend 0 2 6 | |
| A Muzzle 0 2 6 | |
| Small sums 0 8 0 | |

ERRATA.

In the List of Subscriptions in our last, for "John Shanks and Co., Johnstone, near Paisley," read "John Shanks, Johnstone;" and for "John Smyth, draper, Stoney-street, Frome, Somersetshire," read "Edward Smyth."

In LEAGUE No. 28, for "Henry M'Erwin, Doune Castle, Doune, by Stirling," read "Henry M'Erwin, Deanston Works, Doune, by Stirling."

THE BAZAAR.

We have much pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the arrangements announced for the great Free-Trade Bazaar, in London. The Manchester Bazaar cleared about £10,000, and enabled the League to do a great amount of good in the diffusion of Free-Trade principles. We confidently anticipate, however, that it will be infinitely surpassed by the Bazaar in London, to which every part of the country will contribute. Though the League may not have succeeded in South Lancashire, yet by its systematic attention to registration, it is preparing the way for a great triumph when the next general election shall arrive. The proofs of the progress of our principles abound on every hand; and the most gratifying and the most convincing are the tributes paid to the power of the principles of Free Trade by our opponents. The Times, two years ago, told Sir R. Peel that he was in the groove of Free Trade—that he must slide along—and that he could no more resist the motion than counteract the laws of nature. This has been proved to be quite true. But Sir Robert Peel's motion is far from being spontaneous. He moves in the direction of Free Trade, because, moving slowly, he mitigates the force by which he would otherwise be driven. But take away the driving power—let the League become ineffective for want of funds, and we should soon see Sir Robert give way to the influences of monopoly, and become stationary, if not retrograde. He sees what is right; but he is prepared to do either right or wrong, to secure his power. The League, the embodiment of enlightened public opinion on Free Trade, is his incentive to advance in the right; but if he be once enabled to say "The League is fallen! we need look for no more Free-Trade measures from him. No effort to support the League can now be too great, or can be useless; and so far from the South Lancashire defeat being a reason for despondency, it ought to be an incentive to renewed and more active effort. There are few towns that could furnish a more attractive stall for the Bazaar than Sheffield. Our manufactures are varied, elegant, useful, most convenient in size for exhibition and for sale on such an occasion. We have no doubt that the Sheffield stall will be well furnished, and will add much to the attractions, and to the profits of the Bazaar.—*Sheffield Independent.*

THE ELECTION FOR SOUTH LANCASHIRE.
(From the Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle.)

Now that the election is over, and people can look back upon it without hope or fear for any immediate result, there is room for reflection; and there is not only room, but there are ample materials for thought—very serious thoughts. The power that has returned a Tory member is not an invisible power, and much might be said of it, much written, and much predicted. Were I to turn prophet for a few minutes, I would say that this is the last time that such a member will be returned to Parliament by such a power in this county—by the power of some dozen great landowners, who can each command from fifty to six hundred votes. But I shall not at present press that subject. It is enough to say that Mr. Entwistle, despite the opinion of a great majority of freeholders, has been returned by the votes of those who have neither freeholds nor opinions—the tenants-at-will—of whom there are in this division of the county not less than 4000, nearly all of whom voted for him at the bidding of the stewards. At present I prefer bringing before the public a consequence of the extensive creation of tenancy-at-will votes, which, I believe, has been overlooked. It is the effect on the domestic comfort of families arising from a plurality of votes being created upon a farm of which the father of the family is the leasee. It affects the disposition of property in a very important degree, as will be seen from the following dialogue between a farmer and his son-in-law. Farmers, whether as fathers of families, or as brothers, will do well to look to the consequences that may arise out of such a system. In Lancashire, the creation of votes by such means as this dialogue sets forth has been carried to an extremity, and the present election has been carried by such votes. But fathers and sons, and sons-in-law, and daughters, and other relatives, should look into the subject, and see if they have not paid too dear for their whistle in supporting the gentleman who has just been made a member of Parliament:—

SOME MORE OF THE EVILS OF THE CHANDOS CLAUSE IN THE REFORM BILL, EXEMPLIFIED BY A CONVERSATION BETWEEN A FARMER AND HIS SON-IN-LAW, DURING THE ELECTION FOR SOUTH LANCASHIRE.

Son-in-law.—Good morning, Sir, how are you all at home?

Farmer.—Very well, Richard; art thou middling?—how is Anne and the children?

Son-in-law.—Very well. I say, Anne, here is your father.

Anne.—Father, what has brought you here so soon?

Farmer.—This election.

Son-in-law.—Well, I suppose you are going to vote for monopoly?

Farmer.—Yes, I am, if you call it so. I had rather have stopped at home, but then thou knows we are all obliged to come.

Son-in-law.—You say we, who besides yourself?

Farmer.—Why, does thou not know? if thou does not, I will tell thee. My rent is £223 10s. per year. I am entered along with my three lads, Samuel, Thomas, and Albert, so then thou sees we have four votes when we only ought to be one.

Son-in-law.—Well, but why is not Charles put in?

Farmer.—Because it will not allow any more, but the steward talks of letting me have a little more land to make the rent a little above £250 per year, and then Charles is to be put in for to vote.

Son-in-law.—Ah, Sir! that Chandos clause will in a little time make many a rogue, and be the cause of breaking up many peaceable families.

Farmer.—How, Richard? I do not see it; be so good as to tell me, that I may guard against it.

Son-in-law.—You cannot guard against it now, if you remain a farmer under such a landlord.

Farmer.—Why cannot I, Richard?

Son-in-law.—Well, when I married your daughter Anne, you said it was your intention to leave your children equal in election matters.

Farmer.—I did so, Richard, that is correct.

Son-in-law.—But from what you have said, you cannot do so now, if you remain on your farm.

Farmer.—Why cannot I?

Son-in-law.—Well, have you not acknowledged that your three sons are partners with you in the farm?

Farmer.—I am not aware that I have ever acknowledged them as such.

Son-in-law.—Did you not say that you were, with your three sons, entered as tenants, that you might have votes; and if so entered, are you not all accountable for the rent; and if accountable for the rent, are not all of you equally entitled to profit, if any; and at your death cannot those three sons each claim one fourth of the stock, &c., on the farm, and then take their share of the remaining fourth along with the other seven children?

Farmer.—Oh, no; the steward and my lord also told me and my neighbours it made no difference with our personal property, it was only to swell the register to assist in keeping on the Corn Laws. Never make thyself uneasy about that, my lad, thou may depend it is as I say.

Son-in-law.—I wish it was so; but I know different, and so does your steward, and his lordship too; but they want to keep you in the dark about that, knowing well that to get out it would uproot their power soon, as their best tenants would refuse to remain on such terms, preferring to retire and live upon what they have got than stop to be ruined by a wild son; for you are aware that Albert is very fond of company, and at times spending more money in diversions than you approve of.

Farmer.—I am, Richard; and what of that?

Son-in-law.—Well, we will suppose he goes to market to sell your wheat, which he does, and receives the money, say £100; on the same day he also receives £150 for fat beasts and sheep, amounting together to £250, and instead of giving the same up to you, he retains it, and tells you he is as much entitled to it as you are, as one fourth of the farm is his. I want to know by what law you can get that money from him?

Farmer.—By the same law as I could recover it from any other servant.

Son-in-law.—Oh no, Sir, you must remember he is a partner in the eye of the law, and you are aware, one partner cannot sue another.

Farmer.—Ah, Richard, thou hast made me uneasy; I will make some inquiry about it, and if I find it as thou says, I will give up my farm before it shall remain as it is; for I plainly see we shall eat one another if we all stop at the place, and they get married, as every £50 a year in

land cannot keep a family. But I must go now to vote; I will see thee again about this business. Good bye to you all.

The foregoing is almost literally written. It is worth the consideration of the farmers, whose families are made county voters by wholesale. M. D.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—The London committee of the Anti-Slavery Society care little for consistency. They oppose the introduction of labourers into the West Indies, and yet demand "protection" for the only interest which is to be promoted by it. The fallacy is evident: sugar is assumed as the staple produce (as if stability were not itself an absurdity in human affairs); labour is too dear for the purpose; the Legislature is called upon to provide labour that sugar may be grown, and to keep up the price of sugar that there may be an excuse for providing labour. None more than the Whigs vociferate for immigration from Africa or India; and yet the committee support the very measure which occasions both the necessity and the justification of what they deprecate, and cannot or will not see that those whom they call their friends are laughing at their simplicity, and counteracting their efforts. The committee profess sympathy for the American abolitionists, while they court the patronage of noble lords who recommend us to leave the American abolitionists to settle the question among themselves. These good people are against slaveholding with the money of slaveholders. The wrongs of the negro swell out the Moravian subscriptions to the Abolition Society, and the slave-worked min. sharers' contribution to their funds proclaims, in their annual report, their utter disregard of principle. They declaim against the tyranny of the planters, while they advocate a line of policy which, by encouraging an unremunerative production, will leave the black to the mercy of his employer; for "protection" to the master is slavery to the servant. They dwell with just commendation on the independence and prosperity of the negroes, and yet they are aiding the combination that has been formed for the destruction of both. If the negroes can now support their schools and their chapels without the assistance of the English people, the whites ought to support themselves without the assistance of the English Legislature. Why should we be called upon to take part with either against the other? Let them arrange their own affairs in their own way; or, if we must interfere, let us take the sense of the black population on the policy and justice of the sugar duties. It is a singular way of showing your friendship to the black or white man, by defending a tariff of duties which robs the one without giving an equivalent to the other, and enriches the bitterest enemies of both—which forces capital out of its natural channels, and depresses labour below the level it would find in the development of its inherent resources.

That the West India proprietor, who wanted "protection" for compulsory labour against free, should now want "protection" for free labour against compulsory, is perfectly consistent. They well know that the production of any agricultural produce by means of large capital and oppressive bounties would subject the growers of produce more adapted to the soil and the climate to their personal and political power—would enable them to control both wages and elections. They see that Hayti finds it cheaper to import than to grow sugar, and they hope to tax our docility to the whole amount of the difference. They feel that the removal of restrictions would break down a monopoly, based, like that of the mother country, on the degradation of the peasantry, and creative of an overbearing oligarchy. Abolish the sugar duties, and the emancipated negro will make a fair bargain with his employer. Continue them, and he will be reduced to his former state of servitude. The Brazilian will not gain freedom, and the Jamaica black will lose it. What right, in fact, have we to take for granted the acquiescence of either in the views we are pleased to take of his interests? We may, perhaps, be inflicting an injury in striving to confer a benefit, and human misery may be increased by the steps we are taking to diminish it. It is the slaves' question in the same sense as the Corn Law is the labourers' question. Emancipation has tested the fertility of the soil. If Free Trade be, as most of the abolitionists maintain, a natural right, no deviation from its correlative obligation can, as they insinuate, be justified by the pretence of eventual good. In the case before us, the good is contingent and doubtful; the evil is present and certain. The cry of inhumanity raised by the "abolitionists" against the "Free-Traders," does not deserve an answer. Who "calls upon Government to sanction slavery?" Government is called upon to mind its own business. Let each party confine itself to its own sphere. Let not the one assume the honour of hating slavery, nor the other incur the disgrace of hating liberty. For my part, I believe that slavery is encouraged by the sugar duties, as I know that the slave trade has been encouraged by its "abolition."

The idea of driving a competitor from the market by selling at a higher price what he deals in has, at least, novelty to recommend it. That free labour is less costly than slave labour is true in a restricted sense alone. No one would suppose that cotton could be grown as cheaply in Canada as in South Carolina; yet the Canadians are free; and the Jamaica negro, if a slave, would be less able to compete with the Brazilian than he now is, while he neglects the cultivation of what would place him above the other. This is but one of the many fallacies associated by ignorant or designing men with this subject.

Mr. Gurney called Cuba sugar "stolen goods" at the late meeting—yet, he himself addresses Mr. Clay, a dealer in these "stolen goods," as his "dear friend." Is it worse to buy "stolen goods" than to express personal regard for the thief? The Quakers would do well to reprove their American brethren for their unworthy contempt of their fellow-men. They have been informed by their "missionary" Shillito, that the prejudice of colour has spread its poisonous infection among the "Friends" of North America. A coloured man was rejected as a candidate for admission by one of their meetings, though acknowledged to be in every respect fully qualified, but in that which referred to the tint and texture of his outward garment. "The Society of Friends," says the Report, "is for 1843, of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society," "is in no wise favourably distinguished from that of the other sectarian divisions into which what calls itself the religious

world is divided, while its inconsistency with its own professed principles is more glaring than theirs. The churches have excommunicated members for rebutting their neglect of a duty they do not acknowledge to be one—the Society of Friends has disowned men for pointing out its unfaithfulness to one of its acknowledged testimonies. The sects have done what they could to discourage their members from taking part in the Anti-Slavery movement from their avowed hatred of its objects; the society disavows Friends in promoting it, when its purpose is what they themselves acknowledge to be right and binding upon all mankind," &c.

Here is a fair field for the zeal of our London committee. We may differ in opinion on the subject of Free Trade—on that of humanity we are fully agreed. Humanity is outraged by the Quakers in America; let Free Trade be spared by the Quakers in England. The negro of Philadelphia has long and in vain implored their pity and appealed to their sense of justice. Their interference is wanted on one side of the Atlantic; it may well be dispensed with on the other.

It is much to be wished that some medium of co-operation might be effected between the advocates of Free Trade and of abolition; some literary journal that should point out the affinities that tend to unite them, and remove the misapprehensions which have separated them; some interpreter of the latent sympathies which combine the interests of the free cotton-grower in the east with those of the free corn-grower in the west—something that may prepare the way for that happy conjunction of human affairs that shall remove the causes of hostility, by promoting the commerce of nations and effecting that division of labour among communities which we now see productive of such good effects among the individuals that compose them.

E. S. ABDY.

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

Manchester, May 15, 1844.

SIR,—In the LEAGUE of the 11th instant, some information is given regarding the qualification of borough electors, and other matters connected with the registration of those who claim to vote for cities and boroughs, all of which is highly useful at the present time. I presume, however, the information applies alone to England—English boroughs, &c. But this is only conjecture on my part, as "England" is not mentioned at all. I shall, therefore, feel greatly obliged if you would be kind enough to state in the LEAGUE, whether under the Reform Act there is any other qualification in Scotch boroughs than that of occupancy?—or whether, over and above this, a rental or income of £10 and upwards, from property situated within a borough returning a member to Parliament, does not also entitle the proprietor to vote irrespective altogether of occupancy, presuming, of course, that he resides within seven miles of the borough for which he claims to vote. I am a voter for one of the counties in Scotland, and cannot know practically how the matter stands with regard to the boroughs; but still I feel confident there is such a qualification as I have referred to. I do not, therefore, ask for the information so much for myself as for many, both here and elsewhere, with whom I have spoken upon the subject, and who cannot think that the boroughs in Scotland possess so great an advantage over those of England in this respect.

Knowing the value of your time and space, I beg to be excused for troubling you on the matter, but shall feel obliged by being instructed on the point.—Yours,

A SUBSCRIBER TO THE LEAGUE.

[Our correspondent is informed, that by the Scotch Reform Act no rating for poor rates is required in Scotch boroughs (in very few, indeed, of which are there any poor-rates). The qualification for Scotch boroughs is the occupancy of premises, of the yearly value of £10, or the ownership of such premises provided owner or occupier resides within seven miles of the borough. Thus, every £10 house gives, in Scotch boroughs, two votes—one to the tenant who occupies, and another to the landlord who owns, if residing within the prescribed distance.]

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—I shall feel obliged if in your next week's notices to correspondents you will tell me, if, under the following circumstances, I can claim a vote for the county:—

I occupy two adjoining houses, leaseholds (the original term 60 years, the rental above £50 per annum); the one gives me a qualification for the borough. Can I claim to be put on the county registry for the house which gives no borough qualification?

Your obedient servant,

R. M., Marylebone.

[No leasehold property which is so situated that it will give a borough vote can confer a county qualification. If the leasehold house, therefore, which R. M. lets to a tenant be situated within Marylebone, it will not give him a county vote. The house let does give a borough qualification either to the tenant, or to R. M., if he chose to occupy it.]

TO THE REGISTRATION COMMITTEE.

GENTLEMEN,—Mr. Cobden has repeatedly stated, that there has been a decision that mere lodgers may entitle themselves to votes. You will confer a great benefit if you cause the authority for this to be printed in the LEAGUE, as it is generally thought that Mr. Cobden is in error, and therefore no attempt is being made in any district that I know of to act upon it. The only known decision that seems to tend that way is on the Stockport case; but that does not go beyond previous decisions as to houses let in parts with open doorways.

Your obedient servant,

G. S.

[The Anti-Corn-Law Parliamentary Registration Association, 68, Cheapside, submitted the following queries, among others, to Mr. Charles Austin, perhaps the most eminent legal authority in parliamentary registration cases in England, and who was counsel in the Wenlock case.

"1. Is the occupier of a single room (of the required value) in a house used exclusively for the purposes of dwelling, the landlord not sleeping on the premises, qualified?"

"2. If so, is such an occupier qualified where the landlord sleeps on the premises?"

"3. And, if the occupier in such a case is qualified, does it make any difference that the landlord contracts in the taking to supply furniture, service, fire, light, &c. &c., in the case of furnished lodgings?"

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

"1 and 2. I am of opinion that the occupier of a single room or connected set of rooms (of proper value), in a house used exclusively for the purposes of dwelling, with the uncontrolled use of the outer door, is entitled to be registered if otherwise duly qualified; nor do I think that the mere circumstance of the landlord sleeping in such house would be material, unless the landlord retained a control over the outer door or generally in the house, so as to reduce the tenant to the condition of a lodger. Wherever the landlord retained any such control, the tenant would acquire no qualification."

"3. The circumstance mentioned in this query would make no difference, except that, in such a case, the rent would probably be no criterion of value."

G. S. is in error in supposing that the Stockport case, taken in conjunction with the Wenlock case, does not go beyond previous decisions. The former case decided that part of a house or building, was a building; and the second, that a building, whether for business or residence, conferred the franchise. A room in a house is a building; and although it cannot confer the franchise under the first denomination "house," mentioned in the Reform Bill, it does so under the last term used in that act, "other building."

When time and space will admit of it, we may publish a detailed statement on the subject of registration, while it will be seen that Mr. Austin defines the tenant to be one who is subject to control of the master of the house in his egress and ingress; and that wherever an occupant occupies exclusively, and with absolute power, his own apartments, and has his own key to the street door, having right to enter and issue whenever he pleases, he ceases to be a mere lodger, and becomes a tenant within the terms of the act.]

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

London, June 5, 1844.

SIR,—Having observed an article copied into the LEAGUE, of the 25th ult., of a "Farmer in Distress," which being a circumstance unfortunately now of too frequent occurrence under the existing state of the Corn Laws, and this appearing to be a case in which utter destitution is likely to occur without some aid is afforded, I beg you will forward the accompanying small amount of 10s., being contributed by myself and a few sympathising friends, hoping greater liberality will be shown in quarters where more ample means are at command. May your noticing such cases in your valuable paper induce the still wavering to join the good cause, and speedily be the means of abolishing a law at once tyrannical and unjust.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

A MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE.

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

June 6, 1844.

SIR,—You will please to forward to Charles Snowden the enclosed 15s., being the third amount collected by me from friends who admire his truly patriotic and fearless conduct at the late Exeter election.

Should any member or friend feel disposed to contribute the smallest amount, I will most cheerfully place it at your disposal. I cannot think a body generous, moral, and enlightened as the League, bound together for the righteous purpose of emancipating a nation from its oppressors, freeing its food and commerce from their iron grasp by the most legitimate and constitutional means within its power, will suffer one of its most humble, but honest, supporters to be crushed by these minions who thrive under the smile of monopoly, and would keep in their power not only the bones and sinews, but the noblest privilege of an Englishman, whose life is a life of toil,—an honest and conscientious sense of duty.

I remain, Sir, yours respectfully,

J. H. HUTCHINSON.

19, Little Pulteney-street,

Golden-square.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

FROM PETER PLAYFAIR TO HIS BROTHER DANIEL, OXSTALL FARM, MIDDLESEX.

SECOND LETTER.

Ghent, May 24, 1844.

I told you, dear Daniel, that my next visit should be to Ghent, which is called the Manchester of Belgium, just as Liege is called the Birmingham and Namur the Sheffield of this commercial country. Ghent is indeed a magnificent city, with a population of 95,000 inhabitants. It is apparently prosperous, and has an air of commercial bustle which few towns in this country possess. The tall chimneys of the manufactories are seen in every direction lifting their gigantic heads above the surrounding houses, and vomiting forth dense columns of smoke into the clear blue ether. Since the passing of the act of Parliament which permits its exportation, machinery has been chiefly imported from England, and with it English engineers to superintend its erection and working. One of these is to be found in nearly every manufactory, and such is the superiority of our machinery over that manufactured at Liege and Charleroi that the Belgians invariably prefer paying the larger price for it. It is a singular fact, too, and one worth noticing, for its perfect accordance with the principles of Free Trade, that, in spite of all those advantages of the cheaper rate of labour, and the lower price of provisions, we are able still, in some fabrics, to beat the Belgian in his own market. I have recently travelled with an intelligent Leeds manufacturer, who goes up to Germany and Hungary to purchase wools. He pays the cost of the transit to England and the duty hitherto exacted of one penny per lb., manufactures the cloth, sends it back to Belgium and Germany, paying a heavy duty for its admission, and ultimately sells it to advantage in the markets here. I do not say that this is to be done with many articles, but I am cognizant of one transaction for £5000, just completed by this manufacturer with a house at Brussels in one particular fabric. And who can fail to admire the indomitable industry, enterprise, and intelligence of our manufacturers when operating against such fearful odds, or hesitate to confess, if their efforts were unshackled and reciprocal Free Trade encouraged, as well in corn as in machinery, that England would become the workshop of the world?

But, it may be said, how do you reconcile the assertion that the English manufacturer can occasionally undersell the Belgian manufacturer in his own market with the fact that food and labour are cheaper, and with the advantage he now has in English machinery and English over-

seers? My answer is, that the English manufacturer is incomparably superior to his Belgian competitor in his mode of conducting, and in the arrangements of his business; and, still more important, the English workman is immeasurably above the Belgian workman in industry, and in close, assiduous application to his labour. These are the principal grounds of our superiority and success. I spoke with an intelligent English overseer of one of the factories here on this subject. He assures me that it is impossible to get more than six or seven hours of labour per diem out of a Belgian workman. He will laugh, chat, jest, for the remainder of the day, but not work. Is it not hard, with such elements of commercial prosperity, and such proofs of application as we possess, that our factory men and factory masters should only enjoy a limited success, and should be so far from a state of general and deserved prosperity?

The land between Bruges and Ghent resembles, my dear Daniel, the market gardens between Hammersmith and Brentford, in the neighbourhood of London. For 40 miles you pass through a succession of rich garden land, interspersed with corn, rye, and flax fields. The soil is a rich, black, vegetable mould, over a light sandy subsoil, so light and friable in texture that it is turned by the spade, without using the foot. One horse is sufficient for the plough and the harrow, which has coarse wooden teeth, and is generally drawn by a boy or a man. The country is divided into small farms of from 10 to 100 acres, which were usually the property of the occupant. No law of primogeniture exists in Belgium to occasion heartburning and bitterness between sons of the same sire. Each child, male and female, is entitled to a share of the property of the parent. Property is, therefore, more equally divided, and every farmer has an interest in the permanent improvement of his land. The cottage of the agricultural labourer is generally built of brick, and consists of two or three rooms. It is frequently his own, as well as the small garden in which it stands. Houses cost but little in building. Bricks were 6s. 8d. per thousand, which is rather less than the duty upon them in England. Wood plentiful and cheap, and buildings may be erected for about one-third of the English price. Clothes and food are cheap. The latter, in this part of Flanders, on a general average of articles of diet, about one-half of what they cost in Middlesex. The diet of the peasantry is chiefly rye bread; an abundant supply of vegetables, some varieties of which are not used in England; soup, a little meat, eggs (thirty-six a shilling), cheese, coffee, and beer. The labourer does not appear to consume much animal food, but he looks healthy and strong. His wages average 15d. per day in summer, and 10d. in winter. The burdens on the land are light; but the taxation in towns, including general and municipal duties, is heavy. Ten per cent. is charged on the registry of every estate sold.*

Antwerp, May 28, 1844.

Antwerp is the principal port of Belgium situated on the river Scheldt, a river about as wide as the Thames at Greenwich, and with a draught of water sufficient for ships of any tonnage. It had, at one period, a population of 200,000 souls; and 500 vessels are said, upon an average, to have entered the port daily. The treaty of Munster, in the sixteenth century, gave a deathblow to the commerce of Antwerp, by compelling her to receive her cargoes *via* Holland. After the battle of Ramilies, in 1706, Antwerp submitted to the Duke of Marlborough. Her ports were then thrown open, and her prosperity returned. Again, at a later period, the spirit of monopoly triumphed. Her commerce was made subservient to that of Holland, and her prosperity declined. With the Revolution it returned; and thus the phases of prosperity or adversity have been distinctly marked by the freedom or restrictions upon commerce. Facts like these speak trumpet-tongued to the monopolist and the protectionist. During the first five months of the present year the commerce of Antwerp has shown a decline of 140 ships, in comparison with the corresponding period last year. This is said to be owing to the fact that the Chamber has been occupied, and is still occupied, with a discussion of the differential duties: so dangerous is it to tamper with the commerce of a country, even when, as in the present instance, the Government desire to alter and relax some of the restrictions upon trade. Coffee from the Dutch colonies is to be admitted free, in return for the manufactures of Ghent, and other cities, admitted into Holland; and thus the healing influence of commercial intercourse will aid in softening down the asperity of political feeling. This, too, is a concession of opinion made by a Catholic-Conservative Ministry to the march of principles now universally admitted by liberal and well-informed men. To show that these men have no desire that the reciprocity should be as the Irish phrase it, all on one side, they say, "Take our corn—we do not want your money, but will have your manufactures in return; but if you wait till we have established manufactories throughout the country in numbers sufficient to supply all our wants, it will be too late." And is this golden opportunity to be lost, because a Kentish baronet and other landlords have daughters to be disposed of, and mortgages to be paid off? Forbid it justice and common sense;—forbid it religion and humanity. Must a nation suffer that a single class may enjoy a bloated and unwholesome prosperity? God forbid!

"Famine hath laid its withering hand
Upon our nation's head;
Oh, Christ! is ours a Christian land?
"Give us our daily bread."

Brussels, June 2, 1844.

Brussels is, indeed, a noble capital, not one of the largest, but certainly one of the most cheerful, clean, and handsome cities in the world. Like Edinburgh, it is divided into two distinct towns, the old and the new. The Park is in the centre of the new town, and is an enchanting garden, planted with splendid old trees, arranged in the fashion of the early part of the last century; divided by broad walks, and square cut grass plots, dotted here and there with flower beds, ornamented with statues and fountains, and crowded with gay and well-dressed

* A parent cannot disinherit his children. Immediately after his decease, everything he possesses is sold, and the produce divided among his children in equal proportions. To the honour of human nature this law is not abused; nor can anything exceed the mutual confidence shown, or the fondness of the Belgian parents for their offspring. A pilgrimage to *Our Lady of Hal* is always undertaken when a lady has reason to fear she may not be blessed with offspring, and the prayer is usually granted to the devout seeker.

people. It is a square, and on the four sides are the Rue Royale, with its noble mansions; the Boulevard, with its splendid drive; the King's Palace, and the Chamber of Representatives. It was in this park that the Prince of Orange, with his troops, was enclosed by the Belgian populace when the nation arose to rid themselves of their oppressors; and it was in front of this park that the British troops paraded, one-third of them for the last time, on the 15th June, before the fatal battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo. I went yesterday to visit the last celebrated battle-field of Europe, whose name appears to me a singular misnomer. The village and church of Waterloo are at least two miles and a half from the field of battle. The battle itself was fought on some gently undulating ground, between the village of Mount St. Jean and the hamlet of La Belle Alliance. The entire battle-field did not appear, as far as my eye could judge, to cover more than 400 acres of ground; and the respective heights upon which the artillery was planted could not have been more than half a mile to three quarters of a mile apart. 200,000 men and 350 pieces of cannon were thus brought into contact in a space of ground so limited, and with so little cover, that the wonder ceases as to the amount of the slaughter. The Duke of Wellington described it as the most deadly pounding match he ever witnessed; and even the minds of the victors must have sickened at such wholesale slaughter. The orchard at Hougoumont on the right of the British position, containing less than four acres of ground, contained also, on the fatal 18th of June, 1815, the bodies of 1500 of the slaughtered soldiers. At the farm of La Haye Sainte, in the centre of the position, which covered with its buildings about two acres of ground, the slaughter was nearly as great. I cannot now refer to the horrid enormities committed in cold blood after the battle; but they serve to show that, if war is a game at which kings may play, it is one for which subjects must pay both in person and in pocket. As an Englishman, I am proud of the courage and conduct and bravery of my English, Scotch, and Irish brethren; as a man of feeling, I thank God, my dear Daniel, that our lines are cast in such different and such pleasant places. I believe, also, that there is a growing feeling among the people of Europe that wars are unnecessary, and ought not to be permitted upon vain pretences. The people of our country will hereafter have something to say in questions of war and peace. Long may it be ere the fields of Flanders are again fertilized by streams of human gore!

I must delay the conclusion of my remarks upon Brussels until next letter, when I propose to take Liege, celebrated for its iron works and coal mines; Louvain for its ancient University; and Mechlin for laces—what the ladies so love.

P. P.

AGRICULTURE.

THE COST OF BRITISH WHEAT.

Lord Ducie's statements of the low cost at which a good farmer can grow wheat in this country have made a considerable impression upon the public mind, and have caused much consternation amongst the monopolists. Thus the *Mark-lane Express*, referring to those statements, says, "We trust that some of our experienced practical readers will answer the noble earl's statements. If such statements are allowed to pass uncontradicted they will produce more effect than a volume of argument unsupported by practical experience." True, most true; but can any practical farmer controvert those statements? We know no good farmer will venture to attempt it; we defy the monopolists to refute those statements, or to resist the conclusions in favour of Free Trade which necessarily follow.

Let us state succinctly what Lord Ducie has demonstrated by evidence drawn from his own farms, and from other farms in Gloucestershire:—First, he has proved by what he has himself done upon *Whitfield Example Farm*, the rent, tithes, and taxes of which amount to 50s. per acre, that he can grow thirty-three bushels of wheat to the acre at a cost, including rent, manure, labour, and everything, of 4s. 7½d. a bushel; from that sum he deducts for the value of the straw to be consumed on the farm, 11 15s. an acre, or rather more than 1s. a bushel, which leaves the prime cost of wheat 3s. 6d. a bushel. Nor are the means by which this is accomplished either difficult or extraordinary: they consist, first, of an improved farm; and secondly, of a sufficient farming capital. The capital employed by Lord Ducie is £15 per acre; and the present price of wheat (56s. a quarter) will give a return of 35½ per cent. upon that capital. With such power the farmer may grow wheat in alternate years; and thus, assuming nothing to be made by the intermediate green and root crops—an assumption altogether unwarranted by facts—the wheat crop will give an annual return of 17½ per cent. upon the rather considerable capital employed.

Now, the practical agriculturist will not fail to remark that 33 bushels of wheat is by no means a large produce from land upon which capital at the rate of £15 per acre is invested; and we have no hesitation in saying, that if the strong and heavy soils of England were as highly farmed as the comparatively weak thin land of which Lord Ducie's farm in a great measure consists, that their average produce would not be far from 40 bushels an acre. Now, the average price of wheat in the Channel Islands, where the trade is free as air, has been for the last seven years 17s. a quarter; and it is plain that from 33 to 40 quarters to the acre grown, as it can be grown, at a cost of 3s. 6d. a bushel, must give the farmer a very ample profit.

Lord Ducie gave the results of good farming on a farm on the Cotswold-hills worth 17s. an acre; on another, near Stow and Northleach, let at 17s. 6d.

an acre; and on a third, the rent of which is 25s. per acre; and the cost of growing a bushel of wheat was, on the poorest land, 4s. 6d., and on the better soil, 3s. 6d. a bushel. The capital employed on the poorer farms being £8 an acre, and on the better land, £10 an acre. Upon the poor land, 20 bushels of wheat formed the average produce; while on that of higher quality, 30 bushels are grown. Upon the poor land, cultivated on the five-course system, this return, from the wheat crop alone, gives 5½ per cent. yearly on all the capital invested on the farm; and upon the superior land, cultivated upon the same system, 10½ per cent. upon the whole of the invested capital.

At this moment, farmers, who are farming well and with sufficient capital, are making considerable profits, and the greatest obstacles to the extension of good farming are the absence of secure tenures—leases—restrictive covenants, game, and the annoying and perpetual interferences of landlords and stewards. To these causes also must be attributed the reluctance of farmers to lay out £8, £10, or £15 of capital an acre on their farms; for it will be repaid that, when such a system of farming is adopted, so much is sunk in the soil which cannot be recovered in one or two years that no yearly tenant ever thinks of farming so highly. There can be no doubt that a great proportion of farmers employ too little capital, and thus, instead of growing from 30 to 40 bushels of wheat per acre on land well adapted to yield such returns, they grow more commonly from 15 to 20 bushels. This system is strictly the effect of the Corn Laws. The price of corn being occasionally high, and farmers always expecting that it will be high, they only calculate upon growing, by the use of a small capital, that acreable quantity which may be called the natural produce of the land. This varies in good years from 16 to 24 bushels, and in bad years from 10 to 18 bushels per acre. Either must, upon the long run, bring the farmer into debt. The rent paid is the same upon this system as upon that of high farming, unless the landlord has improved his farm, when, of course, he gets a higher rent; and every farmer is willing to pay a handsome per centage upon the cost of judicious permanent improvements in the shape of advanced rent. Taxes are the same, rates commonly higher, in a badly-farmed than in a well-farmed parish. The ploughing, cutting, carrying home, threshing, and marketing, cost the starveling farmer nearly as much per acre as his richer neighbour. More seed is used, and more is necessary, on land in low condition; and in almost every particular the expenses of raising a poor crop is as great, often greater, than that of growing a good one.

But in high farming the landlord gets a less proportion of the whole returns as rent than he does from poor farming, while the man of capital is independent, and requires the security of a lease; in most cases, too, he requires a preliminary outlay by the landlord, either in draining, buildings, or other permanent improvements; and our debt-burdened and political-jobbing aristocracy dread alike demands upon their funds, and emancipation of their tenantry.

Hence they are so eager to preserve the Corn Laws, under the belief that out of scanty crops they can obtain high rents. The public, however, now begin to understand that slovenly farming, and the wasteful management of landed property, are all that is sought to be "protected" by the corn monopoly.

A MONOPOLIST NONPLUSSED.

THE CORONETTED FISHMONGER AGAIN.

When we hear a monopolist promise to "argue" in favour of the Corn Laws, or to refute any argument against restrictions on trade, we always feel the same sort of interest as the House of Commons does when Mr. Ferrand promises to explain one of his misstatements, or a conjurer pledges himself to get into a quart bottle. Nobody believes that either Mr. Ferrand or the conjurer—and some people take Mr. Ferrand for a conjurer, or at least for a person in whose apparent folly there is a very sinister purpose—will attempt to perform their promised feats; but then there is a sort of curiosity to see what funny things they will do. So, with the monopolist reasoner, nobody expects him to argue, but then one wonders what he can say.

It was with this sort of feeling we regarded the promise of the Editor of the *Farmer's Journal* to answer "next week" our article upon the Duke of Richmond's notorious salmon speech. Well, having taken a week for consideration, our readers shall judge of the success of the monopolist writer; they shall see whether the herculean brain of the monopolist editor has not been spinning rather a flimsy web of sophistry; whether the labouring mountain has not indeed brought forth a ridiculous mouse. And here let us note, for the instruction of our agricultural friends, the significant fact, that the advocates of the Corn Laws begin to dislike to have the term "monopolists" applied to them; they call that designation "League slang." But what is a monopolist but a person who procures by law an exclusive right to furnish any particular commodity? And what is that but a paraphrase for those who passed the Corn Laws? It is always an indication of a bad cause when a party shrinks from

a designation—though meant as one of reproach—given by opponents. Parties who have contended for the just and the true have constantly accepted and adopted as distinctive titles the nicknames which their opponents in malice or in scorn have applied to them. But the monopolists of British food like to be delicately called "Protectionists." This savours somewhat of the prudish nicety of the hulks, where the names "convict" or "prisoner" are never used. But, to return to the long-threatened monopolist reply. The writer, after quoting some part of our article, admits our position "that rent is only the surplus after repayment of the tenant's outlay with ordinary profits;" and in so doing—though, for want of a logical mind, or from having been trained in an illegal school, he does not seem to know it—he substantially admits the whole question; for rent being only the surplus after the repayment of capital and labour, it can be of no kind of importance to the capitalist or the labourer whether the rent be high or low, provided it be no more than the real surplus. The Duke of Richmond's £7000 a year might have been reduced to £1000 without in the slightest degree injuring either the tenant of the fishery or his workmen; that is, if the Duke did not succeed in entrapping the tenant into a promise to pay more rent than the fishery was actually worth. But, having admitted our premises, let us see how the *Farmer's Journal* disputes our conclusions. He says:—

"Now, without taking any exception to a definition of 'rent' which we believe to be inapplicable in the case before us, we ask the 'League' whether the 'outlay' of the tenant of the Scotch fishery, in the shape of wages to his men, is not nearly double what is paid by the proprietors or renters of salmon fisheries in the North of Europe to the hands in their employment, and whether, therefore, the competition in our markets of cheap foreign salmon, caught by cheap foreign labour, does not compel a reduction of the wages paid to the Scottish fishermen, as well as a reduction of the rent paid to the Duke of Richmond and other proprietors similarly circumstanced?"

To this compound question we answer, no; and for these reasons:—The outlay of the tenant of the Scotch fishery, in the shape of wages to his men, may be, or may not be, more than that of the owners or occupiers of European fisheries: that is a question determined by principles altogether different from those which determine the amount of rent; but, unless all the outlay of the tenant of the Scotch fishery—he it more or be it less, be it payments for wages or fish-hooks—shall have been first paid with the ordinary profit, there can be no surplus, and consequently no rent. It is a question of fact whether might have been proved or disproved had a committee of inquiry into the operation of protective duties on imports been granted; but, we say, the truth is, that more capital and more labour have been employed in the fisheries to the Duke of Richmond's new tenant, and since the reduction of the duty on foreign fish, than were employed by the former tenant under the more stringent monopoly of the Duke of Richmond whines over so pathetically. We say, also, that the Scotch fishermen's wages have not been reduced since the new tariff, and that as much salmon from the Duke's fishery is now caught and sent to market as formerly, the only difference being that the price of salmon is lower—the Duke of Richmond and his compeers not having now the exclusive supply of the market—and the consumers get the same quantity of fish for less money, and the law-made surplus or rent of the Duke of Richmond is reduced by £2000 a year. These are the conclusions, and the necessary conclusions, from the admitted premiss which admits rent to be the surplus—and only the surplus—after repayment of the tenant's outlay, with ordinary profits. Let the monopolists gainsay this if they can.

Then, in answer to our question of "Why the Duke of Richmond receives any rent for his fishery?" the monopolist writer says:—

"The Duke of Richmond is entitled to receive rent for his fishery for precisely the same reason that any other owner of property has a right to enjoy the benefits arising from it. The amount of that rent is regulated, in the first instance, like the income derived from letting land or houses—by the amount of sunk money it is deemed to represent, and would probably be, for, allowing, of course, a fair remuneration for the capital employed, and the risk run by the tenant, after defraying all contingent expenses."

This unquestionably is very nonsensical, and is altogether contradicted by the writer's preliminary admission, that rent is only the surplus; but when such nonsense is used to justify the acts of dominant majorities in the Houses of Parliament it is worth exposure. The amount of rent is not regulated by the "amount of sunk money it is deemed to represent, allowing a fair remuneration for the capital employed," whether that money be sunk in land, houses, or fisheries, but by the produce of the land, the house, or the fishery over and above expenses, with ordinary profits. The amount of sunk capital has nothing directly to do with, indeed is only remotely applicable to, such a subject. The capital may have been sunk injudiciously, upon expectations which have proved unfounded, such as the power of the landocracy to enforce a perpetual monopoly of the food of the British nation. The question is whether a law which should compel all the grocers or all the bakers to live within a certain district where there are not enough houses for their accommodation, for the purpose of keeping up the rents and prices of groceries or bakeries within that district for the benefit of the proprietors thereof, would not be an injury to the grocers, and the bakers, and the consumers. And the same reasoning applies with ten thousandfold force to grain and fish.

The fact is, that until the monopolists show that they can by their Corn Law make two grains of corn grow where only one would have grown under a natural soil

of things, they do not make out even a plausible case; whereas they themselves admit that the object of the law is to keep up prices by limiting the supply, whether it comes from foreign importation or "scientific farming."

Now, let us give a word of advice to our agricultural contemporary, and that is, not to try to write down to landlord ignorance and the prejudices of the most inferior classes of cultivators; for, even as a pecuniary speculation, he will ere long find he has made a mistake. Light is rapidly breaking in upon the farmers, and they are anxious for real information and *bona fide* reasoning upon the question of Free Trade. And we are certain that an agricultural journal which would fully and fairly discuss the whole of the bearings of the question—be its own peculiar leaning one way or the other—would find very general acceptance amongst farmers. This at one time the *Mark-lane Express* seemed inclined to do, though of late its perception has been somewhat obscured by the dust raised by the Duke of Richmond and his fellow-monopolists. As, however, the Duke is letting the Pro-Corn-Law agitation down as easily and as quietly as he can, we may hope that the last-named journal will again ere long treat the question rationally.

The Duke of Richmond referred the other night, in the House of Lords, to his salmon, which he said "is small and delicious; but the public generally prefer large salmon." Now, this is just what he and his fellow-monopolists might say of bread. They might tell a half-starved agricultural labourer that the small loaf which the Corn Laws permit him to purchase for a definite number of pence, being of English growth, was far more "delicious" than the larger loaf he might get by an admixture of foreign corn.

The *Farmer's Journal* concludes its defence of the Duke with these words:—

"Will the League attempt to combat those truths? We think not. Silence is the best resource of the defender of a bad cause."

What a striking illustration does the monopolist's own article offer of the truth of his last sentence. We have always said that the monopolist landowners in the House of Commons were wise in their generation to vote *silently* against any change in their monopoly; that a monopolist who attempts to argue is always playing with edged tools; and we think our readers will agree that the *Farmer's Journal* has not improved the unfavourable position in public estimation in which the Duke of Richmond's fish-monopoly speech has placed him, and that our case against monopoly has not been in any degree *weakened* by such *quasi arguments* as those upon which we have commented.

THE FOREIGN COMPETITION FALLACY.

The following testimony—from an unwilling witness—shows the value of Earl Ducie's late admirable speech, and the importance of such practical statements in discussing the question of Free Trade:—

"We lay before our readers a statement made by the Earl of Ducie, at the late meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law League, in Covent-garden Theatre, with a view to show the profits to be derived from growing wheat on land of different qualities, and more particularly to prove that a repeal of the Corn Laws would not throw the poor lands in this kingdom out of cultivation. We trust that some of our experienced practical readers will answer the noble earl's statements. If such statements are allowed to pass uncontroverted they will produce more effect than a volume of argument unsupported by practical experience."—*Mark-lane Express*.

Can those statements be controverted? Will not the experience of every good farmer in the kingdom give very similar results, if he will only fairly consider the subject? We read Lord Ducie's speech to a good and intelligent farmer, but who, being mixed up with monopolist landlords, has been induced to undertake to go round his parish with a monopolist petition against any alteration of the Corn Laws; and he frankly and fairly admitted that his own experience bore out his lordship's calculations; but he objected to such statements being made, *because the landowners would take advantage of them, and try to exact more rent.*

RURAL CRIME—THE GAME LAWS.

Our monopolist landowners first refuse to permit their estates to be more than half cultivated for the sake of preserving game, thus preventing a vast amount of employment for the agricultural labourers, and then, when the half-starved peasantry fall into the temptation, which poaching offers to the partially-employed man, they are persecuted by forest laws of the most savage and sanguinary character. We have often had occasion to refer to the iniquitous laws which lords and squires have passed to protect their absurd pastimes; but it seems that the game laws are not as yet sufficiently stringent to answer their purposes, and that another Draco-like statute must be framed to increase the game-law-caused demoralization of our peasantry. A bill containing the most severe enactments to prevent night-poaching has already passed the House of Commons *sub silentio*—we really want some members who are acquainted with rural affairs, without having the class interests and class prejudices of squires—and on Monday the third reading was moved in the House of Lords by the Suffolk monopolist and game-preserver, Lord Stradbroke. This was opposed by that true-hearted nobleman Lord Radnor, who said:—

"The bill was too stringent in its provisions. It was said that the existing law was *inoperative*; but in the last year there had been 236 commitments under it, and out of this number five persons had been transported for fifteen years, eight for ten years, and thirty one for seven years, besides 127 who had been sentenced to different terms of imprisonment. This was independent of summary convictions. These were important facts, when their lordships were called upon to strengthen the provisions of the law on the ground that it was inefficient and inoperative. By this bill, any three persons armed, walking along a turnpike road, might be taken up, committed to gaol, and if convicted transported for fourteen years. And what were arms? Bludgeons were arms; if so, the carrying such a stick as that he held in his hand (a walking-stick) might expose a person to apprehension. In the report of the Poor Law Commissioners it was stated that these offences depended upon the state of the population. The progress of the offence of poaching, therefore, was not to be put down by more stringent measures of punishment, but by relieving the distress of the people."

Earl Fitzhardinge attempted to meet this with the stale fallacy that poaching was not caused by distress, because most of the notorious poachers were men of dissolute habits, and who would not work if they could. "Upon his own estate, a valuable servant had been killed in cold blood, and another maimed by persons of this description, who had taken an oath of secrecy, administered by an attorney, who had been transported for the offence." How much more of the wickedness of the system does Earl Fitzhardinge disclose than he intended! Let our readers contemplate the whole of the vicious circle created by the game laws, and say whether it is fit that any game law should longer pollute the statute-book.

The preservation of game is inconsistent with good farming, and, next to the desire of having a dependent tenantry for political purposes, the great object for which landowners prefer yearly tenants is, that they may be compelled to preserve or to permit the preservation of game. Now, we say without hesitation, and we defy contradiction, that a yearly tenant on whose farm the game is kept in the landlord's hands does not, be his situation what it may, make his land produce more than one-half of what it is capable of producing, and which it would profitably produce if the tenant had a lease and the absolute control of the game. Neither does a yearly and game-ridden tenant employ as much labour by one-third as a farmer who has the real and complete possession of his farm. Thus, in the first instance, game-preserving induces poverty, half employment, and distress amongst the agricultural labourers, and then the game itself offers them a ready resource for momentary subsistence. We grant with sorrow that the man who becomes a confirmed poacher generally ends in being a dissolute and idle man, and not unfrequently a savage desperado. But that is no excuse for the law; it is, in truth, one of the strongest grounds of indictment against it. Instead of making the law against poaching more severe than at present, it ought to be abrogated altogether; and hares and pheasants, partridges and rabbits, being wild animals, which no man can call his, except when on his own land, should be no more protected by special laws than sparrows or blackbirds; and, instead of transporting a poor unemployed peasant for shooting game in a highway, the law ought to leave him an absolute right to do so. The truth is, that game-preserving is altogether unsuited to the state of society and the condition of husbandry in this country; and the sooner the practice is totally abandoned the better for all connected with or employed upon land. And the effect of distress amongst the agricultural labourers in increasing the game-law-made crime is strongly illustrated by the tables of criminal statistics for the year 1813, prepared under the authority of the Home-office. Everybody knows that, in 1812-13, the price of wheat was reduced by a moderately good harvest at home, about 10s. a quarter below the act-of-Parliament price on which farmers had been taught to calculate, and of course they were in distress. Landlords only gave back pittances of 10 and 15 per cent. where the whole rent would not always have made good the farmer's loss, and consequently labourers were dismissed in great numbers. And what has been the effect as regards the game laws? Why, the Home-office people tell us, that "in other offences of the miscellaneous class the commitments (for the preceding year) have been nearly stationary, EXCEPTING THE OFFENCES AGAINST THE GAME LAWS, the commitments under which had increased from 101 in the year 1812, to 236 in the past year, OR 43 6 PER CENT. ON AN AVERAGE OF THE THREE PRECEDING YEARS!!! And the increase in the commitments for shooting, stabbing, and wounding, in the first class, may be traced to their connexion with these offences." We believe that poaching is invariably the first step to crime in the rural districts, and if there were no game and game laws, crime of all kinds would be lessened three-fourths in all the agricultural counties. It is worthy of remark that in Suffolk, a great game-preserving county, where Lord Stradbroke, the mover of the new forest law, resides and preserves game, is now the scene of that fearful crime, incendiarism, to a greater extent than any county in England. This crime, like poaching, is the sad result of want of employment for the labourers, a want almost entirely caused by the Corn Laws.

A correspondent of the *Times*, who signs himself "WEST SUFFOLK," advocates the assessment of game to the parochial rates, and, as his letter states, confirms some of our observations, we shall extract it a few passages. He says,—"The defect and abuse I purpose bringing to your notice savours much of this. It is, 'the non-assessment of game for parochial and county purposes.' The provincial press is too much under the influence of country gentlemen and game-preservers, for us to hope that any exposure will originate there, or even be admitted into their columns." Here is the mode in which game interferes with husbandry:—

"A tenant farmer, hiring his occupation, signs his agreement, containing the usual clause of reserving the game and right of sporting to the landlord; and if he asks questions as to the extent to which the game will be preserved, is either unanswered, or deemed impertinent—the character of the landlord being deemed a guarantee against extremes. The tenant expends a large capital on the faith of his agreement, expecting to be reimbursed before the expiration of his term. From death or purchase, he finds himself under another landlord—either a game mad or a penurious man; the game wears like locusts about his corn fields, devastating the fresh sown, the growing, and the ripening crops. The tenant gives way, unable to stand against the spoiler, the game makes; the farm (a large one) is let to another tenant for £200 per year less, as the landlord is still determined on having an excessive quantity of game. The assessment of the farm is, of course, reduced in proportion to the rental, and other property in the parish proportionably overtaxed, or rather overburdened. The game is killed, is sold to the highest and best bidder, and the landlord pockets the proceeds, which are amenable for neither parochial nor county purposes."

This is a precise way of showing how much destruction is caused by game. The writer gives a case in point:—

"I know a parish near by, the entire property of one individual, where the farms conjointly are let for above £700 a year. The owner goes abroad, and the lease—a pound, shillings, and pence man hires the sporting for £1000 per annum. He makes a considerable profit by his speculation, which is neither taxable nor assessable. It is said down as a truism that five hares eat and destroy as much as would keep a sheep; my own observations lead me to consider that three hares to one sheep is nearer the mark, bearing in mind their unlimited range and voracious appetites. Our laws designate game as *feræ naturæ*, but modern civilization has made them as tame as barn-door fowls; they are familiarised to the approach of man by his constant surveillance, and as easily kept in a covert as hens and chickens are in a farm-yard."

He says this system must be brought to notice:—
"The position of England at this period, considering the

mania that exists for an approach to Free-trade principles, demands that all abuses and defects, however latent they may hitherto have been, or however 'consacrated by time,' should be brought to notice. I know of whole districts where the farm tenants are forbidden to either mow their wheat or drill their turnips. The first system costs less by 2s. an acre to harvest, and further secures to the tenant an extra quantity of straw for the use of his stock, and for making manure, but it destroys the laying, or jungle, for partridges in September. The latter system produces a much greater weight of root per acre, at a much smaller expense, but it encourages the birds to run, and thus spoils the nose of the best pointer, and the sport of the shooter; but, if this mania (right or wrong) gains its sway, England, to exist as a nation, must allow her cultivators to grow the greatest quantity of grain at the least possible cost, and any abuses or restrictions, confining either the capital or capabilities of the cultivators of her soil, ought to be canvassed and then removed. The recriminating details of proceedings between farm tenants and game preservers' keepers might be entered into without spleen, and also poaching, to which the numbers and tameness of the game offer every encouragement."

This plainly shows that the corn monopoly is only necessary to maintain bad farming, game preserves, and dependent tenant-farmer voters. Before quitting this subject we must refer to one of the most monstrous cases of a game conviction we have recently noticed. Here it is in all its atrocity:—

"BICESTER PETTY SESSION, May 24.—Present, the Rev. A. Matthews and J. Lechmere, W. Style and C. C. Dormer, Esqrs. Game.—Thomas Causeley, of Bicester, was charged, on the information of W. Elliott, with having, on the 15th of May, killed a partridge and taken fourteen eggs. Griffin proved the serving of the summons, but Causeley did not appear. Mr. Mayley appeared for the prosecution. Mr. Phillips proved the offence, and deposed to his having met Causeley in the parish of Bicester Market End, on the day in question, with the bird in his hand, Causeley telling him at the time that he had just killed her on her nest, and that she was still warm. In his cap Mr. Phillips found the fourteen eggs. Causeley took Mr. Phillips to the place, and showed him the nest from which he had taken them. Mr. Mayley pressed the charge, stating that unless a stop was put to it there would not be any game in the neighbourhood of Bicester; that Causeley was a bad character, he having been seven times before the bench, and four times convicted. Convicted on each separate charge, and sentenced to pay for killing the bird, costs 2s. 6d., and constable 1s. 6d., with a fine of £1 6s. In default of immediate payment, two months' imprisonment. For taking the eggs, costs 11s., with a fine of £3 10s. In default of payment, two months' imprisonment with hard labour. Mr. Horner declined signing the conviction, and saw no reason for adding 'hard labour' to the sentence."—*Aylesbury News*.

Could such deeds be done in any other civilised community of the world?

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NATIONAL ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE.

THE COUNCIL of the LEAGUE, in compliance with a request to that effect, have consented to forego their usual Meeting next week, in order to afford an opportunity for holding the proposed Conservative Dinner, intended to be held in Covent-garden Theatre, on the Evening of Wednesday, the 12th inst.

The usual MEETING of the LEAGUE is therefore postponed to WEDNESDAY, the 19th inst.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, June 8, 1844.

A report on the incendiary fires in Suffolk and Norfolk has appeared in the *Times* of Friday morning, equal in ability, and scarcely inferior in interest, to the celebrated reports on the disturbed districts in Wales, already published by that journal. Although these outrages afford fearful proof of the condition to which the agricultural labourers have been reduced by the operation of the Corn Laws, we have been very unwilling to direct attention to so painful a subject, so long as there was a hope that the Monopolists would take into consideration the condition of their wretched serfs, and concede in time a redress of their grievances. But the remedy is delayed while the disease increases in extent and intensity. The excellent report before us states:—

"Since Michaelmas last, in the county of Suffolk alone, there have been 131 agricultural fires in which one insurance company has been called upon to make good the various insurances effected upon the property consumed. This is some index to their frequency, but far from a complete one, as all farmers are not insured, nor are the insurances effected confined to one insurance-office. About a fortnight ago there were no fewer than 16 agricultural fires in one week in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, the same crime also prevailing over parts of the north of Essex. People seem stricken with dismay. In this town Messrs. Ransom and Co., large iron-founders and agricultural implement manufacturers, have been compelled, to meet the exigency, to manufacture a large fire-engine, and to organize about 60 of their men as a fire-brigade to be ready to start at any moment to any part of the surrounding district, so numerous and calamitous in their results have the fires been."

The reporter having thus described the extent of the evil, proceeds to examine the various causes that have been assigned for its origin, and treats with contemptuous ridicule the impudent and absurd calumny which ascribed them to some inexplicable machinations of the League; but as the stupid calumniators, who gave vent to this precious specimen of malignant folly, so obviously showed that they did not believe their own assertions, and so utterly failed to produce an impression by patent and palpable mendacity, that even their callous idiocy was forced to admit a conviction of failure, we need not extract the reporter's refutation of the variously-titled

bearers of false witness. We leave them to enjoy, as they may, the luxury of being at once detected in their knavery and despised in their folly.

The reporter next examines the supposition that these fires have originated in vagrancy, in an insatuated spirit of imitation, in sheer love of mischief, and in innate depravity, successfully showing that no one of these theories can be reconciled with the notorious circumstances of the case. He then directs attention to the following fact:—

"That it is the labourers who commit these acts, I think no doubt can be entertained, from the general diffusion of the fires in particular districts, from the fact that the greater part of the incendiaries who have been apprehended are young farm-labourers, and from the spirit which is said to prevail and to be exhibited amongst the labourers at any fire which takes place. I have heard of several instances of this bad feeling showing itself at fires from parties who have witnessed it, and who have heard the sullen expressions, 'Let it burn—I'll be d—d if I help to put it out;' but I prefer quoting the opinion of Mr. Bevan, the chairman of the Bury Quarter Sessions, expressed in his address to the grand jury about a week ago. Speaking of the feeling shown at a late fire, he says:—'At the occasion of the late calamitous fire at Tuddenham, while the populace did all they could to extinguish the flames, others of the Mildenhall people did all they could to promote the fire by casting fuel upon it. A certain magistrate who was present had said he had seen fuel placed on the fire and could not prevent it.'"

Now, such a phenomenon as is here described—the combination of the farm-labourers to destroy the property of their masters and their neighbours, instead of being its guardians and protectors—may well excite surprise and alarm. The reporter has felt the grave responsibility which such an investigation has imposed upon him, and the assiduity of his inquiries is not less conspicuous than his honest and manly statement of the results:—

"I was struck the other day with a remark of an old and experienced insurance officer with whom I was conversing on the subject:—'That the Norwich Union-office could invariably tell, from the prevalence of fires in the agricultural districts, what was the condition of the people. Whenever wages were very low in any part of the country, and the people were badly off, or whenever it was threatened that wages would be lowered, they always found fires to commence and increase; and, on the contrary, when better wages began to be paid, the number of fires diminished, and they at last ceased.' Of the same opinion is the chairman of the Ipswich Quarter Sessions, who last week stated in his address to the grand jury:—'In my opinion, the only efficient protection for agricultural property—the only rational hope that exists of restoring the country to a wholesome state, and of insuring permanent tranquillity—is to be obtained by securing to the labourer constant employment, together with the payment of more liberal wages.'"

"The same gentleman (Sir A. Henniker, Bart.) is further reported to have said:—'Let me not be supposed for an instant to accuse those who are sufferers that they have not been sufficiently considerate, because I have seen in the public reports of the trials of incendiaries that their employers have been men even distinguished for kindness and goodness. Still, I think the grand jury will agree with me that there are no means so likely to remove the probability of a recurrence of such evils as those which I have stated. They said, as agriculturists, that the soil was grateful to those who properly cultivated it, and would return all that had been bestowed upon it; but rather should they say, also, the honest and industrious labourer was grateful for what was done to him, and that he would return, with his wife and children, justice and kindness a hundredfold. To carry such a recommendation into effect might, perhaps, require some sacrifice, but it would yet be accompanied by a satisfaction pleasing, indeed, to them as men and as Christians—a satisfaction which would be of benefit to them; and, let them hope, would bring from above a reward to all, because such liberality, 'like the gentle dew from heaven, both blessed him that takes and him that gives.'"

We shall look anxiously for the continuance of these reports. Such benevolent inquiries as the *Times* has instituted in this and several other instances, are a proof that journalism is conscious of the responsibilities attached to its power as a fourth estate of the realm, and goes far to maintain the decided superiority in intelligence, fairness, and philanthropy, which the English newspapers have acquired over the press in other countries.

EASTINGTON (NEAR STROUD), GLOUCESTERSHIRE, January 6.—Mr. Josiah Hunt, of Aldmondsbury, Gloucestershire, gave a lecture on the Corn Laws and Free Trade in the Reading-room, at the above village, showing the practical bearing of these laws on agriculture in particular; his arguments were most convincing, and told well on his audience, by whom he was loudly cheered during some parts of his address. Some tenant-farmers and farm-labourers were present.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEMORIAL.—An address to P. H. Howard, Esq., and W. Marshall, Esq., the representatives of this city, is now in the course of signature amongst the electors, respectfully requesting them to vote for Mr. Villiers's motion for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. It has already received the signatures of about 520 registered electors. The total number of electors on the register is 1025—and of course includes a number of duplicates, and of persons dead and removed since last year.—*Carlisle Journal*.

GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.—It is with great pleasure we learn that this gentleman is about to visit Southampton, to address a meeting of the Free-Trade Association on the cause which they are engaged in advancing. The meeting will be held on Monday next at the splendid carriage bazaar of Mr. Andrews, who has generously given the use of it to the association for this purpose. The numerous friends of Mr. Thompson, we have no doubt, will eagerly embrace this opportunity of welcoming him on his recent return from India.—*Hampshire Independent*.

REVIEW.

Coningsby; or, the New Generation. By B. Disraeli, Esq., M.P. London, Colburn.—(Third Notice.)

We return to the consideration of this book and the party whose opinions it is supposed to represent, because both present to us the two great elements in which the social state of our day is most deficient, high principle and high purpose. It is perfectly obvious that a direct and immediate recognition of the moral government of Providence forms the foundation of the creed of Young England; to us it appears equally obvious that they hold this principle more in accordance with the Hebrew Theocracy than with "the kingdom which is not of this world." We do not say this in the way of censure; there has been no great revolution in modern times, either permanent or beneficial in its effects, which has not been based on Theocratic principles, and in which the authors have not felt themselves, whether justly or unjustly, to be the commissioned agents of a Providential ministration. The great man who saved Europe from Asiatic despotism and feudal barbarism, the much calumniated and misrepresented Hildebrand, identified the Papacy with the Theocracy, and aimed at establishing a spiritual empire for the reformation of temporal abuse. He contended against powers and principalities for no selfish end of personal or party aggrandisement; he boldly adhered to a principle under circumstances, through which nothing but an earnest conviction of truth and a firm consciousness of rectitude could have borne him scatheless. "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, and therefore I die an exile," were his last words as the sun of his existence sunk in clouds of darkness and disappointment. Such are not the dying words of selfishness and hypocrisy; they were the expressions of a mind that had conceived the glorious idealism of religion guiding intellect, and intellect governing humanity. While we grant the impracticability of realizing such an idea—while we confess that such a theory of government could only be worked out by the ministration of angels—let us not refuse homage to the great mind by which it was conceived, but let us, if we please, pour forth vials of indignation on the petty selfishness and paltry ambition by which the theory was grossly perverted, and to which it was ultimately sacrificed.

The Hebrew Theocracy was uppermost in the mind of Luther when he hurled defiance at the Vatican. Rabbi Joseph ben Sphardi, who was nearly his cotemporary, records with admiration the similarity of the great Augustinian to those prophets who, in the decline of the Theocracy, denounced judgments on the followers of Baal and the forsakers of Jehovah; the worthy Rabbi all but recognises the mission of the Reformer. It was because he looked upon himself as the destined restorer of Messiah's kingdom that Luther so firmly believed himself exposed to personal conflict with Satan. The idea of the Theocracy was the chief source of his strength,—we deny not that it was to a considerable extent the source of his weakness,—it rendered him stern, haughty, and uncompromising; but, had his mind been constituted of more yielding materials, we doubt whether Germany would recognise to this day the voice which woke her intelligence from the slumber of ages.

The divine right of kings was an idea introduced—we should rather say self-developed—to supply the want of the Theocratic sentiment which had been associated with the papacy; it is a doctrine which falls dull and heavy on our ears, because it is associated with the names of a pedantic idiot and vulgar profligate, like James I.; an imbecile hypocrite, like Charles I.; a heartless debauchee, like Charles II.; and a stupid bigot, like James II. The sanctity of royalty is a theory that has never had fair play in England, because parasites and flatterers, utterly regardless of its ideal beauty, applied it with gross and fulsome adulation to as worthless a race of kings as ever found a place in history. No principle could stand against such absurdity of application as James I. taking the prophet Samuel's description of a sovereign, intended as a warning against royalty, and gravely proposing it to his subjects as an authoritative statement of the constitutional rights of a monarch.

It was the principle of Theocracy pervading every man in the ranks of Cromwell's army that enabled a handful of soldiers to effect the conquest of Ireland, in spite of four hostile, though dissociated, parties, any one of which might have crushed them in a moment. They looked upon themselves as the chosen of the Lord, predestined to extirpate idolatry, as the new Israelites ordained to subdue a western Canaan. It is true that the notion of a Theocracy was as much profaned by a vulgar democracy as it ever had been by a vulgar monarch. We are told that the state of Massachusetts thus perverted the principles when they wished to seize some hunting-grounds of the Indians. A meeting was held, and, after the usual preliminaries of prayer and preaching, the following resolutions were submitted, and unanimously adopted:—"1. Resolved,

that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof. 2. Resolved, that the Lord hath given the inheritance of the earth unto his saints. 3. Resolved, that we are the saints."

We have seen that papacy, monarchy, and democracy have successively taken up the Theocratic principle, and have successively desecrated and dragged it through the mire and dirt of petty selfishness, and corrupt, because partial interests. Do we then say that the principle is one which should be abandoned? God forbid. On the contrary, we ever have maintained, and ever will maintain, that no political party deserves or can secure the confidence of this country which has not for its principle, "Glory to God in the highest," and for its purpose "peace on earth, good will towards men." But we do assert that those who adopt this principle, and profess this purpose, take upon themselves a heavy responsibility; nowhere else is the terrible truth, *Corruptio optimi est pessima*, so strongly and fatally exemplified. They who set up such a banner must abandon all self-seeking, and particularly its most dangerous and pernicious form, "class-seeking;" they must not mistake institutions for principles, nor means for ends. They must be large in their sympathies, tolerant in their judgments, universal in their philanthropy: "Be ye children of your Father in heaven, who causeth His sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth His rain upon the just and upon the unjust." The policy resulting from such principles will be marked by the generous confidence of conscious integrity and consequent strength; the opposite policy will be marked by a lurking consciousness of dishonesty and consequent weakness. This point is well put by Mr. Disraeli:—

"Exclusive principles in the constitution and restrictive principles in commerce have grown up together; and have really nothing in common with the ancient character of our political settlement, or the manners and customs of the English people. Confidence in the loyalty of the nation, testified by munificent grants of rights and franchises, and favour to an expansive system of traffic, were distinctive qualities of the English sovereignty, until the House of Commons usurped the better portion of its prerogatives. A widening of our electoral scheme, great facilities to commerce, and the rescue of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects from the Puritanic yoke, from fetters which have been fastened on them by English Parliaments in spite of the protests and exertions of English sovereigns; these were the three great elements and fundamental truths of the real Pitt system—a system founded on the traditions of our monarchy, and caught from the writings, the speeches, the councils, of those who, for the sake of these and analogous benefits, had ever been anxious that the sovereign of England should never be degraded into the position of a Venetian Doge.

"It is in the plunder of the Church that we must seek for the primary cause of our political exclusion, and our commercial restraint. That unhalloved booty created a factitious aristocracy, ever fearful that they might be called upon to regorge their sacrilegious spoil. To prevent this they took refuge in political religionism, and paltering with the disturbed consciences or the pious fantasies of a portion of the people, they organized them into religious sects. These became the unconscious Protectors of their ill-gotten domains. At the head of these religionists, they have continued ever since to govern, or powerfully to influence, this country. They have in that time pulled down thrones and churches, changed dynasties, abrogated and remodelled Parliaments; they have disfranchised Scotland, and confiscated Ireland. One may admire the vigour and consistency of the Whig party, and recognise in their career that unity of purpose that can only spring from a great principle; but the Whigs introduced sectarian religion, sectarian religion led to political exclusion, and political exclusion was soon accompanied by commercial restraint."

We lay aside all reference to persons and parties; it is now of little avail to discuss with whom political exclusion and commercial restraint originated; what we have now to inquire is, whether those who recognise their iniquity will lend their aid to their total and immediate abolition. How will "Young England" receive the question of Jewish emancipation whenever it may be mooted? and, what is of more immediate moment, how will "Young England" vote on the abolition of the Corn Laws?

Independent of the deep interest which we take in the great question, we feel not a little anxious for the maintenance of the character of a party which has started with high principle and high purpose. We wish to see whether that principle and that purpose are sufficient to break the conventional trammels of class and party. Mr. Disraeli with great force, and unfortunately with great truth, exhibits the situation of the Premier, fettered and restrained from pursuing the course of which no one sees more clearly the wisdom and the rectitude, by the associations and connexions of party-life. It is a companion picture to Gulliver chained down by the Lilliputians.

"We have seen that at an early period of his career, Mr. Peel withdrew from official life. His course had been one of unbroken prosperity; the hero of the University had become the favourite of the House of Commons. His retreat, therefore, was not prompted by chagrin. Nor need it to have been suggested by a calculating ambition, need it to have been suggested by a fast bearing to him for the ordinary course of events was fast bearing to him all to which man could aspire. One might rather suppose that he had already gained sufficient experience, perhaps that he had already gained sufficient pause in that in his Irish Secretaryship, to make him pause in that career of superficial success which education and custom had hitherto chalked out for him, rather than the creative energies of his own mind. A thoughtful intellect may have already detected elements in our social system which required a finer observation, and a more unbroken study,

than the gyves and trammels of office would permit. He may have discovered that the representation of the University, looked upon in those days as the blue ribbon of the House of Commons, was a sufficient fetter without unnecessarily adding to its restraint. He may have wished to reserve himself for a happier occasion, and a more progressive period. He may have felt the strong necessity of arresting himself in his rapid career of felicitous routine, to survey his position in calmness, and to comprehend the stirring age that was approaching.

"For that he could not but be conscious that the education which he had consummated, however ornate and refined, was not sufficient. That age of economical statesmanship which Lord Shelburne had predicted in 1787, when he demolished in the House of Lords Bishop Watson and the Balance of Trade, which Mr. Pitt had comprehended, and for which he was preparing the nation when the French Revolution diverted the public mind into a stronger and more turbulent current, was again impending, while the intervening history of the country had been prolific in events which had aggravated the necessity of investigating the sources of the wealth of nations. The time had arrived when parliamentary pre-eminence could no longer be achieved or maintained by gorgeous abstractions borrowed from Burke, shallow systems purloined from De Lolme, adorned with Horatian points, or varied with Virgilian passages. It was to be an age of abstruse disquisition, that required a compact and sinewy intellect, nurtured in a class of learning not yet honoured in colleges, and which might arrive at conclusions conflicting with predominant prejudices.

"Adopting this view of the position of Mr. Peel, strengthened as it is by his early withdrawal for awhile from the direction of public affairs, it may not only be a charitable, but a true estimate of the motives which influenced him in his conduct towards Mr. Canning, to conclude that he was not guided in that transaction by the disingenuous rivalry usually imputed to him. His statement in Parliament of the determining circumstances of his conduct, coupled with his subsequent and almost immediate policy, may perhaps always leave this a painful and ambiguous passage in his career; but in passing judgment on public men, it behoves us ever to take large and extended views of their conduct; and previous incidents will often satisfactorily explain subsequent events, which, without their illustrating aid, are involved in misapprehension or mystery.

"It would seem, therefore, that Sir Robert Peel from an early period meditated his emancipation from the political confederacy in which he was implicated, and that he has been continually baffled in this project. He broke loose from Lord Liverpool; he retired from Mr. Canning. Forced again into becoming the subordinate leader of the weakest government in parliamentary annals, he believed he had at length achieved his emancipation, when he declared to his late colleagues, after the overthrow of 1830, that he would never again accept a secondary position in office. But the Duke of Wellington was too old a tactician to lose so valuable an ally. So his grace declared, after the Reform Bill was passed, as its inevitable result, that thenceforth the Prime Minister must be a member of the House of Commons, and this aphorism, cited as usual by the Duke's parasites as demonstration of his supreme sagacity, was a graceful mode of resigning the pre-eminence which had been productive of such great party disasters. It is remarkable that the party who devised and passed the Reform Bill, and who governed the nation in consequence for ten years, never once had their Prime Minister in the House of Commons; but that does not signify; the Duke's maxim is still quoted as an oracle almost equal in prescience to his famous query, 'How the King's Government was to be carried on?' a question to which his grace by this time has contrived to give a tolerably practical answer.

"Sir Robert Peel, who had escaped from Lord Liverpool, escaped from Mr. Canning, escaped even from the Duke of Wellington in 1832, was at length caught in 1831, the victim of ceaseless intrigues, who neither comprehended his position, nor that of their country."

Ten years have elapsed since Sir Robert Peel was thus caught and pinioned. He has made some struggles to set himself free, but the result has invariably been that which Hudibras describes when he attempted to escape from the lady—

"And as a dog committed close
For some offence by chance breaks loose
And quits the clog, but all in vain
He still drags after him the chain;
Thus, though my ankle she has quitted,
My heart continues still committed."

We hope that Sir Robert Peel's name will not be handed down to posterity as that of a statesman who exposed his country to ruin from sheer cowardice—from dread of facing a faction which he despised, and by which he was in turn spurned and insulted. But though

"His towering spirit now he broke,
His neck he bended to the yoke,"

yet "Young England" as yet stands upright; its position is not sufficiently comprehended for the veterans of political warfare to understand any portion of its tactics. Had the value of the steeds been known, there are plenty of jockeys who would have tried to train them to harness previously to working them as useful hacks. The protest against what is justly called the Venetian Constitution, is hollow hypocrisy, unless accompanied with a resolution to remove the worst badge of tyranny imposed by a worse than Venetian Oligarchy. Mr. Disraeli must himself explain the meaning of our Venetian Constitution:—

"The Venetian Constitution!" said Sir Joseph. "To be sure," said Millbank. "We were governed in this country by the Venetian Constitution from the accession of the House of Hanover. But that yoke is past. And now, I hope we are in a state of transition from the Italian Dogeship to the English Monarchy."

"King, Lords, and Commons, the Venetian Constitution!" exclaimed Sir Joseph.

"But they were phrases," said Coningsby, "not facts. The King was a Doge; the Cabinet the Council

of Ten. Your Parliament, that you call Lords and Commons, was nothing more than the Great Council of Nobles."

"The resemblance was complete," said Millbank, "and no wonder, for it was not accidental; the Venetian Constitution was intentionally copied."

"We should have had the Venetian Republic in 1640," said Coningsby, "had it not been for the Puritans. Geneva beat Venice."

"I am sure these ideas are not very generally known," said Sir Joseph bewildered.

"Because you have had your history written by the Venetian party," said Coningsby, "and it has been their interest to conceal them."

"I will venture to say that there are very few men on our side in the House of Commons," said Sir Joseph, "who are aware that they were born under a Venetian Constitution."

"Let us go to the ladies," said Millbank smiling.

Let us go to the same authority for the constituent elements of this Oligarchy and their claims to despotic dictation:—

"Ancient lineage!" said Mr. Millbank; "I never heard of a peer with an ancient lineage. The real old families of this country are to be found among the peasantry; the gentry, too, may lay some claim to old blood. I can point you out Saxon families in this county who can trace their pedigree beyond the Conquest; I know of some Norman gentlemen whose fathers undoubtedly came over with the Conqueror. But a peer with an ancient lineage is to me quite a novelty. No, no; the thirty years of the wars of the Roses freed us from those gentlemen. I take it after the battle of Tewkesbury, a Norman baron was almost as rare a being in England as a wolf is now."

"I have always understood," said Coningsby, "that our peerage was the finest in Europe."

"From themselves," said Millbank, "and the heralds they pay to paint their carriages. But I go to facts. When Henry VII. called his Parliament, there were only twenty-nine temporal peers to be found, and even some of them took their seats illegally, for they had been attainted. Of those twenty-nine not five remain, and they, as the Howards for instance, are not Norman nobility. We owe the English peerage to three sources: the spoliation of the church; the open and flagrant sale of its honours by the elder Stuarts; and the boroughmongering of our own times. Those are the three main sources of the existing peerage of England, and in my opinion disgraceful ones."

Now, we are of those who believe that the profession of "high principles" opens to men a high vocation; and that abandonment of such a vocation predestines the deserters to that irretrievable contempt which courts mere oblivion as its only refuge. A party makes its destiny for itself; the sneers of the ignorant, the calumnies of the prejudiced, and the malignant arts of the Rigby brood may safely be defied, provided that principle and purpose be held steadily in view. Dereliction from the creed once propounded and accepted is certain destruction. "That which is crooked," says the Preacher, "cannot be made straight, and that which is wanting cannot be numbered." If "Young England" accepts its destiny it may do much for the nation; if it falters at the crisis, its name will become a mockery and a byword, and a hissing and a scorn. The test of its sincerity is not far distant: it will soon be determined whether they have chosen the exclusive Theocracy of Paganism and Semi-paganism, or whether they have adopted that Theocratic principle which manifests its existence by strictly adhering to the rule, "To do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before God." Need we add that class-legislation is opposed to justice, that taxing the food of the poor is inconsistent with mercy, and it is not only the opposite of humility, it is daring impiety to place legislative restrictions on the Divine decree, "Behold I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth."

Here we should gladly close, had not some of Mr. Disraeli's critics chosen to sneer at the character of Sidonia, and his noble defence of Hebrew intellect. We quote part of the passage, equally conspicuous for its eloquence and its truth:—

"You never observe a great intellectual movement in Europe in which the Jews do not greatly participate. The first Jesuits were Jews; that mysterious Russian Diplomacy which so alarms Western Europe, is organized and principally carried on by Jews; that mighty revolution which is at this moment preparing in Germany, and which will be in fact a second and greater Reformation, and of which so little is as yet known in England, is entirely developing under the auspices of Jews, who almost monopolize the professorial chairs of Germany. Neander, the founder of Spiritual Christianity, and who is Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Berlin, is a Jew. Benary, equally famous, and in the same University, is a Jew. Wehl, the Arabic Professor of Heidelberg, is a Jew. Years ago, when I was in Palestine, I met a German student who was accumulating materials for the History of Christianity, and studying the genius of the place; a modest and learned man. It was Wehl; then unknown, since become the first Arabic scholar of the day, and the author of the life of Mahomet. But for the German professors of this race, their name is Legion. I think there are more than ten at Berlin alone."

"I told you just now that I was going up to town to-morrow, because I always made it a rule to interpose when affairs of state were on the carpet. Otherwise, I never interfere. I hear of peace and war in newspapers, but I am never alarmed, except when I am informed that the sovereigns want treasure; then I know that monarchs are serious."

"A few years back we were applied to by Russia. Now, there has been no friendship between the Court of St. Petersburg and my family. It has Dutch connexions which have generally supplied it, and our representations in favour of the Polish Hebrews, a numerous

race, but the most suffering and degraded of all the tribes, has not been very agreeable to the Czar. However, circumstances drew to an approximation between the Romanoffs and the Sidonias. I resolved to go myself to St. Petersburg. I had on my arrival an interview with the Russian Minister of Finance, Count Canorin; I beheld the son of a Lithuanian Jew. The loan was connected with the affairs of Spain; I resolved on repairing to Spain from Russia. I travelled without intermission. I had an audience immediately on my arrival with the Spanish Minister, Senor Mendizabel; I beheld one like myself, the son of a Nuovo Cristiano, a Jew of Arragon. In consequence of what transpired at Madrid, I went straight to Paris to consult the President of the French Council; I beheld the son of a French Jew, a hero, an imperial marshal, and very properly so, for who should be military heroes if not those who worship the Lord of Hosts?

"And is Soult a Hebrew?"

"Yes, and several of the French Marshals, and the most famous; Massena for example; his real name was Manasseh; but to my anecdote. The consequence of our consultations was that some northern power should be applied to in a friendly and mediate capacity. We fixed on Prussia, and the President of the Council made an application to the Prussian Minister, who attended a few days after our conference. Count Arnim entered the cabinet, and I beheld a Prussian Jew. So you see, my dear Coningsby, that the world is governed by very different personages to what is imagined by those who are not behind the scenes."

"You startle, and deeply interest me."

"You must study physiology, my dear child. Pure races of Caucasians may be persecuted, but they cannot be despised, except by the brutal ignorance of some mongrel breed, that brandishes faggots and howls exterminations, but is itself exterminated without persecutions by that irresistible law of nature which is fatal to curs."

"But I come also from Caucasians," said Coningsby.

"Verily; and thank your Creator for such a destiny: and your race is sufficiently pure. You come from the shores of the Northern Sea, land of the blue eye, and the golden hair, and the frank brow; 'tis a famous breed with whom we Arabs have contended long; from which we have much suffered; but these Goths, and Saxons, and Normans, were doubtless great men."

"But so favoured by Nature, why has not your race produced great poets, great orators, great writers?"

"Favoured by Nature and by Nature's God we produced the lyre of David; we gave you Isaiah and Ezekiel; they are our Olynthians, our Philipps. Favoured by Nature we still remain: but in exact proportion as we have been favoured by Nature we have been persecuted by man. After a thousand struggles; after acts of heroic courage that Rome has never equalled; deeds of divine patriotism that Athens, and Sparta, and Carthage have never excelled; we have endured fifteen hundred years of supernatural slavery, during which, every device that can degrade or destroy man has been the destiny that we have sustained and baffled. The Hebrew child has entered adolescence only to learn that he was the Pariah of that ungrateful Europe that owes to him the best part of its laws, a fine portion of its literature—all its religion. Great poets require a public; we have been content with the immortal melodies that we sang more than two thousand years ago by the waters of Babylon and wept. They record our triumphs; they solace our affliction. Great orators are the creatures of popular assemblies; we were permitted only by stealth to meet even in our temples. And as for great writers the catalogue is not blank. What are all the schoolmen: Aquinas himself, to Maimonides; and as for modern philosophy, all springs from Spinoza."

We should wish the world to know that Talmudism is not Judaism, and that Chirrim's account of the Hebrew race, which has become the arsenal for all the bigots of Europe, is just such a representation as a Mohammedan might give of Christianity from the ravings of Muggleton or Joanna Southcote. We know that among the Jews in England there are men of as powerful intellect, as exalted principle, as pure patriotism, and as enlarged philanthropy as any other division of the nation could produce. We have found minds consigned "to cold obstruction," by our exclusive laws, with capacities for enlightened statesmanship which it would not be easy to parallel. We know of one, who to talents of the highest order unites the same untiring energy of purpose which supported his ancestors through all the vicissitudes of alternate triumph and persecution,—a true knight of Judah's chivalry, equally void of fear and reproach,—and we see him doomed to stand without the pale of the constitution, wasting those powers in compulsory idleness which he is anxious to devote to the service of his adopted country. But we shall not dwell on individual instances: let us look abroad. To which of our charitable institutions are not Jews liberal subscribers? From what movement in favour of general education have they withheld their assistance? In what great struggle to attain a patriotic object, has their aid been found wanting? We know of none, and we earnestly hope their intelligence, their liberality, their patriotism, and their public virtue may be incorporated into our national boast, by their being made an integral part of our nation.

We have not reviewed this work as a novel, though its merits as a work of fiction are of the first order. It has appealed to us on higher and nobler grounds than those of mere amusement; and we have met it with feelings different from those that usually direct professional criticism. Perhaps we might seem to some readers to have indulged ourselves at too great length; let them pardon us, for we are not often likely to meet such a temptation to excursive flights; a new "Coningsby" is not likely to come without a new generation.

Four Lectures on the Natural History of Plants yielding Food. By E. Lankester, M.D., F.L.S., &c.
[Unpublished.]

Although these lectures have not been published, yet the great interest they have excited, and their close connexion with the great cause in which we are engaged, have induced us to make some extracts from the lecturer's notes, which have been kindly lent us for the purpose. The extracts we shall make are more calculated to stimulate than to gratify curiosity; but we trust that, at no distant date, we shall have the matter brought before us in a more tangible form. Dr. Lankester thus introduces his subject.

"By the late researches of chemists, and more especially by the bold generalizations of Liebig and Dumas, the subject of the nature of the food of man has become much more a matter of calculation and science than at any previous period in the history of knowledge. If we look at the vegetable kingdom as a whole, and attempt to enumerate the vast variety of different productions that are used by man and animals for food, it would seem almost impossible to reduce the mass to anything like systematic order. But the chemist has found that, complicated as are the forms of plants, they are formed out of a few simple elements, of which carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen are the chief. These, again, enter into secondary combinations, which, although more numerous than the elements of which they are composed, are, nevertheless, comparatively few. The secondary combinations or principles, which are the principal constituents of the food of animals, may be divided into two groups: those possessing nitrogen, and those without it; the nitrogenised and non-nitrogenised principles of food, as they are called. The first group, which are all included under the name of proteins, the various forms having only very slight differences of chemical composition, is that which is used for the building up of the fabric of the animal body. However diversified the organs of the body of an animal may appear, they are made out of some one of the forms of proteins, which are called fibrin, albumen, and caseine. These proteinaceous compounds, or nitrogenised principles, are found in almost every kind of vegetable food, and when not supplied in sufficient quantity to an animal, it becomes feeble and dies. The reason why animal food is more strengthening and nourishing than vegetable is, that the flesh of animals consists almost entirely of proteins. We also see, from the fact of the proteins of the vegetable and the proteins of the animal being the same in composition, that, in as far as these nitrogenised principles are concerned, no chemical change takes place in the digestion of food, but that it is a simple transference of certain principles from the vegetable to the animal body.

"The second group of principles entering into the food of man and animals is that without nitrogen. The chief constituent of these is carbon, and they are commonly called starch, sugar, oil, gum, &c. Now, at one time it was supposed that these things were very nutritious; that is, that they helped to form the fabric of the body; but this is not at all the case, although these principles contribute to a not less important end—the keeping up of the animal heat of the body. The carbon is, in fact, burned in the blood, carbonic acid is expelled from the lungs, and the animal frame has its various organs thus kept at a temperature always the same, whether placed in the snows of Iceland, or under the burning sun of the tropics. Saccharine, amylaceous, and oily foods are taken into the system for the purposes of combustion, and subserve just the same end in our bodies that coals do upon our fires."

The lectures are divided according to the chemical principles which most distinguish the plants yielding them. The first lecture consists of a history of the plants yielding vegetable alkalies, and which are used in infusions. This includes the history of the tea, coffee, chocolate, and Paraguay tea-plants, with notices of all those plants, such as the chicory, the piqua plant, and other trees, shrubs, and herbs that are used for adulterating, or as substitutes for, these well known articles of diet. One of the most singular facts connected with this group of plants is, that the vegetable alkalies which they yield are identical in composition, and, according to the great chemist, Liebig, they fulfil a very important office in the economy of the human frame, accounting for the fact of their extensive cultivation and use. It appears that upwards of 800,000,000 of pounds of tea, coffee, and chocolate are consumed by the inhabitants of the world annually.

The second lecture contains an account of plants yielding starch as a principal ingredient. The plants yielding pure starch, as the arrow-root plant, the sago-palm, and the tapioca tree, are described. Then come for consideration those grasses yielding grain, which not only contain starch, but also a large quantity of proteins, and which have rendered them the principal food of the finest races of men in the world. These are wheat, rice, maize. Wheat is in Europe, maize is in America, and rice in Asia. They are, in fact, the types of all other kinds of food.

The third lecture treats of plants yielding oily and acidulous foods. To the first belong the wonderful cocoa-nut-tree, which, although chiefly characterised by the oil contained in its ripe fruit, yet affords at various periods of growth all the other principles necessary for the subsistence of man. Nuts, chestnuts, walnuts, Brazil nuts, &c., fall to be considered here. The plants yielding acids are numerous. The orange and the lemon yield citric acid, pears and apples, malic acid; Rhubarb and sorrel, oxalic acid; grapes, tartaric acid, &c.

The fourth lecture consists of an outline of the purpose sugar subserves in the vegetable kingdom, and its manufacture from the sugar-cane, beet-root,

maize-stalks, &c. In this lecture is also considered the liquors produced by the fermentation of sugar, as beers, wines, ardent spirits, &c.

From this general summary our readers will be able to form some notion of the important topics which are discussed in these lectures, and the arguments in favour of Free Trade which may be deduced from this scientific view of nutrition. It is a gratifying sign of progress to find that the mind of the country is keenly awake to the evils which monopoly inflicts, and that the misnamed system of protection finds no advocates save in the class which cannot teach and will not learn. In the conclusion of his lectures Dr. Lankester thus eloquently and luminously states their general results:

"I feel that I have not been able to throw around this subject the fascinations of romance, nor to elicit from it the harmony of music, but I hope I have succeeded in developing in some measure the value and beauty of great principles. I have endeavoured to show you the vegetable kingdom as a vast chemical laboratory converting the elements of inorganic matter into substances fitted for the structure and uses of animals. I have pointed out to you the inexhaustible sources of nourishment for animals that are constantly being developed by the unceasing activity of the vegetable world. I have shown you that, so long as the world is clothed with vegetation, so long as the present constitution of nature remains, that God has made the vegetable world an infinitely more than abundant source of food to all his living creatures; and I feel it to be a duty which we all owe to our suffering fellow-creature man to study the laws which regulate this wonderful harmony of supply and demand between the vegetable and animal kingdom, in order that we may be enabled speedily to adjust the disarrangement which must take place when the first cry of want or the first wail of hunger shall have reached our ears."

An Essay, showing the ruinous Effects which a Free Trade in Corn would have upon the Landlord, the Farmer, the Labourer, the Tradesman, the Fundholder, and the Community at large. London, W. M. Clarke, Warwick-lane, Paternoster-row. (Sold by the Publication Committee of the Agricultural Protection Society, at No. 17, Old Bond-street.)

In perusing this "Essay," one knows not whether more to admire the self-importance of the writer in engaging to show so much within the narrow limits of fourteen 8vo. pages, and in taking upon himself "to counteract the pernicious effects of" the "falsehoods and frauds" of the "leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League," because "it has become highly necessary at length" so to do; or to despise the system of false quotations and references which, in humble imitation of the detected and exposed Mr. Cayley, he also has adopted.

It is declared by all controversialists that the *suppression veri* is quite as unjustifiable as the *suggestio falsi*, if not more so; and that whether an author publish a quotation from the works of another which in itself is absolutely false and garbled, suppress from the context explanatory passages, or assert that admissions have been made for which he has no authority, he is alike unworthy of credit. This principle we propose to apply to the writer of the essay before us.

"In the first place," he affirms, "it is admitted—on all hands admitted: even the great authority of the League, Mr. James Deacon Hume, has admitted—that in the event of a free trade in corn being established, a great quantity of land will be thrown out of arable cultivation;" and he then goes on to suppose that "great quantity" to "be an eighth." Now, the inverted commas applied to the words "great quantity" are not ours but our author's; and they are used by him to induce his readers to believe that Mr. Deacon Hume's printed evidence given before a committee of the House of Commons, to which the writer, in a note, triumphantly refers as his authority, contains these words. But how stands the fact? Sir C. Douglas, a member of the committee, put the following question:—

"If the Corn Laws were totally abolished, and consequently that part of our provisions and food were brought in from other countries, do you agree with those who think that a great deal of land would be thrown out of cultivation?"

Mr. Deacon Hume's answer was this:—

"By throwing land out of cultivation, I presume is meant converting arable into grass land. It is a wrong term, I think, to use, though I know it is a common term. I believe that much land would be thrown out of arable cultivation."

And he proceeds to give what appears to us to be a very satisfactory reason for that opinion, as well as an equally convincing statement of the probable effect.

We leave it to casuists and critics to decide upon the precise difference between a great deal of land and much land. That the two terms were of distinct signification in the mind of the witness is manifest, because the former, which was proposed to him by Sir C. Douglas, he declined to adopt; and he made use of the latter as more properly expressive of his own meaning. Our author, also, would seem to be of the same opinion, for he rejects both, and unfairly interpolates the words "great quantity."

Having arrived, by some tortuous mental argu-

ment, at the conclusion that he had the right not only to construe the meaning of "much land" to be "great quantity," but to deceive his readers by imputing the latter expression to Mr. Hume, by whom it was not used, he proceeds boldly to define this quantity to "be an eighth," "much more than one-eighth in all probability." Now, if much land really mean a "great quantity," what proportion of one-eighth is much more than one-eighth?

Upon this theorem of his own, falsely based upon the clear, argumentative, and unanswered evidence of Mr. Deacon Hume, whose loss Sir Robert Peel feelingly deplored, the writer proceeds to raise an argument which, partaking of the fate of all arguments founded upon false premises, carries its own condemnation along with it.

The Essayist produces, in the way of evidence, certain statistical calculations; and in order that we may deal out evenhanded justice, as well to the gentleman whose essay is before us, as to one of his fellow-labourers in the same field, we will place their opinions on the same subject in juxtaposition before our readers:—

"Essay."

"The produce of British agriculture amounts to £539,036,200: one-eighth of which, of course, will be £67,379,525; and, according to the census of 1831, there are in the United Kingdom 2,470,411—say 2,500,000 persons employed in agriculture above twenty years of age, one-eighth of the number of whom will be 312,500, which number would, by their families, be swelled into at least 1,500,000. The first effects, therefore, of this one-eighth of the land being thus thrown out of cultivation, would be, that the farmer would lose his profits upon that one-eighth, that the amount of its produce, namely, £67,379,525, would be lost to the community, and that 312,500 labourers, with their families, that is to say, 1,500,000 persons, would have to be supported in a state of pauperism, at a cost of 2s. 6d. each per week, or £6 10s. each a year; which, for a million and a half, would be £9,750,000 per annum!"

An analytical examination of the very extraordinary contents of these two brief passages, extracted from the writings of contemporary authors, and issued by a society whose anxiety for the promulgation of truth has induced them to appoint, from amongst their own members, a "publication committee," to "point out," "through the Press," "the inconsistencies contained in the statements of" their opponents, would extend this article beyond our limits. Let those, however, who can, reconcile "the inconsistencies" glaringly apparent in the two publications to which we refer.

The one author contends that the effect of one-eighth of the land being thrown out of arable cultivation would be to withdraw £67,379,525 from the community;—the other affirms that one-third of the land upon which wheat is now grown must be thrown out of cultivation, and that there would probably be somewhere about £5,000,000 withdrawn from the labour market. The one calculates that 312,500 labourers, being one-eighth of the number of persons employed in agriculture, above twenty years of age, would have to be supported in a state of pauperism; the other concludes that one-third of the present number of labourers, or about 400,000 hands, would be thrown out of employ.

"A maze of figures mazes of mind betrays."

Pursuing the same chain of reasoning, the writer of the "Essay" proceeds to assure tradesmen, "more especially those who live in purely agricultural districts," "that it behoves them to look at this well. They must lose the profits on the reduced expenditure of the landlords, the profits on the diminished expenditure of the farmers, and the profits on the whole of the wages of the labourers thrown out of employ; besides having to bear their full share of those additional burdens which the fact of these labourers—who are now their customers, and from whom they derived profit—being thrown out of employ, must of necessity create!" "Is there," he asks, "in provincial districts one tradesman in ten who would be able to stand this for twelve months?" Perhaps not, if the writer's assertions were true.

Having thus, to his own satisfaction, shown the inevitable ruin of nine-tenths of the tradesmen, the writer proceeds to show that perhaps one-half of the labourers might manage to keep out of the Unions; but, alas! their fate would be infinitely worse: they

* Dedicated, by permission, to the Society for the Protection of Agriculture. "FREE TRADE, with Reference to its Effects upon the Operative Classes, briefly considered." By H. M. TAYLOR. London: William Edward Painter, 242, Strand, 1844.
† Resolutions of the Agricultural Protection Society.

would not "lie down in ditches and die;" but "their moral feelings would be deened; their spirit of independence would be destroyed; the principles of right and wrong would be utterly lost to view; life and property would be insecure; recklessness would be engendered; robberies, crimes of every character and description would be perpetrated; the gaols would be crowded, and the country in a blaze!"

Is, then, British agriculture exclusively confined to the growth of wheat? Do the whole of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom (who can get it) subsist upon wheaten bread, and that alone? Admitting, for this purpose, with Mr. Deacon Hume, (though this, as we shall presently show, is not on all hands admitted, as our author asserts,) that much land would be thrown out of arable cultivation by a repeal of the Corn Laws, would this land of necessity become waste? Would it not be used for some other agricultural purposes? Agriculture is not confined to the tillage of land for corn, but extends to the culture of the earth for various other profitable produce. With the same admission let us see what, in the opinion of Mr. Deacon Hume, would be done with the land which, by the abolition of the Corn Laws, might be thrown out of arable cultivation. The same answer on which our anonymous author relies, and which is the only authority he has given, furnishes a clear and convincing explanation.

We will do our author the justice to acknowledge that he has not overlooked this latter part of Mr. Deacon Hume's answer to the question of Sir C. Douglas; but in his comments upon it, and even in adopting the very words and language of Mr. Hume, he does not so inform his readers. Assuming much that is said by Mr. Hume, he arrives at a very different result, as will best appear by the following comparative passages:—

Extract from Mr. Hume's evidence.

"I believe that one of the great evils of our agriculture is, the misappropriation of the soil; I believe there is a great deal too large a proportion of land under the plough, and too small a portion under grass. The difficulty of raising lean stock in this country for the purpose of fattening is so great, that it is the chief cause of the high price of meat; and I am quite persuaded that, if a very large breadth of that arable land which can scarcely be cultivated to advantage were turned back to grass, the effect would be, to reduce the quantity of corn produced in this country so much as to make it impossible for the foreigner to fill the vacuum at a low price, and that the general result would be, that it would produce a lower price of meat, there being a power of increased consumption in the present state of the country in the article of meat that is almost immeasurable. When we reflect upon the extremely small portion of meat eaten every day by the most robust labourers in the country, who are, of course, by far the most numerous portion of the population, if we were only to suppose them to have every day a fair moderate meal of meat, the increase of demand for meat, and for inferior meat—for cattle not fattened to the highest pitch of perfection, such as would be suitable to the produce of land of inferior qualities—would be so great, that there would be no want of good employment for any of the land that we possess within our boundaries."

These parallel passages exhibit a fair specimen of the arguments and reasoning of the author whose essay is under consideration, and of the gentleman whose evidence he has attempted to distort into an admission of an isolated position, which would seem, *per se*, opposed to the principles of those who advocate a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. The one, a gentleman who had passed thirty-nine years in the service of the public, in the departments of the Customs and Board of Trade, one of whose dicta was thought worthy of being called "memorable" by Sir Robert Peel, declares, in plain intelligible language, his belief that the abolition of the Corn Laws would, even on this *vezata* question of throwing land out of arable cultivation, enable British corn-growers to compete with foreigners; would increase the demand for meat to an almost immeasurable extent; would supply animal food to those who now seldom taste it; and would produce good employment for all the land within our boundaries. And to this may be added, in passing, as a fair corollary,

that as there would be no want of good employment for the land, so also there would be no want of profitable employment for the labourers. Turn now from this picture, and look on that.

The author, who has undertaken to show "the ruinous effects which a free trade in corn would have upon the community at large," loses sight altogether of the actual present state of the labouring classes in this country. His statistics, on this part of his subject, are confined to the number of agricultural labourers and their families, and the expense of supporting a million and a half of them in a state of pauperism. He assumes it to be probable that in the course of six or seven years things might come round—but "look at the interim!" and then, setting all probabilities aside, setting all reasoning and argument at defiance, he revels in the certainty of bankruptcy, ruin, wretchedness, and misery; broken fortunes, broken spirits, and broken hearts; destitution, beggary, pauperism, vice, and crimes; robberies, Union workhouses, gaols, and the country in a blaze!

Leaving this wild rhapsody to the fate which always attends declamation without argument, let those tradesmen and labourers, in purely agricultural districts, for whose especial instruction and benefit the pamphlet before us has been written, reflect upon the condition in which the labouring classes are *now* actually placed, and ascertain from means within their reach, from information founded upon evidence, and gratuitously furnished to them by the calumniated League, what proportion of that class is now able, by the greatest industry and the strictest frugality, to obtain food of the plainest, clothing of the coarsest, shelter of the humblest kind, fit for human beings in a civilized state of society; how many of them are *now* confined in Union workhouses or receive partial relief from parochial funds or private charities; how many starvation has already driven to crime; how many have perished for want; and then let them decide, by way of answer to the questions of this author, whether they will believe the man of nearly forty years' experience in the drudgery of offices where the subjects, now imperatively pressing upon the public attention, were duly and hourly calling forth the energies of his intelligent and enlightened mind, or will pin their faith upon the sleeve of an anonymous writer, who garbles the opinions of his opponents, and seeks to wrest them to unworthy purposes.

We have called the opinion that an abolition of the Corn Laws would throw much arable land out of cultivation a *vezata* question. Our author says it is "admitted on all hands." Mr. Deacon Hume considers that much land now under the plough can scarcely be so cultivated to advantage, and that the misappropriation of the soil is one of the greatest evils of our agriculture. But what says Lord Ducie—a nobleman who has for the last eighteen years been actively engaged in agriculture, and whose practical knowledge of agriculture is universally acknowledged? We find in the speech delivered by his lordship on the 29th of May, at the League meeting at Covent-garden Theatre we quote from our paper of the 1st inst.—the following passages:—

"It shall be my endeavour to show you, by tracing the expense of growing a bushel of wheat, that it is impossible any land can be thrown out of cultivation by the repeal of the Corn Laws."

I was anxious to show you that that low quality of land which it is said must be thrown out of cultivation if the Corn Laws are repealed, can, under the lowest possible prices in free trade in corn, pay 11 per cent. for growing corn at 41s. per quarter. (Cheers.) I hope and trust that, if there were any here who doubted before in consequence of their being told by our opponents that Free Trade would throw land out of cultivation, they will set their minds at ease upon the point, and that they will believe with me that nothing can ever cause any land to be thrown out of cultivation in England so long as the manufacturers of this country are enabled to undersell those of the Continent in the world's market."

Certainly this is an admission with a vengeance.

The pamphlet under consideration contains another extract from the evidence of Mr. Deacon Hume, and it is appended by way of note to the following paragraph:—"But view the position of the agricultural labourers." [We wish heartily the author had afforded his readers a faithful view of their position.] "The League and its satellites complain of their not being sufficiently well paid, and yet seek to reduce them at once to the position of the labourers abroad. They would reduce not only our agricultural labourers, but their own, to the position of other countries at once." And now comes the evidence of Mr. Deacon Hume in support of these veracious assertions:—

"Then I understand you, in the opinion you have given, to contemplate placing the working men of this country upon the same, or nearly the same footing as the workmen of other countries?—I would place them on the same footing."

Upon this solitary declaration of Mr. Deacon Hume, without explaining the antecedent information from which the interrogator drew the inference contained in his question, or giving the answer called forth by the subsequent question of the chairman, the author proceeds at once to reduce the wages of agricultural labourers to 6d. per day, or

3s. 1d. per week, and to draw an affecting picture of their future condition!

The answer of Mr. Deacon Hume, thus put forward as a proof that "the League and their satellites" seek to reduce not only our agricultural labourers, but *their own*, to the position of the labourers of other countries, was founded upon the supposition which he expressed as follows:—

"That the expense of living of the labourers in those cases which the several questions have so particularly pointed at, should be reduced to the natural amount. That must certainly be understood to mean that the corn trade should be free, that meat, that every article of consumption should for the future be free; and were that the case, no change being made in the revenue, I can scarcely believe that the natural effect would not be to raise the product of the revenue a fourth, or perhaps a third greater than it is, without laying on a single additional duty; and in that case we clearly see how easy it would be to relieve those parties, who are now much pressed by competition, from those taxes which were considered to oppress them to the greatest degree, and to place them on a fairer footing with the foreign competitors than they now are."

And the subsequent question of the chairman, with Mr. Hume's answer, satisfactorily explains the whole:—

"Do you mean, by placing them on the same footing, that you would abolish all those monopolies as regards food in this country, and which are the cause of that great difference between the condition of the labouring people here and abroad?—Most certainly; I should never think of exposing trades situated in the manner which is contemplated in the previous question, to an open competition with foreigners, while I left them burdened—not with taxes, I beg to be understood, but with the operation of protections in other cases, and for the emolument of other parties."

With these exposures of the falsifications of the author of the essay, we shall leave him to his reflections, and his readers to their own conclusions; but we trust that the Publication Committee of the Agricultural Protection Society will in future take the trouble to compare the quotations of their pamphleteers with the authors from which such quotations profess to be extracted: and, moreover, that they will bestow upon the correction of the discrepancies contained in the tracts issued by themselves a little of that attention which they *liberally* resolve to apply in "repelling the imputations, and pointing out the inconsistencies, contained in the statements of those who oppose protection."

YOUNG ENGLAND'S "OLD NOBILITY."

(From Punch.)

Lord John Manners, the Home Secretary *in posse*, when Young England shall reign in Downing-street, has published a volume of verse, called "*England's Trust, and a few Poems.*" In this volume there are—let the reader prepare for a gasp—the following lines:

"Though I could bear to view our crowded towns

Sink into hamlets, or unpeopled downs;

he could not bear that any decay should fall upon the ancient peerage. No, says Lord John

"Let wealth and commerce, laws and learning die,

BUT LEAVE US STILL OUR OLD NOBILITY."

These lines were quoted by Earl Ducie at the last Anti-Corn-Law meeting, but their authorship, and the book that enshrines them, were not given. We supply the information for the benefit of the curious. And now, with every wished respect for the ancient aristocracy of England, we must own we were not aware of its surpassing worth in comparison with wealth and commerce, laws and learning. We were evidently in darkness. Yes; put all the wealth of Britain—all the labours of its lawmakers—all the inspiration, as bequeathed in books to us, of its God-gifted men into one scale, and clap an Earl's coronet into the other, and that little ornament shall make all things else kick the beam; that is, when the balance shall be held by the pure and just hands of—Young England!

But, after all, would not this old nobility be a poor, plucked, very shabby thing indeed, divested of all the refinements, all the graces of life? With no wealth, no commerce, no laws to restrict its ferocity,—no learning to soften it,—would it be little other than a Baron Rawhead and Bloodybones, an Earl Gogmagog, living on lordly pillage? Let us imagine this old nobility, spared amidst the wreck of all the commerce, all the arts of life.

Our "crowded towns" exist no longer. No: Liverpool is a mere village; Birmingham, a hamlet; Manchester, a place where two or three old women ply the spinning-wheel; Sheffield, a casual home for wandering tinkers or knife-grinders; all Yarmouth shrunk into the huts of a few fishermen who cure herrings; and where Hull, and Paisley, and Glasgow stood, are swamps and unpeopled downs. Bitterns boom and hares squeal, where merchants trafficked and babies judged. Thousands and thousands of men have withered from the face of the earth—whole towns are but as empty sepulchres; but let us clap our hands, and utter hallelujahs for the mercy; there remains to us what is dearer than all—for very dear, indeed, it sometimes has been—"our old nobility."

Well, in this new state of things, let us inquire what Old Nobility would do for itself? All wealth and commerce annihilated, Old Nobility would of course set about subjugating the rest of society into hordes of serfs and vassals. The sword of Old Nobility would exact from Serfdom Labour uncompensated, brutal savagery, and those sweet privileges of the bygone day,—the *droits du seigneur*. As for laws, Old Nobility, as of yore, would make its own; a stout, significant code of timber, easily comprehended by the meanest capacity—namely, a gallows at every castle-gate.

And then for learning, why should Old Nobility care to spell even the monosyllable *sword*, so that Old Nobility had its own sweet will to make its mark with it!

"Oh, no!" cries the spirit of Young England, "there is such an instinctive refinement, such an inborn benevolence in Old Nobility, that, without any other laws or

learning than those fashioned and acquired by its own pure heart, it would work the unqualified good of the meaner millions placed by Providence at its disposal." Of course, all history proves the truth of this. We have no doubt that if all the social arts should suddenly perish, and Old Nobility, to distinguish itself from vulgar flesh and blood, should dye its body with its armorial bearings—that in this forked and naked state its first anxieties would be for its unpainted brotherhood. Wealth, commerce, and all learning having perished—save, indeed, heralds' learning—let us imagine a Marlborough, with his coat of arms and legend painted in bright wood, after the manner of the Ancient Britons, on his back and breast; let us imagine him labouring for the comfort and welfare of the unadorned vulgar. What—what would he do for them? Doubtless, all laws and learning having perished, the impulses of his own noble soul would instinctively supply him with benevolence and wisdom all-sufficient. Without a rag upon him, the Duke would stand up nature's nobleman; would show to meaner thousands the workings of his benevolent heart, ay, as plainly as though he were Momus's ideal man, with a pane of glass let into his bosom.

It would certainly be a fine thing for the real interests of the world, if all commerce, laws, learning, and arts had perished, and all the children (dear elder sons!) of Old Nobility had no other outward signs of their greatness save their arms beautifully tattooed in their anatomies. Then, indeed, would be seen the inherent value of the griffin, and unicorn, and hydra, and pelicans of the herald. As it is, the exquisite beauty of these glorious creatures is, in a measure, lost by the unceremonious elbowing and jostling of wealth and commerce—by the bold intrusiveness of laws and learning.

It must, however, be a great consolation to the people of England to know in what consist their happiness and refinement as a nation. Not in their wealth; not in their laws; not in the wisdom of their buried sages. Oh, no! Let them despise their colonies—their fleets of ships—their literature, with its wings of light for distant nations—let them look upon all these things as cumbrous vanities, and, with thankfulness pulling at their hamstrings, reverently drop down upon their knees before the House of Lords!

The House of Lords! Yea, that is nature's prime laboratory; there, indeed, she toils and labours to "give the world assurance" of her best article. Indeed, the eye of the philosopher—borrowing the glass of Young England—sees painted on the outside of the House of Lords—"Real men to be had only within. All elsewhere are spurious. No connexion with any other House."

Thus, all that we have to do, is to pray for the procreation of Peers. With an Old Nobility, let "crowded towns," with all their wealth, sink and perish—the true national property is in the Lords!

Thus, if Bristol should be again assailed by a devastating mob, let them burn every stick. Why should we care, if Bristol's Earl be safe?

If all Westminster should catch fire, let it blaze away; for have we not a nobleman of that ilk dearer than all Westminster put together?

And, lastly; if an earthquake should swallow the entire city of Londonderry, ought we to mourn over the desolation,—seeing that Providence has benignly preserved to us a wise and gentle Marquis of that glorious name? Yes!

"Let wealth and commerce, laws and learning die,
BUT LEAVE US STILL OUR OLD NOBILITY."

THE LANDOWNERS' SLAVES.—We do not know that in the slave institutions of the United States, or the Brazils, there is anything which exceeds in atrocity the slavery of the tenant-at-will farmers of England. Driven, like cattle, up to the poll; not allowed to have an opinion of their own; forced to comply with the wishes of their landlords; all mental independence trodden down; taunted with the show of liberty; what worse, it may be asked, could occur in the United States or in the Brazils? And yet the men who approve of the system of coercing tenants in respect to their votes are the persons who have lately raised a very loud outcry about the introduction of Brazilian sugar into England, because it is slave grown. Verily, there never was slavery equal to that in which the farmers of England are held, because, in addition to actual dependence on the whims and caprices of a landlord, they are mocked by being told they are the free and independent yeomanry of the soil! "What is morally wrong cannot be politically right," said Lord Ashley, recently; but landowners are privileged to set at defiance all notions of right, and to trample on the consciences of men. The elective franchise is a trust held for the benefit of the nation at large, and he who dares to interfere with the free exercise of this trust, for the purpose of advancing his own private interests, is guilty of as great a crime as any that is denominated in the decalogue. And yet parties who thus act will go to the church on Sundays, will make their responses aloud, and will assume to be the very patterns of sanctity and decorum. It seems strange that the landowners could order their slaves to come into the manufacturing towns, with the view of supporting a system which must ultimately be ruinous to their customers. The farmers in this and neighbouring towns dispose of their milk, butter, and other agricultural produce to the inhabitants of the town, and yet, with the utmost coolness, the former march into this place and give votes, the tendency of which is to restrict the business of the latter, and to starve and ruin them. Perhaps the inhabitants of towns may yet hit upon some plan for bringing the landowners and farmers of their respective neighbourhoods—parties who are entirely dependent upon them—to their senses. Such things have been brought about, and may be again. The farmers, as a body, voted for little trade, perhaps they may find, before long, that some of them will have less of trade than they will approve of.—*Bolton Free Press.*

A righteous magistrate is the image and shadow of God upon earth.

It is at once the most palpable absurdity and the most monstrous wickedness, to represent capital as in any way opposed to the rights and profits of labour; without capital there would be no demand for three-fourths of the labour now employed in this country; without capital, wages for labour would be reduced to the lowest point at which it would be possible to support human existence; and without capital the operative could have no chance of permanent and steady employment.—*W. Cooke Taylor, LL.D.*

SOUTH LANCASHIRE ELECTION.—AN EXPEDIENT OF THE MONOPOLISTS: HOW TO SECURE A TEMPORARY TRIUMPH.—A correspondent, on whose accuracy we can place reliance, and who had the means of acquiring correct information at the recent nomination, has transmitted us the following, amongst other intelligence relative to the proceedings on that occasion:—"Scattered in every direction amongst the crowd, but particularly on that side next to the Horse and Jockey, we observed numerous parties, who, from their ragged clothing, were evidently composed of the poorest and lowest of the population of the surrounding villages, if they were not paupers and inmates of workhouses, every one of whom had a piece of white calico round his hat, or cap, or head, having 'Entwistle for ever' printed upon it. Of these, about four hundred were marched up from Culcheth and Kenyon; three hundred from Ashton-in-Mackerfield, headed by a clergyman; one hundred and fifty from Warrington, and many others from the populous villages of Croft, Lowton, Golborne, and Haydock, the whole number amounting to from one thousand two hundred to one thousand five hundred." By inquiries made amongst them, our correspondent has learned that "those from some of the villages were to receive 1s. and their meat and drink; others 2s., and even 2s. 6d., but without meat or drink, 'to shout and hold up their hands for Entwistle,' and to wear his badge, however ashamed of such employment. And it was by such means that a temporary triumph was sought to be obtained, upon a show of hands, before the High Sheriff, for that it is certain not one shilling was paid for the same purpose by or to any one of the Free-Trade party."—*Liverpool Albion.*

THE FUNDS.

| | Sat. June 1 | Mon. June 3 | Tues. June 4 | Wed. June 5 | Thurs. June 6 | Fri. June 7 |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|
| Bank Stock | 200 | 199 1/2 | 199 1/2 | 199 1/2 | 199 1/2 | 199 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 99 1/2 | 99 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann. | 102 1/2 | 102 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 102 1/2 | 102 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann. | 102 1/2 | 102 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 | 102 1/2 |
| Long An. Ex. 1860 | 12 1/2 | 12 1/2 | 12 1/2 | 12 1/2 | 12 1/2 | 12 1/2 |
| Cons. for Acc. | 99 1/2 | 99 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 | 99 1/2 |
| Exc. Bills, 6m. | 70 1/2 | 70 1/2 | 70 1/2 | 70 1/2 | 70 1/2 | 70 1/2 |
| Ind. Bds. and 1000l | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| India Stock | 288 | 288 | 288 1/2 | 288 1/2 | 288 1/2 | 288 1/2 |
| Belgian | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 | 103 1/2 |
| Brazilian | 81 1/2 | 81 1/2 | 81 1/2 | 81 1/2 | 81 1/2 | 81 1/2 |
| Chilian | 10 1/2 | 10 1/2 | 10 1/2 | 10 1/2 | 10 1/2 | 10 1/2 |
| Columbian | 13 1/2 | 13 1/2 | 13 1/2 | 13 1/2 | 13 1/2 | 13 1/2 |
| Danish | 88 1/2 | 88 1/2 | 88 1/2 | 88 1/2 | 88 1/2 | 88 1/2 |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 | 100 1/2 |
| Dutch 2 1/2 per Ct. | 62 1/2 | 62 1/2 | 62 1/2 | 62 1/2 | 62 1/2 | 62 1/2 |
| Mexican, 1837 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 | 35 1/2 |
| Portuguese, conv. | 46 1/2 | 46 1/2 | 46 1/2 | 46 1/2 | 46 1/2 | 46 1/2 |
| Buenos Ayres | 33 1/2 | 33 1/2 | 33 1/2 | 33 1/2 | 33 1/2 | 33 1/2 |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 23 1/2 | 23 1/2 | 23 1/2 | 23 1/2 | 23 1/2 | 23 1/2 |
| New do. 3 per Ct. | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 |
| Peruvian | — | — | — | — | — | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, June 3.—With a moderate supply of English Wheat this morning, the prices of this day week were with difficulty obtained for any but the best qualities. There was but a slow trade in Foreign at last week's rates. The supply of Foreign Barley during last week was moderate, and of English quite insignificant; all descriptions sold readily at 1s. advance. Beans were firm at last week's prices, with very small supplies. Peas were 1s. dearer. About half a dozen Irish vessels arrived with Oats in time for market; there was very little addition to the quantity of English and Scotch Oats previously on sale; an advance of 6d. per qr. was readily obtained on all descriptions. S. H. LUCAS and SON.

BRITISH.

| | Per Imperial Quarter. |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Wheat Essex, Kent, & Suffolk | Red 55 to 60 White 58 to 64 |
| — Lancashire & Yorkshire | — 64—58 — 57—60 |
| — Scotch | — 52—56 — 54—60 |
| — Irish | — 50—52 — 52—55 |
| Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire | Feed 21—23 |
| — Ditto | Short 22—24 Polands 23—25 |
| — Scotch | Feed 23—25 Potato 26—27 |
| — Limerick | — 21—22 Short 22—24 |
| — Cork | — 20—21 — 21—22 |
| — Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black | — 20—21 |
| — Sligo | — 21—22 |
| — Galway | — 20—21 |
| Barley, Grinding | 28 to 30 Distilling 29—31 |
| — Malting | 32—34 Irish 26—30 |
| Beans, Mazagan | — 32—34 Tick 33—35 |
| — Harrow | 35—37 Small 38—39 |
| — Old Tick | — 38—39 |
| Peas, White | 31 to 34 Boilers 35—36 |
| — Maple and Grey | — 30—34 |
| Flour, Best Town-made | per sack of 280 lbs. 46—48 |
| — Norfolk and Suffolk | — 40—42 |

FOREIGN.

| | Per Imperial Quarter. |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed | 56 to 63 42 to 46 |
| — Rostock | 51—63 42—45 |
| — Stettin | 48—56 40—43 |
| — Hamburg | 48—56 39—42 |
| — Odessa Polish | 48—56 36—39 |
| — Barletta | 48—56 32—38 |
| — Russian | 48—56 — — |
| — Ditto | 45—50 — — |
| — Spanish | 49—55 — — |
| — Ditto | 52—56 — — |
| Barley, Grinding | 26—29 — — |
| — Distilling | 29—31 — — |
| Oats, Archangel | 21—22 15—16 |
| — Swedish | 22—23 16—17 |
| — Dutch Polands | — 19—20 |
| Beans, Egyptian | 30—31 20—21 |
| Peas, White | 30—34 — — |
| — Ditto Boilers | 32—35 — — |
| Flour, Canada | per barrel of 196 lbs. 29—31 |
| — United States | — 30—32 22—24 |
| — Dantzic | — 28—30 — — |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 27th of May to June 1, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 4768 | 371 | 783 | 737 | 203 |
| Scotch | — | 217 | 2311 | — | — |
| Irish | — | — | 12471 | — | — |
| Foreign | 12235 | 6078 | 3916 | 887 | — |

Flour, 5177 sacks, 1000 bars.

| | Qrs. | Price. | Qrs. | Price. |
|--------|-------|-----------|-------|---------------|
| Wheat | 4950 | 57s. 1d. | Rye | — s.—d. |
| Barley | 1961 | 31s. 7d. | Beans | 1329 33s. 3d. |
| Oats | 19443 | 21s. 10d. | Peas | 403 33s. 10d. |

FRIDAY, June 7.—The supplies of Wheat and Barley are moderate since Monday. There is a slow trade for Wheat at the prices of that day. There is not much Barley left on sale of the recent large arrivals from abroad, the little that is offering is held at high rates, but the transactions in it are very limited. About 16 vessels have arrived with Irish Oats, and the buyers expecting a considerable addition to the supply be-

fore Monday, are holding off in anticipation of rather lower prices. The factors are, however, unwilling to submit to any reduction, and the business done is at fully Monday's rates. There is no alteration in the value of free Beans; Egyptian are held at 23s. to 24s. in Bond. Peas the same as Monday. S. H. LUCAS and SON.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 3rd of June to the 7th of June, both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 3310 | — | 3765 |
| Barley | 790 | — | — |
| Oats | 1930 | 10030 | 2890 |

Flour, 3820 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT OF THE NUMBER OF QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED JUNE 1, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|--------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. | Qrs. sold. |
| Weekly Averages | — 55 6 | — 30 9 | — 21 7 | — 24 10 |
| Aggregate Averages | .. 55 6 | .. 31 4 | .. 20 9 | .. 22 11 |
| Duty | .. 17 0 | .. 7 0 | .. 6 0 | .. 10 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MAY 31.

CROWN-OFFICE, MAY 30.

MEMBERS RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

Borough of Buckingham—The Right Hon. Sir Thos. Francis Fremantle, Bart.
City of Chichester—The Right Hon. Arthur Lennox, commonly called Lord Arthur Lennox.

DECLARATION OF INSOLVENCY.

W. KEMP, Waltham, Lincolnshire, tailor.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

J. RIDGEWAY, Chester, fringe manufacturer.

BANKRUPTS.

B. LAND, St. Alban's, victualler. [Roche, Plowman, and Roche, Upper Wellington-street, Covent-garden.

W. DETHICK, Temple-street, Whitefriars, lime merchant. [Humphrey, Keightley, and Co., Chancery-lane.

H. R. HARRADEN, Cambridge, printseller. [Tarrant, Walbrook; Lawrence, Cambridge.

Q. B. V. J. ANICHINI, Benef's-place, Gracechurch-street, merchant. [Clowes and Wedlake, King's Bench-walk.

J. W. MARDALL, New Shoreham, Sussex, insurance broker. [Rolfe and Edmunds, South-square, Gray's-inn; Edmunds, Worthing.

E. TYNDAL, Ross, Herefordshire, wine merchant. [Washbourne, Gloucester; Hall and Minett, Ross; Stubbs and Rollings, Birmingham.

J. MITCHELL, Nottingham, fellmonger. [Cann, Nottingham; Smith, Birmingham.

T. NEWTON, Holbeach, Lincoln, cattle dealer. [Staniland, Boston; Barker and Sons, Birmingham.

R. BAXTER, Sheffield, merchant. [Fidley, Temple; Wilson and Co., Sheffield.

F. L. HOMER, Manchester, merchant. [Blackburne, Leeds; Messrs. Bennett, Manchester.

T. BEECH, Newcastle-under-Lyme, grocer. [Stanier, Newcastle-under-Lyme; Smith, Birmingham.

W. LYNN, Liverpool, hotel keeper. [Littledale and Bardwell, Liverpool; Vincent and Sherwood, Temple.

J. OWEN and S. OWEN, Sheffield, merchants. [Bigg, Southampton buildings; Haywood and Bramley, Sheffield; Branson, Sheffield.

DIVIDENDS.

June 21. E. P. Powell, Southampton, tailor—June 21. W. Gorton, St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill—June 21. E. H. Foster, Hathers, Leicestershire, tanner—June 13. K. Hilton and N. Walsh, Over Darwen, Lancashire, pspermakers—June 15. H. Hilton, Over Darwen, Lancashire, bleacher—June 21. G. C. Cawood, Sunderland-near-the-Sea, Durham, tobaccoist—June 10. C. Humberston and S. Frodsham, Liverpool, commission merchants—June 24. W. F. Geach, Pontypool, Monmouthshire, timber merchant.

CERTIFICATES.

June 21. J. Bell, Norwich, surgeon—June 21. S. Saunders, Golden-square, Westminster, board and lodging housekeeper—June 21. M. Lopez, Crutched-friars, wine merchant—June 15. J. Powell, jun., Quadrant, St. James's, lodging housekeeper.

TUESDAY, JUNE 4.

MEMBERS RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

County Palatine of Lancaster—Southern Division.—William Entwistle, Esq., in the room of the Hon. Richard Bootle Wilbraham, deceased.

District of Burghs of Kilmarnock, &c.—The Hon. Edward Playdell Bouverie, in the room of Alexander Johnston, Esq., deceased.

BANKRUPTS.

T. STEPHENS, Newgate-street, umbrella manufacturer. [Taylor, South-place, Finsbury-square.

J. CLARK, Abington, Cambridgeshire, draper. [Anburt, Chelmside.

R. COLEMAN and R. R. HALL, Colchester, iron founders. [Tooke and Son, Bedford-row; Philbrick and Co.

C. ALBERTON, Brighton, tailor. [Wood and Fraser, Dean-street, Soho.

W. LING, Ramsgate, Kent, builder. [Williams, Coleman-street, City.

E. SEDGWICK, Hythe, Kent, scrivener. [Nias, Copthall-buildings.

W. H. BATES, Birmingham, factor. [Palmer and Sons, Birmingham; Fellowes, Dudley; Austen and Hobson, Gray's-inn.

J. SMITH, Warwick, wine merchant. [Heath, Warwick.

B. NORMAN, and R. BUCKMAN, Cheltenham, ironmongers. [Foster, Wolverhampton; White and Co., Bedford-row.

L. JONES, Barmouth, Merionethshire, corn and flour seller. [Clarke and Co., Lincoln's-inn-fields; Owen and Griffiths, Dolgelly; Green, Liverpool.

DIVIDENDS.

June 27. R. T. Jones, Oxford, chemist—June 25. D. Fowler, Lime-street, City, merchant—June 28. R. Pinkerton, Mark-lane, City—June 25. T. Norman, Penketh, Warrington, Lancashire, farmer—June 25. H. Johnson, Liverpool, grocer—June 25. T. Maguire, Liverpool, publican—June 28. R. Phillips, Exeter, chemist—June 28. W. Bridge, jun., and J. Stanning, Manchester, timber merchants—June 28. R. Cunliffe, Over Darwen, Lancashire, cotton manufacturer—June 27. J. Wilson, Manchester, warehouseman.

CERTIFICATES.

June 26. B. Vines, Poole, grocer—June 27. G. Barnes, Portsmouth, innkeeper—July 2. J. Huggins, York-place, High-street, Portland-town, poulterer—June 26. J. Joseph, Richmond, Surrey, oilman.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

A. C. WATT, Aberdeen, merchant—D. KAY, Edinburgh, baker—G. RITCHIE, Perth, printer.

London: Printed by ROBERT PALMER (of Providence-place, Upper Kensington-lane, Lambeth, in the County of Surrey) and JOSEPH CLAYTON (of Number 320, Strand, in the County of Middlesex), at their Printing-office, Number 10, Grace-court, in the Parish of St. Dunston-in-the-Fields, in the City of London, and published by ADAMANT WATSON (of Number 11, Norfolk-street, Strand, in the County of Middlesex) the Office of THE LEAGUE, Number 67, Fleet-street, in the old Room—St. Dunston-in-the-Fields—Saturday, June 8, 1844.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 38.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 1844.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

REGISTER, REGISTER, REGISTER!

The Free-Traders qualified to vote must everywhere prepare to enrol themselves and their friends on the register for the NEXT year.

To entitle a voter to be registered, he must have occupied during the twelve months previous to the 31st of July, premises of the value of £10 a year. He must have been rated for twelve months to the relief of the poor.

He must have paid, on or before the 20th of July, all poor-rates and assessed taxes due to the 6th of April preceding.

Further information and directions will be furnished on application, personally or by letter, to the Local Registration Societies; to Mr. Sidney Smith, 68, Cheapside, London; or to Mr. Hickin, League Offices, Newall's Buildings, Manchester.

For the convenience of individuals whose avocations render it difficult for them to call at the Registration Office, 68, Cheapside, during business hours, arrangements have been made by which attendance will be given every evening at that office until eight o'clock, to fill up and serve claims, and to supply every information relative to Parliamentary registration for counties, cities, and boroughs.

MIND THE REGISTER.

The merits or demerits of the Reform Bill come not within our sphere of discussion. With its capabilities we have much to do, and should be glad to induce the public to try their extent, in relation to the Free-Trade question. The franchise conferred by the Reform Bill has never yet been realized. There has not been even a considerable approximation. Extravagant as the notion may seem, of adding nearly a million to the borough voters of Great Britain, we believe the legal practicability is susceptible of demonstration; nor is there, in this calculation, any large allowance made for plurality of votes arising from high-rented houses. Only a pitiful fraction of the possible constituency, under the Reform Act, has ever yet existed. In many counties, the mass of unrepresented property is enormous; much of it, too, is of a kind, or belongs to a class, comparatively free from the electoral tyranny of landlords. Why should not this legalized power be called into existence and active operation against monopoly. Why should not the errors of voters in *esse* be corrected by the mass of voters in *potestate*? It would be absurd to reckon upon the entire weight thus to be gained being thrown into the scale of Free Trade; and not less absurd to suppose that, were this great enfranchisement indiscriminately made, the cause of Free Trade could fail of a vast preponderance.

"Register, register, register," has been the text of many a homily, since those memorable words were uttered by Sir Robert Peel in Merchant Taylors' Hall. Hitherto, the doctrine has only been practised by the party to which it was then addressed. They set about it with the power of a compact party organization, with ample funds liberally furnished, with the skill of old and practised elec-

tioners, and with the golden prize of political ascendancy full in view to stimulate exertion. We all know the result. Sympathizing, or lamenting, none can question the completeness of the success. As an instance of the adaptation of means to the end, it reflects credit on the shrewdness of Sir Robert Peel, and the combination and perseverance of his followers. The example is before us. Think of it, friends of Free Trade, throughout the country.

The defeat of the opposite party only confirms our inference. Whatever be the reasons assigned, the fact is certain that the Whigs did not work the registration. To go into the rationale of this fact would lead us far afield into political disquisition. The causes do not matter for our present purpose. Every one knows that, with a few local exceptions, the Tories were for ten years the great augmenters of the registration lists, by the addition of their own partisans, and the great excluders, by objection, of their opponents. In some measure, by such exclusion, but very far more by those additions, did they constitute themselves a commanding majority at the last general election. They are the only people who have thus experimented on the Reform Act. And, so far from exhausting its capabilities, they have merely indicated what capabilities exist, to be explored and developed whenever the question of the nation shall assert its infinite superiority in the public mind over a mere party question.

The arrangements of the Reform Act are precisely of such a nature as to invite the friends of Free Trade to experiment upon the degree of electoral power which may be obtained through their means. By those arrangements, all questions of temporary interest, however intense that interest for the time, are placed at a disadvantage. No Perceval or Pitt can again triumph by a sudden excitement. No regiments of unexpected voters can again rush to the rescue, and turn the fate of an election at the critical moment. The inflexible registration is there. Woe to those who, like the unwise virgins, have neglected to trim their lamps. The fatal doors are closed against them. Good intentions go for nothing. The non-registered may have the worst oppressions to complain of, and may prove that the salvation of the country depends on the candidate whom they would have returned; their protests are all *vox et preterea nihil*. We pass no judgment on this matter; we only state the fact. The Reform Bill has annihilated, or very greatly abated, the electoral power of an unforeseen popular excitement. On the other hand, it favours the electoral power of a decided and unintermitting determination. The clear and growing conviction that strengthens from year to year is secure (the means once understood) of gaining its proportionate parliamentary expression. Its strength is not in stimulus but in principle. It depends not on sudden outbreaks of zeal, but on a foreseeing purpose. It prepares, provides, and calculates. For such a cause—and such a cause is ours—the Reform Bill suppression of momentary power works little mischief; while its premeditated and deliberate enrolment for a great future struggle, and for all intermediate emergencies, is in harmony with, and affords facilities for, the peculiar character of our agitation. We advance by instruction. Our appeal is to mind and thought. Success is found, not in the evanescent furor, but the enlightened and enduring conviction. Our course, with a registration, must be progressive. To convince those already enfranchised, and put all others already convinced in possession of their political rights, are our ceaseless aims. Work the registration, then, we repeat; work the registration to the full extent of its yet unmeasured capabilities.

Since 1839 the registration of electors for Great Britain has been increased by upwards of 33,000. Thanks to the zealous and business-like way in which the London committee has taken up the subject, we expect that an increase of several thousands will this year be added to the metropolitan registration alone. And this is the spirit which we desire everywhere to excite. In all localities there is very much to be done, and it can only be done by residents. The detection of false claims and the multiplied assertion of just claims can only be effected by activity and diligence on the spot. We fully appreciate the extent of time, attention, and exertion for which we are calling; but by no other means is our great battle to be fought fairly out. All hope rests upon the intelligent and unalterable conviction of the essential importance of Free Trade being found practically a sufficient impetus. The task is not merely a laborious but an unostentatious one. It is unattended by the éclat of great public meetings.

It the objective portion of it, we may almost call it an unthankful office. But it is indispensable: the cause demands it. As the business of the day, it is pressing and urgent. By the end of next month the overseers' lists must be prepared, so as to be printed and affixed to the church doors on the first two Sundays in August. No time is to be lost. And who can tell but what this registration will be the decisive one for a new Parliament? Such an event is by no means improbable. Even should that contingency not occur, who can measure its moral effect on the existing House of Commons? Every year the results of the registration are diligently scrutinized. They are, *de facto*, an annual polling of the people. Never has the inspection been more anxious than it will be this time. Nor is it an advantage, which the Council of the League can be at all likely to neglect, should they be empowered to say at the close of the year, "We are backed in our demands by a decisive majority of the electoral body." It is not for us to anticipate what proceedings they may found upon such a fact, nor what specific kind of co-operation it may encourage them to invite. They will evidently be placed by it in a proud and formidable position for carrying forward the agitation they have hitherto conducted towards its final and triumphant termination.

We cannot conclude without most earnestly recommending our friends and fellow-labourers everywhere to avail themselves of the instructions and information contained in the "Guide to the Elective Franchise" put forth by the "Metropolitan Anti-Corn-Law Registration Association." It is an invaluable help. In its few pages there is so complete a practical directory, that all should have recourse to it, and endeavour, each according to his opportunities, to work out its suggestions. We are also authorized to say, that any communications or inquiries connected with this subject—of registration—will be readily attended to either by Mr. Sidney Smith, Secretary of the Metropolitan Registration Association, at the Central Office, 68, Cheapside, or by Mr. Hickin, Secretary of the League, at its office, Manchester.

ELECTORS OF GREAT YARMOUTH AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES.

In a former number of the LEAGUE it was announced that a memorial had been forwarded to the members for Great Yarmouth, requesting them to support Mr. Villiers's motion for the total repeal of the Corn Laws, signed by 808 electors.* The following answer, addressed to Mr. Bayly, Secretary of the Yarmouth Anti-Corn-Law Association, has been just received:—

"DEAR SIR,—Mr. Villiers having now given notice of his motion for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, we think it right to address, through you, the gentlemen who signed the requisition† you forwarded to us, in reply to their call upon us to vote for that motion.

"As our sentiments have undergone no change since we last had the honour of addressing you on the subject, we beg to refer you generally to the letter we wrote in reply to the requisition of last year.

"Although we are unable to reconcile ourselves to vote for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, yet as we have uniformly supported the principles of Free Trade, and more especially a reduction and alteration in the Corn-Law system, we should be very unwilling to be considered as opposed to its amendment; but with reference merely to a statement contained in your requisition of last year—that the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws would terminate the deplorable distress which was then existing in your borough, and which, with heartfelt sorrow, we learn has since that time increased—we wish to observe, that, as far as the manufacturing districts and some of the commercial classes are concerned, their prospects have considerably brightened in the interval, and that the state of the former may even be considered prosperous; and that although unfortunately this improvement has not extended to the shipping interest, with which you are most immediately connected, it is sufficient, we think, to create doubts even amongst that class, whether the present depreciation of their property, and the general want of employment, may stand in so close connexion with the existence of the present Corn Laws.

"While, however, for the reasons which we have here and in our former letter assigned, we deeply regret being obliged respectfully to decline acceding to your requisition, we feel it due to ourselves to point out, that, after all, our opinions may not be found so much at variance with a proposition of which the 'National Anti-Corn-Law League' would, according to reports which have

* The strength of the Free-Trade voters may be safely taken as upwards of 900, the constituency being 1929; and as more than 150 who have not signed the memorial could not vote (in consequence of removals, deaths, duplicates, &c.), were an election to take place on the present register, 800 constitute a majority. Since the passing of the Reform Bill, we have never at any election polled 1500 voters, 800 always carrying the election.

† A requisition was also forwarded to the members for the borough by the non-electors.

long been in circulation, avail itself, did it suppose that proposition would be supported by a majority of the House. It is perfectly true that this might be declared not to be a permanent measure; neither would we be understood to consider it so, or permanently to oppose ourselves to the total abolition of the Corn Laws. All we wish is, that a measure affecting so vitally the largest, and not the least important, class in the kingdom, should be approached with the same caution as we believe has uniformly been observed in dealing with the various interests, whose protection has been diminished in the course of the last twenty-five years.

"We have the honour to be,

"With the greatest respect,

"Yours very faithfully,

"C. E. RUMBOLD.

"W. WILSHERE.

"Mr. J. Bayly, London, May 31, 1844."

It will be observed that in this letter reference is made to the answer to the requisition last year, which was signed by 534 electors. It is therefore necessary that the letter dated May 5th, 1843, should be before the reader. The following is a copy of it:—

"DEAR SIR.—We have been honoured, through your hands, with a requisition from Great Yarmouth, calling upon us to vote for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.

"We feel deeply the weight which should attach to a representation coming from men of so much intelligence as well as practical experience in commercial matters, who are themselves also suffering severely from the distress complained of, and among whose signatures we perceive a large majority of those, between whom and us there has generally been a close sympathy of political feeling. For ourselves we beg leave to observe, that, since either of us has represented Yarmouth, we have supported every proposal for inquiry into the Corn Laws, every measure for their relaxation, and uniformly have voted for the least amount of protection. Up to within a short period we had reason to suppose that, in supporting the proposal of the late Government for an 8s. fixed duty, we had the general assent of our constituents—that many would consider it as a step gained towards the total repeal of those laws, while others could not, satisfactorily to themselves, look to a larger remission. At the time of the last election, the price of wheat was 20 per cent. higher than it is now, and yet we heard no expression of strong dissent.

"The proposal which we are now called on to support is, the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws;—its immediate effect could hardly be to reduce the price of provisions lower than it is at present, and the experience which we have had of the manner in which our advances in favour of a greater freedom of commercial intercourse have been received by other powers leads us to suppose that very slow progress would be made by those countries in meeting us on the same liberal footing. We do not here enter into the abstract question whether it be right or wrong to make this remission of duties a subject for negotiation; but, inasmuch as the repeal of our Corn Laws is stated as a remedy for the present distress, we hold that that remedy would be very uncertain, and at best of very slow application.

"The measure itself could not but tend, in such a crisis as the present, greatly to extend the distress and alarm, not merely among the agriculturists, but many other classes in the community; and as the tendency of our opinions in favour of freedom of trade, as well as the sincerity with which we declare ourselves, cannot be doubted, we ask that your candour will duly estimate the responsibility we are under to our constituents and to the country at large, to act up to our honest feeling of what justice and policy demand from us. It is alone from a very strong conviction of the misery which the course proposed would entail upon the country, without affording any immediate relief to the present distress, that we feel called upon to oppose such a change in the policy of this country as would be effected by the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.

"C. E. RUMBOLD.

"W. WILSHERE.

"Mr. J. Bayly."

These letters are a tolerable specimen of the art of saying "few things in many words;" the sum and substance of them is, that Messrs. Rumbold and Wilshere prefer party to principle, and will not vote for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws because it happens to be merely a national, and not a Whig measure. This determination is announced in a form which we should be unwilling to describe as shuffling or evasive, but which is certainly far from being candid and straightforward. The opinion of these gentlemen on the justice of the Corn Laws in themselves is very studiously withheld, and their views of the effect of such restrictions on the commerce of the country are far from being clear or consistent. In one letter they declare that "the repeal of these laws would entail misery on the country;" but in the subsequent letter they seem to have so far improved in political economy as to have abandoned this precious morsel of monopolist cant, and they merely contend that the Corn Laws have not done all the mischief that is ascribed to them.

It is gratifying to discover such signs of amendment; the Free-Trade electors of Yarmouth have only to continue their lessons, and they may in time succeed in imbuing their representatives with what Sir James Graham justly calls the doctrines of common sense. But, during this educational process, the shipping of Great Yarmouth may be rotting in the docks, and its sailors perishing in the streets; it might, therefore, be a question with the electors of Great Yarmouth whether it would not be better to look out for representatives whose education in the elements of political economy has been completed, instead of taking upon themselves the onerous task of adult instruction, even with pupils of such promise as Messrs. Rumbold and Wilshere.

There is in their letter a dark allusion to some

proposition, of which they assert that the Anti-Corn-Law League would, "according to reports," avail itself. The proposition is not named, and the authority for the reports is slurred over in judicious silence. They know that the Anti-Corn-Law League is solemnly pledged to struggle for total and immediate repeal, and to accept of nothing less; and they know well, that if there be any reports to the contrary, which we very much doubt, the tale is utterly and absurdly false. The League has more than once declared, that while it regards the sliding scale as a combination of folly with iniquity, it looks upon a fixed duty as a fixed injustice.

The letter-writers wish to create a doubt about the cause of the depressed state of the shipping interest in Great Yarmouth; they insinuate that it may not be in close connexion with the existence of the present Corn Laws! But do they attempt to deny that the distress has some connexion with that system? No;—they concede the principle, and then desire to divert the attention of the Free-Traders by raising a question of the degree and amount of mischief. It is just the old story of the robber, who confessed that he took purses on the high road; but insisted that the passengers had no right to complain, as he always left them enough to pay their fare to the next town. It is not unlike the story of the slave, who was told that overwork had no close connexion with his disease, because there were no sores on his legs and arms. It was reserved for these representatives, *in statu pupillari*, to confess their ignorance of so simple a proposition, as that the employment of shipping depends on the amount of exports and imports. The electors of Yarmouth must have little skill in educational science, if they do not soon contrive to teach this lesson very effectually.

We have referred to this correspondence with great pain; it adds one to the many lamentable proofs brought constantly before us, of the incalculable evils which the spirit and system of party inflict on this country. Men have accustomed themselves to look to their party first and to the nation afterwards. It is the duty of constituencies to teach them to reverse this process, and we hope that the electors of Great Yarmouth will give this lesson to their representative pupils.

THE MONOPOLISTS BEATEN WITH THEIR OWN WEAPONS.

THE PRUSSIAN MINISTER'S ANSWER TO LORD ABERDEEN.

A curious and amusing document has just been published, dated Berlin, March 19, 1844, being the answer of the Prussian Minister, Baron Bulow, to a note of Lord Aberdeen, dated November 28, 1843, complaining of the intention of the German Customs Union (more generally known here as the German Commercial League) to impose increased duties on British iron, and mousselines-de-laines.

Lord Aberdeen, in an uncourteous bullying style, charges the Prussian Government with "holding a language on the subject of trade entirely different to its acts," and accuses the German League of "every year showing itself more and more hostile to the commerce of the two nations."

The Prussian Minister replies, in effect, "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye." Lord Aberdeen gives the Prussian Minister a Free-Trade lecture: he tells him that the duty on English iron would affect British interests in a less degree than those of the German consumer, and has the assurance to remind him of the *impolicy of imposing duties on raw materials*. Baron Bulow replies:—

"First, with respect to the reproach that the Union intends to increase the duty on iron—a raw article of the first necessity—we know no nation which has less right than England to cast blame on us, when she has for a long series of years openly violated the principle of not levying duties on raw materials. It is true that England fixes but a small duty on the importation of iron, because no country thinks of sending any there; but she imposes heavy duties on articles of the first necessity, such as corn, wool, and timber: and these duties are much more prejudicial to the interests of its consumers than a slight increase of duty on iron will ever be to the states of the Union."

This is a hard blow at the Minister of the sliding-scale Government; but the Prussian follows it up by showing the inconsistency of complaining of Prussia whilst the interests of the British people have, for thirty years, been sacrificed by the prohibition of foreign corn and timber for the benefit of a few monopolists; and this he does most effectually by quoting the authority of the Secretary of our Board of Trade, and of the agent sent by our Government in 1839 to attend the conference of the German League.

"Without speaking (continues Baron Bulow) either of corn or wool, we will quote, with respect to timber, the

opinion of a very competent judge of the commercial interests of England, Mr. M'Gregor, in his excellent work, "Commercial Tariffs," &c.:

"If there is an article which more than another is to be regarded as a primary article, and consequently free from duty, it is timber. This article is one of the last on which a revenue should be raised. The celebrated Hume, who never adopted a principle in theory that he had not examined in all its practical bearings, thought that, since we had iron and coal in abundance free from duty, we only wanted timber to enable us to have a store of these primary articles of the first necessity for our principal industry. With respect to the high duties tending to limit the use of foreign, and increase that of colonial timber, it is more than doubtful that the North American colonies derive a real advantage from the high duties imposed on foreign timber. But it is certain that these duties have been prejudicial to the interests of millions of inhabitants of the United Kingdom."

"Thus might we easily retort upon the English Government the observations made by the British Cabinet with respect to the increase of duty on iron, as well as its reproach of certain states being hostile in their disposition relative to the recent fixations of their tariffs. Could the English Government hear that the Customs Union should impose heavy duties on the principal product of England—such as those we are obliged to pay on corn, wool, and timber—without using reprisals? Or does Lord Aberdeen wish to defend these duties? In order to appear quite impartial, we will again quote a man of great authority in commercial matters. Dr. Bowring, who was sent by Government in 1839, in order to learn the relations of the Union, went so far in his report as to say that the establishment of the Customs Union might be looked upon as a measure of self-defence against the hostile legislation of foreign nations, and especially the corn and timber laws of Great Britain. The following are also passages of this report:—"The duties imposed in England on corn and timber are what affects the principal interests of the states of the Union in her commercial relations with Great Britain. The present Corn Laws are of the greatest detriment to the agriculture and commerce of the states of this Union. They are not only hurtful to the labourers and working people, but they are hurtful to the commercial interests of all Europe. After this question of corn, the most important is that of timber. The tariff on this article is almost equivalent to a prohibition, and the system of measurement by which these duties are imposed gives them a still more hostile character." Mr. M'Gregor, in the work mentioned above, admits that the complaints of Germany are just. When he speaks of the Union, he says:—"It must be confessed that the anti-liberal systems of commerce of England and France, but especially of England, with respect to Germany, have been justly blamed, the latter having always been England's principal market, and that upon which it has always found the purchasers most exact and valuable in regard of payment."

"In an article in the 'Edinburgh Review,' the same opinions are uttered as those in Dr. Bowring's and Mr. M'Gregor's books; and it adds, 'with the exception of Holland, England is the only country which requires German corn. By refusing to admit it, England labours to withdraw German capital from agriculture, in order that it may be applied to manufactures. By our high duties and sliding scale, we have made the commerce of German corn a mere speculation, which depends on the rise or fall of the English barometers. England has also maintained enormous duties upon German timber, which pays a duty of 55s., whilst the timber from the colonies only pays a duty of 10s.'

"Why, then, does England complain of a modification of tariffs, on the part of the Union, on a small part of the produce of foreign wool, at the time when the importation of this produce is on the increase, to the profit of foreign manufacturers, and those of England in particular? *Why does she complain, when her own tariffs are so high that they almost prohibit our produce, that we take into consideration an increase of duty on iron, when that duty is not to be compared to the heavy duties imposed on foreign iron in France, in Austria, Belgium, and Russia? Is it equitable for such small things to reproach the Union with hostile dispositions, when Prussia, for the last twenty-five years, and the Union for the last ten, have maintained a tariff under which, in spite of pretended inconvenience as to the principle of imposition according to weight, foreign importation, and especially that of English manufactured produce, have annually increased?* 'It is evident,' says Mr. M'Gregor, 'that the importation of English manufactured produce into the Union has increased in a surprising manner, as well in value as in quantity, as may be proved by the report presented to Parliament upon the commerce of Great Britain with different countries and the British colonies from 1831 to 1840; nevertheless, I send you annexed a table of the importations of several articles of some importance to English commerce into the states of the Union during the years 1836 up to 1842, which I beg you will present to Lord Aberdeen. The favourable results they present for Great Britain are to be attributed to the tariff of the Union. By comparing it with the tariffs of Austria, Great Britain, France, and Russia, Lord Aberdeen will see how much more favourable it is to England than to other nations. After perusing these extracts we appeal to any one if England has a right to complain. On the contrary, the question ought to be, should not the Union have increased its tariff long ago? Why, when the Union has, during ten years, maintained them in spite of the ungenerous proceedings of England—why is she so unreasonable as to complain of a few slight modifications, without casting an impartial look on her own system?'"

Lord Aberdeen cuts a humiliating figure in the hands of the Prussian Minister, and has received such a castigation as we venture to predict will teach him caution in volunteering lectures on Free Trade in future.

We must do the Prussian Government the justice to say, that it has exhibited the most enlightened views on the subject of trade of any Government in Europe. On the return of peace, after a long and desolating war, Prussia immediately sought the best means of developing the natural resources of her country, and endeavoured to persuade England to take her corn and timber in exchange for the manufactures with which we then largely supplied

her, effort, tem, reds, we i, prin, "Ti, cipr, recip, gage, Pru, proh, Lu, us to, treat, ever, Maje, alter, forei, be do, decla, After, ther, turne, hrated, many, the l, only, our f, but t, which, capita, corn, tures, ours i, us in, are no, rials, goods, export, chiefly, the La, admitt, but no, on the, more, effect t, for our, habitio, Whi, monop, Bowri, the m, preasly, Palmer, ing ou, Germu, willing, stateme, Chamb, able an, willing, doing li, Our du, which, they m, the Gov, so reaso, disagree, and the, scale Co, establish, it deper, baromet, tariff, is, than tin, Lord, Minister, ought to, every Br, has been, trade, o, formly p, our own, which m, our sine, lordship, vain to, the Corn, book.

The "about the, so increas, rary's test, Twelve, Canada C, plying "a, the recent, the Stand, was utter, by Sir R, lauded by, scattered, econo mist, comfiture, League ha, lated—we, quired to, Post.

her, but in vain. She did not, however, relax her efforts to obtain a relaxation of our monopoly system, and we find in 1823, when urging us to concede a reciprocity-of-shipping treaty similar to that we had made with the United States, the sound principle laid down by the Prussian Minister was, "That reciprocal commercial restrictions were reciprocal nuisances, prejudicial to all nations having reciprocal interests, and particularly to those engaged in extensive commerce; and that the policy of Prussia was to substitute in the place of reciprocal prohibitions, reciprocal facilities."

In 1826, Prussia made another effort to induce us to take her corn and timber, and proposed a treaty founded on reciprocity. Mr. Canning, however, replied to the overture, "That it becomes his Majesty's Government, when a proposal for the alteration of our Corn Laws is made to us by a foreign Government as a condition of something to be done or omitted by that Government, at once to declare that we can never entertain such a proposal." After such a reply it seemed hopeless to make further attempts at negotiation, and Prussia then turned her attention to the formation of the celebrated German commercial league, which, after many difficulties, she succeeded in establishing on the 1st of January, 1834. Lord Aberdeen may only just now be opening his eyes to the folly of our perseverance in excluding Prussian produce, but the sliding scale has already done mischief which can never be remedied; it has forced German capital to be withdrawn from the growth of corn and timber to be employed in manufactures—these manufactures have now supplanted ours in the German market, and even compete with us in foreign markets. Our exports to Germany are no longer manufactured articles, but raw materials. In 1820 we exported of cotton manufactured goods to the value of £2,969,493. In 1841 our exports only amounted to £945,195, and this chiefly to those parts of Germany not included in the League. Hitherto our raw materials have been admitted into Germany at nominal rates of duty, but now it seems we are threatened with high duties on these; and there can be little doubt that a few more years' perseverance in the sliding scale will effect for our raw materials what it has already done for our manufactured articles—an almost entire prohibition.

Who is to blame for these things, Prussia or monopolist England? Why, so lately as 1839, Dr. Bowring was sent as the British representative to the meeting of the German League, and he expressly states in his report of his mission to Lord Palmerston, that it was not then too late, by relaxing our prohibitions, to secure a large trade with Germany; that the League at that moment were willing to meet us in an equitable spirit. "Their statements," says Dr. Bowring, at the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, "are these:—If you are able and willing to do much, we, too, are able and willing. If you will do little, we will meet you by doing little; but matters cannot stand as they are. Our duties must be diminished upon your goods, which we shall rejoice to be able to accomplish, or they must be raised." The Free-Traders pressed the Government of the day to listen to propositions so reasonable and just; but the Melbourne Cabinet disregarded the report of their own representative, and the Peel Cabinet have since passed a sliding-scale Corn Law which, like the former, instead of establishing a regular trade in German corn, makes it dependent on the rise and fall of the English barometers, whilst German timber, by the Peel tariff, is subjected to a duty of 900 per cent. more than timber from our own colonies!!

Lord Aberdeen, from his note to the Prussian Minister, might be blind to these facts, but he ought to know that, by the concurrent testimony of every British ambassador, without exception, who has been intrusted with negotiations for facilitating trade, our corn and timber laws have been uniformly pointed to by foreign nations as evidences of our own monopoly system, and as stumbling-blocks which must be removed before they can confide in our sincere intentions of equitable trading. His lordship must surely now be satisfied that it is vain to preach Free Trade to other countries until the Corn Laws cease to disgrace our own statute-book.

THE "STANDARD" AND THE LEAGUE.—The League, about the "prostration" of which the *Standard* bubbles so incessantly, would seem, according to our contemporary's testimony, to require an infinite deal of "killing." Twelve months ago, the *Standard* declared that the Canada Corn Bill had "annihilated" the League, by supplying "a prop and buttress to the Corn Laws." During the recent factory discussions, we were again assured by the *Standard* that the influence of the League philosophy was utterly subverted. The currency measure propounded by Sir Robert Peel, a few weeks ago, was, moreover, lauded by our honest contemporary as a measure "which scattered to the winds all the dogmata of the political economists." Yet, after all the effective modes of discomfiture have been employed—after the doctrines of the League have been refuted, and the League itself annihilated—we find that the South Lancashire election was required to secure the League's "prostration."—*Morning Post*.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Eighteenth Week, ending Saturday, June 15.

This has been another FREE-TRADE week—we may almost say, a great Free-Trade week—in Parliament. Both LORDS and COMMONS have been engaged, directly and collaterally, in discussing the principles of Free Trade, and, we may add, doing homage to them; for, notwithstanding the numbers on a division, every debate shows more and more how these principles are essentially ascendant, and penetrating—nay, pervading—the dense atmosphere of legislative thought and action. Monday and Thursday were thus occupied; each House having a direct Free-Trade discussion, with the addition of a Currency debate, tacked on by some of the speakers to the corn question; and all bearing testimony that turn how you will, act how you will, the Protective system meets you, but meets you only to recoil. Verily, the "beginning of the end" draweth nigh.

There have been some striking individual traits, too, in these discussions. A sugar monopolist, seeing the Government slowly moving, plucks up heart, girds up his loins, and proposes to outstrip them in the race; another monopolist sees corn following sugar, and, with bitter melancholy, asks if this is merely the Government mode of letting the West Indies down easily; the Earl of CLARENCE cannot see any difference between the principles advocated by Lord Montagu, as a Free-Trader, and those avowed by the Earl of Dalhousie, Vice-President of the Board of Trade; whereupon the Duke of Richmond shouts "hear, hear!" till the House of Lords rings again, and wild laughter from every side testifies that their lordships feel tolerably comfortable, even with the appalling spectacle before them; while, in the House of Commons, Free-Traders warn the country gentlemen that the repeal of the Corn Laws must be the inevitable consequence of the new Charter of the Bank of England, accompanied as it is with a limitation of the currency. But proceed we to details.

We stated, last week, that only one form of the manifold SUGAR QUESTION had been discussed—namely, the proposition by Lord John Russell, that the differential duty should be the same on all foreign sugar, whether the produce of slave-labour or free-labour countries. This constituted the DIFFERENTIAL debate. This week we have had the FREE-TRADE debate, which was raised, on Monday night, on the proposition, by Mr. Ewart, that there should be a Reduction of the Duty on Foreign Sugar to the same rate of Duty as Colonial Sugar. In order, however, to understand the way in which the subject was treated by the Government, we must enter into one or two preliminary explanations.

The proposition of the Government, it must be borne in recollection, is to let the duty on colonial sugar remain the same as it has been, namely, 24s. the cwt.; and the only alteration consists in letting in what is considered to be free-grown foreign sugar at 34s. instead of maintaining the old prohibitory duty of 63s. on all foreign sugars. They thus propose to create a differential duty of 10s. between colonial and free-grown foreign sugar. As soon as the Government proposition was announced, Mr. PHILIP MILES, one of the members for Bristol, immediately placed an amendment on the notice paper, that he would propose to reduce the duty on colonial sugar to twenty instead of twenty-four shillings. The object of this was plain enough. The SUGAR MONOPOLY is going, says Mr. Miles and his friends; we are unable to help ourselves by resistance; and therefore let us do the best for ourselves that we can. So long as we had the monopoly of the English market, we made no stir about paying 24s. as duty, because it came, not out of our pockets, but out of those of the consumer. Now, however, that some foreign sugar is likely to come in, we must make a great outcry about our inability to pay this 24s. The Government are only going to leave us a protection of ten shillings; let us have the duty down to 20s., and we will have a protection of fourteen shillings, and be better able to compete with the free-grown sugar, the quantity of which may not be so very great, after all.

Somebody whispered in the ear of Mr. PHILIP MILES that he should amend his amendment. In its present shape it won't do at all, says the little bird that whistled in the ear of the member for Bristol. You have no chance of carrying it; though you are a Conservative, the Ministerialists will all vote against you; and the Free-Traders are not to be caught as young simpletons fancy they can catch swallows, by putting salt on their tails. The Free-Traders are in favour of reduction of duties, but they are not likely to vote for your reduction, because, instead of benefiting the consumer, it will only put 4s. more into the pockets of the West India interest than the Government propose to give them. Mr. Philip Miles, therefore, thought better about it, and amended his amendment in the following significant way:—

"Mr. Philip Miles.—In committee on Sugar Duties Bill, to move.—That from and after the 10th day of November, 1844, the duty upon sugar, the produce of British possessions, be reduced to 20s. the hundred weight; and that the duties on sugar, certified to be the growth of China, Java, or Manilla, or of any foreign country, the sugar of which her Majesty in Council shall have declared to be admissible, as not being the produce of slave labour, shall be as follows, namely:—
Brown, Muscovado, or clayed, the cwt. . . . 30
White clayed, or sugar otherwise prepared, and equivalent to white clayed sugar, the cwt. . . . 34
With 5 per cent. thereon."

This was what, in the language made classical by Charles

Dickens, men would call an "Artful Dodge." It was from no "abstract" love of Free Trade that Mr. Philip Miles proposed a reduction in the import duty on free foreign as well as colonial. He simply wanted to make the best terms he could for the West Indies; and as, with threatened competition, the lower the duty on colonial sugar the better for the colonies, he was willing to purchase the advantage by a corresponding concession in favour of free foreign. He calculated on the support of the Free-Traders, because, as they are for measures, not men, and will take Free Trade from Tory or Whig, they would naturally vote for any proposition which would lower import duties. Here, therefore, was a Conservative, who, seeing monopoly doomed, is willing to go faster than the Government he supports; and who, without any fear of injury to the revenue, or a failure in the payment of the dividends in the funds, framed his amendment so as to secure the support of the Free-Traders he repudiates, in order to defeat the Government which he sustains!

And the Government were somewhat uneasy on Monday night. They dreaded being caught in a trap, similar to the factory one; they were fearful of falling between two stools. They did not want to discuss Mr. Ewart's proposition, and every effort was made to get rid of it at an early hour, in order that "Miles's motion" might come on.

The Free-Traders, however, would not allow themselves to be deprived of their Free-Trade discussion, on the simple merits of the question, by any anxiety about a sinister amendment. In spite, therefore, of coyness, of a reluctance on the part of members of the Government to speak, and a somewhat impatient House, especially on the Ministerial side, the debate occupied Monday night. On its conclusion, Sir Robert Peel tried to coax Mr. Philip Miles to go on with his amendment; but the member for Bristol was not disposed to fire off his speech at that late hour. Its discussion was accordingly postponed till Friday (yesterday); but at the early hour at which we are obliged to go to press, we are unable to give any account of it in this week's number of the LEAGUE.

Before Mr. Ewart made his speech, on Monday night, the House was addressed by one of the members for Cumberland,

Mr. JAMES, who sits on the Opposition side of the House, and is liberal in his politics. As one of those unfortunate beings called a West India planter, he craved leave to state his view of the actual condition of the West India interest. He took his own case as a favourable illustration. His son, a business man, resided on the property, and he had no extra charges, beyond the ordinary brokerage, &c. Every pound of sugar cost him 4d. a pound in production and transmission; the duty was 3d., making the sugar 7d., and, taking the average of the last three years, he had only been able to get 6½d. a pound, entailing a loss of £500 on every 100 hogsheads of sugar, produced from a property which, before emancipation, yielded a clear annual revenue of £3000, and during the period of apprenticeship one-half of that amount. This was a loss for which his share of the twenty millions was no compensation. He appealed to the House for a favourable consideration of the cruel case of the West India planters, who were an interest extremely weak, as compared with the landed proprietors, or even the manufacturers; and called on the former to make common cause with them, for they did not know but ere long they would be in the same boat with them. If the House would not legislate for their benefit, let it, at least, not injure them; facilities should be given to enable them to produce and transmit their sugar cheaper, and the colonial sugar duty should be considerably lowered, say to 12s. a cwt., and this, with plenty of free labour, would save the colonies as well as benefit the community.

Mr. Ewart then proposed his amendment in a neat speech, in which he urged the Free-Trade and commercial view of the question. He was very briefly answered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, more for form's sake than anything else; and the whole debate might have gone off before seven o'clock if Mr. Milner Gibson had not risen and asked, what claim the West India interest had on the manufacturing community? Encouragement to the colonies was discouragement to the community of this country. He wanted the reason of this differential duty; on what grounds the amount was fixed at 10s.; what was the principal or justifiable claim which led them to create this new discriminating duty. What officer of the Board of Trade was it whose business it was to measure the precise nature of the wants of the community, and the exact amount of protection which the colonies still required? The Government proposition would not materially reduce the price of sugar; and it was strange to see a Government, with its practised reputation, adopting, as part of its policy, the amiable weaknesses of those who refused to eat sugar during the anti-slavery agitation, which ended in emancipation. This discrimination between free-grown and slave-grown foreign sugars might be followed by high discriminating duties against British manufactures on the part of other countries, especially the Brazil.

Again there was a pause; no member of the Government rose to answer the question; "Divide, divide," ran like a piping fire along the benches; the SPEAKER exclaimed, "Strangers must withdraw;" and the galleries were cleared. Again the doors were opened, and Mr. Villiers was found addressing the House, and expressing his regret that no member of the Government rose to answer the question of Mr. Milner Gibson. There was a weekly paper (the *Economist*) which made a weekly calculation of the amount taken out of the pockets of the people of the Metropolis, and of the country generally, by this system of protection, which, from the statement of the West India interest, did not benefit them, while it robbed the Exchequer and the community. Competition would compel those improvements in the cultivation of our colonies which would alone enable them to meet the foreign cultivator on equal terms. The best proof that emancipation was no positive disadvantage, was the fact which Mr. Gurney stated, that in the island of Antigua, where the population was dense, the produce had doubled in six years. Other countries could not enter into the distinction which we draw between slave and free labour; we refused the slave-grown produce of the Brazils, and yet maintained friendly relations with such countries as Egypt, where the slave trade was openly carried on, accompanied with horrors in the transportation of the unhappy creatures from Nubia and elsewhere worse than those of the "middle passage." They were

maintaining a system which cost five millions a year, and yet was useless to those for whom it was maintained; and the Government was bound to give some explanation of the reasons on which it rested.

Mr. GLADSTONE was now compelled to get up, and said that he had not risen because he thought that the reasons for the policy pursued by the Government had been sufficiently explained, and were perfectly familiar to the House. There were two reasons: the first, that of caution in a state of transition from one system to another; and the second, that the West Indies being insufficiently supplied with labour, required protection to enable them to compete with other countries. He briefly replied to some of the statements of Mr. Villiers, especially as to Antigua, which was in a peculiar position, but which had not doubled its production. This he did with a pertness of manner not usual to him, and the object was plainly to get rid of the general question by a quibble about the exactness of a particular statement. When he had concluded, Dr. BOWRING, in the midst of a multiplicity of conflicting interests, claimed some consideration for the great consuming interest. He also defended the Pacha of Egypt from being implicated in the cruelties of the Nubian slave hunts.

Mr. VILLIERS defended himself from the charge of incorrectness, to which Lord STANLEY replied, each adducing figures, the result being that the produce in Antigua increased, if it had not doubled.

Mr. COBDEN then got up, and, with his accustomed tact, recalled the House to the true question before it. The hum and hubbub subsided into silence, and there was instant attention. He told them that he saw a great disinclination in the House to discuss this question on principle. The question was not as to the authenticity of what Mr. Gurney stated, but on what ground they gave a monopoly to the West Indies. The open, bare proposition of the Government was to give that interest 10s. on every cwt. of colonial sugar; and the only plea for it was, that the planters could not profitably grow their sugar without it, a statement very fitting to be made at a meeting of creditors, but not to the House of Commons. We maintained the colonies, protected them with our army and navy, and, in the face of these facts, the arguments used in that House for protection were as audacious as those of the Duke of Richmond about the loss of £2000 a year on his fish. He amused the House by reading the resolutions of the House of Commons in 1640 against "projectors and monopolists," expelling them from the House, at the time when the tobacco patent granted by Charles I. was in question. This portion of Mr. Cobden's speech is too good to be condensed, and we therefore quote it as reported:—"There was a time when, in this House, a most stringent resolution was passed against monopolists. The hon. gentleman then read the following entries from the Journals of the House of Commons:—Upon the question that all projectors and monopolists whatsoever, or that have any share, or lately have had any share in any monopolies, or that do receive, or lately have received, any benefit, from any monopoly, or that have procured any warrant or command, for the restraint or molesting of any that have refused to conform themselves to any such proclamations or projects, are disabled by order of this House from sitting in this House; and if any man here knows any monopolist, that he shall nominate him. That any member of this House who is a monopolist or projector, shall repair to Mr. Speaker that a new warrant may issue forth; or otherwise that he shall be dealt with as with a stranger that hath no power to sit here.

"Resolved, upon this question, that the word *unlawful* should be joined to the word *monopolists*."

"This order was resolved upon the question with one unanimous vote."

"On the 12th November, 1640, it was resolved—'That if any man here knows any projector or monopolist, that he should name him.'—[Committee appointed to inquire into the matter.]

"On the 21st January following, he found that—

"Mr. Peril reports from the committee for monopolists these four cases following:—And upon his report it was—

"Resolved—That Mr. Wm. Sandys is within the order made against monopolists, and not fit nor ought to sit as a member in this House of Parliament, and that a warrant issue forth under Mr. Speaker's hand to the Clerk of the Crown for a new writ for electing of another member to serve for the town of Exeter in his stead."

"Resolved—Upon the question that Sir J. Jacob is a monopolist in the business of tobacco, and within the order against monopolists, and ought not to sit as a member of this House (and a new writ was ordered for Rye, in Sussex).

"Resolved—That Mr. Thomas Webb is interested in the monopoly concerning the sealing of bone-lace, and within the order of this House made against monopolists, and ought not to sit as a member in this House this Parliament (and a new writ was ordered—place not named).

"Resolved—That Mr. Edmund Windham is a monopolist, and within the order made against monopolists (and a new writ was ordered for Bridgewater.)

"Hear, and laughter." Now he (Mr. Cobden) wanted to know the distinction—the difference in operation—(constitutionally he knew very well what it was) between a monopoly granted by Charles I. to a creature of his court, and a monopoly granted by Parliament to any body of men, in opposition to the interests of the public at large? (Hear, hear.) It might be said that in 1640 the times were troublesome. True; but why were they so?

In every motion, in every debate recorded of the period, they found this question of monopoly put forth as the prominent grievance, restricting the trade and comforts of the people, and being a great hardship upon the people generally. That was the complaint now (cheers); and he defied the Government and the upholders of the monopolies of the present day to show him the difference between the monopoly in sugar, which his honourable friend got up, and, as he thought, unwisely maintained, and the monopoly in tobacco in the time of Charles I. (Hear, hear.) Where was the difference so far as the people were concerned? They could not compensate his (Mr. Cobden's) constituents for the loss they sustained from the monopoly in sugar, by giving them any monopoly in return. (Hear, hear, hear.) They could give them no *quid pro quo* ('hear, hear,' and a laugh from Lord Stanley) in wages for what they took from them in the high price they were now made to pay for their sugar. It was admitted on all sides that they could not legislate to increase or keep up the rate of wages;

therefore, in increasing the prices to the labourer of the articles of consumption, they inflicted a grievous injustice upon the whole labouring classes. (Hear, hear.) It would, he knew, be useless to call for a vote against monopoly then, when the great majority were monopolists, though the abolition of the monopoly could be proved to be advantageous to those by whom it was possessed. He did not stand there in support of the proposal of his honourable friend (Mr. Ewart), because he thought that, if the equalization of the duties were carried, no injury to the West India interest would result. He would tell his honourable friend (Mr. James) that, in his opinion, the West India planters would best consult their own interests by uniting with the Free-Traders in demanding a very low rate of duty on the import of sugar, equal throughout the whole world. (Hear, hear.) He believed that an equal duty of 16s., or even 14s., a cwt., would in the course of a few years produce as much to the revenue as the present rate of duties produced, while it would give an impulse to the trade of the West Indies, and place it upon a sound bottom; and capital and intellect (which was, he feared, as much required as anything else) ('hear, hear,' and a laugh) would flow in, and that prosperity which, under a system of protection, those colonies looked for in vain, would, under a system of free competition, result. (Hear, hear.) The present condition of the West Indies was known and admitted; and what was the prospect under the new measure of protection which was now proposed? The right hon. the President of the Board of Trade had told the House that the present was nothing more than a transition measure. He (Mr. Cobden) knew that very well; the opinion of the right honourable gentleman was not necessary to convince the House that this could not be a final measure, but merely one of transition. The question, then, was not as to 1s. of duty more or less, but it was a question between monopoly and no monopoly. (Cheers.) There could be no settlement, no quiet in the matter, until the system of differential duties was abolished. (Cheers.) The great party out of the House, which he and his hon. friends represented, called for 'no monopoly;' in the House, however, they had a large majority in favour of monopoly; but that party in the House, who advocated a smaller amount of protection than now existed, were, in his opinion, the best friends of monopoly. As he had said, the question out of doors was simply between monopoly and no monopoly, and upon which side was the preponderance of public opinion there could be no doubt. (Hear, hear.) What did the petitions which had been presented to the House upon the subject say? They had one petition from the important town of Leeds, with 25,000 signatures, praying for the reduction and equalization of the duty on sugar. Year after year they had had petitions sent up to them from Manchester, declaring the opinion of the inhabitants of that town in favour of the equalization of the sugar duties. They had also received a petition from the Brazilian merchants of Liverpool in favour of a modified measure; but that body had since broken up in consequence of the difference amongst its members as to that measure—the majority of them preferring to dissolve the body rather than petition again for a modified duty. (Hear.) He would call upon his hon. friend near him to bear these things in mind, and join with the Free-Traders in demanding a low equalized duty. What the Free-Traders wanted was Free Trade in all things—not here only, but in the colonies also—they demanded not differential duties, which they held to be alike injurious to those for whose benefit they were imposed as to the people by whom they were to be paid; but low equal duties. (Hear, hear.) Let, then, his hon. friend join with him (Mr. Cobden), and he would find that the West India interest would be better off in the hands of the Free-Traders than while they were thus made the shuttlecock of political parties, and were banded about from one to the other on the floor of that House." (Hear.)

The other speakers were Mr. Bright, Mr. Roebuck, and Mr. Warburton, in favour of the motion. Mr. Bernal, who, as a planter, made a long speech on behalf of the West Indies, as did also Lord Sandon; while Mr. Donald Maclean, member for the city of Oxford, declared "that sugar was as much entitled to protection as corn. He had heard it said, you must give protection to corn, because it was an exceptional case. He granted it; you must protect corn, but then you must protect sugar, because it was an exception too. (Ironical cheers and laughter.) If you were to let down the protection of the West Indians by degrees, would not that breed some anticipatory fears that the same steps would soon be taken with respect to corn? (Hear.) If that were so, he said it was better they should know it in time, because, if they were wrong in the political economy they had been taught, that the power of this country depended on her colonies, and if it were true that commerce from colonies was nothing better than free trade, then many of them had been labouring under a very grievous delusion. But he hoped there was no ground for those apprehensions, and that his right honourable friend on this occasion did mean to protect the West India interest. He hoped we should not act in such a way as to render those magnificent islands deserts, but in a genuine spirit of protection that the English labourer might find, when he emigrated thither, that he was still under the ægis of British protection—that genuine protection which had pervaded the legislation of Great Britain since the first imposition of import duties."

The House divided:—

For Mr. Ewart's motion 56

Against it 259

Majority against it 203

We may notice the following amendment which appears on the notice paper. Our readers must be dull, indeed, not to see the drift of it:—

"Mr. Irving, in committee on Sugar Duties Bill, to move—That the same rule that has been applied to British possessions in India should be applied to foreign countries, which may import Sugar into Great Britain under the proposed reduced duty, viz., that only those countries which do not import Sugar for their own consumption should be allowed to export their own growth to this country."

The Free-Trade debate in the House of Lords on Thursday night was not only admirable, but cheering. It was brought on by Lord MONTAGLE, who, in a speech of about three hours' duration, supported a proposition, "That a Select Committee be appointed on the Import Duties, with the view of considering the effect produced by Protecting Duties on the Foreign Commerce, the Home Industry, the Revenue, and the general pros-

perity of the Empire." In support of this motion, he reviewed the whole field of our commercial legislation, tracing the operation of the Corn Laws from 1815 to the present time; sketching the history of the two conflicting principles of RESTRICTION and FREEDOM—the one struggling to escape from the other, and each manifesting their opposite influences when applied to Corn or Silk, Sugar or Coffee, Wool or Timber, Flax or Cotton. Very happily did the noble lord apply the words of a Spanish writer to our system of commercial policy and absurd legislation. It substituted dearer commodities for cheaper; inferior articles for better; limited the exports and production; created a loss to the revenue; increased smuggling; caused internal divisions, foreign jealousies, and adverse diplomacy; and, finally, diminished confidence in Government. This is the perfection of descriptive concentration, condensing a volume into a paragraph.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, opposed the motion of Lord Montagu, but did not attempt to answer his speech. In fact, he gave up the whole case, merely opposing the appointment of a committee of inquiry on the ground of inconvenience, but claiming for the Government the credit of moving as fast in the direction of Free Trade as it was possible for them to do. This did not escape the Earl of CLARENDON, who, in declaring his conviction that there was no material difference between the Earl of Dalhousie and Lord Montagu, drew from the Duke of Richmond those loud, significant cries of "Hear, hear!" to which we have already alluded as provoking very great laughter. The Earl of CLARENDON, like his brother, Mr. Villiers, takes high, statesmanlike ground on the subject of the Corn Laws, and of Free Trade generally; and accordingly his speech on Thursday night was a most admirable one. Gravely and earnestly he warned their lordships against exposing this country to the continued and increasing danger of leaving the community dependent on the fluctuations of the barometer for a supply of the main article of subsistence; told them that our very institutions would be powerless to resist another succession of bad harvests; laid bare the folly of trumpery reductions in duties, and of trifling negotiations to effect worthless, because useless, reciprocity; and showed that, though the greatness and the prosperity of England had grown up in spite of our absurd legislation, the time was now come when our Government, be it Whig or Tory, must let restriction go, and act on Free Trade.

The Marquis of Lansdowne and the Earl of Wicklow both supported the cause of Free Trade by their speeches; and the Duke of Richmond, of course, was full of horror, in which he was sympathised with by the Earl of Winchester. Lord Montagu obtained 75 votes for his motion, but being opposed by 90 peers present, who held in their hands 91 proxies, making 184, the committee was refused by a majority of 109.

The debate in the House of Commons, on the same evening, was on the Bank of England Charter and Currency Bill; and as we have already, on a former occasion, alluded to it at some length, we need here only say, that various speakers gave it as their decided opinion that the new currency law cannot be maintained, in conjunction with the Corn Law. We are of the same opinion; and therefore view this banking measure, which will meet with but slight opposition in passing through the Legislature, to be a preliminary to the approaching and inevitable repeal of the Corn Laws.

MEETINGS.

SOUTHAMPTON.

On Monday evening last there was a splendid gathering of the friends of Free Trade in Southampton. The meeting was called by the Free-Trade Association, recently established in that town, and was held in the spacious carriage bazaar of Mr. Andrews. The most excellent arrangements had been made by that public-spirited and liberal gentleman, for the accommodation of his town's people. The gallery was appropriated to the use of the ladies, and was completely crowded. The lower part of the building was densely packed by a male audience of enthusiastic supporters of the anti-monopoly movement. Mr. George Thompson had been advertised to deliver an address, and was accompanied by Major-General Briggs and Robert R. R. Moore, Esq. At eight o'clock those gentlemen (accompanied by the president of the society, Dr. Cooper, and the committee,) made their appearance, and were greeted with loud and repeated acclamations. The president took the chair.

Mr. THOMPSON briefly expressed his joy at meeting with his Southampton friends after his absence in India, and stated that he should reserve his speech until after Mr. Moore had addressed them.

Mr. MOORE then came forward amidst loud plaudits, and at considerable length, and in the most effective and happy strain, exposed the fallacies of the protectionists, and pointed out the duties of the electors of the borough. His speech was received with vociferous applause, and appeared to produce the most satisfactory impression.

Mr. THOMPSON then delivered an address, which lasted nearly an hour and a half. It was listened to with uninterrupted attention, and at its conclusion the meeting testified the most perfect sympathy with the great object that had been discussed.

Major-General BRIGGS, in a brief address, referred to his recent contest in Exeter, and to the firm determination of himself and others who had been engaged in similar struggles to persevere until the question of Free Trade was triumphant.

Mr. ANDREWS, in reply to a vote of thanks, alluded to the great bazaar to be held in Covent Garden Theatre, and said, that if an opportunity was afforded to the electors of Southampton of exercising their privilege before that event took place, he thought that Southampton would be able to send two Free-Trade members, which he had no doubt would be considered a most acceptable and valuable contribution. (Great applause.)

The CHAIRMAN announced the intention of the association to hold a Free-Trade meeting in Southampton once a month, regularly. (Applause.)

Mr. MOORE assured the meeting that the Council of the League would always be ready to render any assistance that might be required from London.

Mr. ANDREWS declared his willingness to allow his bazaar to be occupied for Free-Trade meetings whenever it might be required, and the oftener the better.

Thanks were voted to the deputation and the chairman.

and the meeting separated after giving three cheers for the League.

BRIGHTON.

On Wednesday evening last, according to announcement, a meeting was held in the Town-hall, Brighton, to hear addresses from Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, on the subject of Free Trade. The hour appointed was half-past six, and soon after that time the immense hall became crowded. Mr. John Hilton was unanimously voted into the chair, and on the platform and in the body of the hall were a large number of influential inhabitants of the town.

Mr. COBDEN's speech was, as usual, a very happy exposure of the foolish idea that any public advantage could arise from the existence of the Corn Law. He pointed out in forcible language the injustice of a law to prevent a full and natural supply of food, and by familiar illustrations showed how the shortness of supply must of necessity be most prejudicial to the labouring classes. He alluded to the policy of the landowners who make the Corn Law and the prejudices of the farmers their way to power and to political advantages. The "salmon complaint" of the Duke of Richmond was happily touched upon; the opposition to the abolition of the wool duties threatened by that magnanimous nobleman, but withdrawn at the same time that his brother receives a place from the Government; the sacrifice of the supposed interests of the farmers in protection, whenever it suits the political objects of the landowners; the evident breaking up of the old system of endeavouring to enrich one class by spoiling all the rest,—all afforded subjects which, in the hands of the speaker, could not fail to carry conviction to the minds of the auditory.

Mr. BRIGHT commenced by showing what was the nature of the contest in which they were engaged. Two principles were offered to the public mind: one, that of protection; and the other, that of perfect freedom of industry. He showed how impossible it is to carry out the protective principle to all trades and to every individual, and how unjust such a principle must be when only partially applied, and how utterly absurd as a mode of increasing the wealth or prosperity of a nation. By illustrations from the sugar and coffee monopolies, he showed how grievous is the wrong inflicted upon the great body of the people by the restrictions upon the importation of these articles, and asserted that these monopolies had no other object than that of adding to the revenues of the proprietors of the sugar and coffee estates in our colonies. From these examples it might easily be seen how little the monopoly in food was calculated to add to the comfort of the people, and how clearly it was a system having only for its object the increase of the rental of the landowners. Mr. Bright went on to speak of the unprosperous state of the farmers, and of the terrible condition of the labourers in most of the agricultural counties. The incendiary fires in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, were proof of the lamentable state of the labouring population of those counties, and demonstrated the utter uselessness of the Corn Law in giving employment and wages to the people. The subject of the representation of Brighton, and the necessity of attending to the registration, were urged upon the meeting, and a strong feeling was created as to the necessity of returning two good Free-Traders for the town of Brighton.

Both speeches were greatly cheered, and the utmost enthusiasm was manifested.

At the conclusion of Mr. Bright's speech, a person named Dudman, and who, we believe, appeared at the Steyning Anti-League meeting, under the auspices of the Duke of Richmond, as a "working man," asked two questions of Mr. Cobden, viz., Whether he was for Free Trade in all articles? and, whether he thought a free importation of corn would throw inferior lands out of cultivation? To which Mr. Cobden gave answers perfectly satisfactory to the meeting, and apparently so to Mr. Dudman himself.

A vote of thanks was passed to the deputation from the League, also to the chairman; and after three times three cheers the meeting separated shortly after 10 o'clock.

THE BAZAAR.

To the Editor of the *Norwich Mercury*.

DEAR SIR,—Permit me through the medium of your columns to direct the attention of the city and county to the arrangements now making by the Anti-Corn Law League.

It is contemplated in the month of July to hold a splendid miscellaneous Bazaar at Covent-garden Theatre, for the purpose of displaying the varied manufactures of this country, works of art, &c., that the public may generally have the opportunity of witnessing (in a compressed focus) the combined skill and taste of that very important portion of our population who are so worthily labouring for a release from those shackles which self-interest and class legislation have so long denied them. Free Trade in the most extended form is the primary object of the League, and with it also the abolition of the WHITE SLAVERY that is consequent upon our present restrictive policy.

It is not now my purpose to go into any lengthened argument respecting the propriety of this momentous movement of the League; suffice it to say, that I conceive the object it designs is of so holy a character that it cannot need much to induce the co-operation of any one possessing the least spark of philanthropy.

The battle must necessarily be of long duration, while the recipients of the benefits of a law so pernicious are the law-makers themselves; but I confidently hope that the injustice inflicted on the rest of the community will ultimately render itself so glaring that, combined by the efforts of the League, the Ministry and House of Commons will be so constructed that not only shall the agricultural but the manufacturing interests be regarded in a manner commensurate with their undoubted importance.

I trust I have said sufficient to induce others to join in their assistance in promoting this novel step of the League, and that both its county and city friends will proceed immediately to get ready their intended contributions, and thus give the county of Norfolk a chance of being duly and properly recognised. To the fairer portions of its friends I beg to submit that any contribution of fancy work, drawings, or other elegant productions will be deemed an acquisition, and will materially assist in carrying out the object.

In conclusion permit me to add, that I am alone influenced in my support to the League from the fullest conviction that the object it contemplates is that of paramount importance, involving not only the happiness and prosperity of the present but future generations.

I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

A NORWICH MANUFACTURER.

A NOBLE HUCKSTER.

(From the *Economist*.)

"If you want the best fish dinner that can be had in London at one half of the usual price, go to —." Such, or something similar, is the intimation which one's eyes encounter, from time to time, in passing through the crowded thoroughfares of this great metropolis. It is a sort of thing which, whether reputable or disreputable, is sufficiently well understood. It is what is called the *puff direct*, and it is, we dare say, pretty generally estimated at about what it is worth. The sympathy felt for a poor man, as perhaps such an advertiser is, struggling in the midst of keen competition for an honest, or partially honest, livelihood, quite overcomes any rising feeling of dislike or contempt for a resort to such means of aiding him in his effort; and the pushing victualler, if not rewarded with a passing customer for his pains, is at most only punished with a smile. But, indeed, puffs of all sorts, direct and indirect, are so common that they cease not only to mislead but even to amuse. However, till now it has been thought that there were some among us who, from being above the necessity of puffing, could not by any possibility be supposed capable of resorting to it. The Duke of Richmond seems determined to show that it is not so, or at least that he himself and those with whom he acts are not of this class.

It will be recollected that some weeks ago his Grace was lamenting, in his place in Parliament, a loss of £2000 in the yearly rent of one of his Scotch fisheries, which he ascribed entirely to the importations of foreign fish under the new tariff. People who knew a little more of trade than dukes in general do—certainly more than the Duke of Richmond does—were prepared to tell him that under the new tariff, from the first day that it became law to this hour, little more than £2000 worth of salmon, most certainly not £5000 worth altogether, had been imported into England from abroad; and that the cause of the diminished demand for salmon, necessarily leading to the demand of his Grace's tackmen for a reduction of rent, was the diminished ability of the people to consume, arising from that diminished trade which the Duke of Richmond desires—so suicidally—to make less and less. The actual quantity of salmon imported since the duty became 10s. a cwt. appears, by what fell from Lord Kinnaird on Monday night, in the House of Peers, to have been precisely 800 cwts., a quantity it must be admitted which ought not, in all conscience, to have alarmed even a nervous duke; and that excellent nobleman very plainly insinuated that his grace had been taking more rent than he ought. We subjoin the principal part of the Duke's reply:—

"With respect to salmon, he had seen the return which the noble lord, no doubt, had found out, and he knew that it appeared from the customs return that a very small quantity of salmon had been brought into this country; but that did not satisfy him that a great deal had not been brought in by other means. Then his noble friend asked him whether the rent of his salmon fisheries was not too high. He could only say he believed the rent was not too high, and he was sure his tenants would have continued to pay the rent had it not been for the tariff. He made the agreement with them for the rent some years since, and good security had been given for its payment. The early fishing paid better than the fishing later in the season, and it was the early fishing which was interfered with by the salmon imported from Holland. The foreign fish were certainly the largest, and people were attracted by their appearance; but when they tasted them they found out that they were not as good as the Scotch salmon." (Laughter.)

We pass by as unworthy of refutation the assertion, or rather insinuation, that with so low a duty on salmon parties would be found to incur all the risk, trouble, and expense of smuggling it into the country in any considerable quantities. There is not a tidewater, from Land's End to John o'Groat's, who would not laugh at the idea. But what amuses us—while at the same time it gives us pain—is the very cool manner in which the Duke here advertises his own salmon. "Laughter," we read, was the ready response which his fellow peers gave to the Duke's puff direct of the fish which he has got to sell, and that certainly is not surprising, for in one sense it is very amusing; but otherwise, and looked upon as it ought to be, in connexion with the whole tenor of speeches and petitions from that party of which the Duke of Richmond has become the chief spokesman, it presents another aspect, and suggests something other than amusement. By every shilling that the Duke of Richmond can show himself to have lost by the new tariff, to that extent, on the face of the thing, he is proved to have been robbing the community heretofore; and, indeed, that is not the whole of it, for what is absolutely lost to the community by the total prevention of trade, such as the Duke of Richmond advocates—prevention of trade with all except himself and his class—is of necessity incalculable. But what a pitiable sight it is to see a great duke—in whose veins, it might have been thought, there flows no vulgar blood—condescending to announce to the high court of Parliament, and through it to the nation, that he has got fish to sell; moreover, that he is very sorry he cannot compel his countrymen to buy them at 10s. per cwt. dearer than they might have them in the market of the world (for that is the plain intent and meaning, not disguised, indeed, and for that, so far, he deserves thanks, of his dislike to the new tariff); but, finding that he cannot play the tyrant to the full extent of his wishes, resorting for the rent to the lowest arts of the trickiest huckster to increase his gains by avowing that his goods are better than those of any one else! The full meaning of Napoleon's sneer was never seen till now—we are a nation of shopkeepers, and the days of chivalry must be over. "Give us our old nobility," says Young England; but for what? Here is a duke of ancient family and high descent, tracing his pedigree, in fact, to royalty itself, known to be in the receipt of one of the most princely incomes of any man in the country, and recognised, in respect of the particular matter here discussed, as the representative of nine-tenths, or, we believe we might say, nineteen-twentieths of our "nobility," so

called; and we find him engaged—how? in rallying round him the feelings and affections of numerous dependants?—in causing to be felt his goodness as well as his power?—in attempting to quell the rising spirit of democracy by showing how much justice may be administered, how much happiness felt, under the dominion of an oligarchy? No! but by proclaiming and lamenting a loss of £2000 on the sale of fish, his monopoly having been infringed upon to the extent of some shillings per cwt., though he still enjoys a protection to which he has no more right than has a convicted felon to the use of his plunder; and then, with a spirit which would disgrace a Yankee storekeeper, to say nothing of a great English duke, he wishes to retain his hold of the market by crying up his own articles, and decrying those of his neighbours. It has passed into a proverb with the Scotch, that "cadgers" never depreciate their own fish; and it seems that the Duke of Richmond has no sooner got among them than he has caught their spirit, and he is determined to make use of his position in doing his best to glorify his goods. Only fancy the following, which is no strained paraphrase of his Grace's speech the other night. That speech was an advertisement to all intents and purposes; and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer does not see to obtaining the usual duty, he appears to us to lay himself open to impeachment for voluntarily, we may say almost wickedly and maliciously, sacrificing eighteenpence which he should have for the revenue!

House of Lords, Monday, May 3, 1844.

"The Duke of Richmond, not grateful to the British public, his customers, since they have been so for many years only by compulsion, they having had to buy his genuine small salmon as imported from Speymouth at such prices as he was pleased to put upon them, instead of being permitted to buy from Norway, Holland, or other places, such large salmon as those countries produce, and at such prices as the market of the world might determine, feels it necessary—not in vindication of his own character, about which, in fact, he is quite indifferent, but with a view to protect his salmon from the foul aspersions of Lord Kinnaird, Earl Radnor, Richard Cobden, and all the small fry of the Anti-Corn Law League, and in order, as far as possible, to counteract the bad, the ruinous consequences of that disgraceful tariff of Sir Robert Peel—to ANNOUNCE that though the foreign fish may seem large and good to begin with, besides being very cheap, the only true, good fish are those small and now not so dear salmon (for which the more's the pity, he [the Duke] having been done out of £2000 a year in consequence) which come from his Spey fisheries in Scotland; and he begs to say that, 'for the protection of British industry,' all parties should eat them and no foreign salmon. To prevent fraud, the mark 'Richmond' will for the future be stamped on all dear salmon." &c. &c.

"Ye gods and little fishes!"

But the Duke was fertile on Monday night. The Customs-Duty Bill came on for discussion, and he could not with any face let the proposed abrogation of the wool duty pass without saying something against it. To have done so would have been to betray his order; it would have indicated a sort of willingness for once to be just as respects a trifle. Accordingly, his Grace admitted,

"That the question was one which only concerned short-wool growers; BUT HE LIVED IN A SHORT-WOOL COUNTRY HIMSELF, AND HE FELT BOUND TO STAND UP FOR THEIR [WHOSE?] INTERESTS. On that ground alone he considered that it was inexpedient the clause should pass."

Really if we were the friends of the aristocratic order, which we are not, we should tremble for the consequences of such bold and barefaced announcements as these. To be sure, it never could have been a secret for what purpose monopolies were created, nor was the flimsy veil attempted to be cast around that purpose sufficient to hide it at any time from view; but certainly such announcements as these made by the Duke of Richmond are somewhat new and in their nature startling. We wonder what would be thought of a manufacturer in the House of Commons who should request the attention of members to any loss occasioned him, perhaps by some new invention in machinery, or some hostile tariff inflicted from abroad in revenge for our Corn Laws? or of a merchant who might have lost by some speculation in tea, coffee, or cocoa, by any of the thousands of incidents to which all merchandise is subjected? Why, they would be laughed at. And if those gentlemen should demand indemnification from the community for their losses—what might they expect?—more probably than anything else to be sent to Bedlam. They would be told that those were their own affairs, and they must manage them the best way they can without any aid from others.

But the upper chamber of the Legislature would seem to have more privileges in this respect. It seems noble lords may meet in that house, where vulgar people would expect them to be studying the public interest, and unblushingly concoct means for promoting their own, or whine over their defeat in attempts to uphold it at the expense of the community. But there will come an end of these things, as surely as the sun is in the firmament; nor can that end be now far away.

"INDEPENDENCE OF FOREIGNERS."

(From the *Times*.)

There is a common saying, that in our dealings with our most intimate friends we ought to do nothing which we should repent of in the event of their becoming our enemies; as, on the other hand, we should conduct ourselves to our enemies as if they might some day be converted to friends. To the former and more prudent part of this maxim there must be some limits. That friendship is no friendship at all which is chilled by the perpetual recollection of human inconstancy, and there can be no law, either of feeling or of prudence, against doing all the good we can, even though the good we do may sometimes be found to have armed against us an ungratefully ally. Again, it cannot be necessary to repudiate entirely the law of mutual dependence which Heaven has made the condition of our social race, and to seek security by insulation. Nay, so little is it possible on this level plain to exalt man above man, and so intimately are our interests interwoven, that we cannot make others dependent on ourselves without suffering a dependence on them in return.

Thus, we presume, there can be no doubt that the Prince de Joinville has done much more than a wise caution would have suggested, in calling on his country to

arm itself up to the teeth against a friendly neighbour, now dwelling by its side in the profoundest and most unconscious security. Nothing could be less unseasonable than the ideas of surprise, invasion, pillage, and retreat, which he suddenly opened his heart to reveal. But let us see whether the same unfriendly and impertinent precaution is not sometimes found, in more specious form, perhaps, on our side of the Channel.

What are we to say of that class of patriots who never cease to remind us of the possibility of a war, not merely with this or that nation, but with the whole world, with every people and every shore, and who exhort us, in consequence, to render this island an island indeed, by closing for ever all interchanges of kindness and support with every brother realm? Mr. Archibald Alison is a patriot of this class, who thinks he best discharges his duty to his own country by admitting no duty, except lawful resistance, to any other; and that it is impossible to be true to England without being traitor to man. This gentleman's remarks on *Free Trade and Protection* have been reprinted from some more comprehensive treatises "for," and "at the request of, the Agricultural Protection Society," which may, therefore, be considered to sympathize with his terrors.

The following are some of the suggestions which he thinks it delicate to make after a profoundest peace of thirty years—after a whole generation has grown up and filled the earth, to whom war is little else than a calamitous and antiquated error:—

"The foreign market is, in great measure, composed of individuals owning allegiance to independent potentates, and who either have been or may become, our inveterate enemies."

"What will the operatives of Birmingham, Manchester, or Glasgow gain by doubling the growth of corn in Poland, Prussia, or the Ukraine? Nothing but this—that they will augment the resources and revenues of the Czar, who wields at his pleasure the whole power both of Russia, Poland, and Prussia, and enable him to pursue, with increased advantages, any designs against the prosperity of this country, and the independence of Europe."

"It requires little penetration, indeed, to perceive that the general peace which we have so long enjoyed is not destined to be of very long endurance; and that a contest, possibly as serious and protracted as that with Napoleon, awaits us with the power which has already ravaged more than half of Europe under its influence. Few will contest the reality of this danger, since the aggressions and ceaseless strides of Russia are the subject of general and well-founded apprehension. What, therefore, can be so hazardous—it may almost be added, so insane—as to forfeit the national independence at so critical a moment, by throwing ourselves upon the mercy of foreign states for the purchase of bread? It was a maxim with the Romans, '*Salus populi suprema lex*.'"

So the policy of the Romans, unquestionably the most selfish and egotistical of empires, is to be the model of this Christian country. Rome called it self the mistress of the world, and while seeking as a paramount object the prosperity of the people, very consistently aimed to include in that class the whole human kind. Thus its benevolence was at the same time patriotic and universal. We, however, advance no such pretensions. We acknowledge ourselves to be one only of the family of nations; and also profess, at least, to belong to a higher and universal kingdom, which binds all its subject states to unwearied offices of kindness, to the arts of peace, to unsuspecting confidence thinking no evil, and to the mutual ministrations of those gifts which, to promote such intercourse, Providence has given abundantly to one member, and sparingly or not at all to another.

But to proceed with Mr. Alison:—

"Poland, Prussia, the Ukraine, are all, in fact, provinces of Russia; they all equally take the law from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. Odessa, Dantzic, Memel, and Riga are alike Russian harbours; yet these are precisely the ports from which our supply of grain must inevitably be obtained, if we throw open our ports to foreign competition. The provinces from which we must almost exclusively obtain our food are those which wait at the beck of the Emperor Nicholas. To the permanent ambition of the Russian Cabinet the British possessions in India afford an attractive object of desire; to the jealousy and apprehensions of their despotic Government our free institutions and unrestrained press are a constant subject of disquietude. Everything, therefore, both in political combination and national interest, conspires to indicate that the seeds of permanent rival hostility between the British and Muscovite empires have not only been sown, but are already fast springing to maturity."

We have not space to pursue further Mr. Alison's visionary horrors. Strung to the highest pitch of patriotic fury, he expects these islands in absolute dependence on the granaries of Dantzic and Hamburg. At that moment the awful Czar, by the word of his mouth, "without fitting out one ship of the line, without raising one hostile banner," is to close his harbours. "He would speedily starve us into submission. The populace of Great Britain, deprived of their wonted supply of bread, would become unmanageable," and so on to the desired conclusion. We never saw such a case of malice prepense. Will Mr. Alison just consider what power Russia, what power all the nations in the world have of blockading our shores, without which they could do nothing? What is the use of our being mistress of the ocean if we are to be in continual tremour lest a Muscovite chief should stop our supplies? And is not charity, that is, international aid and confidence, a far more excellent way?

ANOTHER MOVE IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.—We hear, from good authority, that Thomas Bushell, Esq., of Dolphin Lee, near this town, has granted permission to his tenants to destroy and convert to their own use all the hares and rabbits on their respective farms. This boon, it is almost needless to say, has been thankfully received. Some idea may be formed of the immense number of rabbits on this estate, and the consequent injury to growing crops, when it is stated that Matthew Goth, one of Mr. Bushell's keepers, shot and snared upwards of two thousand last winter. In spite, nevertheless, of this prodigious slaughter, they are now, to use his own expression, "as thick on the ground as ever;" a circumstance which will cease to excite surprise, when the remarkable fecundity of these animals is taken into consideration.—*Lancaster Guardian*.

PROVINCIAL PRESS.

THE PROGRESS OF RENT AND CIVILIZATION.—In the course of a lively discussion in the House of Lords, the other evening, on the third reading of the Factories Bill, Lord Wharncliffe, after alluding to some "golden age of industry," which all such sentimental political economists for the last four or five hundred years have been lamenting over, as if it had really existed in the days when they were young, made the following remarks regarding the extension of manufactures:—"But our great manufacturing system has since sprung up, and a fearful price we paid for it. As to civilization, what is it, except that every man tries to make as much money as he can?" We know not where his lordship picked up this sentiment about civilization; but we must confess, that it bears so close a resemblance to some of Rousseau's wilder notions regarding the superiority of the savage state, as to sound rather strange from the lips of a Conservative peer, and a cabinet minister to boot. We must, however, take the liberty of contradicting the assertion, that the modern manufacturing system is in any degree responsible for that strong desire to make money, the unreasonable excess of which has been the blemish of humanity in all ages, if we can place the slightest reliance upon history. In those "good old times," of which we hear so much laudation, all classes were just as desirous to make money as their more energetic descendants of the present day are; the grand essential characteristic of modern material civilization being simply the increased facilities for making money, which the men of the present day possess, and their inclination to acquire it rather by honest industry than by the rapine and violence which were rife in former times. Let Lord Wharncliffe look, for example, to the simple process by which his own rent-roll, or that of any of his fellow-landowners, has been quadrupled under the benign influences of that modern civilization which he affects to rate so lightly. Much as we may feel surprised when we look at the increased avenues to competence and wealth which have been opened up to thousands of industrious and enterprising men by the extension of manufactures and commerce, there is nothing connected with them all half so wonderful as the mysterious but inevitable process by which every step in the march of civilization is accompanied by an increase in the wealth of the owners of land. Other men make money by hard toil, by skilful invention, or by prudent speculation; but as for the landowner, he only requires to sit still; while a large portion of the wealth created by the combined industry and skill of the rest of the community is poured into his coffers. We are forcibly reminded of this when we look at the immense increase which has taken place in the rental of England since the conclusion of the war, as exhibited by the income-tax returns. It has been customary hitherto to represent the rental of the country as having diminished greatly since 1815; but the returns to which we allude will dispel that delusion. When Sir Robert Peel proposed the income-tax in 1842 he assumed the landed rental of Great Britain to be the same as it was under the property-tax returns in 1815, at which time it was only £39,400,000. It appears, however, from the returns just issued, that the present landed rental of the country is not less than £50,000,000; so that, although the value of money has risen greatly within the last twenty-eight years, the incomes of the landowners have increased during the same period to the extent of nearly £11,000,000. Indeed, if we take into account the difference between the war prices, on which the rents of 1815 were founded, and prices at present, we shall be justified in estimating the real increase of the landed rental of Great Britain, since the close of the war, at not less than £30,000,000. With so large a portion of that wealth which modern civilization has created, as their peculiar share, it might well become noble landlords, like Lord Wharncliffe, to ask themselves whether, in return for all this increase of wealth it may not be possible for them, as a class, to give the manufacturing industry of England something better than unmeaning lamentations over the past, and semi-Chartist denunciations of the present.—*Manchester Guardian*.

PROTECTORS OF MONOPOLY.—If any thing were wanting to prove that our pretended protection societies know that they are playing off a farce and a humbug upon the public generally and upon the farmers in particular, a resolution of the committee to this effect will give ample demonstration of its truth:—Resolved,—"That, in consequence of the Editor of the *Devonshire Chronicle* having inserted a leading article, showing the fallacy of our pretended protection, on the same day as our advertisements were once inserted in the above newspaper, no more of our advertisements do appear in that newspaper!" What manner of men can these "protectors" be? Do they think to bribe and intimidate with a few pence? Is this the way the public cause and the cause of truth is betrayed, and the vast numbers of advertisements are obtained in certain quarters, by the hope of gain or the fear of loss? Will this explain the display of *malice* upon one hand, and the *violence* upon the other? And is it true that the independence of the press of Exeter is in the hands of a few ignorant, narrow-minded, self-willed monopolists, who have neither talent nor power to defend the cause they have taken up, by replying in an open and manly way to the arguments against them; but, as far as they can, endeavour to suppress all argument, by holding out their advertisements in the shape of a bribe? Is this the way our magnates—our Courtenays and our Newmans—think they can succeed in extinguishing the light of truth, and smothering the effects of free discussion? They mistake their own position, they do not understand their own cause, neither do they mark the signs of the times, wherein is written in letters of iron, "Justice and monopoly, their days are numbered; and the thin veil of pretended protection can no longer hide the truth from the public eye." It is in vain the monopoly men attempt to defend their cause by garbling extracts from such writers as Adam Smith, or by endeavouring to shift the force of such evidence as that of Mr. Deacon Hume. They are unable to show that they are really entitled to any protection whatever; they say that the land has heavy burdens to bear; they are asked to point out one exaction that especially appertains to the land; but they say they won't—we opine because they can't! They say they want the protection of the sliding scale for the farmer and his labourer; they are asked to show how much protection has been afforded to these parties by the sliding scale; but they will not tell us—no, because they cannot! In fact there is no part of the conduct of the monopolists that shows they have any confidence in their own cause; they fear argument, and only hope to keep up the delusion by bribing and in-

timidating the public press. At any rate they will neither bribe nor intimidate us. The cause we advocate is the cause of truth, the cause of our country, the cause of the poor man, and by far the largest portion of the rich; and a cause that must triumph, in spite of all opposition!—*Devonshire Chronicle*.

THE COAL MONOPOLY.—The Government has determined to maintain the duty on coals exported, and the consequence is that other nations are beginning to find coals for themselves. In Belgium alone there are now in operation 352 coalmines; places formerly supplied with English coals are already supplied with Belgian coals; and the coal trade of that country is now carried coastwise as far as Havre and Rouen. In Hainault there are in operation 155; in Liege and Limburg, 138; in Namur and Luxembourg, 59 mines. In Prussia, and many of the Rhenish provinces, coals have been found in such abundance that Holland is supplied from that source. In La Vendée, and some parts of the south of France, many coalmines have been opened within the past year. Toulon and Marseilles are supplied with native coals. And yet with these facts before them the Government persists in maintaining the duty on coals exported abroad. It has been asserted that the English coal trade, whether for exportation or home consumption, is a monopoly; and this has been as warmly denied. But what is a monopoly? Though not fond of definitions as we often find them in dictionaries, we have no objection to that given in Smart's "Walker Remodelled"—"*Monopolize*: to buy up so as to be the only purchaser; to obtain the sole possession of a commodity or of a market; to engross, to obtain the whole of it." "*Monopoly*: the sole power of trading in some article, or at some place." Now, the coalowners possess this power. The coalfields are in few hands. In 1771 they formed a confederacy to fix the price of coals and the quantity to be supplied from the several mines. If this be not a monopoly, nothing is. We know it is not a monopoly such as many of those created by legislative acts; but that is of no consequence: it is, notwithstanding, a monopoly in the fullest sense of the word. The only question is, whether it is such a monopoly as the Legislature can destroy or interfere with. Directly it certainly cannot without inflicting a breach on private property; but, as regards the right of imposing duties upon it, it has been exercised without let or question. Now, the monopolists have so contrived matters that English coals are at this moment selling at the remote market of St. Petersburg for 15s. or 16s. per ton, of the same quality as those which the people of London are compelled to pay 30s. or a higher price for. What is the consequence? The foreign trade since 1822 has increased 210 per cent., whilst the consumption of London, with all its increase of population—all the consumption of coals for gas, steam-boats, &c. &c.—has not increased more than 30 per cent., not but that more would be consumed, but consumption is always regulated in coals as in every thing else, not by the wants but by the means of the consumer. We say nothing about the strike among the pitmen—which, by the way, has raised the price of coals considerably—because it seems to have been brought about by differences between the owners and the pitmen which are not well understood here; but it does seem to us that Lord Harry Vane's motion in the House of Commons on Tuesday for a committee on the coal trade, though the notice of motion was not so full as we desired, ought to have been entertained; for the whole of the coal trade—every thing about or connected with it—requires revision. The monopolists ought not to object to this though they might be humbled; for nothing is more certain than that bodies of men frequently mistake their own interest and injure the public at the same time.—*Brighton Herald*.

THE SOUTH LANCASHIRE ELECTION.—We find, as we expected, on analyzing the votes recorded at the recent election for South Lancashire, that there is a greater majority than at first appears in favour of Mr. Brown among the independent and intelligent voters of this district. The total majority for Mr. Brown in the Liverpool polling district, as stated by his committee, was 193. The number of votes polled for Liverpool and the adjoining townships of Everton, Toxtethpark, and West Derby, which as an expression of public opinion, must be considered in connexion with the borough, were—for Brown, 1041; Entwistle, 753—showing a majority for Liverpool of 288. In the Prescot district, including Prescot, Eccleston, Horton, and Roby, which contains a large number of highly respectable and intelligent voters, there voted for Brown, 145; for Entwistle, 111; majority, 34; whilst, in the rural districts of Hale, Garston, and Speke, under the immediate influence of J. I. Blackburne, Esq., M.P., who was very active on the occasion, there voted for Mr. Brown, 19; Mr. Entwistle, 102; minority, 83. From Knowsley, under the dictation of Lord Stanley, there voted for Brown, 4; Entwistle, 23; minority, 19. The result of the election is properly considered by the monopolists here as an unexpected and complete defeat, and they are working most assiduously by every means to increase their strength on the register. The Liberal party should make equal exertions. Let not a man of liberal principles be left of the next register who has a legal right to be placed there. The Free-Traders have fairly routed the Monopolists at the poll: now let us beat them on the register. The 20th of July is the last day on which claims can be sent in. Again, we say, be active; let every Free-Trader who has a qualification see that his name is placed on the register!—*Liverpool Mercury*.

DEATH OF THE LEAGUE.—The League dead! It is but just feeling its real vigour. The South Lancashire election, though terminating in a slight defeat, was a brilliant achievement on its part, and has fully awakened the enemy to a sense of the increasing strength and bravery of its antagonist. The friends of Free Trade were never in better spirits, and why should they be otherwise while they see their cause progressing on every hand. Each successive election exhibiting an increase of Free-Trade votes upon previous elections? Not only in the country, but in Parliament also, are our principles progressing. Government has again and again pronounced in favour of Free Trade as a principle, and many Conservatives are separating from the Protectionists, and using their influence in favour of Free Trade. Based on justice, the cause of commercial freedom will continue to progress, and ultimately the League will be honoured as having effected a change essential to the peace and prosperity of the empire. While so many Conservatives are deserting from the monopolist ranks, we may ask what are the deserters from the League? Where are the persons who have aided its funds and say they will aid

no more? Such are not to be found. Unanimity and perseverance are the characteristics of its members; and the "defunct" League is yet ready for another battle—we may say another "victory," for with those who are at liberty to think and vote for themselves it has certainly gained even in South Lancashire a decided victory.—*Preston Guardian*.

THE GAME NUISANCE.—At the Garstang Pro-Corn-Law meeting no one professed a larger share of sympathy for tenant-farmers, or abused the League more roundly, than Mr. William Garnett, the late High Sheriff of this county. On the principle that "charity begins at home," it was therefore quite natural to suppose that he was a kind and considerate landlord to his own tenantry. Alas for the tender mercies of the Monopolists! Mr. Garnett, it will be recollected, some time ago became the owner, by purchase, of a princely domain in this neighbourhood, known by the name of Quernmore Park. And what do our readers suppose was one of the first acts of this "farmers' friend" on taking possession of the estate? Why, simply to convert it into one vast game preserve. Previous to its passing into his hands, the estate had been farmed on lease, and the game kept down as much as possible; but no sooner was the transfer fairly effected than strict means were adopted for its preservation. The consequence is, that the whole of this fine property literally swarms with hares and pheasants, to the serious detriment of the occupiers of the different farms, who, in addition to seeing the produce of their industry daily devoured before their eyes by these winged and four-footed pests, have the mortification of knowing that not a farthing will be paid them in compensation of the damage. That we may not be accused of exaggeration in speaking of the losses sustained by Mr. Garnett's tenants in consequence of his game-preserving mania, we may mention that, while conversing with one of them on this subject a few days ago, he stated that in a two-acre field in his occupation, which had been sown with clover, he counted no less than twenty-six hares at one time. The crop, he said, was a promising one before it was invaded by these destructive animals, which totally devoured it, leaving the field almost as smooth as a lawn. Of this latter fact we satisfied ourselves by actual inspection. Pursuing our queries, our informant gave us to understand that, although his farm was only of limited extent, his losses by the ravages of game and rabbits since Mr. Garnett became his landlord could not be less, on a moderate estimate, than £20 a year, for which he did not receive the slightest recompense. Pretty "protection" this for farmers! But, to give Mr. Garnett his due, he is not wholly insensible to the welfare of his tenants. At his late rent audit he condescended with them on the non-arrival at Liverpool of an expected cargo of Peruvian guano, which he had kindly undertaken to purchase for them—at their own expense! What a truly edifying display of land-owning sympathy! How delighted the Quernmore farmers ought to have been at the condescension of the opulent ex-manufacturer in expatiating for their advantage on the wonderful properties of guano! Yet some of them, we learn, were so ungrateful as to scart, within ear-shot of the great man, that it was useless for them to lay out money in guano so long as his game was fattened at their cost. They are in the right. A new light is dawning upon them. Thanks to the admirable little tracts so plentifully distributed in this district by the active agents of the League, they are beginning to perceive that the "protection" spoken of by Mr. Garnett and other Pro-Corn-Law and game-preserving landlords admits of no signification favourable to the interests of tenant-farmers; but has for its sole object the keeping up of rents, and the perpetuation of that system of hourly spoliation which has called forth these remarks.—*Lancaster Guardian*.

MR. HUTT AND THE CORN LAW.—The member for Gateshead is not very loquacious on the subject of total repeal of the Corn Law; but we believe that no member in the House of Commons has done more by his acts, in a quiet and unostentatious manner, to sap and destroy that odious statute. A return, now before us, shows that, from the passing of Mr. Hutt's "Flour and Biscuit Act," in August, 1812, to the 5th of April last, no less a quantity than 71,018 quarters of wheat have issued from the warehouses and vessels of this country, *duty free*. This is surely a hard blow at Monopoly! Newcastle alone, in the above period, has seen the delivery from her warehouses, of 6125 quarters of wheat, *duty free*. We quote these figures in order that full justice may be done to Mr. Hutt. The delivery of 71,018 quarters of wheat, *duty free*, is a "great fact" worthy of the grateful remembrance of every advocate of Free Trade.—*Gateshead Observer*.

A JUST LANDLORD.—The steward of Henry Hoghton, Esq., of Bold Hall, recently addressed a circular to the tenantry, in which he says—"I am directed by Henry Hoghton, Esq., to inform his tenants, that, having been made acquainted of the continued complaints of the great injury done to their crops, &c., by the game—having from personal observation ascertained the justness of those complaints, and being desirous, in every instance, to meet the wishes and promote the interests of those around him, and in whose welfare his own is so closely connected, he has determined upon relinquishing the strict preservation which has till lately been maintained on his estate. I am, therefore, desirous to give notice, that, on and after the 1st of September, 1844, the hares and rabbits on each farm will be considered as the property of the occupier for the time being, and it will be at his option to destroy or preserve them, as he may think proper; Henry Hoghton, Esq., or any one having a written authority from him, being also at liberty to shoot the same, on consideration of their afterwards being delivered to the tenant. The other game, and all in the covers, plantation, copse, &c., will remain, as heretofore, the property of Henry Hoghton, Esq., who, in return for the above concession, relies on his tenants to give notice of, and use every endeavour to prevent its destruction, by unauthorized persons, against whom the law will be strictly enforced."

PROPORTIONATE PAYMENTS OF THE INCOME TAX BY THE LANDED AND MANUFACTURING INTERESTS.—The Tory prints have been lately extremely vociferous about the large proportion of the income tax, which they allege is borne by the landed proprietors. We thought of asking them to tell us, with equal precision, what proportionate payments of probate and legacy duties the landed gentry escape. A circular comes *apropos* to hand, which is in private circulation, entitled a "Proposed Equitable Tax on the Transfer of Real Property in place of the Income Tax." The writer estimates the entire property of Eng-

land at £6,186,000,000, and proposes that all real property should be taxed with the probate and legacy duty. The produce of such duty would, he thinks, be about £12,000,000 annually. Were his ideas adopted, he says that Sir Robert Peel might dispense with the income tax, and still have a much larger revenue than he has at present. It will be thus seen that the landed proprietors save, by their own legislation, twelve millions annually, to which species of payments the manufacturing interests are subject, whilst the latter have the income tax to pay into the bargain. The aristocracy have little need to plume themselves on their contributions to the National Treasury. They are but as a drop in the bucket when placed in juxtaposition with the manufacturing and industrial interests.—*Kelso Chronicle*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

POTATOES WITH THE BONES IN.—We are told that "there is reason in roasting eggs"—and there ought to be the same in roasting and boiling potatoes. But there will probably be few of my readers who can readily assign a reason why the all but universal custom among the poor of Ireland is to only half-boil their potatoes, leaving the centre so hard that it is called the bone of the potato. Considering that this root constitutes nearly the whole of the labouring man's food, it seems extraordinary that it should not be properly cooked, especially as the want of fuel is hardly ever felt in this land of bogs. It is my habit, whenever any unusual phenomenon presents itself to my observation, to endeavour to unravel the mystery myself before making inquiry of others. In the present case I stumbled on the true solution of the problem, and found it amply confirmed afterwards. There is scarcely a more indigestible substance taken into the human stomach than a half-boiled potato; and to a moderately dyspeptic Englishman such diet would be little less than poison. It is this very quality of indigestibility that recommends the *parboiled* potato to the poor Irishman. Rarely, indeed, have the labouring classes more than two meals of these in the twenty-four hours; and if they were well boiled, the pangs of hunger would be insufferable during a considerable portion of the day and night. Custom, fortunately, is a second nature; and custom has so reconciled the poor Irishman's stomach to this wretched food, that even the children complain if they find no "bone in the potato." The simplicity of their diet, their exposure to the open air, their patient resignation to their fate, and many other causes, render them little susceptible to the miseries of dyspepsy; while the bones of the potatoes protract the period of digestion till sleep renders them unconscious of the gnawings of hunger. As a feather will often show the direction of the wind better than a well-poised weathercock, so this simple fact demonstrates more forcibly the poverty of the Irish peasantry than a philosophical dissertation on the subject. I may here remark, that although the children of the cottiers look chubby, and the people healthy, on a potato diet, yet when the Irish labourers come over to this country, and are employed in hard work as navigators, &c., they are found unequal to the task till they are fed for some days on bacon, bread, and potatoes. They are like horses taken from grass, and incapable of hard labour till fed for a time on hay and corn.—*Dr. James Johnson's Tour in Ireland*.

THE SENSATIONS THAT ATTEND STARVING.—I have never yet seen a treatise or dissertation upon starving to death. I can speak *feelingly* of nearly every stage except the last. For the first two days through which a strong and healthy man is doomed to exist upon nothing, his sufferings are, perhaps, more acute than in the remaining stages—he feels an inordinate, unappeasable craving at the stomach night and day. The mind runs upon beef, bread, and other substantial; but still, in a great measure, the body retains its strength. On the third and fourth days, but especially on the fourth, this incessant craving gives place to a sinking and weakness of the stomach, accompanied by a nausea. The unfortunate sufferer still desires food; but with loss of strength he loses that eager craving which is felt in the earlier stages. Should he chance to obtain a morsel or two of food, as was occasionally the case with us, he swallows it with a wolfish avidity; but five minutes afterwards his sufferings are more intense than ever. He feels as if he had swallowed a living lobster, which is clawing and feeding upon the very foundation of his existence. On the fifth day his cheeks suddenly appear hollow and sunken, his body attenuated, his colour an ashy pale, and his eye wild, glassy, cannibalish. The different parts of the system now war with each other. The stomach calls upon the legs to go with it in quest of food; the legs, from very weakness, refuse. The sixth day brings with it increased suffering, although the pangs of hunger are lost in an overpowering languor and sickness. The head becomes giddy—the ghosts of well-remembered dinners pass in hideous procession through the mind. The seventh day comes, bringing increased lassitude and farther prostration of strength. The arms hang listlessly, the legs drag heavily. The desire for food is still left, to a degree, but it must be brought, not sought. The miserable remnant of life which still hangs to the sufferer is a burden almost too grievous to be borne; yet his inherent love of existence induces a desire still to preserve it, if it can be saved without a tax upon bodily exertion. The mind wanders. At one moment, he thinks his weary limbs cannot sustain him a mile—the next, he is endowed with unnatural strength, and, if there be a certainty of relief before him, dashes bravely and strongly onward, wondering whence proceeds this new and sudden impulse.—*Kendal's Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE FARMING IN IRELAND AND RENTS IN 1835.—Sir William Brereton, who travelled between Carrickfergus and Belfast in July, 1835, says in his journal:—"Many Lancashire and Cheshire men are here planted; with some of them I conversed. They sit upon a rackrent, and pay 5s. or 6s. an acre for good ploughing land, which now (July 6) is clothed with excellent corn. From Belfast to Linsley Garven is about seven miles, and is a paradise in comparison of any part of Scotland." Three days afterwards he came from Tredaugh to Swords, near Dublin (a distance of fourteen miles), through "a most pleasant country, the greatest part corn upon the very sea-coast, almost Warralike (the Wirral Hundred of Cheshire, between the Dee and Mersey), and very good and well-sown corn; the barley now (July 9) beginning to turn, and will be ripe before the eye." "Here I saw very fair large English kine, I inquired the price, about £2, £3 10s., or £3. These

worth in England double the price. Land here sold for about twenty years' purchase; set, some for 5s. or 6s. an acre, and meadowing for £2 an acre; some for £1. Some land about Dublin is set for £2, £3, and £4 an acre." Near Hacket's-town (twenty-seven miles from Dublin), in a barren, dry soil, he finds "some land set by Mr. Watson (a Lancashire man) at 2s. and some at 3s. 4d. an acre, and for thirty years. Here is good butter made as in England, and they say good cheese, but I tasted none." Mr. Watson "paid for the purchase of this lease about £500 fine, and he pays also £100 rent. He hath already improved it unto more worth than £400 per annum, and hath much prejudiced his plantation, by insisting upon overhard conditions and demands." Sir Morgan Cavanagh "demands £1800 per annum, and £1000 rent, for twenty town lands (in Carlow), and, as he saith, it is about 12,000 or 13,000 acres; but I cannot conceive it less than 20,000 acres, much hereof mountain wood, and the rest but poor land, all overgrown with fern and bracken, and not to be improved but with great charge and trouble." By another part of this curious journal, it appears that it was then the custom in Wexford county, and perhaps in other parts of Ireland, for the tenants to sow their landlord's grounds, allowing him the third sheaf, and taking two sheaves for their pains. For a farm of from 200 or 300 acres near Wexford, the tenant (Mr. Hardy, an Englishman) paid about £16 a year rent. It would keep twenty or thirty milch kine, yield sufficient corn for a small family, with abundance of rabbits, fish, and fowl. Mr. Hardy demanded for his thirteen years' interest £55, and the landlord demanded £100 fine for a lease of eighty years in reversion, after the determination of the thirteen years. £20 were offered for a lease of eighty years; but the landlord said he would not accept £40, and an augmentation of the rent of £4 per annum.—Mr. Robert Cooke, an Englishman, tenant on a farm near Waterford, belonging to an uncle of the Earl of Ormonde, paid £100 fine, and £120 yearly rent (his term about twenty years), for 1200 to 1400 English acres, all good land; but a great part marsh, lying along the river, in common (not enclosed), which, if divided and enclosed, would yield more than the rent of the whole. In this neighbourhood, too, the tenants ploughed the ground, and allowed the landlord a third part of the produce. "This is so slothfully and improvidently ordered, as the ground is much impaired, and yields much less than if well husbanded."

PRICES IN BRISTOL IN 1635.—Rape cakes made in Bristol were sold into Holland at 2d. per dozen, a ship coming purposely to fetch them away. The rape oil was used in making soap, to some extent, in Bristol. A firkin of old soap cost 16s.; sack, 1s. a quart; claret, 6d. A horse-load of goods from Bristol to Shrewsbury paid 2s. 6d. carriage; from Shrewsbury to Chester, 6s.

LIVERPOOL IN 1780.—"The 'good old town' is thus described as it appeared 63 years ago, to the late Mr. Samuel Curwen, in his journal under date of June 12:—"Entered the city of Liverpool, so celebrated for its commercial character; houses by a great majority in middling and lower style, few rising above that mark; streets long, narrow, crooked, and dirty in an eminent degree. During our short abode here, we scarcely saw a well-dressed person, nor half-a-dozen gentlemen's carriages; few of the shops appear so well as in other great towns; dress and looks more like the inhabitants of Wapping, Shadwell, and Rotherhithe, than in the neighbourhood of the Exchange, or any part of London above the Tower. The whole complexion nautical, and so infinitely below all our expectations, that nought but the thoughts of the few hours we had to pass here rendered it tolerable. The docks, however, are stupendously grand; the inner one, called Town Dock, lying in the centre of it, and filled with vessels exhibiting a forest of masts; besides this, are three very large ones lying in front of the city, communicating with each other by flood-gates, intermixed with dry ones for repairing. The lower or new one has a fine wide quay on its outer side, an agreeable walk being lined with trees on either hand; below this, on the river, is now building, nearly finished, a circular battery with embrasures for thirty cannon. Parade and barracks are in hand, and, when completed, will afford a charming walk and prospect, if allowed to the inhabitants. Liverpool, June 12.—Taking a circuitous ramble through this, to us, disgusting place, returned to inn, paid our bill, and entered the carriage we came in."—*Samuel Curwen's Journal*.

MR. VILLIERS'S MOTION.—The memorial to the members for Macclesfield, requesting them to support Mr. Villiers in his approaching motion for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, has received the signatures of a majority of the electors on the register. On Friday week, a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Howe and Rathbone, waited on Thomas Grimditch, Esq., and presented to him the memorial, when he declared, in the most decided terms, his intention to vote against the motion. On the same day, the deputation presented the memorial to John Brocklehurst, Esq., when he entered into conversation with them on the subject at considerable length. At the close of the interview, Mr. Brocklehurst signified to them his intention to give his answer in writing, which has since been received.—*Macclesfield Chronicle*. [The letter is chiefly of an apologetic character, but leaves the question of his vote over for further consideration.]

BREAD SKEINION AT NAPLES.—I was told that, during my stay at Naples, there had been an *emute* of the people, on account of the dearth and high price of bread. The populace stopped the king's carriage in the street, informing him of the high price of bread; showed him the size of the loaves in common use; also stated to him what the usual prices were, and entreated of him to have compassion on their sufferings. He was glad to escape out of their hands by promising immediate attention to their demand; and he kept his word. His "corn law" was instantly repealed, and corn was allowed to enter his dominions free of duty: the price of bread was consequently lowered, and he gained on the affections of his people. But, if this occurred during my stay at Naples, it was unknown to me, and apparently unheard of by any one whom I met with in society; for I was informed of the occurrence only after I had reached Leghorn on my return northward, and my informant was an Englishman, long resident in Naples, and in confidential communication with many influential persons of that city. It is probable, however, that, for the reasons already stated, you may already know all this better than I do; but the mere mention of the general ignorance of the occurrence in Naples is instructive.—*Letter in the Scotsman*.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, June 12, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

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| Staffordshire | Ridgway and Morley, Shelton | .. | £10 | 0 | 0 |
| Potteries. | Joseph Hawley, Cauldon-place | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | William Scott, do. | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Hereford, and | T. Heddell, Eign-street | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Remittance. | J. Lewis, baker, do. | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | A Friend to Freedom, per J. Lewis | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | W. Taylor, tailor | .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | B. Davies, maltster, Hye-street | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | R. Powell, painter, Eign Gate | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | An Enemy to Oppression | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| | W. Cooper, St. Martin's-street | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. B. Mill, 18, Kensington-square, Kensington | | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Persons employed in Messrs. Hainburns & Haugh's hat-manufacture, Southwark-square, per William Hicks | | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Thomas Dawkins, 3, Sharp's alley, Cow-cross | | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A few Clockmakers, Clerkenwell | | .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Butt, 126, Wool-street, Chrapside | | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Bow, Balford, per Mr. William Harvey | | .. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas. White, at H. Bannerman and Son's, Manchester | | .. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Wm. Peacock, Denton, near Manchester | | .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Milner, 8, James's-square, Manchester | | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Dickinson, Roch-hurst, near Harrogate | | .. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| George Carr, Garden-street, Wakefield, Yorkshire | | .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Swallow, cloth dresser, West Gate, do. | | .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Barnuel Walmsley, Spaw-lane, Bolton | | .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Jas. Haselden, St. George's-terrace, Little Bolton | | .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Openshaw, Derby-street, do. | | .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| John Holt & Brothers, Barlow st., Bury, Lancashire | | .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Tweedale, Ashton-under-Lyne | | .. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| A Friend, per G. T., Bristol | | .. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| B. Gibson, Newfound-land-street, do. | | .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Thos. Woodhall, Cheltenham-road, do. | | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| G. Poole, Pipe-lane, do. | | .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| John Pickup, Smithy, Edenfield, near Bury | | .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Jonathan Swallow, 10, Phoenix-street, Manchester | | .. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| John Alston, Nelson-street, C-on-M., do. | | .. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Leese, Kershaw, and Bakrigge, Mersey Mills | | .. | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Gudgeon, Heaton-lane | | .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| A Friend | | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Workpeople of Messrs. Pennley and Son | | .. | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| Do. of John Lees, Brinkway Mill | | .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| William Wild, butcher, Lancashire-hill | | .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Heginbotham, Ash Inn, Heaton Norris | | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| William Weaver, do. | | .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| A Friend per Mr. Tym | | .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| James Barlow, builder, Greek-street | | .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Wm. Williamson and Co., hatters, Underbank | | .. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Holt, Offerton-lane | | .. | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Thomas Waterhouse, Edgley | | .. | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Lincoln. | John Norton | .. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| | Mr. Parry, Bailgate | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Mr. Old, hatter | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Mr. East, Motherby-hill | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Paterson, farmer, Carso of Cambus, by Stirling, N.B., per J. McLaren | | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Yarmouth, and | W. L. Metcalf, North Quay | .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Remittance. | W. Hammond, do. | .. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | J. D. Chapman, King-street | .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | N. Green, Market-place | .. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| | H. Banford, Quay | .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | G. Green, Market-place | .. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| | John Rivett, King-street | .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | W. A. Buxton, Market | .. | 0 | 1 | 0 |

THE PRESTON MANUFACTURERS AND SPINNERS' SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE LEAGUE AND ANTI-LEAGUE. —Some time ago a statement was paraded in the London papers, and also in a pamphlet sold in Preston, entitled "A Short Letter to Mr. Richard Cookson," &c., in which the spinners and manufacturers of this town were divided into "Leaguers" and "Anti-Leaguers;" and to show the weakness of the League party, it was urged that only six individuals or firms had subscribed to the Great Fund. We announced at the time that these six (though the real number was more) had given to the amount of £530, and challenged the party to produce the same sum from the manufacturers and spinners of Preston in favour of the Protection Society. We promised to wait awhile until the amount was announced. Nothing beyond £25, we believe, has yet been published from this quarter; and as we trust the writer will not shrink from pursuing the comparison, if there be other sums to be added, he will give them to the public. The writer himself who made this money test of the popularity of the two Leagues, is now in a condition to give us the sum total. So soon as we get possession of particulars, according to our promise, they shall be laid before the public. We will wait a little longer, and, if he fail to come forward, we will ourselves give the comparison according to our best information.—*Preston Guardian*.

THE MONOPOLIST DEMONSTRATIONS.—On Thursday evening Mr. Fyles, a plasterer, attended a meeting of Mr. Brown's friends in Ormskirk. For so doing his landlord threatened to disown him for rent due to the amount of £5, and was as good, or as bad, as his word, although the property was indebted to Fyles £10 for work done. On the following Monday Mr. Fyles voted for Mr. Brown. On Tuesday he went to finish some work for a tradesman in the town and was told by his employer, without any reason assigned, that there was no further occasion for his services, other parties having been engaged. On the following morning Fyles sent his apprentice, as usual, to work for a monopolist at Lydiate; but the lad was summarily dismissed, with an insolent message to his master, to the effect that the great man would have "none of his (Fyles') humbugging electioneering!"—Here is another instance.—A respectable tradesman being canvassed by one of the Tory leaders of Ormskirk, said he had not promised his vote, but certainly would not give it to the canvasser's party. "Oh very well," was the reply; "it will be a bad job for you, as you will lose all your trade." Now, if there be any just and proper feeling in Ormskirk, and we know that there is a great deal, these two honest and independent men will be no sufferers for their manly conduct, but will have abundant reason to be thankful that these petty despicable tyrants dared to threaten and persecute them for acting up to their own conscientious opinions.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE.

Leominster, 6th of 5th mo., 1844.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—I shall feel obliged by thy striking my name out of the list of subscribers to the Anti-Slavery Society. Before entering into my reasons—which I hope to compress into a very small compass—for the step which I am taking, I wish to say that I am one of the minority of seven who held up their hands against monopoly at Exeter Hall on the 3rd instant; and further to observe, that it is not because I think my small subscription of much importance to the society that I now withdraw from it, but because I am most desirous to manifest my deep sense of the value of a principle involving, as I apprehend, most important consequences.

The view, then, which has been primarily operative with me in the step which I am taking is, I confess, this,—that if in ordinary matters of business we are forbidden to employ means which will not bear a scrutiny in point of principle, *a fortiori*, we are precluded by the moral law from the use of such means for the attainment of objects of a moral and religious character. The oppressive and insidious nature of all fiscal regulations, which are intended by means of discriminating duties to benefit one class at the expense of the rest of society, may very readily be proved: because such regulations fall with oppressive weight upon those least able to bear the consequences; because they impose a burden upon the community, who are the victims of them, at least threefold in amount when compared with the sum they serve to put into the coffers of the tax-receivers (the monopolists); because they run counter to the evident designs of a benevolent Providence, in promoting reciprocal intercourse between men of every nation and every degree of civilization, thus diffusing on either hand the arts of peace, and turning the knowledge, the sciences, and the productive energies of one country to the common benefit of all; because they embody a system of heartless robbery on those least able to protect themselves; and because the spirit of monopoly is diffusive, since it has a decided tendency to lend a helping hand, giving permanence and force to other monopolies partaking of a similar character. It is, therefore, evident that the tendency of the measure supported by the Anti-Slavery Society is to foster and encourage monopoly wherever it exists. With, I venture to assert, a disposition to judge candidly of the motives of my friends, I cannot escape the conclusion that they are willing for once to act upon the maxim, "that the end sanctifies the means." All this, it is probable, will be met by sneers at "political economy," at "ultra views," and at "abstract principles." Are we, then, to repudiate all the enlightenment of the age, bearing the unpalatable name of "political economy," fraught as that science is with deductions not merely speculative, but precisely adapted to the present circumstances of this country? How, indeed, are our increased and increasing population to be fed, except by throwing open the markets of the world? The answer may be, for aught that I know, "It is not our business. It were better that miseries should die in our streets, and that in an increasing ratio, than that a measure should pass, whatever its bearing upon a free supply of all food at home, rather than that the moral evils of slavery should continue to exist in different countries." I must, on the other hand, be permitted to believe that the adoption of a more liberal course of commercial policy would, in its grand results, be found to promote and extend the interests at once of justice and humanity.

Whilst on this subject, I cannot refrain from observing on the marked analogy between the reasons alleged by your committee for monopoly, in one shape, professedly intended to benefit the slave, and those who argue for the corn monopoly as conducive to the interests of farm-labourers; those who support both views may some of them be sincere, but both, as I conceive, are equally mistaken. Nothing grieved me more in the recent meeting than to see a professed minister of the Gospel enacting the part, if I am correctly informed, of a paid advocate. I will not attempt to enter into those reasonings from consequences indulged in by himself and others. I venture, however, to tell him that all we have to do is to ascertain the correctness of our principles, and then we are assuredly safe as to the results; and I conclude by two quotations from a volume—the authority of which he will not deny—which, to my mind at least, have an intimate bearing on the question, viz:—

"I hate robbery for a burnt offering."
"A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit."

I am respectfully, thy friend,
JOHN SOUTHALL.

The following letter was read by Mr. Cobden at a recent meeting at Westbury—

"High-street, Warminster, May 3, 1844.
"SIR,—I take the liberty of handing you, on the other side, an extract from a letter received by me from a Conservative friend settled in America, bearing somewhat upon the operation of the Coin Laws in connexion with the woollen manufacture.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
Yours most respectfully,
"R. Cobden, Esq., M.P." "WM. THOMAS.

EXTRACT.

"Allegan, Allegan County, State of Michigan.
"I once doubted the statements made in the *Anti-Broad-Tax Circular*, respecting the great want of our manufactures, to make the inhabitants more comfortable; but it really is so, and they are compelled to pay the most enormous prices for those articles of clothing which they can get. A good superfine coat is worth a good cow, and cannot be had except it be an extra beast. Only think of an English farmer taking a cow worth £15, and giving her to a tailor for a coat; yet such is the case, and the same may be said of all the other manufactures of England; and if England does not soon open her ports for Free Trade, she will not have the chance for the great object of the people here seems to be to make themselves independent of her; they are tired of her arbitrary treatment."

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.
SIR,—I shall feel obliged if you can inform me, through the LEAGUE paper, whether persons owning copyhold property have the right of voting for county members of

Parliament; or if they are in any way enfranchised; and what is the requisite amount of qualification?

Providing they are enfranchised, I also wish to know, whether if two persons are admitted to an estate, each in his own right, both would have a vote? And if so, I also wish to know whether, in case of death or alienation of one of the above, and that a moiety be taken up in three persons' names—two as executors, and one as trustee—each of them would have a vote? And, if so, whether male and female alike possess votes in such a case?

Your answer in next paper will oblige a subscriber and Free-Trader.
H. S. T.

June 3, 1844.

[Copyhold property, worth £10 yearly, will confer a county vote; but (if situated within a borough) only where it is of such a nature that it would not qualify the holder for a borough vote, such as two or more houses of less rent than £10 each, but of more rent than £10 altogether; or land without buildings worth £10 yearly.

Joint copyholders of one copyhold would, under the same qualifications as above stated, be entitled to vote, provided the joint copyhold were of such value as would yield £10 per annum to each copyholder. The trustee would have no vote; but the two heirs (in possession) of the two thirds of the moiety would have a vote, if their shares were worth £10 per annum each.

We are sorry to think that any elector should be so ignorant of the most important interests of British citizens as, at this time of day, not to know that females have no votes for members of Parliament.]

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

SIR,—With pleasure I have enclosed a Post-office order for £1, in behalf of Charles Snowdon, who was discharged from his employment for having endeavoured to serve his country by voting conscientiously at the late election for Exeter. This small collection is from a few friends of Free Trade at Ripley and Cobham, and I hope the example now and already given will be followed by those who may have a trifle to spare. I have chosen your valuable paper as the medium by which to testify my esteem for Mr. Charles Snowdon's integrity; we wish, at the same time, to express our sincere thanks to Mr. J. H. Hutchinson, who has proved himself to be a true friend to the oppressed and an enemy to the oppressor.

Sir, your obedient servant,

THOMAS COLBORN.

N.B. We expect a remittance from the friends of Free Trade at Woking, in favour of Charles Snowdon. Ripley, June 13, 1844.

AGRICULTURE.

INCENDIARISM IN SUFFOLK.

We have, for some time past, watched with deep and painful interest the lamentable reports which every day brings of fresh acts of incendiarism in the county of Suffolk; and in abstaining from comment upon the prevalence of that crime, we have been in some degree influenced by the feeling that the land-owners and occupiers of that county were undergoing a fearful retribution for the erroneous legislation by which, for their own selfish purposes, those classes had depressed the condition of the agricultural labourers. Moreover, we desired further information as to the peculiar state of the peasantry, and the agriculture of that district, than was obtainable through the ordinary channels, before bringing the subject under the notice of our readers in connexion with the question of Free Trade. The time for such hesitation has now passed, and it becomes a duty to aid in the investigation which this violent local symptom of a deep-seated national disease must undergo. The want of precise local information is, to some extent, in the course of being supplied, through the medium of the *Times* newspaper, the proprietors of which, with a spirit worthy of the mighty journal they conduct, have sent a correspondent into Suffolk to inquire and report as to the state of the rural labourers of that county. From the letters published, the reporter, it is evident, is executing his mission with great spirit and intelligence, and he has already gone far to show that this prevalent crime is to be traced to the want of employment, and the irregular employment of the agricultural labourers.

In his first letter the *Times* correspondent said, that, "Taking the map, the district where the fires have been most frequent lies from Braintree, in Essex, extending in a broad line northward, and across the western parts of Suffolk bordering on Cambridge, taking in the line of Thaxted, Haldstead, Sudbury, Hadleigh, &c., to Stowmarket and Mendlesham; and thence in a north-westerly direction to Mildenhall in Suffolk, and then directly northward through Norfolk." Now, the district here indicated is locally known as "High Suffolk," and consists generally of heavy land, not in the highest state of cultivation, and which a gentleman well acquainted with the county described to us as "a neglected district." Hereafter we shall probably be able to trace the low state of the peasantry of this tract to the condition of its agriculture, and to show how directly that condition has been caused by the Corn Laws and the system they uphold. For the present we will deal with the facts relative to the state of the agricultural labourers in Suffolk which the *Times* correspondent has disclosed. And first we must notice that all the "various surmises as to the cause of these fires," which have been made from ignorance and prejudice, are examined and rejected as inconsistent with the evidence obtained on the spot, and the real cause is shown to be the sufferings of the peasantry from insufficient employment.

It appears that wages, in the best districts, in the eastern part of the county where there have been few fires, are sufficiently low, 9s. and 10s. a week, with the power of earning from £3 to £5 during the year by extra work at turnip hoeing, haymaking, and harvest, with perhaps 2s. a week earned by his wife, being all that the best paid Suffolk farm-labourers can hope for; while in the western district not only are wages still lower, but the employment of the labourer is irregular and uncertain. In the first district, where the humble wages we have mentioned were constantly earned, the reporter, after a minute detail of the incomes and expenditures of several of the best paid labourers with whom he communicated, showing that all, and more than all, their ordinary receipts are required to be expended in food, thus refers to their condition:—"But where are the clothes and the shoes, or any little additional comforts to come from, leaving alone animal food, or, as they call it here, a 'crumb of pork,' and leaving entirely out of the calculation the chance of illness or being out of work? Clearly shoes and clothes must come from stinting themselves of the necessary quantity of food; and if they indulge in the luxury of pork, it must be at the expense of a larger quantity of bread. Now, this is where the people are said to be 'well off,' and these are examples of peasants in regular employment, and the best I could find. These, with much pinching and contrivance, with steady labour from day to day, and never spending a farthing wastefully, manage to live. *With this lot, are they discontented?* QUITE THE REVERSE. I found them, in every case, cheerful, and naturally intelligent and communicative. *Their little cottages are perfect patterns of cleanliness.*"

Now, here we have distinct evidence that even very low wages, the command of no more than the bare necessities of life, and the necessity for a life of rigid and painful frugality on the part of the rural labourer, are not inconsistent with cheerfulness and content. Again, the correspondent refers to instances in which employment is less constant, "where, though the cottagers are somewhat stinted, they have yet bread to eat and clean comfortable cottages," and of them, also, he says, "Well, and they do not grumble; on the contrary, when they can get these blessings in return for hard daily toil, they are thankful and content." In the eastern district, where though there is "much distress" occasionally, but where the labourers can find some employment in the towns, there have been few fires. On the other hand, on the western side of the county, where fires have been prevalent: here we find that "many give nominally 9s. a week wages, and if there is a rainy day, or half a rainy day, the men are sent home from work, and many of the farmers are blind enough to their own eventual interests to deduct some miserable 4d. for a quarter of a day's work, that a man has not been allowed to work because it rained, or because the farmer could not find a job for him. The nominal 9s. a week is thus often reduced to 6s. or 7s., and very often the men are kept out of work for two or three weeks. What can the poor fellows fall back on? They will starve to the last pinch rather than enter the union-house, and they must live whether it rain or be fine."

In this state of things is it surprising that such conversations as the following occur between the clergyman and his parishioners? The reporter says:—"The clergyman of the next village told me—'The labourers' wives, when I call at their cottages, tell me, 'My husband has been out of work three days or two days this week, and we and the children are almost starved; it's hard to bear, God knows, and it puts bad thoughts into my husband's head.' This clergyman told me he had heard these fearful words—'It puts bad thoughts into my husband's head,' fifty times."

All this is entirely consistent with our own observations amongst the agricultural population in various parts of the country. It is not mere poverty, and comparatively low wages, which induces discontent and crime amongst them, provided employment be constant; it is the occasional and compelled idleness—bringing positive destitution and privation—which chafes the temper and demoralizes the minds of the peasant; and we have again and again shown that one of the direct and inevitable consequences of the Corn Laws is to render the employment of common farm-labourers uncertain and irregular. When prices fall below the rates promised by the Corn Laws, and on which landlords and farmers found their calculations, the rent becomes excessive, and, encroaching upon the funds properly applicable to the employment of labourers, transfers unjustly into the landlord's pocket the money of which the labourers have been deprived.

There are many other points touched upon in this correspondence to which we must hereafter refer, but at present our limits will not permit us to notice more than one case, which forcibly illustrates how injuriously the high prices sought to be maintained by the monopolists affect the condition of the agricultural labourers.

It appears that Mr. Colchester, of Ipswich (an auctioneer and land-agent there), farms 150 acres of land in Woodbridge parish. "Having other sources of income, his labourers are kindly and liberally treated. He pursues what is termed the old Suffolk plan, of allowing his labourers to purchase their corn of him at a fixed rate, whatever its price may be in the market; and they now purchase their corn at 6s. a bushel, the market price being 8s. He also purchases for them good cheese by the cwt., which his foreman lets them have as they want it at the cost price; they thus get a better cheese, and at about 1d. to 2d. per lb. cheaper than they can buy it at the small retail shops." Now, let us see what is the condition of one of these favoured labourers, and then the reader will judge how much those, whose masters have not the means of making them such extra allowances, must suffer from high prices.

"William Walton, has a wife and five children, wages 9s. a week. Wife works three days a week in the fields at hoeing and weeding, and earns 7d. a day; children earn nothing.

INCOME FOR EIGHT WEEKS.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------|----|----|----|
| 8 weeks' wages, at 9s. a week | 3 | 12 | 0 |
| Wife's ditto, at 1s. 9d. | 0 | 14 | 0 |
| | £4 | 6 | 0 |

EXPENDITURE.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--------------------------------|----|----|----|
| 4 bushels of wheat, at 6s. | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| 1 sow for pork, at 4d. per lb. | 1 | 15 | 0 |
| 8lb. Cheshire cheese, at 6d. | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| 7lb. ditto, at 6d. | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| | £3 | 6 | 10 |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------|----|----|----|
| Income | 4 | 6 | 0 |
| Expenditure in food | 3 | 6 | 10 |
| | £1 | 9 | 2 |

Leaving 19s. 2d. balance for the eight weeks, or about 2s. 4d. per week for what the peasantry term "shop goods," i. e., tea, sugar, butter, a candle, soap and soda for washing, salt, milk, and other little matters, which cost money, and cannot well be done without. His master allows him to live rent-free in his cottage; and he therefore has not that expense to provide for. During harvest he earns about £3 additional, which is the only fund wherewith he has to buy shoes and clothes for a family of seven. *This statement will show that this man, who works hard every day the year round, his employment and pay being constant, CANNOT HAVE ONE PENNY TO SPARE.*

Now, though this man has not "one penny to spare," he yet lives in great comfort as compared with the vast majority of the peasantry; and how is this? Why, simply because his master has suspended the Corn Law in his favour by selling him corn, &c., below the market price.

Look at the expenditure of a rural labourer; observe what a large proportion of his income goes for food, especially for bread, and let any one dare to say that high prices benefit the labourer. Remember that at present his wages never rise beyond 9s. or 10s. a week, though they frequently fall below that amount; but, if the trade in grain were free, so much activity and employment would be excited in agricultural districts that, besides getting his food somewhat lower in price, the wages of the farming labourer would tend upwards, but, above all, his employment would be constant.

AGRICULTURAL INSANITY—A LUCID INTERVAL.

Having lately had occasion to look over many of the reports of agricultural meetings which took place throughout the country during the four final months of last year, we were struck with the fact, that amongst those who then so rationally and usefully told the farmers that the days of protection, high prices, and artificial scarcity had passed away, and that, thenceforth, good husbandry with its sequence abundant produce, must be the object of every cultivator, were many who subsequently became the most furious ranters at protection societies. To men of reflection the absurdities uttered at these meetings by persons of station and education, seemed quite irreconcilable with anything but the temporary insanity of the utterers; and the sudden ebullition of nonsense which occurred just before the meeting of Parliament appeared to many altogether unaccountable. When to this we add the circumstance that the very same individuals, who in October and November warned the tenant-farmers against reliance on protection, and urged them to look instead to improved culture, in February and March following, became the frantic asserters of the necessity of "protection to agriculture," the climax of mental confusion seems to have been attained. But with the help of a pretty accurate knowledge of the character of English landlords and tenants we believe we can explain much of this seeming inconsistency. It is true that the protection meetings exhibited the landowners of the country apparently under the influence of nonsense run mad; but it is no less certain that there was a purpose, and a sinister one, in their madness.

During last summer it became obvious that the influential members of the Government were preparing the minds of their adherents for the further adoption, in practice, of Free-Trade principles, and the great majority of land-

owners seeing plainly enough that with Free Trade and bad farming—bad farming, the direct consequence of the existing system of restriction—rents would probably fall, began, most of them with about as much real knowledge of the subject as parrots, to lecture their tenants on draining, subsoiling, manuring, and improved stock-breeding. Each lordly or worshipful owner of acres began to imagine that the possession of land conferred upon him the agricultural knowledge of a SPENCER, a DUCKE, a COKE, or a PUSEY. Many of them, no doubt, thought that, if hereditary power to legislate had descended to them with their estates, why should not the knowledge of husbandry have likewise been cast upon them by descent or settlement. With the courage of PHAETON, therefore, they assumed the office of lecturers on improved husbandry; but like Phaeton, also, they discovered that the tenant-farmers, who, in the hands of the masters of the art, appeared such docile and manageable disciples, became suddenly restive and unmanageable. Not an association occurred in which some tenant-farmer did not give vent to the thoughts which were filling the minds of all; and, admitting that all the proposed improvements were necessary and practicable, said, "but, to effect them, we, the tenant-farmers, must be protected and unshackled; we must have leases and fair covenants; we must have proper buildings, and allowances of materials; we must be protected from game, hedge-row-timber, the interference of stewards and political thralldom, and then we can farm highly and pay good rents." Such, in substance, was the reply everywhere made to the landowners' lectures on improvement; and the political squires, the mortgaged interest the Richmonds and the Buckinghams, and the smaller fry of monopolists began to think the craft was in danger. Hence a diversion became desirable. Farmers had talked uncommonly like Free-Traders, and a grand move, perhaps we should rather say a great splutter, was devised to turn the attention of tenant-farmers from too curious an examination of their real grievances, and their semi-feudal vassalage. Hence the "Protection Societies," the "Central Protection Committee," the back-parlour sittings at the Duke of Richmond's, the "room in Bond-street," and Mr. Cayley's mendacious pamphlet. To a certain extent the diversion succeeded, for tenant-farmers have been cajoled or compelled into listening to, if not into talking, trash absolutely maniacal. But the paroxysm was too violent to last, and we already see signs of a lucid interval at the least, if not of actual recovery. That the Treasury-board sedative which Sir Robert Peel has administered to the leading patient, the Duke of Richmond, will rapidly promote the cure we have no doubt, and probably the agriculturists will come out of these delusions wiser and soberer men.

As evidence of the return of the squire to a state of sanity we shall refer to a speech lately made by the chairman of the Devon Agricultural Society, Sir John Kennaway, at Exeter, in the presence of Lord Courtenay, M.P., and a host of those who have lately figured as "protectionists." Sir John said:—

"It seems to me that the business of agriculture may be considered as carried on by a kind of joint-stock or trading company, embracing not one individual, or one class of individuals only, but many individuals and many classes. We find amongst those who are engaged in it men who stand at each extreme in the scale of society, as well as those who occupy a middle position in that scale. We have the landlord—the tenant—and the agricultural labourer—and these three together constitute the firm by which the business of agriculture is and must be carried on. It is for each and all of us, in our respective situations, to consider whether we have brought in our proper shares—whether we have contributed our fair proportions—to the capital of the firm; and this we are bound to do, whether we are landlords or tenants, or whether we are occupying the humblest station of those who will be before us presently, and whose occupations, though of a humbler and more laborious kind, are not less creditable to themselves, or less beneficial to the community at large. To whatever class we may belong, we are equally bound to contribute our share to the capital, and to bear our proper parts in promoting the prosperity of the firm. I will first speak of him whom we may call the leading partner in the concern—I mean the landlord. It is his business to furnish the land, but that is not all his business. He is bound to furnish it in such a manner, in such condition, and upon such terms, and to maintain such a relation to those below him, as may enable them to perform their parts well—and encourage them to look up to him with affection and respect. In endeavouring to discharge this duty the first thing which he has to look to is the interest which the tenant shall have in the land which he is about to occupy, and in the cultivation of which he is about to embark his capital."

Now, this is very like the healthful tone of landlords' speeches before what we will call their late illness—some designate it the Richmond, others the salmon, others again the Treasury-board fever;—but the speakers at that time having gone so far as Sir J. Kennaway goes in the above extract, usually closed with some "lame and impotent conclusion" about "mutual-confidence" tenures, and so forth. Now, however, the treatment lately received has enabled the worshipful monopolists to think about digesting that first condition necessary to improved agriculture—a lease. Hear, for example, Sir John Kennaway:—

"We have seen a good deal of discussion lately on the subject of leases: I will not enter at length upon that subject here, but I will state to you briefly the conviction to which I have myself arrived. I have arrived at that conviction by endavouring to place myself as far as possible in the situation of another, and by asking myself what I should like, and what I should look for, were I really placed in such a situation. I cannot help thinking, then, that were I a tenant farmer, I should like to have something like a permanent interest in the land which I was about to cultivate, and on which I was about to expend my industry and my capital."

And then he sweetened the dose with some twaddle about "families which have sustained towards each other for many generations the relations of landlord and tenant," and "the beautiful feeling [sometimes] existing without any lease or agreement."

"But," he adds, "it is impossible that, in a mixed state of society, such things can always exist; cases must frequently occur in which the changes produced by death, by intermarriage, or by many other circumstances, may alter materially the relative positions of the parties; and I can conceive a

This is just and sensible, for it is no less reasonable that a landlord should look to the responsibility and intelligence of his tenant than that the tenant should take care to have a secure tenure. The tenant has likewise a right to require all proper permanent improvements to be done by his landlord, as Mr John admits, saying:—

"Having this, the tenant naturally looks to his landlord for encouragement during his occupation. He looks to him especially for encouragement in the way of improvement, and particularly in effecting improvement of such a permanent character as would have a beneficial effect, beyond the duration of what we usually call a long lease. In all the various relations in which they stand to each other, as neighbours, as tenants in which they stand to each other, as neighbours, as tenants, the tenant has a right to look for similar encouragement and support; and I trust and believe that the landlord of Devon will not be the last to give it. Returning again to the comparison with which we set out, we now come to inquire what is the duty of the second partner in this trading firm to which I have alluded—namely, the tenant. The landlord, according to the view I have stated, having provided the land, and secured to the occupier a fair interest in it, we look to the latter to supply the requisite capital and skill. Both these things are essentially necessary to the due cultivation of the land and the proper management of a farm."

There can be no greater misfortune to a farmer than to undertake a farm without sufficient capital, and anything tending to raise the standard of cultivation which will increase the amount of capital required on a given number of acres will confer a great benefit on tenant-farmers as a class. Sir John then thus delicately hints at deficiencies on the part of tenants:—

"I see around me so many gentlemen occupying the position of tenant-farmers, who fulfil in their respective neighbourhoods all the duties which devolve upon them, that I am barely almost ashamed to speak of those duties in their presence. At the same time I must be allowed to say that, although there are many, in various parts of the county, equally respectable, and equally able with themselves, it is equally a question that there are many among the renting far-beyond question that there are many among the renting farmers of Devonshire who do not bring in, and who have not the means of bringing, those things which I hold to be so essential—capital and skill."

This is but a mild way of telling the truth, that the agriculture of Devonshire is very inferior; and what is the remedy? Not "protection," and such like Richmond-Baker-Buckingham quakeries, but

remedy." Buckingham quackeries, but
"Skill in this, as in any other business, is not to be attained in a day—it is to be attained by looking from day to day in the field on which a man has been born and to which he has been accustomed all his life. A man cannot become a farmer in that way. He must look a great deal further than that. I remember hearing an observation made many years ago, in which, though I do not entirely concur in it, there is a great deal of sound truth. It was to this effect—that when a man commenced farmer he should be always looking over his neighbour's hedges. I repeat, that I think there is a good deal of sound truth in that observation; for it is much better to gain a experience at the expense of another than at one's own. (A voice—Cut down the hedges.) Yes, that certainly is one way; of looking over them, and in many cases it is a very good way; but in the present day the facilities for looking over the hedges of one's neighbour have been very greatly increased. The farmer has no excuse if he fails to avail himself of the opportunities which the improved state of agriculture, the improved means of travelling, and the improved means of acquiring information by reading, afford to all those who are ready to take advantage of them. The farmer has now the opportunity of going, with little loss of time, from one part of the country to another; he has the opportunity, if he chooses, to stay at home, of informing himself by reading of the results of the experience of others; and if, with these opportunities, he chooses to confine himself to such matters only as are immediately under his own eyes, he must of necessity fall behind in the race."

What a volume is comprised in that exclamation—"Cut down the hedges," which, with their timber-landlords' timber—are peculiarly majestic in Devonshire from the smallness of the fields!

And in the following story it is difficult to believe that John did not intend a sly hit at the "protection" speeches of his brother squires:—

"A gentleman told me a very few days ago, that he had been applied to the evening before, by a stage coachman, who wished to be informed whether the statement which had been made to him were true, that the distance between the earth and the moon could be measured, and had been measured in fact. He answered the inquiry, by assuring him that it was, no doubt, perfectly true—that the science of astronomy had so far advanced—and that astronomical instruments had been brought to so great a degree of perfection, that the distance to the moon had been ascertained with very considerable accuracy. "Sir," replied the man, "I will never believe it until I can drive to it with my own stage coach." (Laughter.)

This is a man after the "Central Protection Society's" own heart; sure y they will exert their influence at the TREASURY in his favour to secure him a place when the railways which are now penetrating into the west shall have displaced him from his coach-box. Farmers, however, must get rid of prejudices.

"If we meet with such prejudices among those who are engaged in agriculture, we must bid farewell to improvement; but I am quite sure they will not be indulged in by those who exercise that good sense, and that common intelligence, which are the peculiar characteristics of Englishmen, and of which it is the privilege of the county of Devon to possess so large a stock. I do not hesitate to say to the farmers of this country, that they must be alive and looking about them. They have lost their monopoly, which is less they move forward with the times they must give up." (Hear, hear.)

And which, he might have added, if they do more forward they cannot want. But the backwardness of the farmers is more the fault of the landowners than of the tenants, for though a tenant may have all the knowledge required in the next passage, it will avail but little if he is not made completely independent by a rational lease—

“I am not going so far as to say that any knowledge of Greek, or even of Latin, is necessary to make a good farmer, but I will be bold to say that some learning is absolutely indispensable to that end. I think it is necessary, at all events, that he should know when he takes into his hand the materials with which he is to work, what is their nature and composition. It is necessary that he should be able to examine, to analyze, and to compare, and by that means to ascertain of what different materials the soil itself, upon his knowledge of which the success of all

his operations must depend, is composed; and it is necessary also that he should be able to go further than this. To drive the plough, so to speak, deeper still, and not only to know well the surface of the land, but to make himself acquainted with the nature and structure of that which lies beneath. He should know, too, something of geology, at least he should know so much of it, that, when he sets himself to drain his land, he may not throw his money away, but may be able to do it upon scientific principles, and so at half the cost. (Hear, hear.) You may think, perhaps, that I am attempting to fix a very high standard of skill and qualification for a person in the condition of a renting farmer. I do not pretend to suppose that we shall arrive at that standard all at once, but I do expect that the farmers should approximate to it every year more and more, and I am quite sure that if they do not do it they will find by-and-by, as the numbers of those who are educated for the learned professions increase, and as those professions themselves become over-crowded, men will be found, among their increasing numbers, possessing all the knowledge, all the skill, and all the information to which I have alluded who will bring that knowledge and skill and information to bear, profitably for that knowledge and skill and business of agriculture. I say that, themselves, on the practical business of agriculture. I say that, if the tenant-farmers of this country do not, as I hope and trust they will, exert themselves to acquire the skill which every man in that condition ought to possess, they will find themselves eventually thrust aside by a different class of men *— by men who now find employment for their talents and energies in the liberal or learned professions.* I need not, I am sure, in such a meeting as this, attempt to enlarge upon the importance of the other item to which I have alluded, as prominent to the tenant to supply, namely, capital."

There is much truth in the above passage, but every trace of feudality and degrading dependence on landlords and stewards, to which landowners yet so pertinaciously cling, must be abandoned before men of education as well as capital will, to any great extent, embark in agriculture as a profession. He then referred to the necessity of regarding the welfare of the labourers, saying:—

"On them we are dependent, in a very great degree, for the success of all our exertions, and it is our interest, as it is our duty, to do what we can to add to their comfort and an increasing *profitability, and to make them feel a deeper and an increasing interest in the soil which is cultivated by their hands.* I can easily conceive a case in which an occupier of land—whether himself the owner or the tenant of another, by care and kindness—*considerate treatment at all times—by a diligent attention to the habits of his labourers—by something too of severity and strictness in enforcing attention to their duties—by manifesting an interest in all their concerns, may inspire them with such a desire for the success of their employer, and the credit of the farm on which he lives, that the labour of one such person shall be worth that of two others; I am sure that such care and attention bestowed upon the labourer would more than repay itself—and I have no doubt that the man who acted upon such principles would stand a much better chance of winning prizes at an agricultural show, and of beating his neighbour in the field and in the market, than one who treated his labourers as mere implements and tools to work with, as articles which cost a certain amount of money, and which were to do a certain quantity of work for it."* (Cheers.)

It seems the quality of the stock exhibited improved, for Sir John said:—

"If the attendance had not been so numerous, or the exhibition so large as on former occasions, it was partly owing to the fact that *they had established a higher standard of excellence*, so that *a man intending to exhibit thought twice about sending an animal to the yard, where previously he only thought once.*"

And he concluded with this reference to fences:—
 "There was no doubt the land was much more subdivided in this county than in many others, and that the number and nature of the fences tended to prevent many desirable improvements, to occupy room that might be more usefully employed, and to impede many of the operations of agriculture. He was satisfied that, in a great number of cases, the landlords would greatly benefit by removing them."

This speech, which was listened to with attention, and cheered throughout, indicates not merely recovery from the "protection" mania, but considerable progress from the point to which landlords had reached before they had been inoculated with that malady. Another speech worthy of remark was that of Mr. George Turner, a tenant-farmer, who, in returning thanks as a "successful candidate," said:—

"He was peculiarly gratified to see the interest which the county gentlemen had taken in agricultural matters within the last few years. Some years since they were very unfortunately situated in this respect. There were but few men among the landlords of the county to set an example, or to give encouragement to the renting farmer. Mr. Turner referred to the regretment, to the county of Norfolk had attained among high position which the county of Norfolk had attained in the agricultural countries of England. He attributed it, in a great measure, to the course taken by Lord Leicester (then Mr. Coke), in trying himself experiments on a large scale—in investigating and testing the value of different manures, and in purchasing invariably the best male animals that could be got, and chasing his tenants the best of it. He was delighted to see evidences of a similar spirit among the landlords of this county. It was not to be expected that a tenant, particularly of a small estate, could undertake to try expensive experiments, the result of which, of course, must be entirely uncertain. Many of them could not afford it, and it would be hard upon the tenant to incur the expense if he could; but if the landlords, who had both the ability and the chemical knowledge to do it effectually, would themselves undertake it, the best results would follow. He had proved the value of draining and subsoil ploughing, on an estate he was going to himself, which had been left him by his father. When he took it in hand, it was not so well cultivated as he could have wished; and he assured them that by a considerable small outlay, he had nearly doubled its value. He had drained a great portion of it, and since then subsoiled a considerable part of it; and he should be happy to show the result to any gentleman who might desire to see it. He had a field, of which he had subsoiled one portion, and left another portion undone, and he declared positively that the latter was not half as good as the former." (Hear.)

Mr. Tuckett also said :—
 "He was convinced that the land might be made, with proper exertions, to produce double the quantity of food which it now produces, and that it might be made to maintain fifty millions of people. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Tuckett made some further observations on the importance of strengthening the connexion between agriculture and commerce, expressing himself warmly in favour of long leases."

FARMERS, BEHOLD YOUR "FRIENDS"!

FARMERS, BEHOLD YOUR "FRIENDS"
The great landed lords and squires who have conferred upon themselves the style and title of "farmers' friends" are beginning to be found out even by their most willing uppers. Not one effective movement have any of the high-professing protectionists made in their places in Parliament, but, on the contrary, they have watched their own Minister breaking down, in his own underhand and stealthy way, all the outworks of monopoly. Now, either all their noise in the country about the necessity of protection to agriculture was known by themselves to be base and lying assertion, or their present inaction is an aban-

document of their public duty. In that dilemma they have placed themselves, and the political monocoppies—the landed—we should have rather said the mortgagee-interest will soon take that low place in the estimation of their dupes, the renting farmers, they have long held with the rest of the community. The conduct of the leaders of the agricultural protectionist party has placed them beneath the scorn of their opponents and the contempt of their own adherents.

Now, though the *Morning Post* has, by consistently advocating "protection," and carrying out its principles to their necessary conclusions, rendered itself the laughing-stock of rational men of all parties, there can be no doubt the views of that journal are those of the "protectionist" leaders. At most of the "protectionist" meetings the conductors of the *Post* were formally thanked—for nobody more cordially than the Duke of Richmond—for their efficient aid in the cause of dear bread and low wages; of high rents for the mortgaged landowners, and short commons for the industrious people; and though lords and squires have found it convenient to forget their professions, the *Post*, with a constancy worthy of a better cause, is true to its nonsense. Not long ago, on the wool duties' repeal coming before the House of Lords, the Duke of Richmond said the proposed repeal would do great injury to the "short-wool growers," and was besides objectionable to him as being another step towards Free Trade, which he believed would ruin the country; yet he would offer no "factive opposition" to the Government. Oh dear, no! If be had, Sir Robert Peel must have very much misappalled place at the Treasury. But hear what the *Post*, speaking under the name of PHILADELPHUS, says on the subject:—

[illegible]

That the "Protection Society" does not represent the interests of English agriculture is admitted; and from the conduct of its leaders it does not even represent the cause it was created to maintain, namely, *English bad husbandry*. The truth that it represents nothing but the sordid personal interests of the mortgaged landocracy must now be palpable to the dullest comprehension. Farmers, in their true characters behold you "FRIENDS!"

FREE TRADE OR SCARCITY?
The following letter, from a "Tenant-farmer," appears in the *Mark-lane Express* of this week, and it points very plainly to the great loss which farmers sustain in years like the present from the restrictions on the corn trade:—

"THE DROUGHT AND THE CROPS."
"SIR,—I have heard and read a good deal about the advantages of protecting British farmers against the importation of foreign corn, but there is one point upon which I wish you, or any of your Pro Corn Law correspondents, would tell me how they make out their case. I mean, the case which is, I dare say, that of husbandry."

"I will state my own case, which is, I dare say, that of hundreds besides. I occupy strong land, but which, being drained, is in pretty good condition. I can grow, in ordinary seasons, roots, beans, peas, and spring tares, upon which I rely for keeping a large stock both of cattle and sheep. This year I shall have neither beans, peas, or spring tares, come what may, and my chance of a root crop is not very promising. Besides my pasture land is not worth mowing, so that I shall have little or no meadow hay, and my clover crop will be but a scanty one. I have naturally become anxious about my stock, which it is now certain I shall keep during the next year at a serious loss. Neither shall I do better by selling them, for nine-tenths of the farm are as badly off for provender as I am; and if I sell my stock, it will be at a great sacrifice. Besides, my next year's wheat crop, and that of the year after, depend upon my continuing to keep a large stock; the stock, therefore, must be kept, be the loss what it may.

"Now, what I want to know is, should I not be benefited by being able to buy Indian corn from the United States, beans from Egypt, and peas, rye, oats, and tares from continental Europe at cheap rates? If there were no duties on these articles, I could get them at a cost that would make my stock cheap, instead of a cause of loss, as will happen this year, and I should fully keep up the fertility of my wheat land. In a word, I should be protected from a severe loss, and my farm saved from deterioration, by that very Free Trade which our Corn-Law gentlemen tell us is to do, I know not what, our chief to farmers. And thinking about this matter has induced me to look back for several years, and I find that, year after year, I should have been a gainer if I could every year, at all times of the year, have procured from abroad the stock-provender I have named, without the burden of any duty. When such articles were plentiful, I should have kept more stock, and so grown more wheat; and when, as now, they are scarce, I should at all events have kept up my stock, and the condition of my farm, without loss. But then, they tell me, if the Corn Laws were repealed, wheat would be so cheap that half of us could not grow it at all. That's all nonsense; for give us plenty of stock, together with cheap food for stock, and I will be bound to say we English farmers can grow wheat at a lower price than any other farmers in Europe. And this year, wheat is the only crop likely to stand the drought; so that, having lost all our other crops, and being compelled to keep our cattle, or sell them at a loss, we shall most likely find what we want in price as if the trade in corn had been free. So break again the Corn Laws would help us. I am more than half inclined to say the Free-Traders are right after all."

THE CROPS AND THE WEATHER.

We have more than once adverted to the way in which farmers will lose during the present season from deficiency of cattle provender; and the following extracts from the agricultural reports of the past week will place before our readers some of the facts relating to the deplorable prospects of the farmer at this moment. The *Mark-lane Express*, in its review of the corn trade, says:—

Mark-lane Express, in its review says:—

"Even if the anxiously wished-for supply of moisture should now be afforded, it may be questioned whether it would be sufficient time to repair the injury occasioned by the long-continued drought. What on good soil might, we are disposed to believe, recover the ground it has lately lost; whilst in light lands the deficiency would probably not be of much importance, should the summer and autumn prove propitious; as regards spring sown corn, however it is to be apprehended that the mischief done can be but very partially remedied, in addition to numerous well-authenticated instances, in which the seed has failed altogether to germinate, the reports respecting the appearance of the fields, where germination had taken place are the reverse of satisfactory. In many localities the

seeds are stated to have come, at different periods, and are described as wearing a most irregular aspect; a circumstance which must, even could quantity be obtained, preclude the possibility of the quality of the grain being even in the same year.

Again, the same authority adds:—

"Beans and peas may, however, be definitely spoken of; and we have no hesitation in stating that the effects of the last two months' drought has rendered it almost impossible for these articles to produce nearly a usual average."

And from nearly every part of the country the same reports are received. Thus, by the agricultural report from Essex, we learn that

"Thousands of acres in our county of grass lands intended for mowing, and whereon full crops were obtained last year, now present the sterility of Hounslow-heath; and two barrows full would, if mown this season, be nearer the produce than two waggon-loads. In many parts, both on the heavy as well as the light districts, clovers have suffered so severely that they would not mow a quarter of a ton per acre; and we do not think we are far out of the way in rating our hay produce at two thirds less than last season."

So it appears that

"Oats present a very unfavourable appearance, and must be very deficient. Beans are most pitiable; in many places in full blossom some six or ten inches high. Peas are a little better and, as they are pretty free from insect, with rain they may improve. Mangel-wurzel is wretched; there is hardly a tenth of what is sown that has vegetated."

And it seems that monopoly rents, landlords contrive to secure without high prices, which laws and landlords cannot secure, have already diminished the tenant's stock; for the Essex reporter says:—

"The wool markets are rather better than last season; but, owing to increasing difficulty in making up payments, the farmers generally have not the great stock of sheep they possessed some two or three years since."

Again, in Bedfordshire, the same melancholy prospect is presented:—

"We have intentionally delayed our report for a week, under the hope of being able to say that the long (and now very alarming) drought had ended. Day after day, however, succeed each other without any rain, except an occasional very slight shower, which tells on the thirsty land little more than a good heavy dew. We never recollect to have had to report (at this season of the year in particular) so long an absence of rain, it being now about eleven weeks since the earth has had at all a thorough saturation. The ponds are half of them dry, and very many have been excavated within the last month; and the want of water in some situations begins to be severely felt. The pasture grounds in many cases are completely bare, and in some instances the cattle have to be foddered. Many of the young clovers will not mow at all, especially on the weak, dry soils; and the seeds sown with the spring crops have, as yet, hardly anywhere vegetated. The high land grass, where laid for mowing, is now much of it fed with cattle, and where left, it is so short that it will be difficult to mow it at all; while the meadows (except in the very lowest situations) are a most scanty crop; so that, taken altogether, the crop of hay must now be unavoidably deficient, almost beyond precedent."

Again:—

"The beans are also at present exceedingly short in the stem, and the chances are greatly against anything like an average crop. The peas, perhaps, vary most of all; in some cases, where sown early, they seem to have suffered less than other grain, though in other instances they look sickly, and here and there are quite dried up."

So in the same county:—

"Mangel-wurzel bids fair to be a general failure this year; we have seen none yet that has vegetated, and, if rain was even to come shortly, it is now getting almost too late to hope for anything like a heavy produce. There is also a good deal of anxiety now beginning to be felt as to the turnips; very few are sown, and those few cannot come up without rain, though it is not too late yet to hope for a crop of turnips; if, however, rain should hold off much longer, the prospect both for summer and winter provender will be most gloomy."

Since the above was written, rain has not only "held off" more than another week, but the prospect of wet appears more remote than ever, for the wind has changed to the west and south-west, and the weather appears to be only hotter and drier than before. Again, in Somersetshire:—

"Peas are injured greatly. Some of the barley has been ploughed up. Beans in blossom, very short, but not fine. Many oats not up. Rain may greatly benefit all these crops yet. Crop of grass very light. Clover almost a failure in crop; that sown in the spring quite so; as also, with few exceptions, mangel and carrots for winter feed. The late potatoes have not made their appearance, and the crop will stand a poor chance of being an abundant one."

Even in Cumberland, the most moist county in England:—

"The hay crop, according to present appearances, must be unusually light. Sown grasses were very forward, and suffered severely from the frosty nights and cold windy days, much of the clover being completely shrivelled and dried-like in its leaves, and on dry gravelly-bottomed land it has been burned quite brown, and cannot recover."

And even the rich grazing land of Northamptonshire cannot resist the long-continued drought, for the report from that county says:—

"Circumstances appear now very serious, everything that is growing is suffering extremely. The old rich grass land that generally looks so luxuriant at this time of the year presents but a barren appearance, and has not, up to the present time, carried more than half the quantity of stock as in an ordinary season. Many of the fresh heaths are now foddered with hay occasionally. The growing crops of hay are very light, and in many places the roots appear to be quite dead. The wheat crop looked well up to the middle of the month, but is evidently going the wrong way. The flag is dying, and the drills may be seen from end to end."

And—

"Mangel-wurzel does very bad; it comes at several times, and will have a hard matter to make a crop. There are one or two pieces in the vicinity of Northampton that look well. Carrots, in most instances, are a failure; they, like mangel, came at twice, and present but a poor appearance."

So in Yorkshire:—

"Every thing looks parched, and in many districts the wheat crops, which in the early part of spring were so promising, begin to assume a sickly colour in the blade. The barley and oats, too, are suffering greatly from the drought; and it is but too well ascertained that the hay crop is sadly deficient both in quantity and quality. With copious rains wheat might yet recover itself; but we fear that almost every other kind of crop is doomed to be deficient."

Again, in Scotland, which has suffered less than England, we learn from the *Inverness Courier*, that—

"The hay crop may be said to be irretrievably gone, as we are now within a short time of the usual hay harvest. In the southern counties the damage done by the drought is much greater than in this neighbourhood, as the crops are in a more advanced state of progress, and less likely to recover by subsequent rain. A proof of the dryness of the season is at present

sent afforded by the state of our river, which is lower than it was even in the memorable season of drought in 1826."

In 1826 hay rose to £10 a load, and other provender was at the like famine prices. Yet, while our stock is in danger of being starved, and the farmer is likely to be injured, in some cases ruined, by the difficulty of keeping them and upholding the condition of his land, we find from the *Mark-lane Express* review of the foreign corn trade that

"From the south of Europe we learn that the weather has been favourable for the growing grain crops, which, together with the dull accounts from hence, had given a heavy tone to the trade in wheat at the principal ports in the Mediterranean."

The wheat of southern Europe is generally inferior and in bad condition, but if the corn trade were free, we could draw from that part of the world large supplies of beans, maize, and other provender; and Egyptian beans might now be had in Liverpool, but for the duty, at 24s., and Baltic peas at 23s. a quarter, and Indian corn at 28s. a quarter. The Corn Laws here seem to inflict a wanton injury; but Monopoly has ever been the parent of dearth, scarcity, and famine.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"A Subscriber" sends us the following query:—If A rents a freehold house and premises at £10 per annum from B, is A entitled to vote for the borough, and B for the county? [Both A and B can vote, one for the county, the other for the borough.]

The information sought for by "A Friend to Free Inquiry" will be found in "Macgregor's Commercial Statistics." The work is published by Mr. Knight, Ludgate-street, and sells for a guinea and a half.

"A Subscriber to the League," from Leith, may rest assured that the misrepresentations of the monopolists are utterly without foundation. The information he requires will be given in due course.

The article on the customs' frauds is not exactly suited to our columns.

The Epitaph on Monopoly, from "M. N.," of Sheffield, we will reserve as he desires. We shall be glad to receive his proposed contribution to the bazaar.

"M." should ask all cavaliers to ascertain for themselves what is the proportion which rent bears to the money value of all the produce sold off the farm. This is the most effective mode of disproving the cant fallacy that rent bears an insignificant proportion to the general expenses of agricultural production.

"J. H., a Member of the League,"—The League wants an adequate supply of corn for the people, no matter whence obtained. The Corn Laws prevent the importation of foreign corn, and, by thus excluding competition from the home-grower, render him more reliant upon what is called protection for his market, than upon his own skill or enterprise. The necessary consequence has been, that agriculture has been less improved practically in this country than any other branch of our national industry. Take away that protection, and leave the farmer and landlord dependent altogether upon self-exertion and science for their market, and there can be no doubt that necessity would compel the universal use of those more economical and productive modes of tillage that experience, in so many individual cases, has proved capable of very largely increasing the quantity of food from a given surface. We should thus increase materially our own food production; and suppose even that this increase of production would be sufficient to lower prices so far as to render it unprofitable for the foreigner to send corn to this country, the advantage to manufactures and commerce would arise from the early extended means of home consumption that would arise from the diminished cost of subsistence. Then, again, the trade with other countries would be greatly extended by the increased power of consuming all foreign commodities, such as sugar, tea, coffee, &c. &c. The demand for the raw materials of all our manufactures would also be greatly multiplied; and as almost without exception these raw materials are the products of other countries, our foreign trade would be proportionately extended in all these commodities. But J. H. must remember, that the operations here alluded to will require many years to realize their results, while population in this country is rapidly increasing every year, and with a free trade in food would increase in a ratio fully sufficient to consume not only whatever increase of production might take place on our own soil, but any additional quantity that could be obtained from other countries. Then there would be a double stimulus to the wealth and industry of this country—on the one hand, the increased food-producing power of our own soil, whilst the rapid growth of a wealthy and well-paid population would provide the means of consumption both for the additional quantity of corn grown here and that imported from other countries. What the Free-Traders demand is, that the trade in corn shall be free, as the only means of enabling the people of this country to feed themselves. When they can feed themselves, no matter whether from the productive capacities of their own soil, to which Free Trade alone can give full development, or by importation—the natural desires of men for the higher comforts of life would open new, and widen all the old, sources of commerce, so that our foreign trade might extend proportionately with the increasing wealth and population of the country.

We have a file of poetical contributions before us, from which we can make no extracts this week.

We have also a variety of other correspondents on hand, to each of which it would be impossible to give separate replies; but we will take care to print by the suggestions of some of our friends; and the information needed by others will be given in due course.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE USUAL MEETING of the LEAGUE will be held in COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE, on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, the 19th inst.

GEORGE WILSON, Esq., will take the Chair at HALF-PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK precisely. The Meeting will be addressed by John Bowring, Esq., LL.D., M.P.; Rev. Thomas Spencer, of Hinton Charterhouse; and W. J. Fox, Esq.

Cards of admission may be had on application at the Offices of the League, on Monday and Tuesday, between the hours of eleven and four o'clock.

Applications for Private Boxes to be made personally or by letter on Monday.

The cards of registered Members will admit, as heretofore, to Pitt and Galleries.—DOORS TO BE OPENED AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, June 15, 1844.

The annual motion by the Hon. C. P. Villiers, for the repeal of the Corn Laws, will certainly, as we understand, be brought forward on Tuesday, the 25th inst. Whatever constituencies intend to present memorials to their representatives, requesting them to support such motion, should, if they have not already forwarded them, transmit them forthwith; and, as we have before intimated, in cases

where the members are pledged to our cause by former votes, a thankful acknowledgment and expression of confidence may duly take place of the requirement in the memorial. Let none who are friendly to our cause have occasion to say that his hands are not strengthened by his constituents; and let none who are hostile either dare to misstate, or affect not to know, the wishes of those whom he claims to represent. Cut away all such excuses or pretexts; nor is it needful, or desirable, that memorializing should be restricted to localities where Free-Traders are already in a majority. The protests and recommendations of strong minorities are not things to be disregarded. Very often they are intimations in which an observant member can read the presage of his destiny at a future election. "Coming events cast their shadows before;" and shadows have struck terror to stout hearts, when known to be cast by the approach of advancing realities.

It is most just and needful that our friends and champions in the Legislature should be thus encouraged from without. There should be no sympathy that can be construed into coldness and indifference; or a lack of appreciation of their arduous services. Within the walls of the House of Commons there is everything to dishearten and discourage them. We know very well that they are not so to be damped, or taken aback. But that is no reason for the slightest failure in what is due from us to them. To cheer them forward is all the co-operation we can render; and let it be rendered heartily. They are aided by the appeal to foes and neutrals, as well as by the expression of gratitude towards themselves. All such documents should, therefore, speedily be at their respective destinations.

We do not affect to anticipate success; nor, indeed, any considerable accession of numbers upon the division of last year. Monopoly is not yet prepared to surrender; nor the Ministry to break with the monopoly by which it was created. As to conversions, they are rare things now-a-days. We shall never see a black swan majority. But we do expect that both Monopoly and the Ministry will have their impression deepened that they are fighting a losing game, and that it is rapidly becoming time to look about them for a final arrangement. We shall win in their minds, though not in their voices. They will say "No," feeling that they must come to "Ay." They will be unable to shut their eyes to the fact that the end has begun.

Although individual members should have the private jogging and flapping which will remind them of their constituents, yet, as a body, we have not, this session, begirt the Parliament, "beseeching or besieging." It has been let alone. The Leaguers have not pestered it with petitions. The public looks on, merely watching it, and regarding the Legislature, rather than the Corn Law question, as being just now upon its trial. Such silence is a very significant hint of the transfer of public interest and expectancy to the next Parliament. We shall "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" whatever proceedings take place; but the appeal is already made, and the cause is before the tribunal of the nation, as constitutionally embodied in the constituencies.

Nor can any complaint be set up that the House of Commons has been overmuch troubled within doors, any more than from without, upon this question during the present session. It has been suffered to fall into a comparative abeyance, offering a curious and expressive contrast with the unabated interest it excites in the public mind. There has been no forcing it forward. There has been no factious harassing, to be made an excuse for not, at last, yielding "ample scope and verge enough" to a matter so important. The House will come to it like one waking out of sleep, and learning what the rest of the world has been talking and thinking of all the while. This does not encourage us to say, "We all expect a gentle answer, Jew;" but it should at least ensure a full and fair discussion of the subject, and a more decorous disposal of it than has sometimes been vouchsafed on former occasions.

FREE-TRADE CLUB.—We are glad to hear that several of the most eminent opponents of monopoly have determined upon instituting a Free-Trade Club in London, the want of which has been long felt. We know of nothing more desirable than that the advocates of the emancipation of industry should have opportunities of intercommunication, and the means of ascertaining the progress of free commercial principles. The collection of a library of sterling publications on the till lately little understood science of Political Economy, the convenience of those Free-Traders who may visit London from the provinces, and the association of as many friends of the cause as possible, appear to be the objects that the promoters of this undertaking have in view.

He that squeezes the poor to increase his own estate, gives to the rich only to impoverish himself.—*Luther on Proverbs* xxii. 16.

It is better to perish with hunger, than to deprive the poor of their bread.

REVIEW.

Heeren's Researches into the Commerce of Ancient Nations. (French and English translations.)

(Continued from the LEAGUE, No. 34.)

In the conclusion of our former article on this subject we stated that fish was not the only supply which the Egyptians derived from the Nile; the cultivation of aquatic plants for the food both of men and cattle was an important branch of their agriculture, though unknown in almost every other country. Herodotus, whose testimony is confirmed by Theophrastus and Diodorus Siculus, gives us a very full account of the cultivation of the lotus lily and the byblus. "The byblus," he says, "is an annual plant; after they have plucked it from the marshes, they cut off the top part, and use it for many and various purposes; the lower part, which is about a cubit in length, is good for food, and is commonly exposed for sale. Those who desire to make a very delicate dish of the byblus, stew it in a hot pan, and so serve it up."

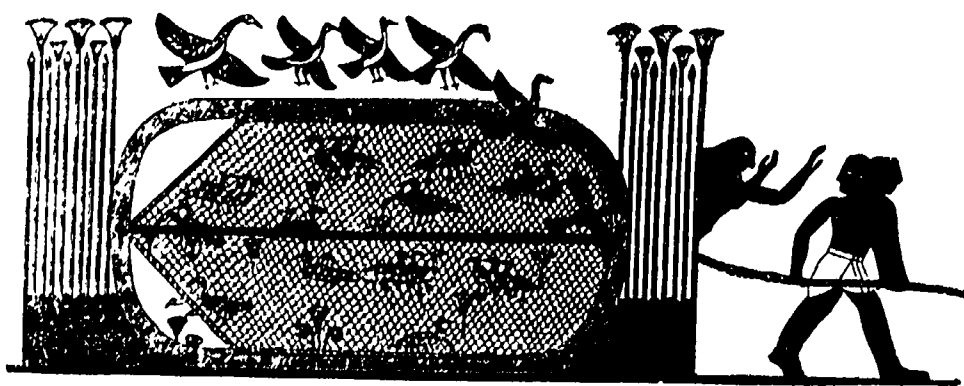
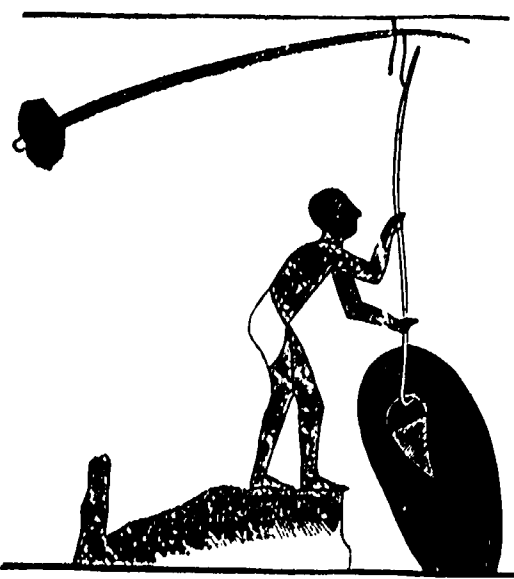
The two species of lotus are the *Nymphaea Lotus* and *Nymphaea Nelumbo*; the former is still found in great abundance near Damietta; its stalk grows about five feet above the surface of the water, but it sometimes attains a greater height, which would justify the Egyptian artists for mixing it with the byblus, as we shall soon see that it is in the sketch of bird-catchers lurking amid these large aquatic plants. Savary mentions that the seed is still used as an article of food by the inhabitants. The *Nymphaea Nelumbo*, or *Nelumbium speciosum*, is well known in India: we have not been able to find a distinct notice of it in any of the recent works on Egypt; but that it was anciently cultivated in the country is beyond doubt. Not only do we find it depicted in its natural colours, with its stalk and fruits, in one of the tombs opened by Belzoni, but in the great French work on Egypt, from which we copy the engraving, we see that the representation of a nelumbo harvest adorns a royal sepulchre. The



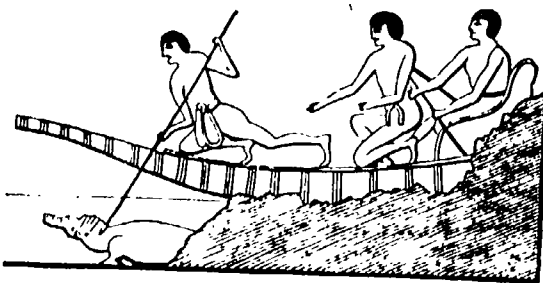
byblus is not now cultivated in Egypt; its principal value was for the manufacture of papyrus, which was very extensive. It is generally known that the byblus grows in a part of Sicily, near Syracuse, but nowhere else, we believe, in Europe, and that the late Chevalier Landolina succeeded in manufacturing papyrus from its leaves, specimens of which were sent to the principal museums and cabinets in Europe. He likewise bears testimony to the sweetness of the sap, and describes the pulp as somewhat similar to that of the sugar-cane.

We find the lotus-harvest, however, as usually connected with horticulture as with agriculture; at first the plant might be mistaken for corn, but it may be easily distinguished by the greenness of the stem, and by the waved lines, which show that it was planted in well-watered beds. The gatherers of the lotus appear to have cut the stem off close to the roots, with a sickle shorter and sharper than that used for reaping the corn. We clearly see that the lotus reed was looked upon as far more valuable than straw: great care is shown in binding them into sheaves, and those who carry them exhibit an anxious caution against breaking the stem. It is also remarkable that the lotus was gathered both green and ripe, and that the fruit was extracted by drawing the heads through a toothed instrument not unlike that used for cleaning flax; after which the stems were preserved for a great variety of domestic purposes. It was, however, chiefly as fodder for cattle that the lotus was cultivated, and its nutritious qualities were deemed so great that kine fed upon this water plant were said to surpass all others in fatness and in flavour of the meat. As it is our purpose in these articles not to confine ourselves too strictly to the mere commercial examination of the history of ancient nations, but to take advantage of such opportunities as may incidentally arise for illustrating the scriptural narratives and confirming the historical veracity of the Old Testament, we may here notice a slight inaccuracy of our translators in the account given of Pharaoh's dream (Gen. xli. 2). The passage stands thus:—"There came up out of the river seven well-favoured kine and fat-flashed, and they fed in a meadow." The latter clause should be rendered "they fed on the *achu*," which was a generic name for the plants of the Nile. Meadows properly so called were unknown in Egypt, though artificial irrigation has been practiced in the country from the earliest ages. The *shaduf* represented in the accompanying engraving is still used by the Egyptian cultivators, and indeed

a contrivance of the same kind is common in many parts of England. It will be seen that the dress



fowl in Western Africa and India. In some tropical countries the aquatic plants are so strong, and rise to such a height, that they become the principal causes of the marshes which render the navigation dangerous, and also of the miasmata, which at the end of summer necessarily arise from the decay of such immense masses of vegetable matter. They are also the common resort of the crocodile,



which, though an object of veneration in some of the nomes of Egypt, was chased and destroyed in other parts of the country. There are but few representations of the chase of the crocodile: it was too dangerous a sport to be often practised, though the Tenbyutes were celebrated for their skill and bravery in such encounters. Most of the nations bordering on Egypt greatly dreaded this animal, which was known to them only by report, and hence we find it quoted in Job as one of the wonders of creation which best illustrate almighty power. The description is rather long, but a portion of it may be advantageously quoted:—

"Canst thou draw out leviathan with an hook? or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down? Canst thou put an hook into his nose? or bore his jaw through with a thorn? Will he make many supplications unto thee? will he speak soft words unto thee? Will he make a covenant with thee? wilt thou take him for a servant for ever? Wilt thou play with him as with a bird? or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens? Shall thy companions make a banquet of him? shall they part him among the merchants? Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons? or his head with fish spears? Lay thine hand upon him, remember the battle, do no more. Behold, the hope of him is in vain: shall not one be cast down even at the sight of him? None is so fierce that dare stir him up: who then is able to stand before me? Who hath prevented me, that I should repay him? whatsoever is under the whole heaven is mine. I will not conceal his parts, nor his power, nor his comely proportion. Who can discover the face of his garment? or who can come to him with his double bridle? Who can open the doors of his face? his teeth are terrible round about. His scales are his pride, shut up together as with a close seal. One is so near to another that no air can come between them. They are joined one to another, they stick together, that they cannot be sundered. By his neesings a light doth shine, and his eyes are like the eyelids of the morning. Out of his mouth go burning lamps, and sparks of fire leap out. Out of his nostrils goeth smoke, as out of a seething pot or caldron. His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth."

We have heard objections made to the latter part of this description; but those who have seen the animal when he comes to the surface of the waters to breathe, have declared that the expiration is like

and appearance of the labourer here represented proves him to belong to the very lowest class; and we find in Scripture that "hewers of wood and drawers of water" were proverbially regarded as the meanest of slaves.

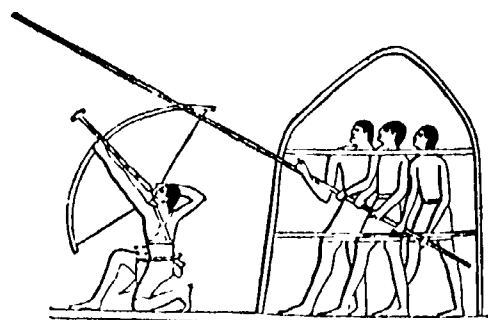
The reedy shades formed by the water plants of the Nile formed very dense covers, and were used by the fowlers for setting their trap-nets, which, in consequence of the extreme abundance of aquatic birds in Egypt, were made so large that the exertions of several persons were necessary to close them. Some one of the fowlers appears to have been usually concealed among the reeds and tall flower-stems of the aquatic plant, to watch the time when a sufficient number of birds would be collected in the net, and give his companions the signal for pulling the catchline by which it was closed. There are not in the picture from which our engraving is copied any traces of bait being used to entice the birds; but it is probable that the simple clearing of the water from its reeds and lilies would be sufficient attraction for the flocks of Egyptian aquatic birds, as it is still found to be for the river-

the seething of a caldron. Virgil boldly applies the same description to a spirited horse, an animal not at all so remarkable as the crocodile for the force of its breathing. He says:—

"Collectumque premens voluit sub naribus ignem," which may be rendered

"And in his nostrils rolls collected fire."

The chase of another dreaded inhabitant of the waters deserves to be mentioned; we mean the hippopotamus, called in Scripture the behemoth. Its almost impenetrable skin was highly valued by the Egyptians as a covering for their shields, and it is still used for the same purpose by many African nations. Among the Egyptians, the shield appears to have been more highly valued than it was by the Greeks of the heroic ages. They were almost the only nation who, in the siege of fortified places, employed a shield of sufficient size to protect storming parties, or sappers and miners advancing against hostile walls, similar to the pavis used for a like purpose in the days of chivalry. These pavises were usually covered with hides, not merely to repel darts and other weapons, but to save them from being burned by the torches and brands of the besiegers.



The formidable whips used for the chastisement of slaves and public offenders were also made from the hide of the hippopotamus, and these instruments of torture were not less formidable than the Russian knout, or the cow-skin of the American slave-dealers. The unfortunate Fellahs of Egypt are often chastised with this fearful instrument of punishment by the officers of Mohammed Ali, and they believe that liability to be flogged with the hippopotamus thong has been transmitted to them as an inheritance from their ancestors in the age of the Pharaohs.

No species of chase appears to have been more dangerous than that of the hippopotamus. The hunters, instead of spears, used a species of harpoon, to which a rope was attached so as to afford the wounded animal full scope in his death-struggles, as is the practice in the whale-fishery. It was not until the hippopotamus had been wounded by several persons, gashed by darts, harpoons, or spears, and exhausted by his struggles and the loss of blood, that the attendants attempted to secure him by flinging a noose over his head; and even, under the most favourable circumstances, this was a service of danger, for a single touch of the unwieldy animal's paw would have upset or broken to pieces the frail canoe used by the Egyptian chasseurs. From the

description given of the behemoth or hippopotamus in the book of Job, it would seem that this animal was at one time very generally known in Lower Egypt, but at the present day it is very rarely, if ever, seen below the cataracts:—

"Behold now behemoth, which I made with thee; he eateth grass as an ox. Lo now, his strength is in his loins, and his force is in the navel of the belly. He moveth his tail like a cedar: the sinews of his stones are wrapped together. His bones are as strong pieces of brass; his bones are like bars of iron. He is the chief of the ways of God: He that made him can make his sword to approach unto him. Surely the mountains bring him forth food, where all the beasts of the field play. He lieth under the shady trees, in the covert of the reed, and fens. The shady trees cover him with their shadow; the willows of the brook compass him about. Behold, he drinketh up a river, and hasteth not: he trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth. He taketh it with his eyes: his nose pierceth through anares." (Job xl. 15—24.)

Some commentators have hastily inferred from this passage that the hippopotamus was anciently found in the river Jordan, but it is manifest that the patriarch insinuates the direct contrary; for he declares that the animal would exhaust that stream, and consequently must be the inhabitant of a much larger river.

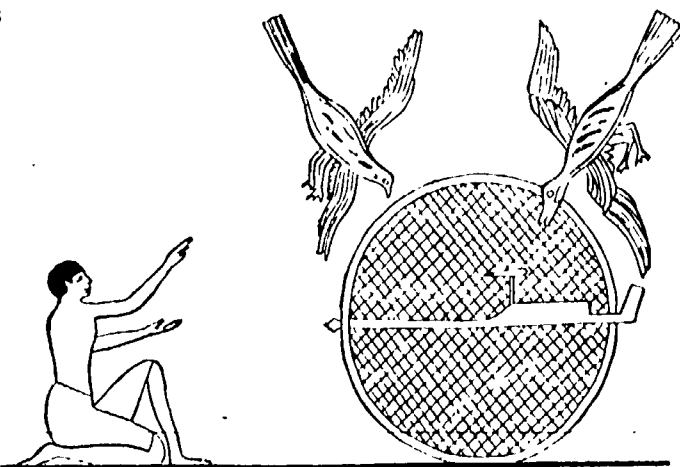
Fowling was a favourite Egyptian sport. We have already noticed the large nets spread among the aquatic plants of the Nile. This species of net was principally used in the Delta; a different kind of trap was necessary for the birds which frequented the districts bordering on the desert, such as the partridge, the quail, and the bustard. This was usually a net stretched over a frame which closed with a spring when the bait was touched, and the mechanism of the contrivance appears to be equally simple and ingenious.

We find many allusions to this practice in Scripture. Thus, Solomon says, that the profligate heedlessly encounters dangers "as a bird hasteth to the snare, and knoweth not that it is for his life." (Prov. vii. 23.) He

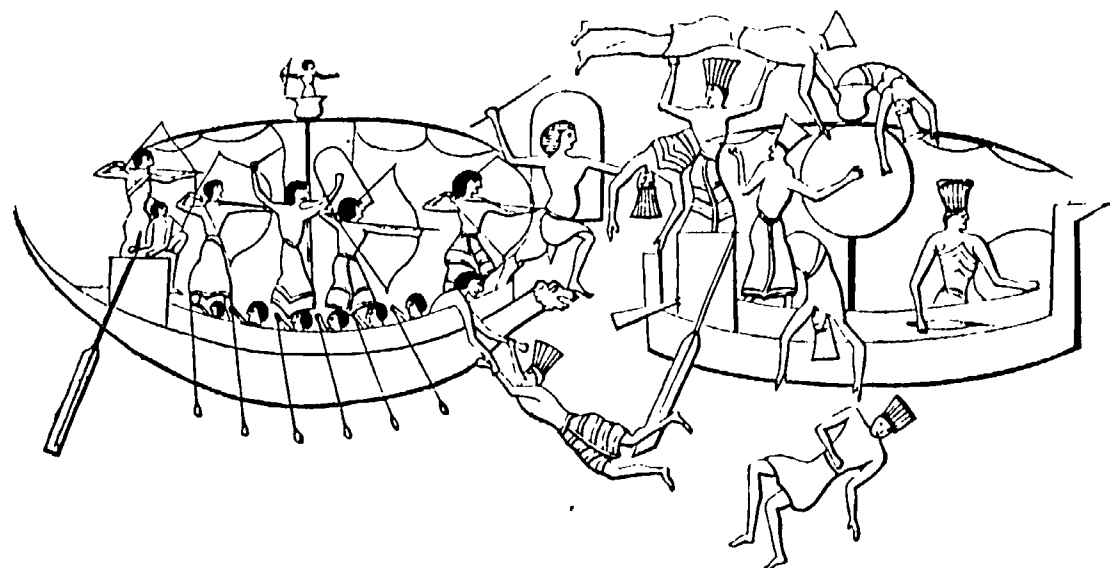
also uses the same image, to show of what little avail is human foresight without the superintendence of Divine Providence:—"For man also knoweth not his time: as the fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as the birds that are caught in the snare; so are the sons of men snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon them." (Eccles. ix. 12.)

From the number of persons who made fowling their business or their pleasure the timidity of the Egyptian birds was proverbial. Thus the prophet Hosea says:—"They shall tremble as a bird out of Egypt, and as a dove out of the land of Assyria; and I will place them in the houses, saith the Lord." There is an original Egyptian painting preserved in the British Museum, which represents an entire family engaged in an excursion against the aquatic birds of the Nile. Besides his wives, children, and attendants, the fowler is represented as having brought with him a decoy-bird, and, what to us must appear rather singular, a favourite cat, which, hunting through the reeds, frequently pounces upon the birds, and is, besides, trained to act as a retriever instead of a dog.

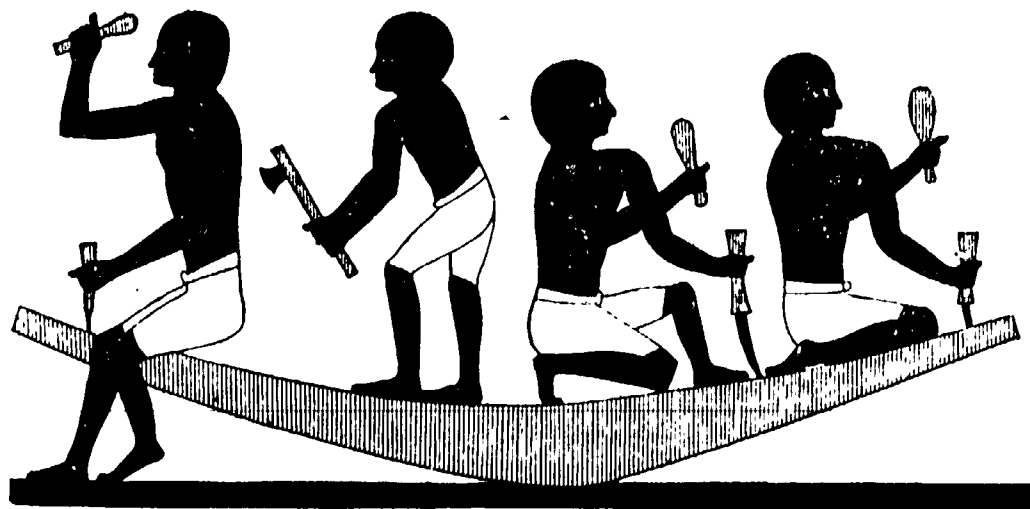
Another use of the Nile remains to be noticed: it was the great highway of communication between Upper and Lower Egypt. We possess the representation of a sea-fight between the Egyptians and some Indian people, and this is, of course, sufficient



to prove that the subjects of the Pharaohs were not ignorant of marine navigation; but in general it may be said that the Egyptians, like the ancient Persians, Assyrians, and Babylonians, and the



modern Siamese, were able navigators of rivers, but dreaded generally to encounter the perils of the open sea. The boat most commonly used on the Nile was the *baris*, which was originally nothing more than an excavated tree, similar to the canoes of the Pacific; but, as large trees are not common



in Egypt, we incline to think that the workmen represented in the accompanying sketch are engaged in a process which more nearly approaches our modern boat-building. The instrument in the hands of the three workmen may either be used to bore holes for the pins which fastened the planks together, or, what is more probable, to stop up the interstices, or, as we commonly say, to calk the vessel, with loose hemp and byblus. The chisel, which is employed by the two figures to the right, is the same as that which, in other paintings, we see used in cabinet and upholstery work, and in one

specimen in chariot-making: it is always distinguishable by the curve which the blade makes with the handle.

The rigging of most of the vessels on the monuments proves that they were river or canal boats. The rudder passes right through the stern, and is used as an oar is sometimes employed as a substitute for a rudder in the present day, and in the mode of propelling a boat called sculling. In many instances we find an awning below the main sail, to protect the rowers from the excessive heat of the sun. These vessels were very unfit to ascend the river

against the stream, and they are always towed up, except when the wind was fresh and favourable. They made use of a singular contrivance to accelerate their motion when descending the stream. They fastened a hurdle of tamarisk with a rope to the prow of the vessel; this hurdle they strengthened with reeds and bands of byblus, and let it down into the water. The stream bearing upon the hurdle urged the vessel forward with such rapidity that her head would have been run under water if they had not steadied her by a heavy weight in the stern.

Coracles were used by the hunters and fowlers, who sought for game in the swamps and marshes; the fishermen used boats of a larger size; but for ferrying over the river, and the transport of goods down the stream, the Egyptians generally used such boats as Ulysses is represented to have constructed for the purposes of escaping from the island of Calypso. Homer describes so graphically the ancient process of boat-building, as we find it depicted on the monuments, that the passage deserves to be quoted:—

"When rosy morning call'd them from their rest,
Ulysses rob'd him in the cloak and vest.
The nymph's fair head a veil transparent grac'd,
Her swelling loins a radiant zone embrac'd,
With flowers of gold: an under robe, unbound,
In snowy waves flow'd glittering on the ground.
Forth issuing thus, she gave him first to wield
A weighty axe, with truest temper steel'd,
And double-edg'd; the handle smooth and plain,
Wrought of the clouded olive's easy grain;
And next a wedge, to drive with sweepy sway:
Then to the neighbouring forest led the way.
On the lone island's utmost verge they stood,
Of poplars, pines, and firs, a leaty wood,
Whose leafless summits to the skies aspire,
Scorch'd by the sun, or sear'd by heavenly fire
(Already dry'd). These, pointing out to view,
The nymph just show'd him and with tears withdrew.
"Now toils the hero; trees on trees o'erthrown
Fall crackling round him, and the forests groan:
Sudden, full twenty on the plain are strow'd,
And lopp'd and lightn'd of their branchy load.
At equal angles these dispos'd to join,
He smooth'd and squar'd them by the rule and line.
(The wimbles for the work Calypso found.)
With these he pierc'd them, and with clunchers bound.
Long and capacious as a shipwright forms
Some bark's broad bottom to outride the storms,
So large he built the raft: then ribb'd it strong
From space to space, and nail'd the planks along;
These form'd the sides; the deck he fashion'd last;
Then o'er the vessel rais'd the taper mast,
With crossing sailyards dancing in the wind;
And to the helm the guiding rudder join'd
(With yielding osiers fenc'd, to break the force
Of surging waves, and steer the steady course).
Thy loom, Calypso! for the future sails
Supply'd the cloth, capacious of the gales.
With stays and cordage last he rigg'd the ship,
And, roll'd on levers, launch'd into the deep."

Odyssey, v.

In Upper Egypt, it would appear that coracles were sometimes formed of wicker-work, covered with hides, such as were used by the ancient Britons. Lucan intimates, that in his day such boats were used on the Nile:—

"The bending willows into barks they twine,
Then line the work with skins of slaughtered kine;
Such are the floats Venetian fishers know,
Where in dull marshes stands the settling Po;
On such to neighbouring Gaul, allured by gain,
The bolder Britons cross the swelling main.
Like these, when fruitful Egypt lies afloat,
The Memphian artist builds his reedy boat."

Pharsal, vii.

It was probably in one of those wicker boats that Moses was exposed by his mother: "When she could no longer hide him, she took for him an ark of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and with pitch, and put the child therein; and she laid it in the flags by the river's brink." (Exod. ii. 3.) The word which our translators have rendered "bulrushes," properly signifies a species of papyrus, which, as we have already said, was used by the Egyptians for their rafts and coracles.

The papyrus boat in which Moses was exposed was "daubed with slime and with pitch," that is, both with mineral and vegetable substances, to serve as calking. A mineral tar, frequently used for this purpose, is produced on the coasts of the Red Sea; it is remarkable for its antiseptic properties, and has been successfully used in the preparation of mummies. A human hand preserved by this substance may be seen in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society; it is so very perfect that the shape of the nails is clearly discernible. When the mother of Moses had stanch'd the little boat, she had reason to hope that it would float in safety until some charitable person should take compassion upon the child. But as in her immediate neighbourhood concealment was necessary, she hid it among the aquatic plants, "the flags by the river's brink." We have already seen that these plants grew so high as to furnish a lurking-place for fowlers and trappers; and it is probable that the sister of Moses availed herself of such a covert, in order to watch the fate of the child without danger of detection.

In some reigns the Egyptians unquestionably paid attention to naval affairs, and kept ships for war and commerce on the Red Sea: the navigation of the Mediterranean was always unpopular, and

for the most part prohibited. The cause of this appears to have been the dangerous nature of the coast, which, even in the time of the Romans, was greatly dreaded by mariners. Lucan avers that it was on this account chiefly that Pompey chose Egypt for the place of his retreat after the unfortunate battle of Pharsalia. He introduces Lentulus, declaring—

"Abounding Egypt shall receive thee yet,
And yield, unquestioned, a secure retreat.
By nature strengthen'd with a dangerous strand,
Her syrtis and untry'd channels guard the land.
Rich in the fatness of her plenteous soil,
She plants her only confidence in Nile."
Pharsal. viii.

We learn incidentally from the prophet Nahum, that the sea was usually regarded rather as a defence to Egypt, than as a means of communication with foreign nations. In his denunciation against Nineveh, he asks, "Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubim were thy helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains." (Nahum iii. 8-10.)

The city of No, or as it is elsewhere more correctly termed, No-Ammon, that is to say, "the peculiar city of Ammon," is identified with Thebes, which was sacred to the god Ammon. Its ancient magnificence is attested by its mighty ruins, and the testimony of Homer shows how appropriate is the epithet "populous." When Achilles refuses to be reconciled to Agamemnon, he declares—

"Not all proud Thebes' unrival'd walls contain,
The world's great empress on the Egyptian plain
(That spreads her conquests o'er a thousand states,
And pours her heroes through a hundred gates;
Two hundred horsemen and two hundred cars
From each wide portal issuing to the wars),
Thou' bribes were heap'd on bribes, in number more
Than dust in fields, or sands along the shore;
Should all these offers for my friendship call,
'Tis he that offers, and I scorn them all."
Iliad, ix.

The commerce of the Egyptians seems to have been chiefly conducted by foreigners; the trade with Central Asia, and perhaps with India, was carried on by the Ishmaelites, and other wandering tribes of the Arabian peninsula; the navigation of the Red Sea seems to have attracted little attention before the age of Ptolemy.

The Logic of Political Economy. By Thomas De Quincey. William Blackwood and Sons, 1844. We have derived much pleasure from the perusal of this book, we wish we could say *profit*; but, on turning over the contents of it again, we fear we must confess that we have gained no valuable addition to our stock of knowledge. Much there is, indeed, to amuse in the variety of the illustrations with which its gifted author has diversified the subject; and amid the quaint pedantry and scholastic dogmatism with which it abounds, we meet with many things which make us glad that we have not left it unread. This is not a book for the multitude; the author, perhaps, would consider this to be *praise*; we mean it, however, as *censure*. Neither is it a book for the few, who have studied this science as it ought to be studied, and after painful thought, and through many difficulties, have been enabled to see and recognise its truths, as none others can see them. It would bewilder the multitude, while to the master of the science it would present something like a Chinese puzzle, serving as an exercise for his powers of mind to unravel the mysteries which the author has created, and to clear the subject of the cloud of doubts thrown around it.

For we hold that there are, in the moral sciences especially, three classes of inquirers, two of whom we have mentioned. The multitude, who, unless they be led away by interest and deeply-rooted prejudices, generally by a kind of instinct, perceive and apprehend the substantial truth, though they may not be able to define it with logical accuracy, or trace the process of reasoning by which it is established—a most salutary provision, that to those, who have often neither time nor means to prosecute abstract inquiries, a shorter road to the truth is thrown open, and some logicians have thought (though we dissent from them) a safer one than that of reason. The second class consists of those who have aspired much beyond this, and indeed attained a higher station both in their own eyes and that of the world, but yet have not gone far enough: they have entered upon the study, have read what other men have said, have formed systems ingenious enough, above all complex enough, so as to be out of reach of the vulgar understanding, and yet have failed to attain the *simplicity*, the majestic simplicity of truth. From simple to complex, and from complex on to simple at the end, is the course of the passage of the master-mind through the field of inquiry in the moral sciences. Thus, such a mind finds itself, at the close of its inquiries,

coinciding in many respects with the very multitude, able, therefore, to enlighten and instruct them, because having much in common with them, but, need we say, immeasurably superior in the nature of its perception of the truth, and in its power of exposing error. Those who remain in the middle stage can never hope to be the instructors of the public mind: they may attain much celebrity amongst literary men, their wit and originality may be deservedly lauded, but, if they will speak in a dead language, they cannot hope that the multitude will be stirred by their words.

We think that any political economist who is content to follow the mazes of the Ricardo labyrinth, and to attach himself to that school, in short, to "expound" Ricardo, must be content with being neither read nor understood by the vulgar, while those of a higher order will perceive and detect the fallacies, which have made so many works on this science intricate and absurd.

"Political economy," says the author in his preface, "does not advance." We differ from him—it is advancing, it has advanced: we know no science whose truths have been rendered so clear, and above all so well known, within the last few years; and without extravagant self-laudation we may say, that the men connected with this journal have in no small degree contributed to bring about this result. We are bold enough to say that we will find many men now, in every county in England, who would be able to demonstrate, in fair argument with the author, to the satisfaction of any intelligent hearers, the baselessness of many of the doctrines to be found in this book. How an intelligent tenant-farmer would demolish the definition of rent, page 163:—

"That portion of the produce from the soil which is paid to the landlord for the use of its differential powers, as measured by comparison with those of similar agencies operating on the same market."

Yet, hear the author:—

"Though Aristotle should rise from the dead, that definition (I humbly submit) will stand."

The part of the work which treats of value is most deserving of attention: we subjoin some extracts from it. He thus points out the two constituents of value,—utility and difficulty of attainment:—

"CASE EPSILON.—A man comes forward with his overture. 'Here is a thing which I wish you to purchase; it has cost me in labour five guineas, and that is the price I ask.' 'Very well,' you reply; 'but tell me this, what desire or purpose of mine will the article promote?' Epsilon rejoins: 'Why, as candour is my infirmity, none at all. But, what of that? Useful or not, the article embodies five guineas' worth of excellent labour.' This man, the candid Epsilon, you dismiss.

"CASE OMICRON.—Then succeeds Omicron, who praises your decisive conduct as to the absurd family of the Epsilons. 'That man,' he observes, 'is weak—candid, but weak; for what was the cost in your eyes but so much toil to no effect of real service? But that is what nobody can say of the article offered by myself; it is serviceable always—nay, often you will acknowledge it to be indispensable.' 'What is it?' you demand. 'Why, simply, then, it is a pond of water, and as good water as ever you tasted.' The scene lies in England, where water bears no value except under that machinery of costly arrangements which delivers it as a permanent and guaranteed succession into the very chambers where it is to be used. Omicron accordingly receives permission to follow the candid Epsilon. Each has offered for sale one element of value out of two—one element in a state of insulation—where it was indispensable for any operative value, i. e., price, to offer the two in combination; and, without such a combination, it is impossible (neither does my economist hang this by his principles) that value in exchange, under the most romantic or imaginary circumstances, ever should be realized."

These two he calls "affirmative and negative value": the first expressing the desirableness of the article, and the second its difficulty of attainment; and endeavours to show that only one of these at a time determines the value of the article, that though the other is present, it is not in active operation. There is much ingenuity in the mode in which this is stated and illustrated:—

"Both are copresent always. Neither can be absent: for, if so, then the common idea of exchange value would vanish—the case Epsilon or the case Omicron would be realized. But each of the two is suspended alternately. Thus, by way of illustration, walk into almost any possible shop, buy the first article you see; what will determine its price? In ninety-nine cases of a hundred, simply the element D, difficulty of attainment. The other element U, or intrinsic utility, will be perfectly inoperative. Let the thing (measured by its uses) be, for your purposes, worth ten guineas, so that you would rather give ten guineas than lose it; yet, if the difficulty of producing it be only worth one guinea, one guinea is the price which it will bear. But still not the less, though U is inoperative, can U be supposed absent? By no possibility; for, if it had been absent, assuredly you would not have bought the article even at the lowest price; U acts upon you, though it does not act upon the price. On the other hand, in the hundredth case, we will suppose the circumstances reversed. You are on Lake Superior, in a steam-boat, making your way to an unsettled region, 800 miles ahead of civilization, and consequently with no chance at all of purchasing any luxury whatsoever, little luxury or big luxury, for a space of ten years to come; one fellow-passenger, whom you will part with before sunset, has a powerful musical snuff-box; knowing, by experience, the power of such a toy over your own feelings, the magic with which at times it lulls your agitations of mind, you are vehemently desirous to purchase it. In the hour of leav-

ing London you had forgot to do so; here is a final chance. But the owner, aware of your situation not less than yourself, is determined to operate by a strain, pushed to the very uttermost upon U, upon the intrinsic worth of the article in your individual estimate for your individual purposes. He will not hear of D as any controlling power or mitigating agency in the case; and finally, although at six guineas apiece in London or Paris you might have loaded a waggon with such boxes, you pay sixty rather than lose it when the last knell of the clock has sounded, which summons you to buy now or to forfeit for ever. Here, as before, only one element is operative: before it was D, now it is U. But, after all, D was not absent though inoperative. The inertness of D allowed U to put forth its total effect. The practical compression of D being withdrawn, U springs up like water in a pump when released from the pressure of air. Yet still that D was present to your thoughts, though the price has otherwise regulated, is evident; both because U and D must coexist in order to found any case of exchange value whatever, and because, undeniably, you take into very particular consideration this D, the extreme difficulty of attainment (which here is the greatest possible, viz., an impossibility), before you consent to have the price racked up to U. The special D has vanished; but it is replaced in your thoughts by an unlimited D. Undoubtedly you have submitted to U in extremity as the regulating force of the price; but it was under the sense of D's latent presence. Yet D is so far from exerting any positive force, that the retirement of D from all agency whatever on the price—this it is which creates, as it were, a perfect vacuum, and through that vacuum U rushes up to its highest and ultimate graduation."

The practical chapters at the conclusion are merely a reproduction of Ricardo's opinions on rent, wages, and profits, and that in their most erroneous form, and without any attention to those obvious corrections which have been made by subsequent economists; for instance, we have his "Theory of Rent," without any notice of Colonel Thompson's modification of it in his "True Theory of Rent," or the still further restrictions upon its application which, in our judgment, are necessary before making any practical use of it. Again, we have Mr. Ricardo's very gross misapprehension of the distinction between "fixed and circulating capital" reproduced, although the error has been long since pointed out by Mr. Senior; and we are surprised to find, in what professes to be a *logic* of political economy, such a quality as "durability" made "the ground of the generic distinction between fixed and circulating capital." (Page 116.)

With regard to the style of the work, we must say that the author is successful in conveying his meaning well and clearly; and it would be more attractive if not so much deformed by the introduction of the "*sesquipedalia verba*." Every page displays a store of varied information, with great felicity of illustration; and if an author so gifted had but treated the science as one based on observation and experience, and suited for practical purposes, we are satisfied that he would have produced a work much more deserving of the title of the "*Logic of Political Economy*" than this is.

Architectural Annual. Edited by M. Jules Gailhabaud. Firmin Didot and Co., Amen-corner, Paternoster-row, 1844.

The student in any branch of art or science is met at the outset of his career by a difficulty which is almost insurmountable, indeed is entirely so, unless he bring with his love of study great wealth coupled with most unconquerable patience. We allude to the voluminous and expensive works it is necessary for him to read and study ere he can obtain the required knowledge of those elementary principles so essential to his after success.

Many attempts have been made of late years to remove this difficulty. We have had "*Cyclopaedias*" and "*Treasures of Knowledge*" *ad nauseum*; but, like every first attempt to remove a difficulty, the opposite extreme has been fallen into; and, instead of the beginner requiring years of study for the completion of his education, he may now be initiated into any branch of human inquiry in a few days, and astonish his friends by appearing before them as a most accomplished scholar and finished gentleman; the danger is, however, that your learned wonder proves upon strict scrutiny to be a mere quack, knowing only the terms of the science of which he pretends to have imbibed the spirit.

It is rare, indeed, that we see books issued with the sole intention of giving simplicity to any one branch of inquiry; but when we have the good fortune of meeting with such a work it is truly refreshing and delightful. The one now before us just comes up to our standard of what such a book ought to be, and we doubt not it will be hailed as a great boon by the architectural student. Perhaps there is no department of art to which the above remarks are more applicable than the one treated of in this book; as the editor very justly remarks in his preface:—"Every style and description of the art has been given to the world in rich and costly folios: the works of Woods and Dawkins upon the antiquities of Bابل and Palmyra, of "Le Roy and Stewart among the finished monuments of Attic art," together with the "splendid tomes of the 'Voyages Pittoresques' of Choiseul Gouffier, with many others upon the antiquities of Egypt, India, China, and Mexico; and as he further says:—"more recently a Britton, a Moller, a Pugin, and a De

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Chamont have made us acquainted with the science and taste of the Ogival or Pointed style in all its exquisite details and transitions." And he further says, most justly too:—"The greater number of these learned illustrations have been intended rather for the professional man and antiquary than for the instruction of the less initiated, and have been consequently of too profound a character to attract the general reader," and, we would add, much too expensive for the great mass of students, not only from the actual price of the works, but from the great time consumed in their perusal—time which very few can afford to bestow.

This work, then, we consider a desideratum, not only because it gives valuable information in a concise form, but because it also gives the leading principles of architecture, whilst the reader will find the analogy of the several styles pointed out, and their various distinctions clearly shown.

In the work will be found notices and examples of the following styles:—Hindoo, Egyptian, Persian, Pelasgian, Celtic, Grecian, Roman, Early Italian, Byzantium, Gothic, and Modern. Although there is great difficulty in extracting from such a work, as most of the remarks refer to the plates, we shall endeavour to give one or two specimens of the author's style and feeling. Under the head, "Hindoo style," and speaking of the ruins of the excavated Kailasa at Ellora, he makes the following just observations:—

"Having completed our description, we will endeavour to account for the feeling of admiration that seizes the spectator. What can it be which thus strikes the mind and fills it with ecstasy? It is not the height of the monument—its forms are heavy and flat; it is not the extreme regularity of the lines—the unevenness of the ground has, in some instances, done violence to the principles of art; it is not variety of design, as everything affects a square figure; it is not the number of ornaments, for they are too profusely lavished. But it is that the vast ensemble of the performance bears witness to the power of man, and gives birth to a just feeling of pride in the spectator of these almost superhuman efforts. He applauds the genius of the artist who commanded the strong mass to square itself into chapels and pillars, to embody itself in sculptures, to part asunder, and open into spacious halls and porticoes. The rock was obedient to his word, and the sovereign intelligence of man shines in every part, whatever imperfections he may discover on criticising it as a work of art. The uniformity of the lines is calculated to diffuse a religious calm over the mind; the variety of the ornaments distracts and agitates it. If the low ceilings do not raise it to its God, it would seem that, in weighing upon it, they make the presence of the Deity more acutely sensible. A single being, under multifarious forms, is the grand mystery of the Indian religion, and this mystery is in a manner exemplified by this monument, which combines with its systematic unity so great a multiplicity of details. Whatever the thought of its author may have been, the hardihood of the undertaking, the skill shown in its arrangement, the spirit of its execution, surprise, delight, and enchant the beholder. Such has been the effect produced even on European travellers, that they all agree in saying it must be seen to be appreciated."

It is quite impossible to make extracts that will give entire satisfaction to our readers; this arises from so much of the literary portion of the work being descriptive of and referring to the illustrations; but we can the better appreciate the text by the accompanying engravings. The reader is, therefore, referred to the work itself, and assuredly much delight he must derive from it.

In speaking of the Church of the Invalides, at Paris, the author makes a just observation:—"After the cupola of St. Peter's at Rome had been executed in all its vastness by the glorious and no less vast genius of Michael Angelo, that structure became the object of imitation for all architects, and the despair of all who were engaged in similar enterprises. It was almost impossible that their could be any opportunity of rivaling the extent, height, or majesty of the Basilica of St. Peter. Merely to copy, on a smaller scale, what had already been executed in such gigantic proportions, would only have appeared a poor imitation. But Mansart, in the dome of the Invalides, and Sir Christopher Wren, in the St. Paul's Cathedral, have successfully differed from that grand model, at least in the internal arrangements."

As we have already said, extract is most difficult from such a work as the one under notice; it is not, however, at all difficult to speak in terms of decided approbation. The work was wanted—of that there can be no doubt—first, on the score of expense, and again as a means of economising the time of the student. It has another merit, and this we consider peculiar to it, viz., that of bringing together in a reasonable and readable space all the known styles of architecture, and noticing the points of difference and of agreement. No one need be in ignorance respecting the peculiarities of each style so long as this work is within his reach; and in reference to this we must again point out how much the value of the work is augmented by the plates. These are done with the utmost care—not only perspective views of the most celebrated buildings in the world, but ground plans and sections of them, making the work valuable as a practical guide as well as of general interest.

From the tone of the above remarks our opinion of the work may be gathered; but how much more

pleasure will it give us, when in a succeeding part we get the views of its author upon the monuments of our own country, more especially upon those venerable cathedrals of which Englishmen have so much cause to be proud.

We must not conclude without mentioning that the work is well "got up," forming a most handsome drawing-room accompaniment. It is clearly printed, and is a most elegant quarto.

A FABLE AFTER GAY.

High on a tree were perch'd two rooks
Of thoughtful mien and solemn looks;
With gravity, one op'd his beak,
And to his friend commenced to speak:—
"I've much employed of late my mind
In contemplating humankind;
And 'tis with wonderment I trace
Amongst that reasoning biped race
Two kinds of beings—one quite sleek,
And portly too, with ruddy cheek;
The other sort are wasted, lean,
And hungry starvelings. 'Tis not seen
That other creatures thus display
So strange a contrast. Speak, I pray—
Explain the reason, if you can,
Of this phenomenon in man."
The other thus:—"The reason's clear
Why this division should appear:
Brutes as we are, by instinct led,
We feed where Providence has spread
With gen'rous, not with niggard, hand
Her teeming bounties o'er the land;
We're therefore never seen to bear
The marks of want, or wasting care;
But men, who boast of reason, wit,
Observe, are in two parties split—
Of protectors, and protectees!"
"Oh!" cried the first, "I now with ease
Discern the cause; the pampered set—
Oh, lucky dogs!—protection get."
"Hold!" cried the other, "there you're wrong,
'Tis the cadaverous sallow throng—
The hunger smitten, wasted crew,
Whose wretchedness appals the view—
Who are protected; and by laws
Which strictly charge that empty craw
Shall not be filled where grain is found
In most abundance on the ground,
But point to barren fields indeed,
Where these protected ones shall feed.
And think you not, if such a plan
As this, that's so employed by man—
If, amongst us rooks, a privileged few
Had power to say to me or you,
'Here you may dine, but there refrain,
Nor touch the tempting, golden grain,
Our rounded crops would soon collapse
(May we ne'er suffer such mishaps)—
Our shining coats would soon grow dim—
Our looks be haggard, lean, and grim—
By former friends would scarce be known
Such specimens of skin and bone?
If rooks should sanction such vile laws,
To call us geese there would be cause;
And rooks, like men, would then be seen
Divided into fat and lean."
"Friend," cried the first, "you've op'd my eyes,
I thought that man was wondrous wise;
But if so vilely he can act—
If what you now relate be fact—
Why, then," he said with upturned look,
"I bless my stars that I'm a rook!"

CHARITY OF THE MONOPOLISTS.—The pseudo-benevolent harangues, who have talked so volubly of philanthropy and charity to the workhouse poor, and out-door relief, have utterly mistaken the matter. They have been generously disposed, not at their own expense, but at the expense of the working classes of England; for we defy them to show any mode of obtaining contributions to the poor-rates, except through the work of the workers. The whole food of England has to be produced by the agency of the brains and arms of the workers, whether from English or foreign soil. This total amount has to be divided amongst the whole population in larger and smaller shares, and it must be obvious to the shallowest capacity, that if the whole of the workers ceased to work, there would be no food to divide; and it must follow, as the night the day, that the greater the number of supernumeraries who do not work, the harder must be the work of the workers, in order to maintain them. Therefore the charitable gentlemen who are non-workers, and cry out lustily for full rations and out-door allowances to paupers or poor non-workers, are, with very great ease to themselves, calling upon the workers to work harder than before. And when, as it frequently happens, these very charitable gentlemen are the advocates of artificial high prices for provisions, in the form of Corn Laws—that is to say, when they seek to diminish the total amount of food—our indignation at their injustice is only restrained by our contempt for their pauper-like ignorance.—*Westminster Review*.

VALUE OF NEWSPAPERS.—A thousand times have we heard this question and answer. Two gentlemen meet: "What's the news?" asks one; "Nothing but what you see in the papers." They pass on about their business. Has it ever been noticed that, among the thousand benefits of a newspaper, not the least is, that it does away at once with the tittle-tattle gossip, street-yarn foolish exaggerations, scandal, and news-mongering, which once took up so much of the time of those who were always hearing or telling some new thing. One real evil of social life is thus ended. The man rises in the morning, looks over the paper, and is satisfied that he knows all that is worth knowing of the passing history of the world. He has nothing to tell and nothing to hear further. He does not spend his time in giving information which his neighbour knows as well as himself. He is not annoyed in the midst of his business or pleasures by the recital of affairs in which he takes no interest. The same with women. Curiosity is gratified without loss of time. The scandal of the day has not employed a hundred busy meddling tongues in its circulation and exaggeration. Conversation

takes a higher tone. Principles of morals and taste are discussed; the new poem, the last book, the magazine, or the review becomes the subject of conversation. Even in the minor matters of life, society owes a large debt of gratitude to the newspaper.—*Manchester Courier*.

EXTRACTS FROM THE IMPORTS.—Some of the articles imported into this country are rather curious in their nature, as the following items will show. Thus, among the skins imported and paying duty towards the revenue are enumerated those of cats. In the half-year ending the 5th of January, 1842, no fewer than 2096 "undressed cat-skins" were admitted, paying £9 3s. 3d. duty; in the half-year ending the 5th of January, 1843, 981 skins, paying £3 19s. duty; and in the half-year ending the 5th of January, 1844, 601 cat-skins. Thus, the fur of the feline race seems to be going down in the market! Two pounds of candle-wick have been imported in the same three half-years, paying a duty of 1s. 8d. and upwards of 500 tons of bulrushes, exclusive of 248 loads in the first of the three half-years! Again, there have been imported, during the same periods, no fewer than 36,000 lbs. of waste paper, paying nearly £1000 duty; and some £1600's worth of slate-pencils, paying nearly £300 duty! About £350 was derived as duty from ships imported to be broken up, during the like half years; and nearly 600 dog-skins were also imported "in the hair!" Such are a few of the curiosities of the import lists of this great commercial country, showing that there is nothing so trifling or apparently useless from which commerce does not manage to derive some advantage.—*Manchester Guardian*.

NON-EMPLOYMENT OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.—A parochial meeting was held recently at Brill. The chief business was "to take into consideration the serious amount of the parish poor-law expenditure." The statements made show the small amount of labour employed on land in that place. An order or call had been made on the parish by the union for £275, which was nearly 2s. in the pound on the assessment of the parish. This amount the overseers stated they could not collect in the time allowed. It appeared that scarcely any labour had been or was now employed on the land by several of the occupiers. This had caused the pressure on the poor-rates. It was stated that a large farmer in the parish had not a man employed on his farm, and that 100 acres of the best land in the place, which would be asked £300 a year for, did not employ a labourer. Other similar statements as to the non-employment of labour were made. With what grace can farming monopolists ask for agricultural protection on the plea of its being to protect agricultural labourers?—*Globe*.

FOREIGN BARLEY.—From a return moved for by Mr. E. Wodehouse, the member for East Norfolk, it appears that the total quantities of foreign barley imported into the principal ports of Great Britain from the 4th of January to the 22nd of May, 1844, amounted to 221,481 quarters, of which 202,327 quarters were entered for home consumption at the same ports, the amount of duty received thereon having amounted to the sum of £55,336,—a tolerably handsome contribution to the quarter's revenue. The average price of barley for the regulation of the duty during the period in question only fluctuated between £1 12s. and £1 13s. 5d. per quarter. The countries from which the importations have been received are not exhibited in the accounts transmitted from the ports at weekly intervals, and cannot, therefore, be shown for the whole of the above period; but for a portion of that period, during which 38,410 quarters were imported, it appears that 25,636 quarters were imported from Denmark, 4700 quarters from Prussia, and 7395 quarters from Germany.

MONOPOLIST HYPOCRISY.—There was much talk before the late election about the liberality of certain noble lords and squires who had made proclamation to their slave-tenants that on this occasion they really might be free. But their notion of freedom was of a very curious character. It has oozed out that, while liberty was thus publicly announced, private circulars were sent to each individual of the emancipated, stating that although his lordship or his squireship would, in this instance, use no compulsion, yet it would be regarded as a particular and personal favour if the tenant would oblige them by voting for the Monopolist candidate. Such monstrous hypocrisy as this was never before heard of. In future let all such gentry administer the black dose of compulsion without the mockery of such disguise. The effort to gild the pill only makes it more nauseous to those who know and feel that they are obliged to swallow it. *Liverpool Chronicle*.

CORN LAWS IN THE OLDEN TIME.—Mrs. Margaret Paston, writing to her son, Sir John, in the reign of Edward IV., complains of the low price of wheat (2s. or 2s. 2d. for two bushels), and that the market was kept down by "the king's command that there should none go out of the land!" Thus, then, four centuries ago, the exportation of wheat was forbidden by the sovereign, that it might be cheap. Its importation is now restricted, that it may be dear.

WHO ARE THE FARMERS' BEST CUSTOMERS?—Within the last few days large droves of horned cattle have passed through Lancaster from the north, destined for the markets of Preston, Manchester, Rochdale, Bolton, and other manufacturing towns famous for those "tall chimneys," on which the landed monopolists have lately been expending vials of their wrath, but for which their rent-rolls would not have yielded half their present revenue.—*Lancaster Guardian*.

BENEFITS OF COMMERCIAL RECIPROCITY.—At Paris, in the best appointed houses and at dinners, which for costly materials and admirable art in their preparation could not be surpassed, the effect is always considerably lessened, and by a mode the most mortifying—by the mere circumstance that every one at a French dinner is served on a cold plate. The reason of a custom, or rather a necessity, which one would think a nation so celebrated for its gastronomical taste would repel, is really, it is believed, that the ordinary French porcelain is so very inferior that it cannot endure the preparatory heat for dinner. The common white pottery, for example, which is generally used, and always found at the cafés, will not bear vicinage to a brisk kitchen fire for half an hour. Now, if we only had that treaty of commerce with France which had been so often on the point of completion, the fabrics of our unrivalled potteries, in exchange for their capital wines, would be found throughout France. The dinners of both nations would be improved; the English would gain a delightful beverage; and the French, for the first time in their lives, would dine off hot plates. An unanswerable instance of the advantages of commercial reciprocity!—*Gleanings, or the New Generation*.

THE AGRICULTURISTS NUMBERED IN THE COUNTY OF EDINBURGH.

At the recent meetings of the "lairds" and farmers, both in this county and in East Lothian, reference was made to the supposed dependence of the city of Edinburgh, and the other towns within the county, on the prosperity of what is called the agricultural interest; which was alleged to be all-important in this quarter, where there are no manufactures, whatever it might be elsewhere. It was not possible satisfactorily to dispose of their assertions until the classified details of the census of 1841 should be laid before Parliament. This has not yet been done, but we have procured privately, from an authentic source, a copy of the abstract for the county of Edinburgh, which is about to be printed as a parliamentary paper. It is a valuable and curious document, and ought to make the "lairds" ashamed of the miserable minority of the county population, which can be properly included within their favourite designation of "the agricultural interest."

It appears from this abstract that, excluding women and children, there are 91,711 other persons resident within the county (including the city and the towns) following occupations which have all been ascertained, with the exception of those of 438 individuals, returned—"occupations not specified." Now, of the ascertained number following occupations (91,273), only 6465 belong to the agricultural classes, namely—"farmers, graziers, and yeomen, 656," and "agricultural labourers, 5809." Thus the agriculturists form only about seven per cent., and those who are not agriculturists, about ninety-three per cent. of the entire number ascertained to follow occupations! It is true that, in this calculation, landowners are not included on either side; for, as Mr. Cobden happily remarked on a recent occasion, the owners of land have no more right to be called agriculturists than the owners of ships have to be called sailors. But waiving this objection, and adding those who subsist wholly or mainly on the rents of lands to the agricultural population, the aggregate results will not be materially altered; for even supposing that there were two landowners residing within the county, for every individual of the class described as "farmers, graziers, and yeomen," which must be greatly above the truth, the total number would only be 1312. Adding these to the real agricultural population of 6465, the aggregate number would be 7777. But there must also be a large addition made on the other side, as we shall presently show.

The number of persons residing within the county and city who, without following any profession or trade, subsist entirely on their real estate—including owners of property, annuitants, persons living upon dividends arising from bank and other stocks, pensions, and other sources of income—is very large in proportion to the population, probably larger than in any part of the kingdom, unless the county of Middlesex be an exception. The different classes referred to are all included in the return under one head, "persons of independent means," and amount to 8634, in addition to the persons following occupations, amounting, as before stated, to 91,273. Thus the "persons of independent means" form 8634, out of a population of 99,907, being upwards of eight and a half per cent. If these "persons of independent means" be added to the non-agricultural population, as in justice they ought to be,—with the exception of the landowning portion, estimated as before at 1312, and added to the agriculturists,—the general result will be as follows:

Males ascertained to belong to the agricultural classes 7,777
Males ascertained not to belong to the agricultural classes 92,130

Total of both classes 99,907

The above statement shows that, even after adding all the landowners residing within the county and city of Edinburgh to the farmers and agricultural labourers, the united agricultural population is only about seven and a half per cent., while the non-agricultural population is nearly ninety-two and a half per cent. of the population!

In addition to the above numbers, there are included in the return "alms people and paupers" 2513; and "persons not described," 1057; "occupations not specified," as before mentioned, 438; making in all 103,915. Then there is a sweeping item "residue of population, including women and children," 121,539, making the total population of the county 225,454, being an increase of only 6109 since the census of 1831. This is only about two per cent. in ten years, while the general increase for Scotland has been eleven per cent. during the same period.

The census returns, if analysed in a similar manner for all the counties, will show that the agriculturists—in place of forming, as the monopolists affirm, five-sevenths of the entire population—are a mere fraction of the population; and even that fraction, small as it is, would (with the exception, perhaps, of 30,000 landowners) be greatly benefited by the abolition of the Corn Laws and all other monopolies, as would all the rest of the population of the kingdom.—*Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle.*

MONTHLY CORN CIRCULAR.—The following is an extract from the "Corn Circular" of the Messrs. Sturge for the present month:—"Birmingham, 6th month 5th, 1844. With the exception of a slight fall of rain about a week ago, the weather has been almost uninterruptedly fine the whole of the past month, and as the drought has now lasted for nearly ten weeks it has occasioned serious, and in some cases irreparable, injury to the crops of grass and spring grain; but on the good soils the wheat continues to have a favourable appearance; in many instances, however, where the land is either inferior or the plant was not in a sufficiently forward state to cover the ground before the dry weather set in, it is looking very sickly and unhealthy; and as much of the past two months has been cold as well as dry, and the thermometer has occasionally been below the freezing point in the night, the prospects at present are not favourable either for an abundant or early wheat harvest. The supply of this grain from our farmers during the month has been about adequate to the demand, and though the stocks in the hands of our millers continue, we believe, very light, our prices have given way 1s. to 2s. per quarter, as compared with the commencement of last month. Our imports into Gloucester since that period have been considerable, yet there is but little free now offering, and we have an increased demand for the finer qualities. Most of our arrivals are Polish Oatmeal from the Black Sea, with a few cargoes from the Baltic. A considerable portion is imported on millers' account, who are not at present disposed to pay the duty. Our present prices are 7s. to 7s. 4½d. per 60lb. for Polish;

Dantz, 7s. 6d. to 7s. 9d.; hard Russian, 5s. 8d. to 6s. 6d. per 60lb. at Gloucester. The recent advices from the shipping ports, which offer the most favourable prospects for investment for the English market, are Dantz mixed and high mixed, 32s. to 37s. per quarter, on board; Odessa Polish, 26s. to 28s. free on board; though there is little if any margin for profit at the above quotations, we are still of the judgment that, without a more early and abundant harvest than present appearances warrant, the expectation of the prospect of an advance in wheat is much greater than that of a decline in price. Although the arrivals of oats into Gloucester during the past month have altogether been large, we have had a brisk sale, and their values advanced 1s. to 2s. per quarter. There is no reason to expect that the growing crops of this grain in Ireland have yet been materially injured by the weather; but the certainty that the crop of hay must in many districts be very light, and that there will be a greatly increased consumption of oats in consequence, has created a general belief that all the remaining stock of old Irish oats will be required, with probably a considerable import of foreign, before the new crop can be brought to market. Our present quotations are 21s. 6d. for light—22s. for heavy Irish, at Gloucester. The bean crop is supposed to have suffered more than any other from the drought, and as they are in many places now in blossom, with the stalk not one foot in length, no change of weather can in such cases render them productive. They have advanced in price since our circular of the 1st ult. about 4s. per quarter, and as it is now not improbable that the duty will recede to 5s. 6d. per quarter, if not below that point, the samples of beans in bond have generally been withdrawn from the market. The same causes which create an increased demand for oats apply equally to beans. Egyptian have sold at 22s. per imperial quarter in bond, and 34s. per quarter, free; Irish at 14s. 9d. to 15s. 3d. free; English 15s. 6d. to 16s. 6d. per 196lb. at Gloucester."

One of the principal arguments which the advocates for the Corn Laws urge for their maintenance is, that their repeal would give a serious blow to the interests of the wealthiest portions of the community; it would thus deprive the home trader of his best, most numerous, and surest customers. This is, in fact, saying that it is better to give your money to another person to spend, instead of spending it yourself—an argument which refutes itself.—*Falmouth Packet.*

No cause can hold its ground after it has given up its defence by argument. It is true that it may be a long time before argument finds its way into the necessary places; but this is no more than an inevitable consequence of the structure of a representative government like ours. Knowledge, like everything else, must take root downwards and bear fruit upwards; and it would be a most odd and unreasonable demand that should expect the representative to find wisdom for the represented. The people must first be wise, that they may choose representatives of like quality. When every man, and woman, and grown child in the lower and middle ranks have been for twelve months conversant with all the mystery of Corn Laws, it will be quite time enough to expect any appearance of substantial transference into the council of their representatives. As soon, however, as any such transference shall take place, strong hopes may be indulged, from the rapidity with which representatives are known to be illuminated on points where a great mass of public opinion is brought to bear.—*Colonel Thompson's Exercises.*

THE FUNDS.

| | May June 8 | Mon. June 10 | Tues. June 11 | Wed. June 12 | Thurs. June 13 | Fri. June 14 |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Bank Stock | 199½ | 199½ | 199 | 199½ | 198½ | 199 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 99 | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 99½ |
| 5 per Ct. Con. Ann. | 104½ | 104½ | 104½ | 104½ | 104½ | 104½ |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 104½ | 104½ | 104½ | 104½ | 104½ | 104½ |
| 5 per Ct. Con. Ann. | 104½ | 104½ | 104½ | 104½ | 104½ | 104½ |
| Long An. Ex. 1860 | 127-16 | 127-16 | 127-6 | 127-16 | — | — |
| Cons. for Opp. | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98 | 98½ | 98½ |
| Exc. Billa. pgs. | 71-3 | 71-3 | 71-3 | 71-3 | 72-4 | — |
| Ind. Bds. and 1000 | 92 | 92 | 92 | 92 | 92 | — |
| Ind. Bds. for Opp. | — | — | — | — | 29½ | — |
| Belgian | 101 | 101½ | 101½ | 101½ | 101½ | — |
| Brazilian | 81½ | 81½ | 81½ | 81½ | 81 | — |
| Chilian | 104 | 103-6 | 104½ | 103-6 | 104-6 | — |
| Colombian Venes. | 13½ | 13½ | 13½ | 13½ | 13½ | 12½ |
| Danish | 88½ | 88½ | 88-9 | 88-9 | 88-9 | — |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ |
| Dutch 2½ per Ct. | 61½ | 61½ | 61½ | 61½ | 61½ | 61½ |
| Mexican, 1837 | 38½ | 38 | 34-5 | 31½ | 34 | 38½ |
| Portuguese, conv. | 46½ | 46½ | 46½ | 46½ | 46½ | 47 |
| Buenos Ayres | 33-5 | 34-5 | 35-7 | 35-6 | 36 | — |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 2½ | 2½ | 2½ | 2½ | 2½ | 2½ |
| New do. 3 per Ct. | 3½ | 3½ | 3½ | 3½ | 3½ | 3½ |
| Peruvian | 27-8 | 27-8 | 27-8 | 27-8 | 27-8 | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK LANE, Monday, June 10.—The supply of English Wheat this morning was moderate, the trade was not withstanding dull the best qualities were more difficult of disposal, and inferior descriptions were 1s. cheaper than this day week. There was a fair demand for Foreign in small quantities at last week's rates. With very little Barley fresh up, all descriptions met a ready sale at 1s. advance. There was a rather better supply of English Beans, and the prices of this day week were with difficulty obtained. Peas were 1s. dearer. A considerable number of vessels arrived from Ireland since Friday with Oats; there has been a large sale, chiefly of the lighter qualities, at last week's rates. But little rain has fallen in this neighbourhood during the past week. S. H. Lucas and Son.

BRITISH.

| | Per Imperial Quarter. |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Wheat Essex, Kent, & Suffolk | Red 65 to 60 White 58 to 64 |
| Lincolnshire & Yorkshire | — 54 — 58 — 57 — 60 |
| Scotch | — 52 — 56 — 54 — 60 |
| Irish | — 50 — 52 — 52 — 55 |
| Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire | Feed 21 — 23 |
| Ditto | Ditto Short 22 — 24 Poland 23 — 26 |
| Scotch | Feed 24 — 26 Potato 27 — 29 |
| Limerick | — 21 — 22 Short 22 — 24 |
| Cork | — 20 — 21 — 21 — 22 |
| Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black | — 20 — 21 |
| Silgo | — 21 — 22 |
| Gaiway | — 20 — 21 |
| Barley, Grinding | 28 to 30 Distilling 30 — 32 |
| Malting | 32 — 34 Irish 36 — 38 |
| Beans, Masagan | — 32 — Tick 35 — 35 |
| Harrow | 37 — 39 Small 38 — 40 |
| Old Tick | — 40 — 40 |
| Peas, White | 31 to 34 Boilers 35 — 36 |
| Maple and Grey | — 30 — 34 |
| Flour, Best Town-made | per sack of 280 lbs 45 — 48 |
| Norfolk and Suffolk | — 49 — 42 |

FOREIGN.

| | Per Imperial Quarter. | Per 100 lbs. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| Wheat, Dantz, high mixed | 56 to 60 | 56 to 60 |
| Rostock | 51 — 53 | 51 — 53 |
| Stettin | 48 — 50 | 48 — 50 |
| Hamburg | 48 — 50 | 48 — 50 |
| Odessa Polish | 48 — 50 | 48 — 50 |
| Barletta | 48 — 50 | 48 — 50 |
| Russian | 48 — 50 | 48 — 50 |
| Ditto | 48 — 50 | 48 — 50 |
| Spanish | 48 — 50 | 48 — 50 |
| Ditto | 48 — 50 | 48 — 50 |
| Barley, Grinding | 26 — 29 | 26 — 29 |
| Distilling | 30 — 32 | 30 — 32 |
| Oats, Archangel | 21 — 22 | 21 — 22 |
| Swedish | 22 — 23 | 22 — 23 |
| Dutch Poland | — 19 — 20 | — 19 — 20 |
| Beans, Egyptian | 32 — 33 | 32 — 33 |
| Peas, White | 30 — 31 | 30 — 31 |
| Ditto Boilers | 32 — 35 | 32 — 35 |
| Flour, Canada | per barrel of 196 lbs 29 — 31 | 29 — 31 |
| United States | 30 — 32 | 30 — 32 |
| Dantz | 38 — 40 | 38 — 40 |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from June 3 to June 8, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 4155 | 887 | 173 | 1159 | 811 |
| Scotch | — | — | 2717 | 21 | — |
| Irish | — | — | 23848 | — | — |
| Foreign | 6440 | — | 2892 | 4133 | — |

Flour, 6207 sacks, — bars.

| | Qrs. | Price. | Qrs. | Price. |
|--------|-------|-----------|-------|---------------|
| Wheat | 4524 | 55s. 10d. | Rye | 42 85s. 7d. |
| Barley | 1034 | 30s. 11d. | Beans | 1041 85s. 1d. |
| Oats | 26330 | 22s. 2d. | Peas | 530 84s. 1d. |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JUNE 7.

BANKRUPTS.

- J. BATTEN, Tilehurst, Berkshire, cattle dealer. [Hill and Co., agents, Throgmorton-street, for Weedon and Co., solicitors to the flat.]
J. LEVET, Soham, Cambridgeshire, carpenter. [Wilkin, Amwell-terrace.]
J. YOUNG, Aldermanbury, City, laceman. [Messrs. Bole, Aldermanbury.]
W. BARNES, Ludgate-hill, City, bonnet maker. [Teague, Crown-court, Cheapside.]
G. FIELDING, Thame, Oxfordshire, ironmonger. [Tippet, Pancras-lane, City.]
J. B. W. KNIGHT, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell, printer. [Green, Basinghall-street.]
W. TURNER, Manchester, cabinet maker. [Chester, Tool-min, and Chester, Staple-inn; Chapman and Roberts, Manchester.]
J. L. SMITH, Leicester, cabinet maker. Brown and Palmer, Leicester.
G. JENKINSON, Wolverhampton, butcher. [Clarke, Wolverhampton; Smith, Birmingham.]
J. PARKER, Kingston-upon-Hull, corn miller. [Tilson and Squance Coleman street; P. and R. Wells, Hull; Horsfall and Harrison, Leeds.]
S. H. SPENCE, Leeds, Yorkshire, maltster. [Milton, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane; Dunning and Stawman, Leeds.]

DIVIDENDS.

June 27. C. Killick and J. Sudd, Blackman-street, Southwark, paper stainers—June 28. R. Webster, Oxford-market, victualler—June 29. H. Cotman, Norwich, draper—June 29. J. Tubb, Basingstoke, Hants, draper—June 29. H. Baker, Mark-lane, merchant—June 29. A. Scott, Cambridge-street, Golden-square, auctioneer—June 29. J. Whitelaw and T. Whitelaw, Litchfield-street, Soho, carpenters—June 29. J. W. Gray and R. Gray, Bishop's Waltham, Southampton, corn dealers—June 29. E. H. Labatt, Mincing-lane, merchant—June 28. E. P. Best, Crutched-friars, wine merchant—June 27. S. Cox, Haddon, horse dealer—June 28. J. Bohn, King William-street, Strand, bookseller—July 1. W. Mills, Birmingham, upholsterer—July 1. H. Elvins, Warwick, innkeeper—July 1. S. Bettison, Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, wine merchant—July 1. C. Williams, Sunderland, carrier—June 28. R. Penny, Cockermouth, Cumberland, mercer.

CERTIFICATES.

June 28. H. Channel, Southampton, coal merchant—June 28. E. Graham, Dover-street, Piccadilly, singing master—July 1. W. Brown, Wapping, victualler—June 28. R. Penny, Cockermouth, Cumberland.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

J. PATERSON, Ardrossan, Ayrshire, mason and builder.

TUESDAY, JUNE 11.

BANKRUPTS.

- J. HEWARD, Hendon, Middlesex, hay salesman. [Raw, Farnival's-lane.]
D. ROSS, Little Love-lane, City, warehousemen. [Dixon and Overbury, Frederick's-place, Old Jewry.]
F. ROGERS, Cooknoe, Northamptonshire, miller. [Cattell, Ely-place, Holborn.]
J. DEALTRY, Burslem, Staffordshire, grocer. [Hitchcock, Buckley, and Tidwell, Manchester; Johnson, Son, and Wenherall Temple.]
G. GROVE, Wick and Abson, Gloucestershire, miller. [Daniel and Barker, Bristol.]
H. LAKE, Cheltenham, printer. [Boddie, Cheltenham.]

DIVIDENDS.

July 2. W. Butterworth, High-street, Peckham, corn merchant—July 2. W. and E. Wheeler, Oxford, horse dealers—July 2. R. Goodwin, Rton, Buckinghamshire, ironmonger—July 2. J. Orbell, Brandon, Essex, miller—July 2. G. Ebbelby, Gate-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, carrier—July 4. J. R. Strider, Hounslow, wholesale clothier—July 2. G. Henley, Bury-street, Strand, auctioneer—July 2. T. Arnold, Paternoster-row, City, book-eller—July 2. W. Ball, Paternoster-row, City, book-eller—July 2. W. Marshall, Angel-court, Throgmorton-street, City, broker—July 4. W. Street, Ruckingham Superior, Suffolk, grocer—July 2. T. A. Curtis, Tokenhouse-yard, City, merchant—July 4. J. B. and J. Inglis, Mark-lane, City, merchants—July 2. W. Walford, Great Winchester-street, City, merchant—July 4. G. Reach, Bardwell, Suffolk, miller—July 3. C. Sharp and W. D. Clarke, Berners-street, Marylebone, upholsterers—July 2. N. Davis, Westerham, Kent, innkeeper—July 3. G. Field, Bond court, Wallbrook, City, wine merchant—July 2. Sparkle, Jewin-crescent, Jewin-street, City, wine merchant—July 3. J. Deacon, Whitechapel-road, draper—July 2. C. Eick, Rotherhithe, iron rivet manufacturer—July 4. W. Miles, Leeds, Yorkshire, oil merchant—July 4. P. J. Papillon, Leeds, Yorkshire, wine merchant—July 4. H. Parker, U. Shorn, J. Brewin, and J. Rodgers, Sheffield, Yorkshire, bankers—July 3. J. Harford and W. W. Davis, Bristol, iron masters—July 3. J. Crump, Stanway, Gloucestershire, corn dealer—July 3. J. Abbott, Blackburn, Lancashire, cotton manufacturer.

CERTIFICATES.

July 2. H. Wyer, Newington-causway, Surrey, tailor—July 2. W. Maton and J. Hudson, Fore-street, City, leather sellers—July 3. T. Adams, Green Dragon Hotel, Newport, Isle of Wight, publican.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

J. LOW, Dundee, merchant.

London: Printed by ROBERT PALMER (of Providence-place, Upper Marlborough-lane, Lambeth, in the County of Surrey) and JOSEPH DUNN (of Number 350, Strand, in the County of Middlesex), at their common office, Number 10, Crane-court, in the Parish of St. Dunstons, in the City of London, and published by ANNEAL (of Number 24, Norfolk-street, Strand, in the County of Middlesex) and by the Office of The League, Number 47, Fleet-street, in the Parish of St. Dunstons-in-the-West, on Saturday, June 14, 1844.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 39.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1844.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

REGISTER, REGISTER, REGISTER!

The Free-Traders qualified to vote must everywhere prepare to enrol themselves and their friends on the register for the NEXT year.

To entitle a voter to be registered, he must have occupied during the twelve months previous to the 31st of July, premises of the value of £10 a year. He must have been rated for twelve months to the relief of the poor.

He must have paid, on or before the 20th of July, all poor-rates and assessed taxes due to the 6th of April preceding.

Further information and directions will be furnished on application, personally or by letter, to the Local Registration Societies; to Mr. Sulney Smith, 68, Cheapside, London; or to Mr. Hickin, League Offices, Newall's Buildings, Manchester.

For the convenience of individuals whose avocations render it difficult for them to call at the Registration Office, 68, Cheapside, during business hours, arrangements have been made by which attendance will be given every evening at that office until eight o'clock, to fill up and serve claims, and to supply every information relative to Parliamentary registration for counties, cities, and boroughs.

PARTY TACTICS.

While the League pursues, singly and undeviatingly, the great object for which it is constituted, an instructive contrast is presented to the public in the doublings and windings of party tactics. The last few days have elicited this contrast with unusual strength.

The debate on the Import Duties, brought on by Lord Montagu in the House of Lords last Thursday week, furnished occasion for an elaborate leading article in the *Morning Chronicle*. After some rough handling, exceedingly well deserved, of the Duke of Richmond, who has impressed upon the memories of all the very ridiculous figure he cut on that occasion, the *Chronicle* concludes thus, advertising to agricultural protection:—

"If it were right and safe to go on under the present system, the Duke of Richmond and the farmers might fairly demand a twenty years' lease of it. They cannot rely upon its continuance for half that number of months, nor be sure at any seed time that it will last over the harvest, and therefore they ought at once to seek for security in its abolition. If once the trade in corn were FREE, it might be left safely to the landed interest to insist upon such inquiries as that proposed by Lord Montagu, and, as a necessary consequence, to make protection in every shape a matter of history."

This is very plain. The tone and language are those of a thorough-going Free-Trader. "Abolition" of the Corn Laws is the remedy prescribed, and not the substitution of a fixed duty for a sliding scale. The desirable state of the corn trade is said, without qualification, to be its freedom; and the writer anticipates the making "protection in every shape a matter of history." A hope as decidedly opposed to any fixed duty, however low, as to any sliding scale, however high.

So spake the organ of the Whigs on the subject

of Lord Montagu's motion: We will not add, so thought that organ, at the time its words went forth to the public. The article in question was written upon the debate of Thursday night in the House of Lords. Meanwhile there had been another debate, in the other House, on the Friday night, to which it makes no allusion, and of the result of which the writer was evidently unaware when he put pen to paper. We give the quotation, therefore, as illustrative of the spirit of the *Morning Chronicle* on Saturday morning.

In the very next publication, that of Monday, we have a jeering allusion to the possibility of an "immediate alliance" between the League and Sir Robert Peel. "It would be a great thing to have an ex-Premier in the chair next spring at Covent-garden, agitating against the moderate fixed duty of the Whigs, and in confraternity with the gentlemen whose abstract principles were too refined on Friday night for so plain a motion as that of Mr. Miles."

Unless the "abstract principles" which provoked Monday's sneer be the "abolition" of protection, "in every shape," which is the theme of Friday's laudation, we confess we know not where to look for them. Jim Crow never twirled more rapidly. "Fair is foul and foul is fair." The celerity with which black becomes white, and white becomes black, rivals the magic changes wrought by the wand of Herr Dobler.

As "this effect defective comes by cause," where can we look for explanation but to intervening events? Between the composition of the first article and of the second, Sir Robert Peel had been left in a minority. He had been beaten by a "combination" (out of doors it might have been called a conspiracy) of Whigs and Monopolists. The Tapers and Tadpoles of Opposition—for Opposition has its Tapers and Tadpoles too—dreamed that night of Downing-street. A breach had been made in the Treasury outworks, through which it was hoped the mingling banners of Miles and Russell might be borne, heading a triumphant march into the citadel itself. "Lads, throw away your lumber, and prepare to charge," cried the officer of an advanced guard, in presence of the enemy, during the Peninsular war. Away went the soldiers' knapsacks; and, just as briskly, away go the *Chronicle's* "abolition" and hostility to protection in every shape, as it prepares to charge Sir Robert Peel with "the moderate fixed duty of the Whigs."

When Downing-street seems at an indefinite distance; when the Ministerial cohorts stand to their arms; when the very idea of a majority is a chimera, then go all lengths with the League; then claim fraternity with Free-Traders; then assume the leading of the popular mind, and threaten to pitch monopoly "into the middle of next week," or rather of last week, and make all its shapes only "matter of history."

But when the coach may be upset by monopolist help; when Miles and majority have mingled into one idea; when the Premier talks of resigning, and the Sovereign thinks of sending; when another shape of "Protection" may heal old grievances and solder new alliances; then, abstract all praise from "abstract principles," abolish the thought of total "abolition," hold up the sugar-plum of unchanging bread-tax for Monopoly to lick its lips at, and evoke Fixed Duty from its grave like the ghost of the Cid for the discomfiture of the Infidels.

We might apostrophize the *Chronicle* in the language of Lord Byron to Napoleon:—"Ill-minded man, why scourge thy kind?" The squashed (on Friday) Duke of Richmond is quite open to treat on a "moderate fixed duty." The Agricultural Societies have carefully guarded themselves against any serious difficulty on that score. In the resolutions by which they are constituted, the definition of the object generally is "to maintain protection to British agriculture not less than at present existing." There is little care about the form in which it comes, so that it come in satisfactory quantity. The difference of form has, in fact, pretty nearly disappeared from the Free-Trade controversy. The struggle is with "protection in every shape," as the *Chronicle* so well knew in what it printed on Saturday, and so totally forgot in what it published on Monday. What an oblivion of earthly things must have come over its spirit in the sacred interval: a dream of the golden gates of the New Jerusalem.

So far, then, as the *Chronicle* interprets correctly the Whig leaders, we know what we have to expect. There is no indisposition to propitiate the landowners by a bread-tax, but merely some nicety as to the form. The quantum of help to be rendered in the Free-Trade agitation can easily be calculated.

It is in the inverse ratio of the prospect of power and place. With all its shrewdness, this is purblind policy. It gives us a direct interest in the remoteness of the Whigs from office. Let their chance be desperate, and we fight side by side; let their hope be bright, and our late comrades favour our ranks with a volley.

A straightforward course would really be more promising. Let them carry out fully the principles they profess: only a popular tide can bear them back to their old seats, or keep them there. Consistency and policy are for them the same. Their fixed duty was avowedly a compromise, not a principle: it was a rejected compromise. An honourable path is before them, with every indication of eventual success. Nor will we despair of them on the evidence of the *Morning Chronicle*. Only by themselves shall they be condemned; and right glad shall we be to find them nobly vindicated by themselves. Mr. Villiers's motion comes on next Tuesday.

THE SUGAR DUTIES DEBATE.

The merits of this subject have been so fully discussed in other parts of our present number that further comments are unnecessary. In fact, the intrinsic merits of the question have been studiously evaded by those organs of the Whig party which have assailed the votes of the Free-Traders, on mere party grounds. Our answer to these attacks must be, the simple reiteration, for the hundredth time, that the League is of no political party; an assertion which we hope will require no confirmation with Tories or Whigs after the proofs afforded by the division lists of Friday and Monday. One word only upon the pitiful attempts made to identify the maintenance of the present Ministry in power with the votes of the Free-Traders, and the still baser effort to weaken the influence of the League in certain quarters by insinuating that its members have, by preserving the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel, prevented the liberation of Mr. O'Connell. There must be conscious demerit on the side of a party which seeks to evade the real question at issue by a resort to such fabulous charges. Our answer is—let Lord John Russell move a resolution of want of confidence in the present Ministry: that would be the fair and direct mode of testing how far the Free-Traders acquiesce in the general policy of the Government. If he will not take this step, his partisans of the press and the Reform Club should at least be prevented from venting their harmless spite upon those who refuse to support a motion, which the Whigs pretend to interpret as one of confidence in Sir Robert Peel, but which dispassionate men, beyond the influence of the clubs and cliques of Pall-mall, will view as a simple question of more or less protection to the West Indian monopolists.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Nineteenth Week, ending Saturday, June 22.

In last week's "Mirror" we intimated the then impending defeat of the Government on the Sugar Duties; but having been obliged to "go to press" before the event occurred, we were unable to record the fact itself. It took place late on Friday night, or rather early on Saturday morning; and as no little political turmoil has arisen out of it, we shall resume our explanatory narrative at the point where it was broken off last week.

Up till Friday morning there was a general understanding that the amendment (a copy of which is given in last "Mirror") proposed by Mr. Philip Miles would be supported by the whole Liberal party, the Free-Traders included, on the simple ground that it would effect a greater reduction of duties than the Government proposition; but on that morning the attention of those members of the House who are more or less connected with the Anti-Corn-Law League was drawn more particularly to the terms of the amendment. The Government proposed 24s. on colonial, 34s. on free foreign; the amendment 20s. on colonial, 30s. on free foreign brown, muscovado, or clayed. But—and it is important to mark the "but"—the amendment added, that "foreign white clayed, or any foreign sugar otherwise prepared, and equivalent to white clayed," should pay the 34s. duty. This looked suspicious. What was "white clayed" sugar? and what proportion did it bear in amount to the whole quantity of free foreign which might come into our market? Raw or muscovado sugar is the common moist or brown sugar of the shops; clayed sugars are raw sugars which have undergone a process of filtration by water through clay, by which more or less of the colouring matter is removed. Claying is very little practised in the British plantations, from an

opinion that the increase of labour and diminution of quantity of produce occasioned by it are not compensated by the improved quality of the sugar; besides which, the great business of refining sugar is carried on in England in a highly scientific way. But the sugars of Java and the Philippine Islands are chiefly clayed; and as these countries are the sources from which our supplies of free foreign are mainly to come, the amendment would practically have imposed a differential duty of fourteen shillings instead of ten, in favour of the West Indies. On this fact having been ascertained, by reference to merchants in the "City," the Free-Traders resolved to support the Government proposition, in opposition to the amendment, as being the better of the two. Neither was good on Free-Trade principles; and, therefore, had the amendment of Mr. Philip Miles been a *bond fide* reduction of duties, there could have been no hesitation which to choose, even though the proposal came from a monopolist. The fact, however, of Mr. Philip Miles being chosen as the mouth-piece of the West India interest, in opposition to the Government, came in confirmation of the other fact, that the amendment was a sinister one, and did not contemplate giving so great an advantage to the consumer as the Government proposed. In this state of things the pure Free-Traders in the House were placed in the somewhat awkward predicament of either voting *with* the Opposition against the Government, and in favour of practically a higher protection than the Government proposed; or of voting *with* the Government against the Opposition, and in favour of practically a lower amount of protection than the Opposition proposed. The latter course they adopted.

Mr. Philip Miles, in proposing his amendment, rated the Government very severely for their Free-Trade tendencies; and strongly insisted on "adequate" protection being given to the West Indies. The seconder of his amendment, Mr. Bailey, did the same thing, in even stronger terms. Both of them are young men—Mr. Philip Miles especially has a very youthful appearance—and it was certainly a little amusing to see and hear these juvenile protectionists scolding their seniors for their very naughty inclinations, in the way of enlarging the market supply for the benefit of the British consumer. The course which the Free-Traders would take was early indicated by Mr. Ewart, who, "however inclined to approve of reduction of duties, could not support the amendment. It proposed to create a differential duty of 14s. on the white clayed sugars, which constituted two-thirds of the amount imported, and on which the Government proposition only left 10s. The distinction, too, between brown and white clayed, if adopted with respect to foreign sugars, should also be introduced into our colonial."

To a similar effect spoke Mr. Bouverie: "Seeing that the amendment would create a differential duty of 14s. on the white clayed sugars of Java and Manila, he could not consent to give an additional bonus to the West India interest of 4s., which must come out of the pockets of the community, and be a direct loss to the revenue. All the sufferings of the West Indians had their origin in a system of protection, and it would be worth while trying what Free Trade would do for them."

Mr. Milner Gibson likewise had at first been disposed to view the amendment favourably, but, on consideration and inquiry, he found it was contrived as a trap for the Free-Traders. The West Indies, if the amendment were adopted, would receive practically a protection of 11s. The Government proposition was, therefore, of the two, the nearest to Free Trade. Being, however, anxious for a real reduction of duties, he asked if Mr. P. Miles would omit the 31s. on white clayed; if so he should have his support.

Mr. Ricardo, and Mr. H. Berkeley (the colleague of Mr. P. Miles in the representation of Bristol), plied the same question, but the mover of the amendment would not forego his "14s." Meantime, the great body of the Opposition, including Liberals of all shades of political opinion (exclusive of the absolute Free-Traders), supported the amendment; and the debate dragged on until the noise, confusion, and clamour for a division drowned all efforts to prolong the discussion. At this critical moment, foreseeing that the defection of the Free-Traders might affect the numbers, Lord Howick rose, and, amidst much confusion, explained to his honourable friends around him the nature of the vote they were now called upon to give. The question which would be put to them by the Chairman would be, that the words in the original motion proposed to be left out should stand part of the question. If the majority should negative those words, and thereby defeat the proposition of the Government, it would then be perfectly open to any gentleman who wished to make a proposition different from that which had been made by the honourable member for Bristol to move it. The question, therefore, upon which they were now about to vote, was not the amendment proposed by the honourable member for Bristol; but it was "ay" or "no," would they or would they not negative the plan of the Government? He (Lord Howick) believed that plan to be a bad one, and he should vote against it, without, however, pledging himself to adopt, without alteration, the suggestion of the hon. member for Bristol.

The House then divided—

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| For | 211 |
| Against | 221 |

Majority against the Government 20

The announcement of the division was received with loud cheers.

Lord Howick's adroit explanation had the effect of inducing a number of Free-Traders, as Mr. Ewart, Dr. Howling, and others, to vote for the amendment. It was quite true that the division was *not* for and against Mr. Miles's amendment. Technically, it was for and against the Government proposition, leaving the amendment or anything else to be afterwards proposed. But for all practical purposes, and according to common usage, the amendment was carried. There were but two propositions before the House: one, that by the Government, was rejected, and the Government were therefore defeated; the other, that by Mr. P. Miles, remained for adoption, and

it was clear that no other amendment was likely to secure a similar combination in its favour.

Having been victorious, Mr. Philip Miles moved that the House, or rather the Committee (for the House was in Committee), should be adjourned till Monday, in order to give the Government time for consideration, probably thinking that, after its defeat, they might submit, and save all further trouble by adopting his amendment. Sir Robert Peel acquiesced; and the Committee on the Sugar Duties Bill was therefore postponed till Monday.

Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, there were Cabinet Councils, club meetings, much talk, and many rumours; but nobody treated as within the limits of probability, that, if Sir Robert Peel remained in office, he would call on the House of Commons to rescind its vote. When, therefore, Monday afternoon arrived, the House of Commons was crowded, in order to hear the Ministerial explanation. The first step was that Sir R. Peel moved that the House should go into Committee on the Sugar Duties Bill; which having been done, he proceeded to make his statement as to the view which was taken by the Government of the position in which it had been placed by the vote on Friday night. He commenced by sketching the policy which has been pursued by this country with respect to the slave trade and slavery, viewing it in the light of one of the greatest evils and curses of humanity. The chief onus of suppressing it had fallen on this country: for this we had made great sacrifices; and only last session an act was passed, more stringently preventing the employment of British capital in the trade, and, therefore, showing what was the whole tenor of our policy. Men of the most opposite opinions concurred in considering that, with reference to slavery, sugar should be taken out of the ordinary principles of commercial legislation. Hitherto our efforts to suppress the slave trade between the coast of Africa and Cuba and the Brazils, have been ineffectual; and to open the sugar trade between Great Britain and these countries would only aggravate the traffic and defeat their efforts. But by giving encouragement to the free-labour sugars of the Manillas, Java, and perhaps China, we would strike a blow at the slave trade, and ameliorate the condition of the slave, even if one consequence should be a slight stimulus to the production of slave-grown produce. The Government felt it necessary to decide, during the present year, on the course which they should adopt with respect to sugar; our treaty with the Brazils expires on the 10th of November next; and the reasons by which they were actuated in bringing in their present measure, and deferring a more general consideration of the subject till next year, were three. First, the income-tax expires next year, and the full operation of the tariff, which was imposed in conjunction with it, would not be distinctly ascertained till that time—as, for instance, the full reduction in the timber duties did not take effect till October last. This fact is to be taken along with the general revival of trade and industry, which, however gratifying, might not be permanent; if it were, next year would give them positive assurance. Second, there was the great financial operation, the reduction in the Three-and-a-Half per Cents., of which it was of great importance to secure the success; and the third reason was, that if the income-tax were renewed next year, a revision of the sugar duties would have been considered as one of the conditions of it. The indications of rising price, and the fear of a deficit supply, led the Government to introduce their present proposition; the sugar monopoly was the only one that remained (a voice, "Corn"); and they considered that, without detriment to the revenue, or injury to the West Indies, their measure was calculated to be of great advantage to the community at large. They wished to ascertain, before next year, if Parliament would sanction and establish the distinction between free labour and slave labour; and they adhered to their opinion that their own proposition was better than the one proposed by Mr. Philip Miles. The distinction which he had drawn between muscovado and white clayed sugars was one, if adopted, which ought also to be introduced into our colonies. After mature consideration, they could not adopt the amendment with the view of escaping from their difficulties, because they were of opinion that, while it would not benefit either the consumer or the West India interest, it would be detrimental to the revenue. To prove this he entered into details, taking the effect of the reduction on the timber duties by way of illustration; and then, pointing out that the amendment would create a differential duty of 14s. on certain sugars, while the Government measure only gave 10s., emphatically repeated that they would not escape from their difficulties by giving increased protection to the West Indies. He then read extracts from letters which he had received that morning, from individuals largely engaged in the sugar trade, in which the writers pointed out that, by adopting the higher duty on the white clayed sugars, great injury would be the consequence. There were sugar refineries established at Calcutta and in Demerara, which manufactured a refined sugar, which, while it would escape the duty on the white clayed, was largely superseding its use. Refusing to adopt the amendment on its commercial merits, neither could they adopt it on political grounds. It had been carried by a combination of a portion of the supporters of the Government with their political opponents, and, however unimportant the matter itself might be, it had an important bearing, as indicating a want of confidence in the Executive. He did not complain of the combination, though he believed it to have been preconcerted. (Cries of "No, no.") Members had a perfect right to act as they pleased; but if the Government acquiesced in the vote of Friday night, it would only be an encouragement to similar attempts. Though not disposed to take offence, he could not but complain of the harsh terms which Mr. Miles, and his seconder, Mr. Baillie, had used. The Government had been told to "throw off the mask," and they were accused of having struck a blow at Australia, by the reduction of the duty on wool—the fact being, that, a few days ago, the first sales of Australian wool since the reduction had been greater than ever before known. By the vote of Friday the Government proposition had been rejected; the amendment of Mr. Miles had yet to be proposed, and he would then give the House the opportunity of reconsidering their vote, by restoring the duty of 24s. on colonial sugar. After adverting to the general state of the legislative measures of the Government, and expressing his fears that the close of the present session would be marked, like the last one, by the abandonment of many of them, he lamented the want of cordiality between the Government and many of its usual supporters, but would not conciliate

them by holding out the prospect of taking a different course. They had taken office with the view of not only maintaining, but of improving existing institutions, and of gradually relaxing the system of protection. They had been defeated in the House of Lords on a question which, though appearing isolated, was in reality not so; it was a portion of that ecclesiastical renovation which circumstances required. Seeing, therefore, that the policy of the Government was one of gradual improvement, and that they could not hold out any expectation of an alteration in it, he concluded by intimating that important consequences might be the result of the decision of the House.

Lord John Russell followed Sir Robert Peel, expressing his amazement at the overbearing conduct of the Prime Minister in asking the House of Commons to rescind on Monday what it had voted on Friday, and warning it against suffering itself to be degraded in the eyes of the country. This topic was the leading idea in the debate which ensued, and which lasted the entire night; but, as we have nothing to do here with PARTY POLITICS, we shall pass it all over, and simply give one speech, as the justification for the course which the Free-Traders pursued.

Mr. Milner Gibson would only occupy the attention of the House for a few moments, but he wished to explain the view he was constrained to take of the question before the House. It was said by some that the question simply was, whether the duty on colonial sugar ought to be 20s. or 24s., and many plausible reasons might be alleged to show that such was the question; but, reflecting on the real position of affairs, he had come to this conclusion—that the question before the House was between the extreme protection party and the Government of the right hon. baronet, which had brought forward a proposition for diminishing the protection to the West India interest. The question which an advocate of Free Trade ought to consider was this:—did the hon. member for Bristol call upon the House to give the country a larger measure of Free Trade than the Government? He (Mr. Milner Gibson) might be wrong, but that was the view he took of the subject. The noble member for London had talked of combinations and concerts, and had treated the present as a sort of party question on the Liberal side of the House. Was it anything of the kind? The noble lord did not invite support to a liberal measure of his own, proposing but to co-operate with those who had been most uncompromising and determined practically to defeat a measure, and a measure which was within reach. It was true that it was an imperfect measure, but it was looked upon as an improvement by the constituency he (Mr. M. Gibson) had the honour to represent, and by the great trading interests of the country. He admitted that he fell very short of what it ought to be, but, as far as he was competent to form an opinion, it was a practical reform within the reach of the House. The noble lord invited his friends to co-operate with their opponents; but he (Mr. M. Gibson) could not bring himself to believe that gentlemen complaining of the admission of some foreign sugar into competition, could possibly at this moment be proposing to admit more sugar. He was strongly disposed to think that the measure of the hon. member for Bristol was one of larger protection than that of the Government, for the former asked a differential duty of 14s., while the Government offered a protective duty of 10s. His (Mr. M. Gibson's) desire and inclination was to vote with the noble member for London, and, if he would bring forward a liberal measure of his own, no man would be more anxious to support the noble lord. It had been stated by the noble lord the member for the city of London, when he (Mr. M. Gibson) asserted that the 31s. duty on the white clayed sugar would apply to a large proportion of the foreign sugar which would come under the bill, that he had not been right in that assertion. Of course it was not from his own knowledge that he had made the assertion; but he had done so from the best authorities within his reach, and for his own gratification he would refer to one or two letters. ("Oh, oh," and "Read, read.") When a member's accuracy was attacked he had a right to do this, and he must either do it, or move that the chairman should report progress. (Read, read.) One letter was from Mr. Peter Martineau, a name well known as connected with the sugar trade, and a firm supporter of liberal principles.

"Goulstone-street, Whitechapel, June 17.

"DEAR SIR,—I am sorry that the Ministers' motion was not carried on Friday night, as the effect of Mr. Miles's motion will be to entail an additional protective duty of 4s. on a very large proportion of the foreign free-labour sugar admitted to consumption; for under the denomination of white clayed sugar, or sugar equivalent to white clayed, the public would have to pay a much higher percentage of protection than is levied under the Ministers' bill.

"I remain, yours truly,
"PETER MARTINEAU."

The next letter, which was to the same effect, was from a gentleman of opposite politics, also connected with the sugar trade, and what did he say?

"Goodman's Fields, June 17.

"MY DEAR SIR,—In answer to your inquiry, I have no hesitation in saying that it is my conviction that by far the greater part of the sugars proposed to be admitted in November next would, under Mr. Miles's amendment, be taxed at 34s. instead of 30s., as many seem to imagine.

"I am, my dear Sir,
"THOMAS HODGSON."

The next letter was, perhaps, from still better authority. Messrs. Thornton and Wests.

"Old Swan, London-bridge, June 17.

"DEAR SIR,—In answer to your application on the subject of Mr. Miles's proposition, we are decidedly of opinion that, if the differential duty between colonial sugar and sugar the produce of Java, Manilla, and Siam, exceeds 10s., the benefit contemplated by Sir Robert Peel will be in a great degree, if not altogether defeated.

"Mr. Miles, doubtless, intends to bring Java, Manilla, and Siam sugar under the denomination of *white clayed*, thereby rendering the duty 34s., and not 30s., which will operate most materially against the article being imported (to the degree which would otherwise be the case) for home consumption. We still trust, however, that Sir Robert's measure may be confirmed, without which we shall continue, as heretofore, and no benefit will result to foreign sugar the produce of free labour.

"We are, as you are aware, and have been for upwards of thirty years, the largest importers of Java sugar, hitherto invariably sold in bond, for exportation; and under Sir Robert's plan we certainly did hope for a

ferent state of things, and we shall regret if Mr. Miles succeeds in upsetting the measure.—Believe us to remain, Dear Sirs, yours obediently,

“THORNTON AND WESTS.”

He had several other letters from men of different political opinions, to the same effect.* They all considered that the measure of the West India interest gave increased protection, and called upon the advocates for the abolition of all protection to support the best measure they could get. He must, therefore, call upon the noble lord not to throw out a taunt against them for acting inconsistently. (Oh, oh.) They were simply desirous of procuring for the country the best measure within their reach, and did not wish to offer any opposition to the noble lord. (Hear.)

When the galleries were cleared for a division the result was—

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|---|-----|
| For Mr. Miles's proposition of 20s. on colonial sugar | 233 |
| Against it | 255 |
| Majority against | 22 |

The announcement of the numbers, practically rescinding the vote of Friday night, was marked by cheers, and Mr. Miles said that he would, after so decided an expression of opinion, abandon his proposition.

On Thursday night, the House of Commons was occupied the whole evening in discussing the Sugar Duties Bill in committee. We shall not, however, at present, make any remarks on the debate, reserving the subject for fuller observation next week, when the bill will have made farther progress through the Legislature. But we cannot avoid noticing the fact, that Mr. Thomas Duncombe could not allow the bill to go through committee without an attack on the eleven members of the House, who, as Free-Traders, supported the Government. He called them “Tory tools.” The matter, however, is not worth noticing: because, in his speech, Mr. Thomas Duncombe displayed entire ignorance of the whole question of the Sugar Duties—an ignorance which Sir Robert Peel did not miss exposing; and because Mr. Thomas Duncombe has on all occasions, as far as he durst, endeavoured to damage the Free-Trade movement.

MEETINGS.

AGGREGATE WEEKLY MEETING OF THE LEAGUE AT COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.

The usual aggregate weekly meeting of the members and friends of the National Anti-Corn-Law League was resumed on Wednesday evening at Covent-garden Theatre. Mr. George Wilson, the Chairman of the Council, presided.

The theatre was extremely crowded, and the proceedings of the evening were characterised by a degree of enthusiasm seldom equalled. The following gentlemen, among others, were observed upon the platform:—

Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., Thomas Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P., J. L. Ricardo, Esq., M.P., General Briggs, the Rev. Thomas Spencer (of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath), W. J. Fox, Esq., Colonel Tucker, George Thompson, Esq., the Rev. Dr. Lavis, Rev. Mr. Roberts (of New Bedford, Massachusetts), Professor Wright (Boston, United States), the Rev. Dr. Jenkins (Coward College), Summers Harford, Esq., William Felkin, Esq., F.R.S., &c. &c., Professor Key, the Rev. J. Edwards (Nottingham), Messrs. John Rawsthorne (Manchester), W. D. Starling (Stourbridge), J. D. Cummings, Thomas Hoyle (Rochdale), Crew (Shelley-house, Essex), H. Warland, R. Palmer, H. T. Stanton, John Bloor (Lutbury, Derbyshire), Samuel Lucas, W. A. Wilkinson, A. Bauer, Frederick Farrand, J. P. Barnard, Sidney Kennedy, P. A. Taylor, Thomas Carman, J. Carlton, T. Johnson (Sunderland), Samuel Rogers (Isle of Man), Duff (Isle of Man), Garrett, jun. (Isle of Man), William Lear, Press Granger, Oliver Wilcocke, W. Thornorow, M. Curtis (Manchester), J. Ridge, Charles Cobby, George Dully (Newbury), J. Elkin, John McCall, D. Jonassohn, George Wood, W. Gessin, John Howarth (Rochdale), W. G. Thompson, A. Tomlinson, Thomas Thornton, and Edward William Gray (Newbury).

At half-past seven o'clock the Chairman entered the theatre, accompanied by Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P., and several other distinguished advocates of Free Trade.

The CHAIRMAN called on the Secretary to read the minutes of the last meeting, which having been done, upon the motion of Mr. George Thompson, seconded by Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P., they were unanimously confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN then again came forward, and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, we have again assembled to discuss the great and unredressed grievances which monopoly, the parent of scarcity, is still inflicting upon the industry of this country (cheers); and to express our hostility to its longer continuance, and the fixed purpose and determination of the League to increase its efforts, if possible, to secure its speedy and final overthrow. (Great cheering.) Before we meet again, our excellent friend Mr. Villiers (applause) will, in furtherance and in promotion of the objects of Free Trade, introduce this question for the consideration and decision of the House of Commons. We shall not now stay to inquire the probable decision which the House will give with respect to that motion—it is sufficient for us to know that, after their election to Parliament for the purpose of upholding and continuing monopoly, the rank and file of monopolists—those who would sacrifice every other interest in this country to their own interest—are not very likely to make many concessions to us now. (Cheers.) I trust, however, that there will come a time when, although they now think their lease a long one, this matter shall be put an end to. (Applause.) It is our business, by a speedy, a consistent, and a timely action upon the constituencies, to prepare them so that when that period shall arrive they may be ready to vindicate their own rights and the rights of the industrious classes of this country. (Great cheering.) Before I sit down, I have to make an announcement with respect to a subject which has been brought before you some time ago—that is, in reference to the bazaar. It was originally proposed to hold it in the month of July. We have had numerous applications, from our friends in the country more especially, expressing an anxiety to furnish contributions; but, at the same time, stating that the time is too limited for them to do justice to their own wishes in respect to it. (Hear.) In consideration of these communications, and as there is no reason for its being held immediately, I have to announce that the Council of the League

have come to the determination to postpone it till the month of January next year—an announcement which I hope will prove satisfactory to our friends here as well as to those who may read the reports of the proceedings of this meeting to-morrow in the country. (Hear.) There is another alteration in our arrangements, also, with respect to this meeting which I have to announce. It was intended that Dr. Bowring, M.P. for Bolton, should have addressed you this evening. Owing, however, to some other arrangements, he is unable to attend; but I am quite sure, when I state that Mr. Cobden (loud and reiterated cheering)—when I state that Mr. Cobden will address you, I trust that the arrangement may not be considered altogether unsatisfactory. (Loud cheers.) I beg leave, then, to introduce to you the hon. member for Stockport. (Immense applause.)

Mr. COBDEN upon approaching the table was received with the most vehement and reiterated applause, which having at length subsided, the hon. gentleman addressed the meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it is within the last two hours that the announcement was made to me that Dr. Bowring, who we had hoped would have addressed you here to-night, was unavoidably compelled to be absent; I therefore appear before you on this stage merely to fill up the vacancy which he has unfortunately occasioned. I might have been wanting in topics upon which to address you, but our question seems now to be so prominent everywhere, that each week turns up some fresh subject, or some new phase of the old topic, by which we are enabled to invest our great question with some new interest. Gentlemen, during the last week we have had two discussions in the House of Commons; and if party spirit had not elbowed poor political economy aside, that assembly might have become a school for instructing the public mind upon a question which I think is but too little understood—I mean the subject of differential duties. (Hear, hear.) But, unfortunately, certain parties on both sides were possessed of the idea that instead of 4s. a cwt. of duty upon sugar being the matter involved in the debate, there was place, power, and patronage at issue in the struggle. (Hear, hear, hear.) Our question became drowned in mutual recriminations and invectives, in retrospective attacks for past misconduct as far back as the year 1835: in fact, those who were in and those who were out seemed to be influenced only by one cause of anxiety—how the one set could get the others out and instal themselves in their places. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, there is a pretty large school of political economy now assembled in this theatre, and if you will allow me I will endeavour to give you a short lesson upon that subject, which was really the topic of debate in the House of Commons, but which other, and in my opinion less important subjects superseded, very much to the disadvantage of the public interests. (Hear.) I wish the country to understand what is the meaning of the phrase “I used at the beginning of my address, ‘differential duties’ laid at the Custom-house. I think I can give you an illustration of its real significance, which probably may enable a child to go home and tell its grandpapa what those words mean. I will suppose that a certain number of market-gardeners, owning a limited surface of the neighbouring territory—say the parish of Hammersmith—persuaded his Grace of Bedford, who owns Covent-garden Market, in which these vegetables are sold, to lay a duty of 10s. a load upon all cabbages which came from all other gardens except those in the said parish of Hammersmith—such, for instance, as Battersea and other places. What would the consequence be, as the parish which would possess the monopoly does not raise as many cabbages as the people of the Metropolis can eat? The effect would be that the market-gardeners of Hammersmith would hold back their supply until they could get the same price as the people of Battersea obtained, who, having to pay 10s. a load to the Duke, consequently added the amount of the duty to the price of their produce. What would be the effect of such a system? The great Duke would receive his 10s. a load duty on the cabbages which came from Battersea and elsewhere, and the Hammersmith growers would get the extra 10s. on their cabbages, which, not having to pay the duty, they would put into their own pockets, the public paying the 10s. extra on both descriptions of cabbage. We will now suppose that the Duke wanted a little larger cabbage revenue, but, wishing still to favour the Hammersmith growers, he proposes to levy a tax of 10s. upon their cabbages, but, at the same time, to raise the duty upon the Battersea cabbages to 20s. What would be the effect? The Hammersmith people would as before hold back their cabbages, and as the market is insufficiently supplied by them, they would sell none until they could obtain the same price as the Battersea gardeners, who have to pay 20s. duty on their cabbages, while the Hammersmith people pay only 10s. Now, how would the public be affected? They would pay upon all the cabbages they bought 20s. beyond their actual value. The Duke obtains the whole of the extra 20s. upon the Battersea cabbages, and also 10s. upon those coming from Hammersmith, the Hammersmith people pocketing the other 10s.; the public meanwhile paying 20s. tax upon all their cabbages. (Cheers.) Some time after this the Hammersmith people want a little more monopoly; having tasted of its sweets they desire a little more of that same (laughter), and accordingly they lay their cunning heads together. They do not deem it expedient to go to the Duke and ask him to put on a still higher duty upon the Battersea cabbages; because that would be a very unpopular measure. They, therefore, adopt the plan of raising the cry of “Cheap cabbages,” and go to the noble market proprietor and say, “Reduce the duty upon all cabbages coming from Hammersmith from 10s. to 6s., and leave the tax upon those brought from Battersea, as it is now at 20s.” Having assumed the pretext of patriotism, they wait upon my Lord John Russell, and ask him to interest himself with his brother, the Duke of Bedford, to induce that nobleman to carry into effect this admirable arrangement. The noble Duke, whom I presume to be a shrewd man, naturally replies—“Your cry of cheap cabbages is merely a pretext to cover your own selfishness: if I take off 4s. a load from your duty, and leave the duty on the Battersea cabbages 20s., as at present, you will continue to sell your produce at the same price as theirs, and the only result will be that I shall lose 4s. a load duty, which you will pocket, and the public will pay precisely the same price as before.” (Cheers.) Change the word “cabbages” for “sugar,” and you will then have a complete illustration of the move which has recently been practised by our old oppo-

nents, the West India planters. (Hear, hear, hear.) Government brought forward a measure for fixing the duty upon foreign sugar at 34s. per cwt. upon all kinds of sugar, not refined, and of 21s. per cwt. upon all colonial sugar; that is, giving to the growers of the latter description of sugar—the colonial—10s. extra price for all they bring into the market, because, as in the supposititious case of the Hammersmith cabbage-growers, their own supply is totally insufficient for the market, and they will not sell one ounce of their sugar until they obtain the same price as the Java and other dealers receive, although out of that sum the latter have to pay 10s. duty more than the former. Let us see what that protective duty will amount to. In round numbers there are about 4,000,000 cwt. of sugar supplied by our colonies to this country. Ten shillings per cwt. upon that quantity will be £2,000,000 sterling, as near as I can calculate it. The whole of this large amount is a bonus, or “protection,” as it is called, to monopoly, which the Government propose to give to the West Indian planters. What, gentlemen, has been the conduct of the Free-Traders with reference to this sugar monopoly? Why, we brought forward a motion for the equalization of the sugar duties, in order that all growers of that article might pay an equal sum in the shape of duty to Queen Victoria, and that no private interest should be allowed to pocket any part of that amount. (Cheers.) We discussed that proposition in the House of Commons; and, although I think we undoubtedly had the best of them in the argument, they had the advantage of us in the number of votes. Then there was another amendment proposed by Mr. Miles, who brought forward a proposition for the imposition of a duty of 20s. per cwt. upon colonial, and 30s. upon foreign sugars; but he introduced a third line—a discrimination omitted in the Government measure—to the effect that all foreign sugar of the description which is called “white clayed,” or of a quality equivalent to it, should be charged 34s. per cwt. I have been told that there are a great number of people, even in this enlightened metropolis, who believe that the Free-Traders have been acting wrongly in resisting Mr. Miles's amendment. (Hear.) To say the least, there is a suspicion attached to the origin of that honourable gentleman's proposition, but I do not judge of its character by that circumstance. It is the West India proprietors who complained that Sir Robert Peel was going to ruin them by his motion, and therefore they brought forward Mr. Miles's amendment; and there are some people kind enough to believe that the amendment would give the colonists less protection than the motion of Sir Robert Peel! We will not, however, judge by appearance, still less estimate the measure by the character of the men who bring it forward, but we will examine and see what its tendency really is. A reduction of 4s. per cwt. in the duty upon colonial sugar, is a reduction to that amount upon all colonial sugar, whatever its quality may be. The reduction of 4s. upon foreign sugar, is only a reduction upon a part, or a certain description of foreign sugar. Let us inquire what is the description of foreign sugar which is excepted, and upon which it is proposed to levy 34s., because that in reality is the whole question. Men who are not conversant with the sugar trade are very unfit judges of the effect of the proposed exception. Some of us Free-Traders thought it worth while to go into the City and ascertain what this “white clayed sugar” coming from foreign countries really was. We thought we could not do better, and therefore went and consulted some half-score refiners and wholesale dealers in sugar; and, among others, referred to our old and trusted friend—the chairman both of Lord John Russell's and Mr. Pattison's committees—Mr. Travers, who, I believe, is one of the largest, if not the greatest wholesale dealer in sugar in this country, he not being himself a colonial proprietor, but being simply engaged as a distributor of sugar. The interests of that gentleman are identical with those of the consumer in this country. I will read the letter received from Mr. Travers upon the subject:—

“MY DEAR SIR,—I repeat to you, without hesitation, that the practical effect of Mr. Miles's amendment upon the proposed sugar duties, will be to establish a differential duty of 14s. per cwt. in favour of colonial sugars, as against three-fourths at least of the foreign sugars named for home consumption in November next. Java sugar, which will yield much more than half of this additional supply, is wholly clayed, and its lower qualities are in substance (or the amount of saccharine matter contained in them) more than ‘equivalent’ to the white clayed of many other countries, which, in comparison, are often weak and worthless. The same remark will also apply to a portion of the China and Manilla sugars, though the latter are not clayed at all.

“Then, again, as to the terms ‘brown clayed’ and ‘white clayed,’ it is impossible to draw a line of distinction in which any two parties, whose interests are opposed to each other, will agree. There is, between these two extremes, every shade of variety of ‘brown white’ and ‘white brown;’ and thus, the disputes of the importer and the Government officer will prove endless, terminating however, there is no doubt, in all cases, in favour of the revenue, and the imposition of the higher duty; unless, indeed, there is any fraud or collusion between parties in favour of the lower duty, which would of course operate to the injury of the fair trader.

“Both in the substance and colour of sugar there exists, in fact, as to value, no point of fixed or general argument. The real substance of sugar can only be determined by frequent experiment and great practical experience on the part of the refiner; and the value of colour is a thing generally settled between buyer and seller in the course of the moment, the colour itself varying with every light to which it is subjected.

“If the Government intend a differential duty of only 10s. per cwt. between colonial and foreign sugar, Mr. Miles's amendment will not answer the object. In the absence of fraud, the colonial interests may be benefited by it to the extent of 4s. per cwt., but it will be just so much out of the pocket of the consumer.

“I am, my dear Sir, faithfully yours,
“JOHN TRAVERS.”

“Switlin's-lane, June 17, 1844.”

I have upon the same subject also letters from a number of the most eminent houses in the sugar trade, and amongst others the following:—Messrs. Thornton and West, Messrs. Goodhart, Messrs. John and Henry Taylor, Mr. Peter Martineau, and Mr. John Davis. I have no hesitation, gentlemen, in stating to you my conviction that this amendment in its origin was nothing better than a

* From Messrs. J. H. Goodhart, John and Henry Taylor, and John Davis, all largely engaged in the foreign sugar trade.

trap to catch unwary Free-Traders. (Hear, hear.) I will not charge Mr. Miles with being the originator of the trick, or an accomplice in the intended deception; but I believe the artful scheme was got up in Mincing-lane by men who understood very well what they were about, and who imagined that the Free-Traders in the House of Commons would be caught by their specious artifices. What would have been the effect of the amendment if carried? The duty on colonial sugar would have been lowered from 24s. to 20s.; the great bulk of foreign sugar would have been 34s.; it would therefore leave, instead of the 10s. protecting duty according to the Government plan, 14s. a cwt. protecting duty to the colonial interest. (Hear, hear, hear.) Notwithstanding this there are unwary people who tell us, "If you get your sugar cheaper, why care about the colonial interest getting a little advantage too?" But the fact is you would get your sugar no cheaper by this plan. A reduction of 4s. per cwt. upon colonial sugar would be simply transferring an equal amount from the revenue of the country into the pockets of the monopolists. Four shillings upon the 4,000,000 cwt. brought into this country from the colonies would be equivalent to £800,000 a year taken from the national exchequer, and which you would be compelled to make up again in some other shape for the revenue. Mark me, the public and the national revenue are both in the same boat, while the monopolists are in another; and, if you have £800,000 a year abstracted from the revenue by the giving up of these duties on colonial sugar, you will have to pay so much more taxation in another form. What is the plan of Mr. Miles but the absorption of revenue, which ought to go to Queen Victoria, by the monopolists of this country, similar to that which has already led to the imposition of the income-tax? (Cheers.) What is their alteration of duty but an amount which they propose to transfer from the public exchequer to the pockets of the monopolists? Some people say that it is a small and insignificant sum; but it should be remembered, as I stated before, that 4s. per cwt. upon 4,000,000 cwt. of sugar is £800,000 per annum; and that £800,000 per annum is equal to a capital at an interest of 4 per cent., of £20,000,000 sterling. The proposal of Mr. Miles, therefore, is nothing more nor less than this—to take from the pockets of the people of this country another £20,000,000, and give it to the colonial interest. (Cheers.) I have told my good friends here—for I heard a shout or two at the beginning which showed that we have some present who have been gulled by this artifice—I told them, and now again repeat, that reducing the duty upon colonial sugar without reducing the foreign, will not lower the price to the consumer one farthing; and as we are told that, at a future period—probably next year—a very great change will take place in the sugar duties, let us in the meantime learn our lesson thoroughly, and understand what these differential duties are; and, if we can only make the public perceive their real nature, by next February there will not be a Minister who will dare to come down and propose them. (Cheers.) I tell you that, if the Government were to take off the whole of the duty on colonial sugar to-morrow, and leave on the foreign duty, you would not have your sugar one farthing a pound cheaper than now. You can only have that article cheaper by increasing the quantity which is brought into the market; there is no other way of lowering the price of things but by increasing the supply, provided consumption shall continue as it now is. The only effect, therefore, of taking off the duty of 24s. a cwt. from the colonial sugar would be to transfer the whole of that amount into the pockets of the monopolists, and take four or five millions sterling per annum from the revenue, which you probably may have to make up by another income-tax. If these questions can but be understood, and the public become informed upon the subject, we shall very soon get rid of the whole of these impositions in the article of sugar which are inflicted on the people by means of these differential duties. After all, what do they amount to? It is just voting so much money, taken out of the pockets of the people of this country, into the pockets of a certain small class of proprietors of land in Jamaica and the West Indies. It amounts to that and nothing else. When the colonists come forward and propose "protection" as a remedy for their grievances, let us ask ourselves whether this system of protection can possibly be said to work well, even for the colonists themselves? Why, I have seen hon. gentlemen in the House of Commons, owners of land in the West Indies, come forward and almost weep over the distresses of themselves and connexions: they have said that they are ruined now—that their property is of no value—that they have to send out money every year to pay the expenses of managing their estates, instead of drawing a revenue from them. Under what circumstances does all this distress happen to them? Why, they have at this very time a protection actually amounting to a prohibition against all other foreign sugar whatever, for at the present moment you cannot purchase foreign sugar for less than 64s. a cwt. duty, which is an actual prohibition. If that system of monopoly has not enabled them to carry on their business successfully—if they had and decline under such protection as that—why, does it not argue that they are upon a wrong tack altogether, and that a system which is so injurious to you as consumers of one of the first necessities of life, is not beneficial to those for whose advantage it has nominally been imposed? I say let us see the thing in its true character. My hon. friend Mr. Milner Gibson, who has a very shrewd way of looking at things, put the whole matter upon its right footing; he said, instead of voting money to the monopolists in the shape of an act of Parliament, which purports to be merely voting supplies to the Crown—instead of voting colonial duties under that subterfuge, which leaves the benefit to the monopolists—let us vote money to the Crown only; and, if the colonists come forward with fair claims upon us, let them state them openly, and let us vote to them separately whatever they are entitled to. But, even if they do come before us in that form, we shall want to know something more besides the mere fact of the existence of their sufferings and disasters; we shall require to be informed whether they have managed their own property in the best possible manner. If a man comes before a meeting of creditors and pleads distress and failure, and says he cannot meet his engagements and carry on his business with profit, you will naturally want to ascertain what the habits of that man have been, and if he has conducted his business with skill and economy. We will ask a few questions of that kind of the West India proprietors, if you please. I say they have failed because they have not

conducted their business with either skill or economy. I remember crossing the Atlantic seven years ago with a very enlightened traveller, who had been through the whole of the sugar-producing countries of the globe; and he remarked to me, "There is as much difference between the mode of cultivation and manufacture in your West India islands, and in other countries where I have been where they have no such monopoly as that which exists with you—there is as great an inferiority in the process in your sugar-producing islands—as there is between the machinery and management of one of your cotton-mills now as compared with what they were twenty years ago." Then, I say, if such be the case, away with this rotten prop of protection, which only makes sluggards and cripples, and induces men to slumber under its influence. Put these colonists on a fair and equal footing with other people, and leave them to fight their own battle without favour, just as we are obliged to do in this country. Gentlemen, I have now told you what are the grounds upon which I voted against Mr. Miles's amendment the other night. I will frankly confess to you that I was not myself aware of the trap which had been laid for us until the Friday morning as this motion was to come on before the House in the evening. I had on the Thursday even made up my mind to vote for that motion, imagining—simple-hearted creature, as I was—that something good could come out of Mr. Miles, the member for Bristol. (Laughter.) I am willing to believe, in fact I have no doubt of it, that a great number of Free-Traders, as earnest as any in this theatre, who voted with Mr. Miles, did so under the same misapprehension as to the facts of the case, as that under which I should have voted had the motion come on on the day before I found out the truth of the matter. But, gentlemen, though I believe the earnest Free-Traders have voted under a misapprehension, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there are other parties in the House of Commons who have made this a mere party contest. (Hear, hear.) I do not shut my eyes to the fact that the newspaper organs of those parties are very much dissatisfied because we, who had other principles in view than party purposes or factious objects, did not join in carrying a worse measure than the bad enough measure of Sir Robert Peel, and by that means contrive to upset the political coach. (Cheers.) I do not look at these proceedings in Parliament as party political contests: I have never given a factious vote in that House, and I hope I never shall. (Cheers.) I will get the best measures I can; I will never originate a bad one, nor ever support a worse measure when a better is presented before me in that House. (Cheers.) If I was a partisan, and was disposed to look at this question merely with reference to the tactics of the party in the House of Commons through the spectacles of Whiggery itself, why, what must I say of the wisdom of the tactics of that party in their late proceedings? Here is a coalition—and what sort of a one? I have heard many rational people say in this country, that in all probability we shall see a coalition some day in the House of Commons. I have heard sensible men say that they believe there are 250 of the more moderate men upon the Tory benches, and at least 100 of the more Conservative upon the Whig side, who are so identified in politics that they might now be sitting on the same side and under one leader, if it were not for the difficulty of adjusting the pretensions of rival leaders. There are some people who think that there is sense or policy in such a coalition as that; but what sort of a coalition had we on Monday last between Liberals on the one side and the ultra-bigots of monopoly on the other? Lord John Russell with his Whig party, and Lord John Manners with Young England after him, going out into the same lobby? If faction did not blind men, if they could look beyond their noses, might they not ask themselves what can this lead to? Admitting that such a combination might upset their rival leader, where would it land them? Why, the very next vote they came to, with such ingredients as that, would put them again in a great minority; and what would be the effect of the opposition to Sir R. Peel himself? Suppose the Queen sent for Lord John Russell, and asked him to take office, what would be his advice to her Majesty? In all probability to entreat her to send for Sir R. Peel back again. Why, with a majority of 90 on all party questions, can Sir R. Peel be dispossessed of office by any such miserable manoeuvre as this in the House of Commons? If the parties had come to something like a balance—if they were within 10 or 20 of each other in strength—there might be an opening, perhaps, for these party political manoeuvres and tactics in the House of Commons; but, I say, with 90 or 130 majority on the side of Sir R. Peel, how can these tactics there ever put his opponents into his place in power? No, no: the way to get into office, if Lord John Russell and the Whigs desire it, is this, not by the unprincipled plan of joining the ultra-bigoted monopolists,—that policy does not answer even in France, where there are less scrupulous politicians than here, and where the public mind is not so cognizant of public men as in England,—but if the noble lord wants to get into power, let him work up his strength out of doors, in order that he may increase his power within the House. (Cheers.) How will he or any other man increase his power out of doors? Not by obstructing the gradual advancement of Free Trade, which he professes to support, but by advocating himself the real principle of Free Trade, and taking his position upon it either to stand or fall. I am very sorry to say that such is the opinion of political parties—I mean the two great political parties in this country—that the people care very little for either one or the other of them. (Hear, hear, hear.) On their present footing, I believe, the public has very little to choose between them: I should not wonder but that for 5s. a cwt. less protection on sugar the nation would sell either of them. (Laughter.) Gentlemen, the League, so far as I am concerned, is of neither of these political factions. Neither Whigs nor Tories are practical Free-Traders. We have never yet heard a pledge from the leader of the Whig party any more than from the head of the Tories, that they are prepared to carry out the principle of Free Trade. We have heard vague declarations, but we are not to be satisfied with them; we find no votes in favour of the principle of Free Trade. There is always some plea for maintaining or continuing protection on sugar, and some apology for protection on corn; and until we can get one party or the other to take their stand upon Free Trade against all protective duties which are robberies of the public, until you can find one or other political party to take that high ground, I do not

believe that the League, as a league, would be acting either with wisdom or policy if it identified itself with either of them. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, my opinion is, that if we are isolated as a party, provided we are a party, the Free-Traders will be stronger in the House of Commons and the country, though they may not be numerically strong, than if they merged themselves into the ranks of either Whigs or Tories. (Cheers.) I see the confusion of parties, and the complete chaos into which political factions are falling. I am not sorry for it; but I say, give us a compact body of Free-Traders, and the more confusion and complication there is between Whigs and Tories the sooner we shall succeed in carrying out our principle. (The honourable gentleman retired amidst enthusiastic cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN then said, the Rev. T. Spencer, of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, will now address the meeting.

The Rev. T. SPENCER, who was greeted with much applause, then spoke as follows:—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I have listened, in common with yourselves, with great interest to the address of Mr. Cobden, and I am glad to find that mere parties are getting into disrepute in this country; that the names of "Whig" and "Tory" are almost about to disappear; and I am in hopes—and have long been entertaining the hope—that a new party will rise out of the ruins of both, to be called "the justice party" (great applause)—a party which shall have no other rule but that of justice, not justice to one, but justice to all (loud cheers)—not of favour to the rich, the poor, or to the middle classes only, but holding the balance evenly, and doing at all times, and under all circumstances, the thing that is right. (Cheers.) I am in hopes, too, that the newspapers will take a change at the same time. Instead of their being calculated on, and written on purpose, to deceive the public, or to gain popularity—instead of endless articles on pauperism and the poor laws—instead of perpetual appeals merely to the passions of men—instead of these old Whig and Tory papers, I trust that we shall have a "truth paper"—a real record of passing events, giving no colouring to, but recording circumstances, and chronicling them just as they are (cheers), so that the people shall really be able to believe what they read, which at present they cannot do, being obliged, in order to get at truth, to read both sides and then to judge between them. (Cheers.) I ought to feel a great deal of diffidence in my own opinion as a clergyman of the Church of England, when I know that so great a majority of my own order entertain different views from myself upon political subjects—when I see in the late election for South Lancashire that only six or seven clergymen polled for the Free-Trade candidate and 60 or 70 for the other—that is, that nine out of ten entertained opinions differing from my own. However, it is possible for a minority to be right. (Hear.) Sometimes it has happened in the world that truth has been held even by very few, and it is possible for a man even to stand alone—at all events no man should be prevented thinking for himself by this circumstance. The question is, what is right and true, and not "how many are there of your opinion." (Cheers.) I am sorry to be of the opinion of Bishop Butler in this respect, "that the greater part of men do not think for themselves." (Cheers.) I do not wish to say anything disrespectful of my fellow-creatures, but I am convinced that he is right: that men are indolent in their minds whatever they may be in their bodies—they do not like thinking, studying, and labouring mentally; therefore, even when they read, it is, as he says, "too frequently only an act of idleness." We may see them devouring a novel—there is no study in that; or reading a newspaper—there is no mental labour, no inquiry, no investigation, no balancing of the truth. But this stuffing, as it were, of the mind, and this lading of the memory, go on till by-and-by there is a fit of indigestion—the memory becomes weakened and destroyed—and nothing, I would remind you, weakens the memory so much as reading an immense mass of matter without the exercise of great consideration, and by much digestion causing it to become part and parcel of the mind itself. I ascribe one difficulty in the way of the League to this want of thought on the part of the people. The League has to do the thinking part for them, just as some people like to have all their work done for them: there are some who commit their health to the doctor, their estates to their agents, all their difficulties to the lawyer, and their souls to the priests. (Great cheering and laughter.) They do not read the scripture aright, for it says, "Examine yourselves;" whereas they say, "Do you come and examine for me if all be right." (Laughter.) The scripture says, "Prove your own selves."—"Prove all things—hold fast that which is good."—"Know ye not your own selves?"—"Why do ye not your own selves judge what is right?" This is the scripture rule; but men are always shifting their responsibility upon other men, and doing everything by proxy. (Cheers and laughter.) Now, as soon as ever the people of this country will do their thinking for themselves—whenever they will come and realize justice for themselves—and, above all, when they come to know for themselves what true religion is,—that it is not mere cant—not the putting on long laces, the saying of prayers, and singing of psalms, but the putting of justice and rectitude into all their words and actions,—when this time, I say, shall come, then will the League go through the country and make converts so fast that a few weeks will see as much success as many years have witnessed in times past. (Great applause.) There is another reason why this cause has not gone on faster than it has done, and that is, that even amongst those who do think a little, and who have made up their minds that Free Trade is right,—and thinking is sure to bring men to this conclusion—I mean, unbiassed and disinterested thought,—they commit the great fault of leaving the acting to other people. They say, "Never mind, it is not necessary for me to do much—there is Mr. Cobden (great applause)—there is Mr. Cobden, he will do it all (cheers); there is my representative in the House of Commons, he is a good man, he will speak for me there; and there are people signing petitions and holding meetings; and there are paid agents, and men going about without being paid at all; and there is the League, and the newspapers, and tracts of various kinds, all working well: therefore I need not spend my time, my money, and my labour to make enemies, and neglect my own business for this cause; I may very safely leave it in the hands of others." (Applause.) This has been the ruin of many a great cause. (Cries of "Hear.") But the really great man is the man who says to himself, "I must act as if I were

the only man in this cause (cheers); I will take such steps as are necessary, if all others neglect their duty; and, though I believe in the superintendence of Providence, I will work as though Providence would help no one except he be doing the very best himself. (Hear, hear.) As to names, it is not enough to bring them forward either for or against me. There have been those who have found fault with others for relying upon great names, but who have fallen into the very same error themselves—men who charge others with relying on a Pope, and yet stick up another themselves: who have got a Luther, a Calvin, a John Knox, or a Wesley, upon whom they pin their faith. (Cheers.) The proper plan is to throw aside those great names, and not to be frightened even if we are told that we have a Clarkson against us. What matters that, if we have truth upon our side? (Cheers.) So with respect to the influence of the majority of the clergy of England upon my own opinions: though I pay very great respect and deference to such an authority and to such a majority, yet there is one thing in which I think I have the advantage over them, and which ought to bind them as it does me—that is, the doctrine not only of the scriptures which they preach, but of the prayer-book to which they have subscribed. (Hear, hear.) I am not now going to allude to parts of that prayer-book, to which I have referred at other times and in other places—namely, the thanksgiving for cheapness and plenty; but I would allude to another portion of the prayer-book, viz., as to the right mode of action when a nation is in distress. At this particular time, for instance, many of the clergy are reading the prayer for rain, because we have had three months of dry weather. In my own parish, before I left home yesterday, I was told that one farmer had suffered a loss of £500 in consequence of the exceeding dry weather. In that prayer for rain, I perceive, that the thing which the clergy are taught to desire is, "that we may receive the fruits of the earth to our comfort and to God's honour" and the meaning of receiving the fruits of the earth to our comfort and to God's honour is explained in those other prayers to mean "cheapness and plenty." I consider, therefore, that to be the standard by which clergymen are to be guided in using these prayers of the church. (Cheers.) Now, I have no faith in prayer except it is united with action. The man who says, "Give us this day our daily bread," and does not go to work for it, must be a person of very small sense indeed. (Loud cheers.) I believe there is not an instance in the whole Bible of God's doing anything for man that man could do for himself; and this is a truth which I particularly wish to impress upon the minds of all who respect that book. Whenever, for instance, our Lord raising the dead, I do not find that He took away the stone, because that was a thing that man could do: therefore, He says, "Take ye away the stone;" and when the dead was raised (which Balane could do), I do not find that He did any more; at He said, "Loose him, and let him go;"—that being a thing that could be done without His aid. (Cheers.) When He fed the multitude, He did not divide them into companies and place them upon the grass—that He to His disciples to do, for they could do it; but the multiplying of the bread was His own business,—that He alone could do. When that was done, however, He said, "Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost;"—at being what they could do. So we find it in every case in the scriptures, that when anything is beyond our own power we have a right to ask the Divine assistance; but when it is within our power we have no right to expect the assistance of Providence any farther than we use our own exertions. (Cheers.) I would, then, appeal the clergy, and Sir Robert Peel as a churchman, as to whether the prayer-book does not lay this down as a foundation—this principle of cheapness and plenty. That the thing to be prayed for—that is the thing to be sought after; and I would also appeal to Sir Robert Peel from his own statement, for he himself has confessed as much as the proper rule for government to recognise, and the proper law for the people, is, to "buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest." This, he says, is a great truth—the basis on which things are founded; and is, therefore, ought to have been the original basis of our commercial laws. But he justifies himself for not carrying it into effect from the circumstances in which he finds himself in the present day. Now, every Sunday I am bid by my office to offer up a prayer for the Parliament which he is so conspicuous a member (laughter); and part of that prayer is to this effect:—"That all things may be so ordered and settled by their end and avours upon their best and surest foundation" (which he acknowledges to be cheapness and plenty— which he confesses to be Free Trade—the best and surest foundation). We pray every Sabbath that these "may be so ordered and settled by their endeavours on the best and surest foundation; at peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and law, may be established among us for all generations." (Hear.) Now, at present we have anything but peace and happiness among us—we have anything but prosperity in our land;—and why does not Sir Robert Peel, who hears this prayer, know that he himself is acting contrary to the spirit of the prayer-book, so long as he deems going to the very foundation which is here described the best and surest foundation—cheapness and plenty, allowing men to buy wherever they can to their own advantage, and allowing them to sell wherever they wish to their own best advantage? (Loud cheers.) I believe Free Trade to be one of the rights of man (loud cry "Hear") that nothing can take from him; I hold to be a right to be exercised at all times, under circumstances, and with all nations, and that there can be no case in which Free Trade ought to be suspended. It is the only sure foundation. I have caused the earth to be differently divided, some climates being warmer, some colder, some poor, some fertile, some possessing corn, some fruits, but all things diversified so that when there is not "corn in man, there is in Egypt;" and it was His intention that should have the benefit of that which was produced very part of the earth: it is for His honour and our fort that it should be so—and the Christian religion, which is declared to be "Glory to God in the highest; peace, earth, and good will towards men," can never be carried out until the ministers of that religion come forward and advocate this great and good principle. (Great ring.) I have before me the testimony of a very great man in his day—a man, indeed, who has not been a long time dead—got a clergyman of my own church, Robert Hall, the Baptist minister. (Hear, hear.) He says, "If

there is any class of persons whose opinions on these questions are entitled to deference and respect, they are, undoubtedly, political economists—men who have made the sources of national wealth the principal subject of their inquiry; and where will we find one, from Adam Smith to the present time, who has not reprobated the interference of the Legislature with the price of corn, to say nothing of the reasoning of that great philosopher, which is unanswerable. Common sense will teach us that laws to raise the price of such a commodity are unjust and oppressive upon the whole community for the exclusive benefit of a part." (Loud cheers.) Now, I may be told that the Free Trade which I have advocated can hardly be carried out in the case where the countries we trade with grow their produce by slave labour; and, as I have taken some conspicuous part in this matter, I may be allowed now, after all that has been said in the country, to give my present opinions on this point. (Hear, hear.) I have no idea of altering a rule after it has been once established. If a man, in coming to the Bible, for instance, once makes up his mind, from external and internal evidence, that its pages are genuine and authentic, then he is not to cavil at any particular word afterwards, but recollect the conclusion he had previously come to. (Hear, hear.) Every science takes for granted certain axioms and definitions. Euclid begins with his definitions and postulates. If you grant these, you must not deviate from them; in every proposition afterwards you must take them for granted, and as settled. So Sir Isaac Newton, when he commenced his "Principia," begins with his definitions, his axioms, and postulates; and, if we go so far with him, we must not afterwards quarrel with him on these points. So in this country, supposing we did not know a place where slavery existed—suppose we did not yet know America—suppose we did not yet know the Brazils and its inhabitants—and suppose we had come to the conclusion that Free Trade was the right of man; that it was only just—that it was only right that he should be allowed to enjoy that self-supporting and self-adjusting system which would enable every man to do his best in the markets of the world, you are not afterwards to alter it from circumstances either here or there—you cannot say, "You shall not trade with Russia" because the Emperor has not pleased us with his conduct towards the Poles; you shall not trade with another country because they are Mahometans, or because they are idolaters, and rob God of the honour due to him. But am I to be answerable for all these things? My question is this—"Have you agreed previously with me that Free Trade is right?" If you have, manfully adhere to what you have approved, and keep to your bargain. (Cheers.) Do not be always seeking to examine the foundations. Then, with respect to this slave produce. I have been a member of the Anti-Slavery Society for many years past, and I have heard them argue that free labour will beat slave labour if you will only let it be tried. Yet here are the same persons contending against the trial being permitted. Why, then, I say they have no faith in their own principles. (Cheers.) I know, that under the old poor-law, when paupers were to be had in a parish at 5s. a week, and free labourers for 9s., the farmers have said that they would rather pay 9s. for independent labour than 5s. for pauper labour. (Hear, hear.) The fact is, that the one man works with a feeling of independence: he knows that he is working for himself; probably he works by the piece, and he knows at the same time that he can lay by for sickness or old age, and is in a better condition, and will do ten times the amount of work, than a pauper or a slave will do; whilst the man who works without such a stimulus has no feeling of honourable emulation about him, and will not do so much justice to his employer. Then these persons say that slaves are stolen, and that therefore slave produce is stolen goods. I cannot quite see the inference here attempted to be drawn. It does not follow that the earth on which a man treads is stolen earth because the man himself is stolen; and yet these persons believe it. (Hear.) Now, suppose that it were so—I am sorry to say that in that case they convince themselves of sin, and of being the greatest criminals in the country. That is not a sin in me, but it is in them. I do not hold it to be stolen produce; and therefore, as whatever is not of faith is sin, this is of faith in me, and is no sin. If a man knows a thing to be good and does it not, he sins; if a man believing it to be sinful to use, yet uses slave-grown cotton, slave-grown tobacco, or slave-produced gold, copper, and silver, why, he condemns himself. (Cheers.) But then the answer is, "Two blacks cannot make one white." (A laugh.) Suppose we are condemned so far, surely we are better than you, who use slave-grown sugar, and cotton, and other things." No: I say, so far from being better, you are much worse. The scripture says, "He that offendeth in one point is guilty of all." You allow that you offend in one point; we do not allow that we offend at all; you are, therefore, guilty of all. You are guilty of the slave-grown sugar which you do not touch; you are guilty of using slave-grown produce, because you wilfully use slave-grown cotton, wilfully smoke slave-grown tobacco, and wilfully take up your nose slave-grown snuff. (Great cheers.) I have seen men who have refused even slave-grown cotton, and yet I have known those very men with slave-produced gold in their pockets. (Laughter.) I have said to them, "Show me a penny or a sovereign;" and they have replied, "Well; but we cannot do without this—we could not live." But my answer is, "It is not necessary for you to live if you set up so high a standard. There have been martyrs at the stake who have not accepted their lives even though by signing their names to a recantation they might have saved them." Men there are, however, who have said, "It is a sin against God to touch anything in the shape of slave-grown produce," and yet they have had slave-produced gold in their pockets. (Cheers.) I am convinced that the Master we serve, or the Creator who made us, never expect such slavery from us as always to be examining everything we touch. This book—this paper (referring to the prayer-book in his hand)—is made of slave-grown cotton. He never can expect from us that we should be trembling at every step, nor charge us with sinning in using slave-grown produce. I am, therefore, decidedly of opinion that Government is in error in allowing this idea to weigh with them as an argument for a moment; I am convinced that every one of them in their own minds knows better, but that they do not wish to offend the feelings of people who think otherwise. I cannot, however, but regret that there is such a feeling: it is the misfortune of this country that such a feeling exists in the minds of many good men; but whenever charity and pity occupy the mind in the

place of justice, all kinds of blunders are sure to be the result. (Cheers.) All I can say is, that the Bible does not sanction the putting of charity for justice. It says: "Do justice," and then "love mercy." Let everything be based on right principles, let everything be honest, let everything be fair, let everything be equitable, pay your dues, and do what is right, and then, if you have the opportunity and the means, show your generosity. But even then the charity of the Bible is not modern charity—not charity at the expense of the state—or of the poor-rates—not charity at the expense of the church-rates—not the charity which says, "Be ye warmed and be ye clothed," and then adds, "go to the parish for it;" but it is the charity which comes out of a man's own pocket. (Cheers.) I will tell you a case of true charity which came to my knowledge yesterday. An excellent gentleman whom I know was travelling with me from Bristol (he may be here, if so I hope he will forgive me for mentioning the circumstance); he stated that 30 years ago a gentleman was in the coach with him, upon the same road, on a terribly stormy winter night. Outside the coach was a soldier's wife with her child, enduring the misery of the pelting rain and the chilling and boisterous wind. This gentleman, though the journey was long, when he heard the circumstances of the case, resigned his place within the coach, and changed seats with the poor soldier's wife and child, whom he placed in the comfortable interior, whilst he himself for hours bore all the pelting of the pitiless storm. (Cheers.) That gentleman was a noble Free-Trader, whose name is Radnor. (Immense cheering, the audience rising en masse.) I said to the gentleman who informed me of this, "I wonder if Lord Radnor would remember that if he were told of it."—"Oh," he said, "I know scores of similar occurrences, but whenever I have told him of them lately (for I was very intimate with him), he said he had quite forgotten them." Another mark of a truly noble, generous mind! (Great cheers.) Now, the principle which I wish to lay before you is this—that if there be distress in the country you should not take the modern system of patching, mending, and tinkering, but should go to the fountain-head of the mischief and the misery, and try to remove the cause of that misery. (Cheers.) It is better to spend £5 in removing the cause of misery, destitution, and vice, than to spend £500 in striving to keep people comfortable in their wretchedness. (Cheers.) Now, the plan to which I allude is a scriptural plan: the other is too much the fashion in the present day. I will just state to you a few views which the business of last Sunday led me to entertain; and if I go wrong it is the Church which sets me to do this work. (A laugh.) In the Psalms of the afternoon service I read about misery and distress:—"How long will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked? Defend the poor and fatherless: do justice to the afflicted and needy." It is not the mere giving them charity that is the doing justice to the afflicted and needy. Then the next verse is, "Deliver the poor and needy; rid them out of the hands of the wicked." This is what the Free-Trade movement is intended to do. (Loud cheers.) Then I find another recommendation, which we who live in an age in which religion is very much in fashion, when there are so many ladies and gentlemen who think themselves of the highest-class persons, who almost feel themselves defiled if they meddle with any movement, or interfere in the affairs of the world, or come within the influence of ordinary matters—still I find that religion which is recommended to us to be this—"Is it such a fast that I have chosen? A day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen?" Let us know the religion that God hath chosen:—"To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke." Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh." It is, then, in breaking these yokes, and undoing the heavy burdens, that true religion consists. I have also found a description in another part of the present state of affairs quite to a nicety. The prophet might almost have lived in England when the people's property was taken from them, not by an open tax which they could understand, but by an income-tax which they could estimate, but indirectly by a tax upon the necessities of life, which they pay when buying their tea and sugar, giving 7d. instead of 3d., paying a tax to monopoly at the very time when they are paying also for bread. It is in these days when the people are paying taxation whatever they eat, on whatever they drink, and on whatever they are clothed in—it is to this that the description which I am about to read particularly applies. At a time when a great part of the people are poor, and many men do not know how to keep their heads above water—whilst a few are getting enormously rich, because they do not pay their fair share of the burdens of the state—to such persons the description applies. This is the description:—"Now, therefore, thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Consider your ways; ye have sown much, and bring in little; ye eat, but ye have not enough; ye have drunk, but ye are not filled with drink; ye are clothed, but ye are not warm; and he that earneth wages earneth them to put them into a bag with holes." This is exactly the case in the present day. (Cheers.) The Chancellor of the Exchequer has so many holes in the bags in which the people's wages are put, that a man has no means of keeping his money. (Cheers and laughter.) Now, after this description of the state of England at this very time, the adviser is again repeated, which I will repeat again to you:—"Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Consider your ways." (Cheers.) It is because the people do not think—because they do not consider—that such a state of things exists. I am of opinion that a wise and understanding people cannot be badly governed. (Hear.) There can be no tyranny where there are free souls and free spirits. (Cheers.) There cannot be bad laws over a wise people, because you cannot bribe a virtuous man, nor make drunk an election a sober man (cheers)—nor can you intimidate a noble-minded man; and, therefore, I say it is partly the fault of the people that the laws are such, and the taxes as heavy as they are. Therefore, the reform must be with the people. (Loud cheers.) There must be a change, and a new understanding result from enlightening them more; there must be a greater generosity of heart exhibited by every man whilst seeking wisely his own interest, at the same time not injuring the interest of any or every other man. (Cheers.) There is only one objection

to this system not being adopted in this country, and that I will now touch upon. I am aware that there is a treat in reserve for this audience, and therefore I will not trespass much longer on your time. (Cheers, and cries of "Go on.") Wherever I go, and have talked with farmers and with persons who have stumbled on the subject of the Corn Laws, I find one of the greatest difficulties to be on the subject of the National Debt. "It might be," say they, "very fair if all countries were alike and all equally taxed; but it is impossible for the farmer, with this national debt upon his land, to compete with countries that have no national debt." Now, I say, in the first place, that it is rather a hard thing in the landed interest, for the sake of their wars to defend their own estates, to incur this national debt, and then to use it as an argument against the people to oppress them still more. (Cheers.) It is, however, no argument at all in favour of protection, but rather, in my opinion, an argument upon the other side. Suppose you take two men keeping shops—one in trade with a mortgage on his property, and the other free from any such encumbrance. The man who had the mortgage could not go to the corporation and say, "You must allow me the privilege of monopoly and give me greater prices, because I am not so unencumbered as the other man." No; he would not be allowed to do so. But what he ought to do would be to try to undersell, or rather to oversell, his competitor, by obtaining more custom, and so pay off his mortgage and clear his estate. Some towns in England have, by means of their corporations, got into debt; but is a town with a heavy debt to say, "You must protect us and allow us privileges not possessed by other towns, because we have a sort of little pocket national debt." You would say, "No; be more industrious in your business, so shall you be able to pay off your debt and the burdens which oppress you." So must it be in the wide field and market of the world. (Cheers.) If England have difficulties, other nations will not regard them; and if our goods meet with others of the same quality in the neutral market, the cheapest must and will be taken. As other nations will not, then, regard our difficulties, we must depend for prosperity upon our own wisdom and our endeavours to extend our trade (which will be the result of Free Trade), in order that we may ultimately rid ourselves of the national debt. (Cheers.) I have no doubt, if Free Trade were given, that the national debt would be felt as but a very light burden, and that ere long the people would be so wise as to pay it off, and to take care that the state should never incur another. (Cheers and laughter.) With respect to the farmer complaining of the debt, he seems to look at it in a one-sided manner, forgetting that the manufacturer and the shopkeeper are labouring under it also. (Cheers.) It is not the landowner and the farmer who have to pay this national debt—but each bears his portion. I say, then, that the argument of the national debt is in reality an argument in favour of Free Trade. (Cheers.) I do hope that the longer the subject is discussed the more it will be believed to be a shameful thing of any man to stand up in Parliament to advocate local or selfish interests, instead of having regard to the advantage of the public at large. (Applause.) I hope they will know that they stand there to represent the public, and not the interests of their own pocket—that they stand there to consult the good of a nation, and not their own individual gain. (Cheers.) I hope the time is coming when no man will attempt to blind the eyes of his more ignorant neighbour, and endeavour to persuade him that it is well for him that food should be dear, and the necessities of life scarce, when common sense tells him it is desirable that food should be low, plentiful, and cheap. (Cheers.) I hope the time is coming when men shall be ashamed thus to deceive each other; and yet, I am sorry to say, that in the neighbourhood in which I live these attempts are going on on a large scale—even in the villages—not, I need hardly say, by the gentlemen and agents employed by the League, but by quite other means. (Cheers.) A petition is brought into a small village by the butler or head servant of the great house, and is taken by him—as I know to be a fact—not only to those who are in favour of the Corn Laws, but to their opponents, calling upon them to sign it. Some of them do as they are directed, and they sign it, as they afterwards confess, to their shame and sorrow. Then with others there is, perhaps, a reasoning with them for a quarter of an hour, base appeals to self-interest are resorted to, and yet, as I know, in some cases unsuccessfully, though the consequence might have been the loss of bread. A poor blacksmith in the village, who was dependent for his business on a certain party, came to me, and said, "Sir, I hope you do not think I signed that petition in favour of the Corn Laws." "Well," I said, "I am glad to hear that you did not; and, knowing all the circumstances, I was anxious to hear how you acquitted yourself. I rejoice that you were able to maintain your standing." The man behaved nobly; but it was a shameful thing on the part of wealth and power to lead the man into this temptation. (Loud cheers.) The only system which, I trust, we shall ever advocate will be, first of all to "consider our own ways"—to seek to find out the truth, and then to act on our own part;—to endeavour to persuade others, to endeavour to enlighten others, but never to hurt them, never to displease them, never to intimidate them, never to bribe them, but to love and adhere to the truth in all things, in the confidence that we shall ultimately prevail; and, knowing that, whether we gain our cause soon or late, we are, at all events, enlisted upon the right side, and that we have sought to conquer by the right means. (Great and general applause.)

A person here mounted a seat in the pit, and demanded to address the meeting. A general cry arose from all parts of the theatre against his being heard, and upon his pertinaciously persisting in his attempt to speak he was ultimately quietly ejected by those around him. In the midst of the confusion created by this circumstance,

The Chairman came forward and said: Ladies and gentlemen, I am very sorry that I cannot accede to the request made for permission to address the meeting; but I must throw myself upon the meeting to support me in carrying out the rule from which we have never yet deviated, and from which I certainly shall not depart to-night—that is, of taking the speakers who have been previously advertised in their appointed order. From that rule I shall not deviate upon this or any other occasion. I must beg of the gentleman who is seeking to interrupt the meeting that he will keep his seat. If any disturbance is attempted, it is my duty, as chairman of the quiet and orderly audience who usually attend in this place, to pro-

tect them in the enjoyment of that comfort throughout the meeting to which they are fully entitled. (Cheers.) I beg leave now to introduce to you Mr. Fox.

Mr. W. J. Fox came forward amidst most enthusiastic cheers, and proceeded to speak as follows:—The motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws, which the Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers will propose in the House of Commons on Tuesday next, marks the completion of another year of the League agitation. It is a time to note the indications of the progress which our cause is making, and the rate at which it is advancing. The result of that motion will be, as it were, a taking stock in the House of Commons (laughter), and exhibiting, in the first instance, how the Free-Trade cause stands in that assembly as compared with last year. I confess I have no very large anticipations as to this portion of the review. I am acquainted with the prayer for the House of Commons, which has been so emphatically and soundly explained to you by a reverend gentleman this evening; but however frequently, and in some quarters earnestly, that prayer may be offered, I am afraid it will be about as unavailing as a proposition made about two or three weeks since in a country village, where the farmers were suffering very much in a similar way to that described to you by Mr. Spencer—a proposal that their clergyman should put up a prayer for rain. He consulted an old farmer in the village, and wanted to know what his view of the matter was; and whether he coincided with the rest of the parishioners in the request. "Why, master parson," said the farmer, "in my opinion it is no use praying for rain as long as the wind holds in the north-east." (Laughter.) And I fear that the prayer of the church will be of as little use in leading to a settlement of this question of Free Trade in the House of Commons on the foundation of truth and justice, so long as the prevailing wind in that region is from the bitter and biting quarter of monopoly. (Cheers.) I can hope but little in a question between class interest and the public from an assembly which is at present a class-constructed and even a class-elected Legislature. The disease is in its very vitals, and there must be a regeneration of the legislative body before we can hope for justice, to say nothing of charity, to the suffering millions, from those who are at present the arbiters of our destiny. (Cheers.) There are symptoms, too, which must moderate our expectations of the approaching debate and division on this question. I confess I should not be at all surprised if our strength should even appear less, instead of more, than on some former occasions; and I should be by no means disheartened by any such phenomenon, for when the Whig party gets a glimpse of power we always find that phrases and notions which had been thought obsolete by the progress of the controversy, are revived again; and in the recent conflicting events which have taken place, as soon as in the Legislature any chance of upsetting the rival party and returning to place is perceived, the doctrine of a fixed duty reappeared in the Whig newspapers. (A voice: "They have a right so to do.") True it is they have a right to revive it, most assuredly, as anybody would have a right to dig a corpse out of the earth if that earth belonged to them; but they would have no right to push that hideous mass of corruption among living beings, and say, "This is one of you, and must share in your functions and enjoy a portion of your privileges." (Cheers.) A short time ago, apparently, in public attention, logically, the fixed-duty doctrine was dead, buried, rotten, and forgotten (cheers); and it only reappears on the stage because there seems to be some slight opening—because a certain parliamentary party occupies another position than it did ere while—for a return to place. But with fixed duty as with sliding scale this League wages unextinguishable warfare. (Hear.) The hostility of our principle is as great in the one case as it is in the other: we know no more compromise with bread-tax in the one form than we do in the other; we abjure them both as only different phases of intercepting the gifts of Providence in their way to minister to human enjoyment. There is a yet further objection to the fixed-duty doctrine which renders it, I think, still more obnoxious; and that is, that it is a principle which tends to divide the interests of the class possessing capital from that of those having only labour to rely upon. It might answer the purpose of the merchant, manufacturer, and shopkeeper, and might in some measure satisfy them, looking exclusively to their own interests; but it does so at the sacrifice of the interests and the rights of the great majority of the toiling multitude, whose question this is, with reference to whom it ought always to be agitated, and not one atom of whose claim to the food they earn should ever be compromised by any friend of Free Trade on the just and broad principle which that phrase denotes. (Cheers.) In looking at the public indications of the state of our cause, one cannot but be struck at once with the fact of the unabated interest that is manifested in these meetings; and this circumstance is more remarkable, I think, at this time, than it was last year, or upon any former occasion, for this reason, that the present period is not one of very much excitement on this question: it is not a time in which there are the cheering and stimulating electoral victories that occurred a few months ago; it is not a season in which the operations of the League have allowed of those numerous country meetings in different parts of the kingdom which some while since occupied public attention, and formed continual occasion for regarding the progress of our cause; it has not been a time, except within the last few days, of parliamentary discussions that were attracting any very great degree of notice, or exciting any peculiar interest in our principles. You have come to this place from week to week, seeing the old familiar faces, and hearing the old familiar voices; you have attended this theatre under no temporary excitement; and, influenced by no extraordinary stimulus from without; you have come, because the determination was fixed and rooted in your own souls, to protest against these outrageous impositions on food until they should be utterly abolished; to reiterate that determination, and by the very fact of your attendance here to call Heaven and earth to witness, that, come storm or sunshine, calm or struggle, you are resolved to bear your protest, until at length the voice of truth and justice shall prevail over all class interests, and the Legislature itself shall yield to the power of public opinion. (Loud cheers.) In this quiet determination—needing no contrivance or varied means and appliances to keep up your attendance—I see that calm and growing strength which works like

the mighty elements of nature itself. It is a power which has within itself the means of perseverance, and the means of perseverance in moral power are the means of increase also. It shows that our strength goes on from day to day silently, but irresistibly augmenting, swelling like the snows upon the mountain-top, until they are formed into the extent and compactness of the glacier, and then ready—affording to abide your time, but ready when that time shall come—to rush down bearing all before you, and overwhelming every hostile power with the resistless will of a mighty nation. (Loud cheers.) Miscalculating the quietness with which true power holds its own and augments its influence, we find some journalists still determined to treat the League as comparatively or absolutely defunct. (Laughter.) Indeed, only a few days ago, there were papers in which one might read that the League had been "driven out of Covent Garden Theatre by the London Conservative Association." A marvellous rout, indeed, would that be! The generosity which allowed that body the use of this theatre, I think, was by no means misplaced; although, perhaps, those who met were rather unfortunate in the permission being extended to them quite so soon. They should have met to-day instead of last Wednesday, and then, when they toasted their "glorious majority of ninety," we might have asked where it was last Friday and Monday? They might have been called upon to explain whether they were celebrating the triumph of the Tories over Sir Robert Peel, or the victory of Sir Robert Peel over the Tories; and the question might especially have been put to Sir Howard Douglas, who voted on the first occasion with Mr. Miles, and won the second division with Sir Robert Peel, and who refused his vote by declaring that his opinions had undergone no change whatever. (Laughter.) That was the gentleman who took upon himself, or who had put upon him, at the Conservative dinner here, the office of being responder in reply to the health of the Duke of Wellington. Had the Conservative festival been postponed till this evening, they might have had some pithy allusions to the uncovered statue, which I have not seen, but which, I am told, stands with its face towards the Church, the Post-office, and the Horse Guards, and its back turned upon the Royal Exchange. (Cheers.) They stated repeatedly at that festival, and I believe they alleged very truly, that they were not associated to uphold "any particular ministry;" "the ministry which such an association upholds, beyond all doubt, must be a ministry which is not 'very particular.'" (A laugh.) I wonder much, considering the number of mercantile people there, and the large correspondence which they must keep up in their business, that they did not introduce at least some such toast as this: "Success to those who hold the seals of office, and who brew the seals of letters!" (Prolonged and tremendous cheering.) To return to the indications of the progress of our cause: I for one reckon it a very gratifying indication, and a good omen of moment effected by the League, that the condition of the agricultural labourer is now forced upon public attention with a power which I think ensures that something must be done towards its amelioration. It was the League that brought that condition first into notice, and it did so in the face of the boldest contradiction. Very rural district was described as a perfect Arcadia; a being innocence, comfort, and enjoyment there. Thresh is now torn aside, and no patching can ever meet it hold together again. The horrid and disgusting reality is exposed, and that reality, however it may be tampered with, I believe never can be materially altered in character, or thoroughly reformed but by the accomplishment of that repeal of taxes on food which is the object of this association. (Cheers.) How much of us would ever have been attempted had not the League broached the subject—had not the condition of these creatures been prominent in the speeches at these almost every other meeting held in connexion with a question throughout the country? Would that great power the *Times* newspaper have taken the matter up it has done had there been none of this previous preparation? The *Times* has now sent out its royal commission into the disturbed districts. I say "its royal commission," for we have other Governments besides those that meet in Westminster. The *Times* may be said to a fair extent to rule England, as Daniel O'Connell rules Ireland. (Cheers.) Printing-house-square and the Penitentiary in the Circuit are seats of Government, where influence are exercised which make themselves felt to the remotest borders of either island. (Ad cheers.) The series of papers which are appearing the *Times* with reference to the condition of labourers in the eastern counties—where, as we find, you may trace the map the broad black line of low wages and inferior fires—those papers, by the impression that they produce, will, I think, shame down for ever the calumny often repeated against the League and these meetings—that they have, or can possibly have, anything whatever to do with the excitement of such disturbances. (Cheers.) That sophism must follow in the wake of any others; they are all on the road to oblivion, and it will soon be little or nothing left to the monopolist at the barefaced assertion, "to tax your food is good for your pockets, and we will do it as long as you leave us power of doing so." It is a blessing even already that condition of the labourer is now becoming so much understood, and that the need of applying some alleviation is so extensively felt. There is reason throughout the agricultural counties—in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk—and day when its labours commenced. (Cheers.) Poor creatures! born to filth and hunger, entering the world in a dilapidated cottage, destined, perhaps, to be put down under the common clearing system—sent out as early youth to pick stones on the road that leads to some ducal mansion, kept up in its splendour by the distance of bread-tax profits—growing up in his stren and maturity to work for 6s. a week, and to house feed as he can; his only refuge—his church, if one so say—the beer-shop; his only chance of tasting any better than dry bread being to go out in the night plying in the preserves of the squire who is resident half his course steering between the Bays and Charybdis the workhouse and the gaol, with beyond them, in the distance, a view of the gallows made visible by the fire of a neighbouring barn. (Loud cheers.) For wretched as such a career of hope has arisen, and it will hold on its way until it attains the meridian of truth and justice, and the bright light and knowledge that it sheds upon the power that principle of operation in the League which has led to the understanding of mankind, and

provided them with information; which has shown not only to the class that was immediately influenced to begin this agitation, but through all classes, commercial or agricultural, the devastating and demoralizing influence of the monopoly to which we are opposed. (Cheers.) There are indications of the advance of our cause in the present condition of the hostile power. Where is the great compact phalanx that two years ago was arrayed against us? Where the power which, in the election of 1841, carried everything before it like a whirlwind—where, I ask, is it now? (Hear.) Quarrelling about almost every question that can be started; contending fiercely respecting a Welsh bishopric; fighting desperately about Dissenters' chapels; going to quarrel about the new poor-law; having quarrelled about the ten hours bill; and being involved in a deadly feud on the subject of the sugar duties. (Cheers.) Why, there they are,—high church and moderate church—ancient Tories and modern Conservatives—Young England and Old England,—there they are, till the Premier, stirring up the heterogeneous materials, may well exclaim:—

"Double, double toil and trouble;
Fire, burn; and, caldron, bubble." (Laughter.)

And this is Sir Robert Peel's "great Conservative party," which he was ten years in amalgamating. (Cheers and laughter.) The present condition of the House of Commons reads a very impressive moral lesson to statesmen, to avoid in future the endeavour at forming a party without a principle; or, what is pretty much as bad, the formation of a party with half-a-dozen antagonistic principles. In opposition, Sir Robert Peel courted them all, avoiding the committing of himself with wonderful dexterity; but still each was given to understand—confidentially as it were—that there was good in the combination. It was only to unsettle the Whigs, and the rest was all to follow. The amalgamation succeeded so far, and now it exhibits the right honourable baronet in the most pitiable position in which, I think, a Prime Minister has ever been placed. (Cheers.) Needed for his dexterity, and tolerated for nothing else, there he is, toiling at their work: needed by all, scorned by all, thwarted by all, reproached by all, and the reproaches bearing this marvellous uniformity—that they all strike in one direction; nobody accuses him of being so sturdy in his principles that he is impracticable—no one charges him with being rash, and going to extreme lengths in the carrying out what is right and proper, but every one all round intimates "treachery." The word "trickster" is on all their tongues, and, as they search their calendars over, they all agree in giving him Judas for his patron saint. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) In this age of invention and discovery we should be astonished at but few things; novelties follow with such marvellous rapidity, and are often of so extraordinary a nature; but not the least astounding is the recent discovery by Sir Robert Peel of the principle of his administration, which he has just found out is the relaxation of our commercial system of prohibition and protection, and the letting in, in competition, the articles produced in other countries with similar articles produced in this. He did not make this discovery before he came into office: there was no announcement of it in the *Tamworth* manifesto; and it was never proclaimed on the hustings in the election of 1841. He comes out with it only now that he is in a difficult and entangled position. Let his followers think what they will of his new principle, it may recommend some of his measures to us, but it will not commend himself. (Hear, hear.) It can attract no confidence in any quarter. When the time shall come—a period which the pragmatism of the Whig party makes not impossible—that some statesman must propose the total repeal of the Corn Laws, it may be that Sir Robert Peel will do it: from his hands, as from any other, we will take that repeal, but not as from a champion; not as from one who has claims to trust and confidence, but from one who, if he knew the right, all along dallied with the wrong, and pursued it while it gave him political power, and who, therefore, can only take his place amongst those whom the might of public opinion has conquered into the allowance of a good to a nation that ought never to have been refused. (Cheers.) I have often in this place addressed earnest recommendations to those who assemble here, that they should exert themselves in such ways as their circumstances allow for the furtherance of our cause; that they should pay attention, for instance, to the registration, and do whatever they can to get those who are entitled to vote, and who are friends of our objects, to place themselves in a position for the exercise of their political rights. That they should exert themselves in canvassing, and by the distribution of tracts and conversation spread abroad the knowledge of our principles, and the conviction of their truth. I will only briefly advert to one other topic. Yesterday was the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. The warriors who won that tremendous fight are enjoying their laurels. Many of them are in a very influential position, and I could wish that the occasion should suggest to their minds an inquiry into what it was that had weakened the social power of Napoleon before his military strength reserved the complete destruction which it did at Waterloo. Now, I believe that, in tracing the course of events, we should have to go back to the time when his Berlin decree declared the British islands in a state of blockade. The laws of trade, it has been said, and most truly so, crushed him like a weed. Opinion had ebbed from him, destroying the allegiance and respect for his policy all over Europe before the prodigious reverse which his arms sustained on the 18th of June. The system was hollow, and he himself gave it the first great blow in those anti-commercial proclamations to which I have referred. Well, then, let the warriors who triumphed over one blockade of Great Britain think well before they support a class which, in its turn, attempts also to blockade Great Britain. (Hear.) The Corn Laws are a blockade: they warn foreign ships from our shores; they cut off our supply of food; they treat us like a besieged people; they girt us round as though they would starve us out. The blockade which the Duke of Wellington raised by his arms was not more essentially a blockade than this of monopoly, only the latter has not the pretence of being imposed for a great national policy like the former, but for a paltry class interest. It is not that the lordship of Europe is at stake in the contest, but merely that so much more rent per annum is at issue. (Cheers.) It is not that kings come into conflict with nations, but it is that those whose property lies in the manufacture of food and in the production of fish in the waters (laughter), or even country, and for birds, feel their interests at stake, and

therefore wage war and endeavour to encompass with their blockade the industrious and toiling multitudes of England. (Cheers.) The system of monopoly is as anti-national as the commercial policy of Napoleon was hostile to the interests of Europe; and it can no more last than did that of the French Emperor. No power, whatever victories it may have achieved, can sustain this imposition of monopoly; the blockade will have its Waterloo of final defeat, and monopolist legislation its St. Helena of exile from the boundaries of the civilized world. (Loud cheers.) I trust that the warriors who yesterday assembled, satisfied with the laurels they have gained, rejoice in their hearts that there has not since been occasion for more laurels, and that the peace has been unbroken; long may it continue so. (Hear, hear.) But whether we ascribe the cessation of warfare to the exhaustion of the resources of nations—which no doubt has much to do with it, or to the growth of opinion—and that, I trust, has also some influence in the matter—I mean the opinion which deprecates an appeal to the sword for the settlement of questions between nation and nation, which may be adjusted amicably, as well as those of individuals where there is mutual consideration and forbearance,—wherever these are, in whatever proportions their combinations be, the causes—the antagonist principles to warfare—are also the antagonist principles to monopoly. If nations cannot fight because they are exhausted, assuredly they cannot bear the pressure of monopoly when their resources are exhausted. If opinion has set in strongly against the conflict of nation with nation, opinion is equally decided against the conflicts of class with class, especially of the rich and powerful with the poor and laborious, for a portion of their earnings. (Cheers.) These same causes will work on in correction of the one mischief, I trust, as they have done in correction of the other. The features are the same of these two sorts of evil: if war impoverishes, if it brings down the merchant from his height of fortune, lays waste the resources of the nation, and crushes the poor into yet deeper poverty, why, monopoly re-enacts all these scenes, and carries on its oppressive influence from year to year. If war desolates the fair face of nature, makes ruins of cities, and a desert where fields had been covered with the waving corn, what is the tendency of monopoly also, but to make the grass grow in populous towns, and keep large tracts of country a desert, which might otherwise have borne their abundant harvest for the consumption by means of Free Trade of labouring multitudes in distant lands. If war kills, if it stains the field of strife with human blood, monopoly destroys human life also by hundreds and thousands from year to year, and that, too, by lingering agonies, far worse to endure than the short stroke of the sword or the cannon-ball. If war demoralizes, training thieves whom peace brings to the gallows, monopoly demoralizes also, opening up the sources of crime, spreading it through the different ranks of society, and inciting to theft and violence, until it fills our goals and calls down the vengeance of the law. (Cheers.) Alike in the evils they generate, and opposed by the same antagonistic principles, I rely on one overruling process for the destruction of both—the same moral law condemns both systems for their criminality, and the same Divine Providence will ultimately work for both a total annihilation. (Mr. Fox concluded his address amidst enthusiastic applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward and said:—Ladies and gentlemen, I have simply to state that, in consequence of the motion of Mr. Villiers being expected to be brought before the House of Commons next Tuesday, it is not our intention to hold a meeting in this theatre on Wednesday next, but on this night fortnight we hope to see you all again.

The meeting then separated.

WIGAN.—On Monday evening, an argumentative, able, and eloquent lecture, on the advantages of Free Trade, and the evils of the corn and colonial monopolies, was delivered in the large room at the Buck-ith-Vine Inn, Wigan, by Mr. Falvey, one of the lecturers of the League. There was a full and an attentive audience, and the lecturer was enthusiastically applauded in various portions of his address. At the close, a Chartist, named Hylop, asked some questions, which were satisfactorily answered by Mr. Falvey.

THE FREE-TRADERS OF FARNWORTH AND KERSLEY.—On Monday evening, the 10th inst., the friends of Free Trade in Farnworth and Kersley sat down to an excellent dinner, provided by Mr. Tong, the host of the Golden Lion, Moses-gate, Wm. Barton, Esq., in the chair, and Robert Peat, Esq., in the vice-chair. After dinner, the following toasts were drunk with great enthusiasm:—"The Queen;" "Prince Albert and the royal family;" "Earl Fitzwilliam and the Free-Trade peers in the House of Lords;" "Mr. Colcland and the Free-Trade members of the House of Commons;" Mr. Brown, the representative of, though not the member for, South Lancashire, and the Free Trade electors who voted for him;" "Free Trade with all the world;" "The people, the source of wealth;" together with several other toasts, all of which were very ably responded to by Messrs. Cunningham (of Liverpool), Wardle, Prestwich, Eatock, Dyson, Greenwood, Berry, Eckersley, and several other gentlemen. During the evening, several glees, &c., were sung in excellent style by the Messrs. Prestwich; which added to the harmony of the meeting. Towards the close of the meeting a subscription was entered into (and carried out with great spirit) for the purpose of defraying all expenses incurred by the two townships of Farnworth and Kersley in the late election, by endeavouring to secure the return of Mr. Brown to Parliament, and to the honour of the place he it known, that although there was a local committee sitting daily from the time a Free-Trade candidate was brought into the field until the close of the election—and in no place were there more active exertions made by either party than the Free-Traders made in this little spot—still every farthing has been paid by their own voluntary subscriptions, and at the next contest for South Lancashire the Free-Traders of Farnworth and Kersley can enter the field without fear of being dunned for old unpaid election scores. Bravo! this is the right sort of feeling and action.—*Bolton Free Press*.

LANCHESTER.—On Wednesday evening Mr. Liddell, of the Anti-Corn-Law League, delivered a lecture at Lanchester, on the Corn and Provision Laws, and their injurious effects upon farmers and agricultural labourers. Arrangements had been made for delivering the lecture in Mr. Suddess's long room, and placards issued to that effect; but Mr. Liddell, in order to meet the wishes of an

influential bread-taxer, delivered the lecture in the open air. Surely the Corn Laws are injurious to the nation, when those who maintain them must interfere with the landlords of inns in the use of their rooms. Though the wind was high, and some rain falling, there was a numerous audience, including some eminent farmers, and the lecture was heard with the greatest attention. At the conclusion of the lecture an opportunity was given to any one to defend the Corn Laws, which no one accepted, and tracts were copiously distributed, and eagerly received.—*Durham Chronicle*.

FREE-TRADE LECTURE.—A public lecture, on the principles of Free Trade, was delivered at Ormskirk on Thursday evening last, by Mr. John Murray, of Manchester. J. Robson, Esq., of Moor-hall, presided. Another lecture, on the same subject, was given the following evening.

THE ANTI-LEAGUERS.—We have always looked upon the Anti-League Protection Society as one of the most impudent humbugs of the day. We regard it as a mere patronage-absorbing association, and nothing else. It was once observed by some wicked wag, that he always considered the escutcheon displayed on the front of a house in memory of its departed lord to be an advertisement in plain English, "A widow to let." And even so the catalogue of Anti-League protectionists would appear to be a mere list of needy or greedy gents, hinting to the minister that they greatly lack his scraps of patronage to keep them quiet. See how the thing works with all the noisy ones of the lot. What a ferocious champion of monopoly intact old *nunquam tuta fides*, alias Sir Edward Knatchbull, used to be! Where is he now? He is, strange to say, holding a good place under the "bit and bit" Free-Trade Administration. What, also, has become of that long-tongued country gentleman, Mr. Dundas Christopher, who, at one time, vowed such terrible things against the Ministers if they dared to touch even the outworks of monopoly? We know not. He has lost his voice. He is, we believe, alive, but his objections to Free Trade have marvellously subsided. Either he is convinced that he was wrong in his former opposition to it, or, properly grateful, he does not like to throw obstacles in the way of a Premier who has sent his brother-in-law to govern Jamaica, and bestowed large church preferment on his relation. And where is the Duke of Buckingham? Convinced of his errors by the bestowal of the Garter upon him by Sir Robert Peel, he has just given another shake to monopoly by sending to Parliament an out-and-out Ministerialist for Buckingham, to support the reduction of the wool duties, as well as those on sugar, as the natural forerunners of the fall of the Corn Laws. And where, last of all, is that most blatant of all the enemies to the Free-Trade tendencies of the Ministry, his Grace of Richmond? He, likewise, has just given in his adhesion or submission by sending up one of his own family to be a Government hack as the member for Chichester, a subordinate place in the Ministry having very opportunely been bestowed upon his brother by Sir Robert Peel, who, having some knowledge of human nature, wisely concludes that, when people show their teeth, it is not always a proof that they intend to bite, but, perhaps, only a hint that they are hungry and want feeding. At all events, he appears to have made some very accurate guesses as to some of his friends on this point. If he had not been a Prime Minister, he would have made an admirable keeper of a menagerie. While others are alarmed at the terrible howlings into which the animals under his care occasionally break forth, he understands exactly the meaning of the noise. It is but a hint that "FEEDING TIME IS COME." He straightway casts the offal of his patronage before them, and all is hushed. The roaring of the lions, the bellowing of the "fat bulls of Bashan," and the chattering of the monkeys, all cease at the sight of the loaves and fishes. Harmony and peace are restored, and the vision of the happy family, all living in love and unity together, is realized upon the Ministerial benches.—*Liverpool Chron.*

IMPORTANT CORN CASE.—In the case of Barrow v. Arnaud, Lord Denman delivered judgment on Tuesday week. The defendant was the collector of the import duties at Liverpool, and the plaintiff a corn-merchant in the same place. Upon the Thursday next, after the Friday on which the Sliding-Scale Act received the royal assent, Mr. Barrow applied to Mr. Arnaud to sign a bill of entry for the admission of a certain quantity of wheat. The day of the application was that upon which the first weekly average was to be made by the controller of the corn returns, and it was made by him upon that day, but not transmitted to Arnaud until the following day. Arnaud not having any certificate of the average under the new act, demanded the duty which would be repayable on the repealed statute; and, as Barrow contended that the latter statute (the 9th George IV., c. 60) having been repealed, no duty would be payable under it, he refused to sign the bill of entry, upon which the defendant refused to sign the bill of entry, for which refusal the plaintiff brought the present action to recover damages for the injury he had sustained in losing a market for his wheat. The case having come on for trial at Liverpool, the jury found a special verdict, which embodied the facts of the case as we have mentioned them above. The only question for decision was, whether the Legislature had not in the Sliding-Scale Act omitted to make any provision for levying the duty upon the importation of corn during the six days which intervened between the day upon which that act obtained the royal assent and the day upon which the first weekly average was to be made under its provisions. The judgment upon the verdict was given for the defendant.—*Manchester Guardian*.

We noticed last week that the *Mark-lane Express* had attempted no reply to Lord Ducie's statements with regard to the cost of producing wheat. The editor invited his "experienced practical readers" to answer them, and said that, if they were "allowed to pass uncontroverted, they would produce more effect than a volume of argument unsupported by practical experience." Another week has elapsed, but none of the "experienced practical readers" have ventured to contradict any of his lordship's statements. He had shown that wheat could be grown at 3s. 6d. a bushel on land paying 50s. per acre, including tithes and taxes; and that the farmer would make 20 per cent. profit on his capital if he sold his wheat at 6s. 8d. the bushel, or 44s. the quarter, which is 11s. 6d. the quarter less than the present average.—*Manchester Times*.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, June 19, 1844.
N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

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| Small subscriptions, per Thos. Pilling, New Church, near Rochdale | 0 2 7 |
| Workmen of J. Travis & Co., Rossendale, Lancashire | 0 2 6 |
| John Lord, New Church, near Rochdale | 0 10 0 |
| Small subscriptions from Brighton, per A. N. Cox | 0 14 0 |
| Joseph Livesey, cheesemonger, Preston, Lancashire | 3 0 0 |
| Mr. Lewis, ironmonger, do. | 1 0 0 |
| John Pownall, jun., York-street, Hulme, Manchester | 0 10 0 |
| William Gee, Ancosta, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Moses Bottomley, Snell, near Halifax, Yorkshire | 10 0 0 |
| Jas. Hall, Market-street, Manchester | 50 0 0 |
| A. N. Landon, 81, Old Market-street | 1 1 0 |
| Richard Morgan, Vincent's-parade | 1 1 0 |
| J. S. Thomas, Red-chiff-street | 5 0 0 |
| James Hall, Broadmead | 5 5 0 |
| Joseph Fry, Charlotte-street | 5 0 0 |
| J. Burder, Highbury-place | 3 3 0 |
| Robert Bruce, Quay | 5 0 0 |
| Mr. Osborne, Red-chiff-hill | 1 0 0 |
| Staffordshire F. Wedgwood, Etruria, near Newcastle | 5 0 0 |
| Potteries, He-under-Lyne | 5 0 0 |
| 4th Kent. Mrs. Morgan, Parkfields, Stone | 2 0 0 |

THE SUGAR DUTIES.
(From the Manchester Guardian.)

The administration of Sir Robert Peel, which was recently placed in a situation of great difficulty, during the discussions on the Factory Bill, has received another, and, we think, a ruder shock, by an adverse decision of the House of Commons, upon the ministerial resolution fixing the future amount of the sugar duties. It will be seen from our report of the debates in the House of Commons on Friday night that Sir Robert Peel, in accordance with the intimation contained in his speech on the budget, moved a resolution to the effect that, from and after the 10th of November next, the duty on sugar from British possessions should be 21s., and on the produce of Java, Manilla, China, and such other countries as Government might hereafter declare, 31s. per cwt. On this resolution, Mr. Philip Miles, one of the members for Bristol, and a large West India proprietor, moved an amendment to the effect that the duty on British sugar should be 20s. per cwt., and on foreign 30s., with the exception of white clayed sugars, on which he proposed a duty of 31s. per cwt.

At the first sight, it may probably appear to some of our readers that the principal difference between these two propositions is a reduction of duty, by that of Mr. Miles, to the extent of 4s. per cwt. below the rates proposed by Government. Now, if this had been the real state of the case, we think few of our readers would doubt as to which of them ought to have had the support of the Liberals and Free-Traders in the House. Fully believing, as we do, that the present sugar duties are too high, and that a substantial diminution of them would be highly beneficial to the country, and, eventually, by no means injurious to the revenue, we should have been exceedingly glad to witness the triumph of Mr. Miles's amendment, and the consequent adoption of duties of 20s. and 30s. in lieu of 21s. and 31s. per cwt. on British and foreign sugars respectively.

But a mere general lowering of the duty was by no means the object of Mr. Miles, and the members of the West India interest who supported his amendment. They were perfectly well aware, that the whole, or very nearly the whole, of the foreign free-labour sugar, which, under the proposed change in the law, can be introduced into this country (though not more valuable than good West India brown Muscovado sugar), is exported from Java and Manilla in the state of white clayed sugar, on which Mr. Miles sought to place a discriminating duty of 14s. per cwt. instead of 10s. In other words, the object of that gentleman was really to obtain for the growers of sugar in British possessions an additional protection of 4s. per cwt.; and the proposed reduction of duty to 20s. and 30s. (on brown sugars) was neither more nor less than a cunning trap to catch the votes of those who might think the duties proposed by Sir Robert Peel were too high. Into this trap, we regret to say, nearly the whole of the Liberal members, including Lord John Russell, Mr. Labouchere, and other leaders of the Liberal and Free-Trade party, rushed with inconsiderate steps, and thus placed themselves in the very false position of voting, by implication, for an additional protection to the British colonial sugar-growers. We say by implication, because the formal effect of the vote was merely to negative the proposal of the Government; but, as the choice really lay between that and the amendment of Mr. Miles, to vote against the one was, in effect, to vote in favour of the other.

To the general error of the party who took this false step, the conduct of Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Mr. Milner Gibson, and about twelve more of the Free-Traders, formed a very creditable exception. They saw and pointed out the hollowness of the pretext under which Mr. Miles sought their votes, and supported the ministerial proposition; but the result was, that Sir Robert Peel's resolution was negatived by a majority of 20.

Of course, this defeat coming so soon after the previous defeats on the Factory Bill in the House of Commons, and on the Welsh Bishopric Bill in the House of Lords, caused a very great sensation in London; and reports were exceedingly rife, to the effect that Ministers had either tendered or determined to tender their resignations. Whether there was any foundation for these rumours we are quite unable to say; but it is clear from the result, that, if Sir Robert Peel and his coadjutors ever thought of resigning, they abandoned their intention, and determined to try the chance of another appeal to their supporters in the House of Commons. This they made on Monday evening, when Sir Robert Peel, after explaining at great length his views upon the subject, declared his intention of moving upon Mr. Miles's resolution (which had then become the original motion before the House) an amendment, the effect of which was to substitute his own scale of duties in lieu of that which Mr. Miles had proposed; and he intimated pretty plainly, that, in the event of being defeated on that amendment, he should decline to continue in office. A very long and interesting debate ensued, in the course of which Lord John Russell and some other members of the Liberal party declared their intention of adhering to the principle of their former votes, by supporting Mr. Miles's resolution, but intimated that they should endeavour to extend the discriminating duty on clayed sugars to those from British possessions. This intimation was, no doubt, intended to remove the appearance of a vote in favour of additional protection; but, if they could have carried out their views on this point, they would not thereby have removed the objection, seeing that the discriminating duty would have applied to nearly all the foreign and to little or none of the West India sugar to be imported.

We are glad to say, however, that, on a division, Mr. Miles's proposal was negatived by a majority of 22; the numbers being 233 for, and 255 against it. Sir Robert Peel's amendment was afterwards carried without opposition; and, though not yet entirely out of danger, we hope it will speedily become the law of the land. It is, as the recent division clearly shows, the best measure which we are likely to obtain in the present composition of the House of Commons; and, in addition to its intrinsic value, it has the important extrinsic advantage, that it must very speedily bring about further and more beneficial changes.

Of course, on an occasion like the one which we have been describing, there are many curious changes of opinion, and some of which will expose the parties concerned to severe animadversion. Amongst the votes which have excited the greatest amount of astonishment amongst certain classes in this neighbourhood, is that of Mr. Entwistle, the newly-elected member for South Lancashire. When it became known here that his name was included in the list of the majority against Ministers, his Tory friends stood perfectly aghast; no doubt recalling to mind his declaration, that he was going to Parliament as a staunch supporter of Sir Robert Peel. To us, however, Mr. Entwistle's conduct caused no surprise at all. We knew pretty well that, in case of a difference of opinion between Sir Robert and the thorough-going monopolists in the House, Mr. Entwistle was pretty sure to fling overboard his allegiance to the Premier, and to go to the utmost extent in favour of monopoly. This opinion we publicly expressed at the time of the late election; and Mr. Entwistle has very soon verified our prediction. He gave his vote against Ministers on Friday, on the ground, as declared by himself on Monday, that he wished to give further protection to the West India interest. Having, however, as we suspect, received some earnest remonstrances from his friends on the vote he had given, the hon. gentleman announced that he should abstain from voting on Monday, and he retired from the House before the division. We imagine that some of his mercantile supporters will begin to be of opinion that they have got a very pretty bargain in their new representative.

WHO WAS IN ERROR?

(From the Economist of this day.)

In order to determine this point, let us shortly consider what will be the practical effect of the Ministerial proposition to establish the duties of 21s. and 31s. on colonial and foreign free-labour sugar respectively.

The greatest proportion of all the sugar which comes to Europe is for the purpose of refining. It is only in this country that Muscovado sugar is used to any extent; and here about two-fifths of the consumption is computed as being used in that state. The price of sugar in every country is therefore determined by its value for refining; and in this respect the finest Muscovado sugars are nearly, if not quite, equal in value to most of the white clayed sugars. In a Price Current before us, the price of the best yellow East India sugar and best white (clayed), are both quoted at 68s., including the duty; the price of the best white Manilla (clayed) is quoted at 22s. in bond; while best Cuba yellow (Muscovado) is quoted at 23s. per cwt.; and Java sugar (all clayed) is quoted from 17s. to 25s. in bond; while Cuba Muscovado ranges from 17s. to 21s. Now, there is no principle more generally admitted than that when high duties are levied upon commodities, the best qualities only are taken for consumption; inasmuch as a specific duty is, in reality, much higher upon an inferior than a better quality. It is true we pay a high duty upon all qualities of colonial sugar, but that only in consequence of the higher differential rate of duty charged on other sugars, which makes the commonest West India sugar worth more in bond than the finest foreign sugar. The effect of the new regulations will be to cause a consumption of about 40,000 tons of foreign sugar, in addition to the 200,000 tons of colonial sugar now supplied. These 40,000 tons can be supplied with the greatest facility from Java, Manilla, &c. It must, however, be very evident that, practically, only the finest class of sugars will be taken by our refiners to pay duty upon. The price of all qualities in bond will be de-

termined by the general value in Europe, and for refining in bond for export; the common qualities will therefore be all taken for refining in bond, while the best qualities alone will be selected whereon to pay the high duty proposed of 31s. per cwt., because those qualities will yield a proportionably larger net produce of refined sugar of higher value, on which the duty will practically be less per lb. than it would be on the smaller quantity of inferior quality which would be produced from low-priced sugars. The effect will therefore be that 40,000 tons of the best quality of Java and Manilla sugars will be taken for the consumption of this country, while all the inferior qualities will be used for refining in bond and re-exportation. Now, let us suppose that that quantity can be procured at 26s. per cwt., for we must expect that the demand for this country will raise the price of foreign sugar; to that price we must add the duty of 31s. and 5 per cent. (say 35s. 9d.), which will make the duty-paid price 61s. 9d. Colonial sugar, of a similar quality, will command the same price of 61s. 9d. per cwt., from which, if we deduct the duty payable thereon of 25s. 3d., will leave 36s. 6d., or about 6s. less than the present price of that quality in bond. We may, therefore, state the account thus, to show the effect on the colonial planter, the consumer, and the revenue:—

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Total consumption of sugar, say— | |
| 240,000 tons, or 4,800,000 cwts. at 61s. 9d. | £14,820,000 |
| Thus distributed:— | |
| Value in the markets of the world of 4,800,000 cwts. at 26s. | £6,240,000 |
| Duty paid on 4,000,000 cwts. at 25s. 3d. | 5,050,000 |
| 800,000 cwts. at 35s. 9d. | 1,430,000 |
| Protection to the colonies, or differential duty on 4,000,000 cwts. at 10s. 6d. | 2,100,000 |
| | £14,820,000 |
| Or thus:—Intrinsic value of sugar | £6,240,000 |
| Revenue | 6,480,000 |
| Protection to colonies | 2,100,000 |
| | £14,820,000 |

When first Mr. Miles's amendment was proposed, Mr. Labouchere objected to it, because it established a higher differential rate of duty by lowering that chargeable on colonial, and retaining the foreign duty at the highest proposed rate. This objection was perfectly consistent with the clear and distinct views which that right hon. gentleman has always shown on this very intricate, confusing, and deceptive subject—differential duties. He saw at once that that proposition would only tend to a loss of revenue, without benefit to the consumer. Had Mr. Miles's first proposal been entertained, the above national sugar account would have stood thus:—We should still have to buy 40,000 tons of foreign sugar in the markets of the world at 26s., to which the same duty would have to be added of 35s. 9d., making the duty-paid price, as before, 61s. 9d. Colonial sugar of the same quality would command the same price in the market; but as it would only in this case be subjected to a duty of 20s. and five per cent. (or 21s.), it would now be worth 40s. 9d. per cwt. in bond, in place of 36s. 6d., as above, or thus:—

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Total cost of 4,800,000 cwts. sugar at 61s. 9d. | £14,820,000 |
| Thus distributed:— | |
| Value in the markets of the world of 4,800,000 cwts. at 26s. | £6,240,000 |
| Duty paid on 4,000,000 cwts. at 21s. | 4,200,000 |
| 800,000 cwts. at 35s. 9d. | 1,430,000 |
| Protection to colonies, or differential duty on 4,000,000 cwts., at 14s. 9d. | 2,950,000 |
| | £14,820,000 |
| Or thus:— | |
| Intrinsic value of sugar | £6,240,000 |
| Revenue | 5,630,000 |
| Protection to colonies | 2,950,000 |
| | £14,820,000 |

Thus by the reduction of duty merely transferring £850,000 from the revenue to increase the amount of protection. On this intelligible ground Mr. Labouchere rejected the first proposal of Mr. Miles; and we feel well assured that, had he considered the effect of Mr. Miles's proposition a little more, he would have discovered that it was not only as objectionable, but even more so, and that he would have supported Ministers against that, as he had expressed his intention to do against Mr. Miles's first proposal.

There may be a difference of opinion as to the exact proportion of the different kinds of foreign free-labour sugar which would come to this market, which would respectively class under Mr. Miles's 30s. and 34s. duty. It has been variously stated; as much as seven-eighths of the whole, it is said, would come which would class under the 34s. duty. But Mr. Labouchere expects that a larger proportion of Louisiana and other sugar would be available, which would class under the 30s. duty. For the sake of examining the effects of this scale of duties, it matters little what the exact proportion would be—let us take it at a half that would class as Muscovado or brown clayed at 30s. duty, and half as white clayed at 34s. duty. Still, as before, the refiners would have every inducement to select the best and highest priced sugar, on which to pay the respective duties. But now another principle would come into operation in their choice of these sugars, which, it is most strange, seems to have been entirely overlooked in the whole discussion of this question. The refiners in the selection of their sugars would then find that, instead of one differential duty, they had now practically two differential duties. Their purchases would now consist of 20,000 tons of the best white clayed sugars, and 20,000 tons of the best Muscovado and brown clayed. The price of white clayed sugars would be the same in the markets of the world as in the former case, viz., 26s. per cwt., to which the same duty of 35s. 9d. would still have to be added, making the price of sugar exactly as before, 61s. 9d. There is no imaginable reason why this should be altered from anything connected with the change of duties; as in the last case, the price of colonial sugar would also be the same, viz., 40s. 9d., being less by the duty of 21s. than the entire price of 61s. 9d. Then let us inquire what would determine the price of the intermediate description, the 20,000 tons subject to the 30s. duty. When the refiners went into the market to select sugar, they would find white clayed at 26s., on which they must pay a duty of 35s. 9d. If they found Muscovado sugars of as great a value for refining, it is clear that they would as willingly pay 30s. 3d. for that article on which the duty with the 5 per cent. would only be 31s. 6d., as they would pay 26s. for the former; both would cost them when the duty was paid the same price, 61s. 9d., or, which is more likely, if they found Muscovado sugars, the intrinsic value of which, as compared

with less, inferior clayed in the 21s. 9d. term would obtain cost to sole wout of the the le then 4,800,000 ther duty T Value equi —4, Duty Prote cwt. Prote and at 4 Th Intrin 4,80 sugi Revei Prote loni Do. te of or fore The a los shilli true, ciple truth be fix to the and : came the li fact c lities in no ritius much finst sugar 21s. 1 prop plain lower their const be de to the An sugar tenab bring Now, an in amou the at his pi the ir to a r 30s. bond, by th Un Free- other in pre Gove and v. more true for th most iniqui amene ago b the fir Howi the G certai succe. —with ried l preser (May count likely and it thing inflic and d. By the 4t this y Impor Block :

with the white clayed, was only 21s. 9d., or 4s. 3d. less, it would be as profitable to give 26s. for these inferior Muscovado sugars, as for the superior white clayed, because they would save the difference of value in the duty; and no quantity of Muscovado sugars at 21s. 9d. coming into competition with white clayed, would reduce the price of the latter, because that would be determined by their intrinsic worth in the markets of the world. Proportionably less refined sugars would be obtained from the same weight of Muscovado, and the cost to the consumer would therefore be the same. The sole effect, therefore, of Mr. Miles's last proposition, would be to establish a second differential duty in favour of the 20,000 tons of sugar admissible at the 30s. duty, to the loss of the revenue. The national sugar account would then have stood thus:—

| | |
|--|-------------|
| 4,800,000 cwt. of sugar, or equivalent thereto by lower quality and net produce, at 61s. 9d. | £14,820,000 |
| Thus distributed:— | |
| Value in the markets of the world, or equivalent thereto according to quality | |
| 4,800,000 cwt. sugar, at 26s. | £6,240,000 |
| Duty paid on 4,800,000 cwt., at 21s. | 4,200,000 |
| " 400,000 cwt., at 31s. 6d. | 630,000 |
| " 400,000 cwt., at 35s. 9d. | 715,000 |
| Protection to the colonies on 4,000,000 cwt., at 14s. 9d. | 2,950,000 |
| Protection to the importers of Muscovado and brown clayed sugar on 400,000 cwt., at 4s. 3d. | 85,000 |
| | £14,820,000 |

The comparison of the three plans would be thus:—

| | Ministerial Plan. | Mr. Miles's 1st Proposal, not supported. | Mr. Miles's 2nd Proposal, supported. |
|---|-------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Intrinsic value of 4,800,000 cwt. sugar | 6,240,000 | 6,240,000 | 6,240,000 |
| Revenue | 6,480,000 | 5,630,000 | 5,545,000 |
| Protection to Colonies | 2,100,000 | 2,950,000 | 2,950,000 |
| Do. to importers of Muscovado or brown clayed foreign sugar | | | 85,000 |
| | £11,820,000 | £14,820,000 | £14,820,000 |

The amendment, therefore, discussed did really involve a loss of revenue of £335,000, without a gain of one shilling to the consumer. And if this be not strictly true, then are the whole objections raised to the principle of differential duties invalid and untenable. The truth is, that the price to the consumer must always be fixed and determined by the highest rate of duty added to the intrinsic value of an article in the market, in bond, and any lower rates of duty on other similar produce cannot act in favour of the consumer, but only add to the first price paid for such favoured produce; and the fact of such lower rate of duty being charged on quantities so slightly varying in their intrinsic relative value in no way alters the case. The commonest brown Mauritius sugar, worth 48s. or 50s., duty paid, enjoys as much the advantage of the differential duty as does the finest Jamaica sugar worth 68s. per cwt. Though the sugars in question at present vary in value from 17s. to 21s. per cwt., yet that difference only expresses the actual proportionate intrinsic value; and nothing can be more plain, than if you subject the quality worth 17s. to a lower duty by 1s. 3d. per cwt. than that at 21s., while their relative intrinsic value is not altered, the price to the consumer will remain the same; but that price will always be determined by the rate at which the highest duty added to the natural intrinsic value will furnish the commodity.

An argument in favour of the 30s. duty on Muscovado sugar has been very current, which we think equally untenable, viz.: that at that duty it would be practicable to bring Louisiana sugar, while at the 31s. duty it would not. Now, the slightest consideration must show any one that an importing merchant is not interested in the actual amount of duty charged on his goods so much as on the amount of any difference between the duty charged on his produce and that of more favoured countries. Thus the importer of Louisiana sugar would be quite indifferent to a reduction of the duties from 21s. and 31s. to 20s. and 30s. The price, as we have shown, which he receives in bond, and in which alone he is interested, is regulated not by the actual amount of duty, so much as by the difference.

Under such circumstances, we cannot conceive how the Free-Trade party could with any degree of propriety act otherwise than oppose Mr. Miles's motion, and support in preference thereto the better measure proposed by the Government, though far short of their entire principles; and we believe the more men reflect on the subject the more will they see that it was the best course for the true interests of the country, and the most consistent for the whole of the Liberal party to have pursued;—most consistent with the measures on which they relinquished office in 1841;—most consistent with the amendment on the sugar bill, supported only a year ago by the party. We must own we cannot appreciate the fine, though strictly technical, distinction which Lord Howick made in the first division, between voting against the Government bill and Mr. Miles's amendment. It was certainly open to any member to vote against both, but if successful what would have been the result of that policy?—either to have had another worse bill proposed and carried by the support of the West India interest, or the present law renewed for another year. In a recent article (May 25th) we showed how much and how urgently the country requires an additional supply of sugar, and is likely more and more to do so during the present year; and it would certainly not have been a very creditable thing for the Liberal party, had it been the means of inflicting a recurrence of the evils of scarcity, high prices, and deficient revenue, from which we suffered in 1840.

By the *Trade List* published by the Custom-house on the 4th inst., we find the supply of sugar and present stock this year, as compared with last year, as follows:—

| | West India. | | Mauritius. | | Bengal. | |
|--------------|-------------|----------|------------|---------|-----------|--|
| | Hhds. | Fierces. | Barls. | Bags. | Packages. | |
| Imported to | | | | | | |
| June 4, 1843 | 25,360 | 2,258 | 3,708 | 179,315 | 230,664 | |
| " 1844 | 19,300 | 1,380 | 2,478 | 180,126 | 160,175 | |
| Stock:— | | | | | | |
| June 4, 1843 | 10,184 | 1,132 | 1,781 | 61,230 | 88,589 | |
| " 1844 | 4,658 | 490 | 1,035 | 65,442 | 102,158 | |

And the stocks in the country are reduced to the lowest obb pending the uncertainty of these discussions.

We think it will be admitted that Mr. Miles and the West India interest were correct in the view they took of the effect of the amendment to counteract Free-Trade progress; and that those, whose only acknowledgment of party compact is strictly bound up in the advancement of these principles, were not only justified in the course they took, but could not consistently have pursued any other; and we feel assured that the more people reflect upon it, the more will that course secure the approbation and imitation of others. The greatest good cannot fail to arise from the discussion of the principles of differential duties, so little understood, which has been provoked by this debate.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEMORIALS.

YORK.—The following correspondence has been handed to us, with a request that we would insert the same in this day's *LEAGUE*.

LETTER TO H. R. YORKE, ESQ.

York, June 14, 1844.

"DEAR SIR,—On the part of the committee of the York Anti-Corn-Law Association, I forward you, by the post of this day, a memorial signed by a majority of the registered electors of this city, earnestly entreating your support in favour of Mr. Villiers's motion for the total repeal of the Corn Laws, to be brought forward in the present session.

"From the statement below, you will perceive that the actual number of the registered electors is 3329, of which 1717 (a clear majority of 53) have signed the memorial. But the views of 481 have not been obtained, and assuming that one-half of these, or 242, are favourable to Free Trade, the number of repealers will be 1959. Besides 129, who declined signing, have expressed themselves decidedly favourable to the requisition, and ready to prove their sincerity in the cause of Free Trade whenever an election may occur; therefore, the total number of Free-Traders cannot be short of 2088. And we may reasonably consider that those who advocate a small fixed duty, are friendly to the cause rather than otherwise, for many of them will no doubt eventually see eye to eye with us. As near as we can ascertain they number 92, all of whom we can afford to give to the monopolists, and still possess a majority of 424.

STATEMENT.

| | |
|---|------|
| Real number of electors at present registered | 3329 |
| Deduct { Absent from town | 55 |
| { Not seen | 429 |
| | 484 |
| Number whose opinions are obtained | 2845 |
| Number signed | 1717 |
| Favourable, but did not sign | 129 |
| Monopolists | 907 |
| Fixed duty | 92 |
| | 2845 |

"Should you require further information, the committee will be happy to supply it."

Yours, &c.,

HENRY LYONS, Secretary.

H. R. Yorke, Esq., M.P.,

31, Eaton-square, London."

MR. YORKE'S REPLY.

"SIR,—A very important family consideration, calling me express into the country, has deprived me for the moment of the satisfaction with which I should trace the signatures, name by name, of those who have very kindly, though very unnecessarily, given themselves the trouble to address me.

"Without following, as you have pointed them out, the electoral advantages which such and such a vote would confer, and which alone would not influence me, it may be sufficient to refer to the votes I have already given on corn, and to add, that those great principles to which, when on my probation before the constituency of York, I professed a general adhesion, seem, to my mind, as the progress of intelligence, of time, and of population go forward, only to claim a higher and more comprehensive respect.

"I beg, gratefully and respectfully, to remind my friendly memorialists, that I protest against huntings' declamation, for the purposes of deception; that, though a modification of words may be permissible and even prudent under circumstances, I do not say one thing to mean another; that as to principles recognised and avowed there ought to be no doubt, no disguise; and that, with reference to such, I will keep my faith and fealty to them.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

London, June 15."

We understand that a similar letter was sent Sir J. H. Lowther, but that his answer has not yet been received.

Huddersfield.—The electors of Huddersfield have nobly discharged their duty in the present juncture. In pursuance of the plan of operations recommended by the League, they have transmitted to their representative, W. R. C. Stanfield, Esq., an expression of their opinion that all restrictions on the supply of human food are injurious to the community at large, accompanied by a requisition that he will support, by his vote, the motion of the Hon. C. P. Villiers, for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. The electoral body of the borough numbers 692. Of these 499, or 5-7ths of the entire constituency, have subscribed the memorial to their member. We have been at some pains to analyse the state of opinion of the voters in this district, and the following is the result—the accuracy of which may be depended upon:—

| | |
|---|-----|
| Free-Traders who have subscribed the memorial | 499 |
| Free-Traders who decline subscribing any more petitions or memorials to the present Parliament or its members | 14 |
| Fixed duty-men | 12 |
| Neutrals | 16 |
| Removals by death and otherwise | 31 |
| Monopolists | 120 |
| Number on the registry | 692 |

The merchants and manufacturers of the district are busily engaged in making preparations for the support of the League's forthcoming exhibition of British arts and manufactures. While the men of Huddersfield are thus up and doing, the women are not inactive. A ladies' local committee has been formed to aid the Bazaar, by contri-

* The gross number of electors polled at the election in 1841 was 2994, of which 1862 voted for Mr. Yorke, less by 165 than have now signed the Free-Trade Memorial.

butions. Three meetings have been held, at which the utmost enthusiasm was manifested, and practical means adopted for the furtherance of the great object. Huddersfield, indeed, sets an example to the constituencies of the country. Let them "go and do likewise," and the doom of monopoly is sealed.—*Leds Mercury*.

BARNARD CASTLE.—At the great Anti-Corn-Law meeting, held some time ago in Barnard Castle, it was unanimously resolved, that petitions should be got up for signature by the electors, to be presented to each member for the Southern Division, earnestly requesting their vote in favour of Mr. Villiers's motion for a total repeal. Each elector was accordingly waited upon, and we are happy to state, the most cheering result has been experienced; for out of the 148 resident electors, 132 willingly signed the memorial, leaving only the small number of 16 refusals, many of whom advanced satisfactory reasons for declining; for it appears that a "lordly" petition has been lying for some time at the King's Head Inn, in favour of the now existing Corn Laws, and that means have been employed to obtain the signatures of the farmers, tenants, and others, many of whom stated to the repeal canvassers, that they would have willingly signed their petition, but that they had to sign an opposite one, much against their consciences. The memorials were lately forwarded to each member, accompanied with the following letter:—

"MY LORD,—I forward to you a memorial from the electors of Barnard Castle, humbly but earnestly requesting you to vote for the motion to be brought forward by the Hon. C. P. Villiers, in the House of Commons, for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your obedient servant,

"To Lord Harry G. Vane." JOHN GIBBON.

The following answer has been received from John Bowes, Esq.:—

"51, Conduit-street, June 3, 1844.

"SIR,—I am this day in receipt of your letter, and of a memorial from the electors of Barnard Castle, desiring my vote in support of Mr. Villiers's motion for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. It is a matter of very great regret to me, that I feel compelled, on this important question, to differ from so numerous and respectable a body of my neighbours and friends, as I cannot, in accordance with my previously expressed opinions, and my conscientious convictions, support Mr. Villiers's proposition.

"I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

"To Mr. John Gibbon." JOHN BOWES.

We cannot but notice the conclusion of the honourable M.P.'s reply, where, not for the first time, he subscribes himself to be a "faithful servant." Servants they indeed are, and as such are engaged to represent the requirements of the people; but mark, the majority, not the minority, constitute them members, and, as a matter of course, ought they not to advocate the wants of the majority? But, how frequently, nay, we could almost say, do they not always, represent themselves, their own pecuniary interests, and the minority, or few; but we hope, indeed are certain, that when Barnard Castle has again to choose her "faithful servant," one who will advocate and carry out the object and principles of the great Anti-Corn-Law League, and the desire of the great mass of the people (if not previously obtained,) will carry the way. We cannot but again notice the conduct of the working class of Barnard Castle, in the great Anti-Corn-Law movement, amongst whom may be favourably particularised, Gibbon, Baker, Davis, Blackett, and others, who, time after time, have shown their strong attachment to Free-Trade principles, and who, by their pecuniary aid and active exertions, have elicited the admiration of all, and, undaunted in the face of discouragements, are determined to persevere: were the great body of electors and non-electors to copy an example from Barnard Castle, we have no doubt that neither the Corn Laws nor any other monopoly could long exist.—*Tyne Mercury*.

The memorial to the members for Carlisle, requesting them to support Mr. Villiers's motion for a total repeal of the Corn Laws, was forwarded to them on the 7th inst., signed by 532 registered electors. The total number of names on the register is 1025, amongst which we have counted 73 duplicates and deaths, exclusive of many free-men and others who have left the neighbourhood or cannot be found. It appears, therefore, that the majority in favour of Free Trade is considerably above 100.—*Carlisle Journal*.

HOW TRADE SUPERSEDES FEUDALISM.—As long as war lasts, the nobles, who must be soldiers, rule very well. But when peace comes, the nobles prove very whimsical and uncomfortable masters; their frolics turn out to be very insulting and degrading to the commoner. Feudalism grew to be a bandit and brigand. Meantime trade (or the merchant and manufacturer) had begun to appear: trade, a plant which always grows wherever there is peace, as soon as there is peace, and as long as there is peace. The luxury and necessity of the noble fostered it. And as quickly as men go to foreign parts, in ships or caravans, a new order of things springs up; new ideas awake in their minds. New command takes place, new servants and new masters. Their information, their wealth, their correspondences, have made them quite other men than left their native shore. They are nobles now, and by another patent than the king's. Feudalism had been good, had broken the power of the kings, and had some very good traits of its own; but it had grown mischievous, it was time for it to die, and, as they say of dying people, all its faults came out. Trade was the strong man that broke it down, and raised a new and unknown power in its place. It is a new agent in the world, and one of great function; it is a very intellectual force. This displays physical strength, and installs computation, combination, information, science, in its room. It calls out all force of a certain kind that slumbered in the former dynasties. It is now in the midst of its career. Feudalism is not ended yet. Our governments still partake largely of that element. Trade goes to make the governments insignificant, and to bring every kind of faculty of every individual that can in any manner serve any person, on sale. Instead of a huge army and navy, and executive departments, it tends to convert government into a bureau of intelligence, an intelligence office, where every man may find what he wishes to buy, and expose what he has to sell, not only produce and manufactures, but art, skill, and intellectual and moral values.—*The Young American*, by R. W. Emerson.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

London, June 17, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—You will greatly oblige a few friends of liberty, by sending the enclosed half-sovereign to the independent elector, Charles Snowdon.

Yours respectfully, ROBERT HASTINGS.

To the EDITOR of the LEAGUE.

June 20, 1844.

SIR,—The enclosed sovereign, being the fourth amount from friends desirous to assist and sympathise with Charles Snowdon, who has so nobly done his duty in defence of the insidious threat held out to him at the late Exeter election, you will please to forward to him without delay. It is not enough that we are members of the League; we should be ready, as one man, and show the country that we are determined to sustain and save from penury such noble victims who suffer in support of our righteous principle. We should remember that small amounts, regularly supplied, would furnish ample funds for such a purpose, and scare away those who would make a traffic of the consciences of those who have so zealously espoused our good cause, and are its energetic and vigilant advocates. Our foes are subtle and plausible, and are ever on the alert to enmesh the weak and unsuspecting voter, whom they labour to turn to their own account by bribes, threats, and intimidation, thus violating the most sacred privilege we possess—a privilege which should be exercised fearlessly, and for the benefit of our *famishing* fellow-countrymen, who demand that justice should be done them.

I remain, your obedient servant,

19, Little Pulteney-street, J. H. HUTCHINSON.
Golden-square.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

PETER PLAYFAIR'S LETTERS.—No. III.

Brussels, June 10, 1844.

Trinity Sunday was ushered in with a long and solemn procession from the Chapel of the Holy Trinity to the Cathedral of St. Gudule. Tall and graceful fir-trees were planted before every house in the line through which the procession had to pass. Garlands of flowers, and festoons of blue, white, and red drapery, were to be seen hanging from every window; and at the entrance of one street I copied an inscription which ran thus:—

"Happy Rue de Chêne (Oak-street)! The Holy Trinity is come! Rejoice! Hallelujah!"

The procession itself was full half a mile long, and composed of military, clerical, and lay members. First, a squadron of Guides, or the body guard of the King, with a splendid band of music; then the young girls of the district, and those of the parochial schools under the age of fourteen, in white muslin dresses; next the powerful band of the Harmonie Society of Brussels; after them the boys of the parish, the acolytes of the church, the young men of the district, a company of light infantry soldiers with their band of bugles, the different orders of the clergy with the symbols of the Catholic worship; and, lastly, the bishop of the diocese, under a splendid awning, or canopy, of cloth of gold. The ceremonies ended with a sermon at the cathedral on the doctrine of the Trinity, and a benediction from the head of the church.

I have been minute in describing these forms, because it is interesting to compare them with those of our own simple faith. It is interesting, too, to note the coincidence of forms in the ceremonies of Christian churches. I read in the London papers a few days after that the Trinity Brethren, with the Duke of Wellington as Master, went in procession by water on Trinity Monday to Deptford, inspected the schools established by the brethren, and attended a sermon on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity by the eloquent chaplain of the order, the Rev. Henry Melvill. It is probable that the ceremonies in which our iron-heeled warrior assisted are partly derived from the observances of the Catholic Church, although they would scarcely now admit of a parallel, especially as in this as on most other occasions in England the solemnity is made to wind up with that very essential part of the performance, a public dinner.

Perhaps no country in Europe exhibits stronger external signs of religious worship than Belgium. I have no intention to enter at large upon this subject, or to draw invidious distinctions. But it is impossible even for a cursory observer to avoid being struck by the number of the festivals of the church and the religious fervour of the people. They are probably remnants of Spanish domination, and of the power which the church possessed in the middle ages. Nor would it be right to speculate upon the influence which street processions, accompanied with gold and glitter, and incense and music, may have upon the uninstructed mind. It is enough for us that we prefer the simpler and sterner faith of our fathers.

But, though I abstain from offering any opinion as to the nature and character of such matters, I may be permitted to offer my praise to the principle of Free Trade, if I may so express it, which is acknowledged here in all religions. Sir James Graham intends, it is said, during the present session of Parliament, to propose a bill in England permitting free trade in physic, so that the valetudinarian will be able to apply to any one in whom he has faith for the treatment of his bodily disease, with reference to colleges or halls. Here the same principle is observed in religious matters. Every minister of a Christian creed, whether foreigner or native, is supported at the expense of the state, and the consequence of this provision is, that all bickering and bitterness seem to be prevented, and freedom of opinion in religious matters effectually ensured.

The country around Brussels is chiefly under corn cultivation and vegetables to the table. The quotations for grain, as I have taken them from the *Price Current* of this week, reduced into English weights and English money, are:—

| | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| For fine Wheat | 10s. per quarter. |
| Rye | 27s. " |
| Barley | 25s. " |
| Oats | 17s. " |

Bread varies from three farthings to three halfpence per pound, according as it is made of wheat flour, rye and wheat mixed, or rye flour alone. Horses on a journey are commonly fed with coarse bread, which is convenient to carry, and is a good substitute for oats. The environs of Brussels on the French side are very lovely; on the

Dutch side they are flat, consisting chiefly of meadow land. The railroad from Brussels to Malines passes over a dead level. About six or seven miles from Brussels, on the Malines road, is Vilvoorde, the ancient Fildurum, formerly a principal town and free city of Brabant. At the entrance of this town is the central prison, modelled on the plan of the new prisons in England and the United States. It contains 2000 prisoners, each of whom has a separate apartment, and the greatest order and propriety are observable throughout the establishment. The silent system has been considerably modified in this penitentiary, and I could not hear of a single instance in which madness had supervened as a consequence of the harsh and inhuman practice of compelling silence. From Vilvoorde to Malines the country is very lovely, and in a high state of cultivation.

Malines, June 12, 1844.

Malines, or Mechlin, is the central point upon which all the railroads of Belgium converge. The railroads form a cross, the common centre being at Malines: from this point one branch passes to Ostend, in the direction of England; another to Antwerp, in the direction of Holland; a third towards France, and a fourth to Germany; these are the principal lines, and from these lines ramifications branch off to various towns on the frontier. The administration of the railroads is in the hands of the Government; and the authorities, conscious of the importance of rapid and cheap communication, have made the charges moderate. On the lines which I have traversed, I find the charges amount, in round numbers, to about three halfpence per mile for the *diligence*, or first class carriage; one penny for the *char-à-banc*, or second class; and a halfpenny per mile for the *waggon*, or third class. But it is to be remarked that the two latter carriages are more comfortable than a similar class of carriages in England. The third class, for example, is furnished with seats, and is covered in winter; and the second class with windows and cushioned seats. There is also in every train carriages of each class, so that the poor man may travel by a passenger-train in the third-class carriage, instead of being obliged, as on the "Great Western," to go by the baggage-train in the middle of the night. In the third-class carriage smoking is also permitted, and many persons prefer this conveyance in fine weather. When will the poorer classes of her Majesty's subjects meet with similar consideration in England? Upon one point, in reference to the Belgian railroads an Englishman may well be proud. Nearly every locomotive bears the name of an English maker; the road itself was planned and executed under the instructions of an English engineer; and most of the superintending engine workers are Englishmen: facts which, taken together, afford practical evidence of our superiority in civil engineering and mechanics. The town of Malines, or Mechlin, was formerly celebrated for its manufactures, and especially for its laces. In the fourteenth century Malines boasted 3200 looms. The population does not now exceed 25,000 souls, and the manufactures are chiefly confined to blankets, cotton counterpanes, imitation cashmere shawls, and a little lace. The cathedral is justly celebrated for its beauty. It was begun in the twelfth century, and occupied 300 years in building. The tower, which was intended to be the highest in the world, is still unfinished. It is the same height as the steeple of St. Paul's, London, and was to have been reared 96 feet higher, but the stones prepared for it were carried off by the Dutch in 1583, and used to build the town of Williamstadt, in Holland. The dial of the clock measures 48 feet in diameter, and each of the 12 figures is taller than myself, although I stand 5 feet 10½ in my stockings; a fac-simile of this clock, in the paved square of the cathedral, enabled me to take these measurements. Malines is the residence of the primate of Belgium, and the head-quarters of the church. It is fortified, and was taken by the Duke of Marlborough in 1706. The name Mechlin signifies that the ocean once flowed up to the city, and that its site was gained from the sea.

Louvain, June 15, 1844.

Louvain is now called the Catholic University of Belgium, in contradistinction to Brussels, which is the Liberal University: they bear the same relation to each other, if allowance is made for difference of faith, which Oxford and Cambridge bear to the University of London. Louvain was once, however, a great city, the capital of the province. Even in the 16th century she boasted 200,000 souls. Her outer wall extended for 7 miles; and her university, to which 43 colleges were attached, was attended by 8000 students. Since then, the university has declined, and it is now little better than a Catholic seminary. The empty colleges remain, melancholy monuments of former greatness, and witnesses of the fact that, in her free and palmy days, more distinguished men were sent from the University of Louvain than from any other university in Europe. In 1604 the college church, erected on the site of a temple dedicated to Mars, fell down, burying beneath it many houses. A short time afterwards the celebrated Justus Lipsius, a renowned ornament and pillar of the university, died. The double misfortune occurring about the same time gave rise to the following pithy chronogram:—

OMNIA CADUNT.

Louvain has continued ever since to decline, and now numbers only 25,000 inhabitants, and about 400 students. The town-hall is an edifice in the florid arabesque style, unequalled for beauty by any edifice in Europe, something like Henry VII.'s Chapel, adjoining Westminster Abbey, but infinitely more elaborate in style and in finish, with exquisitely sculptured groups of figures, biblical, historical, and mythological, over the façade. A story is told, that when the work was completed the poor sculptor had his eyes put out to prevent his ever eclipsing this his first and great work. But though human life and human suffering were but lightly thought of in those days, it is to be hoped that the story is a fable.

Liege, June 18, 1844.

The road from Louvain to Liege changes its character entirely, and instead of a level, flat country, we have a constant succession of hills and valleys, viaducts, cuttings, and tunnels. The panorama from the railroad, upon entering Liege, or from the Bellevue on the opposite hills, is one of the most lovely that can be described. The city itself is built in a romantic valley, watered by the Meuse, which is seen winding through its rocky banks. The surrounding hills, wooded to the summit, or covered to their almost perpendicular heights with the green and graceful vine; the Moorish steeples of the churches, and the fantastic old buildings which dot the landscape here and

there, fill the observer with unbounded admiration. Seen in a clear and cloudless day, from any of the heights which surround the town, Liege looks like a city embosomed in the Happy Valley of Rasselas; nor can you imagine it to be the Birmingham of Belgium until you pass from its squares and principal streets into the narrow lanes, where its manufacturers dwell. No one should visit Liege without perusing or reperusing Sir Walter Scott's novel of "Quentin Durward." It is perfectly surprising how accurate the great novelist is in delineating a locality he never visited. The palace in which the Prince-Bishop was murdered by his turbulent subjects is now used as a palace of justice. Its inner courtyard is surrounded by cloisters, supported by innumerable pillars, carved in an arabesque Gothic style, no two of them alike, but bearing some resemblance to modern silver candlesticks, with elaborate chasings. With some slight confusion of dates, the facts of history are truly described by the great romancist; but it is a question whether the Liegeois, in combating for their independence, merit all the hard things said of them by the chroniclers of the day, or whether, on the contrary, it is not to the bold burghers of the enfranchised towns of Flanders and Brabant that we are indebted for the first stand against feudal tyranny, and for the liberty and freedom which we now possess. Certain it is that, in Liege then as in Liege now, commerce has brought wealth, and knowledge, and independence in its train; and the rich stores of coal and iron in her neighbourhood, with a navigable river at her door, which, though not wider than the Thames at Richmond, is navigable above and below the town, will always render Liege a place of commercial importance.

I propose next to pass down the Meuse by Maestricht into Holland,—

"A country drawing fifty feet of water,
In which men live, as in a hold of nature;
And when the sea doth in upon them break,
And drowns a province, doth but spring a leak."

P. P.

The *Trinidad Standard* gives the following calculation of the probable sugar crops of the British West Indies for the present year, made up from the latest accounts received from the respective islands:—Jamaica 40,000 hhds., Demarara 40,000, Trinidad 26,000, Barbadoes 25,000, Antigua 15,000, St. Vincent 10,000, St. Kitt's 6000, Grenada 5000, Tobago 5000, St. Lucia 4500, Dominica 4000, Nevis 1500, Montserrat 1000, Tortola 1000—Total 184,000 hhds.

THE TAXES PAID BY FARMERS.—The old fallacy, that the farmers pay more than their fair share of taxes, and that consequently the community should make up the difference to them by paying a higher price for corn, was employed by the Duke of Richmond last Thursday evening in his speech against Lord Montagu's motion for a committee of the House of Lords to inquire into the operation of the import duties. The noble chairman of the Agricultural Protection Association affected to be quite as favourable to the appointment of such a committee as any one could be; his sole reason for opposing it on the present occasion being his alarm lest people might suppose he was a friend of Free Trade were he to vote for a motion which had been prefaced by a speech in favour of Free-Trade principles:—"He, for one, should have been very glad to have the inquiry proposed; but he could not vote for it after the speech of his noble friend who proposed it, and of his noble friend who followed in the debate, because, if he did, he should at once be admitting that he was a Free-Trader; but that there was one single argument in all that was uttered by his noble friend, he was not prepared to admit in the slightest degree. His noble friend who made the proposal said, that he was for a protective duty if they could show him that any one class was more severely taxed than another. Why, that was the very reason he should have gone into that inquiry, because, did any man mean to say that the farmers of England were not more taxed than any other men? They knew that on the farmers were imposed the taxes of the country. They knew that by law the manufacturers ought to pay for their profit, but it could not be got at; and the farmer who did not make £300 by his farm paid more than a manufacturer who, perhaps, in some years might make £30,000." Now, when his grace made this rash statement regarding the large amount of taxes paid by the farmer, he surely must have been ignorant of the existence of a return lately issued, on the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the produce of the income-tax for the year ending April 5, 1843. Had he only taken the trouble to glance over that return, he would have seen, to his great astonishment, that, of the £5,384,125 produced by that impost, the entire amount contributed by the farmers of England, Scotland, and Wales, who are described as "a class more severely taxed than any other," is only £298,763, or about one-eighteenth part of the whole sum collected. As for the merchants, manufacturers, and others, comprehended in schedule D, and whose profits "cannot be got at," if one might believe the Duke of Richmond, we find, from the parliamentary return, that they contributed £1,466,984, nearly 400 per cent. more than the total sum paid by the farmers. In making this statement, we do not say that the latter class are able to pay much more than they do at present. Most of them are only tenants-at-will; and this circumstance, coupled with that desperate competition for farms which prevails in most parts of the kingdom, prevents the great mass of agriculturists from adopting such improved modes of cultivation as might enable them to realize a decent income. But, even if the Legislature were to relieve the farmers from the income-tax altogether, they would, under the present state of things, derive no more benefit from such a relaxation of their burdens than they have done from the reduction of the poor-rates to less than one half of what they were twelve years ago in many parts of England. Should the poor-rates in one parish amount to 10s. in the pound on the rental, still they form no special burden on the farmer, seeing that he only pays so much less rent than his neighbours in the next parish, where the rates happen to be only 5s. in the pound. With the great mass of farmers, all that remains of the money they have received for their produce, after maintaining themselves, and paying taxes and rates, must go for rent, so that every diminution in their burdens is clearly so much gain to the landlord. Hence the unreasonable complaint of the Duke of Richmond, as to the undue pressure of taxation on the farmer, is neither more nor less, when analyzed, than a question of rent.—*Manchester Guardian*.

AGRICULTURE.

THE STATE OF THE PEASANTRY.

The monstrous absurdity which Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, thought it decent to countenance when, in reply to Mr. Milner Gibson's inquiry whether the Government was taking any means to ascertain the causes of incendiaryism now so prevalent in Suffolk, he said, that "it was the work of a few wicked spirits, probably perambulating through the districts in question," has met with a prompt and decided contradiction from Sir Henry Bunbury. Sir Henry is a Suffolk landowner, who has resided constantly in his own county; and he appears to regard the state of the agricultural labouring classes with kindness and common sense. In a letter addressed to a local newspaper, he says he "cannot discover any ground" for the opinion expressed by Sir James Graham, and avows his "conviction that these incendiary crimes are the symptoms of a smouldering and dangerous discontent." In proof of this, Sir Henry adds:—

"In the course of the thirty years that I have lived in this county, I have seen this or a similar disposition to destroy the property of the farmers burst out three or four times; but I have never seen it show itself except at times when the labourers had, or believed they had, especial causes of complaint, with but little hope of redress."

And he guards himself against misconception by saying, that the labourers in general are not concerned in these fires, but that "circumstances beget dissatisfaction in the minds of the labourers and their wives. They murmur. If there be no amendment the tone of their murmur becomes more angry, more frequently it is mingled with rash threats as they converse in publichouses, or in their own cottages." With this state of mind prevailing amongst the peasantry, there may be some one or two individuals in a parish, who, from vindictiveness, desperation, or even wanton mischievousness—perhaps, occasionally, some half-witted creature or child—actually put in practice the savage threats which destitution, or fear of destitution, has caused to be recklessly or thoughtlessly uttered by the half-employed agricultural labourers. This is quite confirmed by the testimony of the *Times* correspondent, which we quoted last week; for it must not be imagined that the labourers whose wives tell the clergyman that half employment "puts bad thoughts into their husbands' heads," actually commit these crimes, but they talk about them rashly, and some wilder or more desperate character—possibly, some man who has been imprisoned, hunted down, and originally rendered an outcast from society for poaching—takes up the thought and puts it into execution. The deficiency of cottage accommodation, now universally admitted, together with the general disuse of the old practice of boarding the unmarried farm-servants in the farm-house, tends to render the condition of the younger peasant peculiarly uncomfortable. He has no place in which to pass his evenings, or often to cook his food and obtain warmth and shelter, but the beer-house; and there he goes in a discontented and sulky frame of mind to meet those whose misfortunes or whose habits have rendered them criminal. This, combined in many, perhaps in most, cases with extreme ignorance, produces the worst results whenever any general feeling of dissatisfaction exists amongst this class of labourers. That such is the state of the unmarried farm-servants in Suffolk is made abundantly plain by the second letter of the *Times* correspondent, and we know that the same evils are in operation in most of the southern and eastern counties. There is no difficulty in tracing this evil to its source, namely, the unsettled and fluctuating state of English agriculture, caused by the system of which the Corn Law forms the cornerstone; but, as Sir Henry Bunbury observes, it would require a pamphlet to go into detail as to all the causes of agricultural discontent, and we must, on a future occasion, refer more particularly to this part of the subject.

Upon the "circumstances" which occasion the general discontent of the Suffolk labourers Sir Henry is most distinct—and to the accuracy and more general application of his facts we can, from personal observation, bear testimony—when he says:

"The great grievances are the inadequacy of wages compared with the work performed; the frequent dismissal of the labourers from employment because the weather is too wet, or the weather is too dry, or on similar pleas; and that, speaking generally, the ill-paid or discharged labourer has nothing to fall back upon as a resource. To these circumstances, which have been in full operation for some time past, must be added the new poor law. It is useless to alter with the question; there is the deterioration; be it reasonable or not reasonable, there it is."

The operation of the new poor law upon the rural labourer has been undoubtedly severe, for it has driven him into a labour market where, from the funds properly applicable to wages being frequently abstracted to make up rents, he finds a redundant supply of labourers, while he has nothing to fall back upon but the union workhouse.

Into this part of the question it will likewise be

our duty to enter in some detail in a future article; at present we are most anxious to place before our readers the evidence as to the state of the peasantry which the occurrences of the day are bringing forth. The full effect of that evidence we shall hereafter sum up. Upon the poor law Sir Henry says:—

"When that alteration was made in the law, I was willing to welcome it as an instrument of good. I had seen and had experience of the evil practised under the old law; and I imagined that, when farmers were relieved from the expense of maintaining paupers in idleness, they would have employed more men and at better wages. I deceived myself. In its organization the new scheme is far preferable to the old parochial jobbing; but in the working, it has been brought to operate with a cold harshness that is revolting to the feelings of the labouring class. It may not be fashionable to speak of the 'feelings of the labouring class,' but this I will say, that in the two parts of this county, in which I have spent thirty years, I have found plenty of good feelings in a great majority of that class; I have found them simple-minded, well-meaning, and grateful for kindness; and as for industry, I do not believe the world can produce a more willingly hard-working race of men."

That "more men are not employed, and at better wages," is far less the fault of the farmers, on whom Sir Henry seems to cast the blame, than on his own class, the landowners. The farmers are as much victims and sufferers from a vicious system as the labourers themselves; and therefore the sore in our social system, which the incendiaryism in Suffolk indicates, requires to be probed far more deeply, and to be treated with remedies far more potent, than the suggestions with which Sir Henry Bunbury's letter concludes would point to, when he says:—

"Let lands and cottages to labourers at reasonable rates; pay them wages in fair proportion to the work they do; discharge them not because there comes a day of rain, or a day of frost; talk to them, talk with them, come to know them, advise them, and encourage them. You will have no more fires; nor will a Secretary of State's mind be taxed to imagine incendiaries perambulating through Suffolk."

This is all very well, but who is "to bell the cat," how is the state of agriculture, described by the *Times* correspondent as existing in Suffolk—deservedly esteemed, by comparison, one of the best-farmed counties in England—to be dealt with? Are there no preliminary changes necessary to enable the farmer to "employ more men, and at better wages?"

The following, by the *Times's* correspondent, is a very correct general account of the condition of a large proportion of the farmers:—

"It would not be amiss, in the first instance, to give a notion to your readers what station the farmers in this county occupy. The farms run generally from 200 to 1000 acres, the large farms being what are called flock farms, where immense droves of sheep are reared. It requires, according to the mode of farming common in this the finest farming county in England, a capital of from £800 to £1000 to cultivate every 100 acres of land. A large farmer, therefore, is a man of considerable capital, realized or borrowed, and even the smallest farmers are respectable men. The large farmers live in some degree of style, and all in comfort. In many cases farmers commence with insufficient capital for the size of their farms, and borrow money to sufficiently work them, trusting to Providence for a good season to enable them to pay off their debt, or they continue to pay interest. In these cases, if the season should not turn out well, the labourer is the first to suffer. The rent and the interest must be provided for at certain days, and the farmer manages till the pay-day arrives, and then makes an effort to meet his liabilities; but the labourer has to be paid ready money every week, and the farmer endeavours to dispense with him as much as possible. If it is a bad day, he does not give him a job in-doors; or, if it is too dry, he does not set him to work on other things—in fact, tries to save all he can; for, though ostensibly an extensive farmer, he has enough to do to pay rent and interest of money, and live up to his station, and the labourer suffers. Where the farmer has capital enough, the labourer fares better. I give this merely as a picture of the position of the generality of farmers here, without explaining the rate of wages, which will be matter for further examination."

This is enough to account for the distressed condition of the agricultural labourers whenever prices of corn fall below the act of Parliament price; and no one can go amongst and converse with the rural classes, the farmers, and the farm-servants, as the *Times* reporter has done, without becoming convinced that want of capital, and unwillingness to employ sufficient capital in the cultivation of farms, are the grand causes of the deficient and irregular employment of the peasantry. The readers of the LEAGUE will be at no loss to trace these causes to their real source—the CORN LAWS, which have, to use the words of the parliamentary committee of 1833, rendered "the fixed rent of the farmer a hazardous speculation." Yet the law of distress enables the landlord to enforce his rent in all years and under all circumstances, and that although its enforcement may cause the farm-labourers of the kingdom to be half-starved. If this be at the bottom of our agricultural distresses, if this be indeed the seat of that ulcerous disease which is affecting the vital interests of the nation—and we challenge the monopolists and their allies to gainsay it—must not this sore be probed to the quick, though legislators and party-politicians groan, and monopolist and mortgaged landowners may wince? And, God willing, it shall be probed to the bottom.

HOW TO GET THE BEST OF AN ARGUMENT.

There is a method of reasoning to which the monopolists are addicted that seems to be very consolatory to the self-love of the reasoner, though it carries mighty little conviction to the minds of other people. This consists in making some extravagant assertion, or asking some ridiculous question, and then, shutting their eyes to all exposures, to stand stoutly by their nonsense, and reiterate their falsehood or their fallacy as if neither had ever been noticed or displaced. Another plan is, to assume that anything of which the individual monopolist happens to be ignorant does not exist. As an instance of the last, we give the following passage from a letter in the *Mark-lane Express* on the subject of Earl Ducie's statements as to the cost of producing wheat, where the writer says:—

"I looked rather anxiously to this week's paper, to see what practical men would say upon the subject, but was disappointed in finding no notice taken either of Lord Ducie's statement or your invitation for discussion."

We are not surprised at that. The monopolists do not much relish such distinct practical statements as Lord Ducie's; they like to deal in imaginary, intangible, and hypothetical cases. Thus the correspondent says:—

"Now, I submit to you, Sir, that no reliance whatever can be placed on Lord Ducie's statement, as there are many indirect charges arising out of the general result of the other operations on the farm which cannot well be estimated."

This is nonsense, but let that pass:—

"If Lord Ducie will show up in your columns (in the same detail I say as he has done the cost of growing wheat) the entire working of his farm at Whitfield for three or four years, or even for two years, exhibiting the annual net profit, we shall then have matter before us upon which we can rely."

If I understand right, it is the object of his lordship to prove to the public that when farms are well managed, as is the case at his lordship's farm at Whitfield, the profits are so large as to admit of a considerable reduction in the value of agricultural produce, without unduly pressing upon the tenant.

"If this be his lordship's object, I submit that he should show to the public the general result."

Does not this ignorant know that Mr. Morton, his lordship's manager of Whitfield farm, has published a very full and complete account, which shows that there are no "indirect charges" which cannot be well estimated by a farmer who understands his own business, and that the general result shows an ample profit.

Of the former class of monopolist reasoners we take the following example from the *Farmer's Journal*—and our readers have seen the mess the writer made of the Duke of Richmond's salmon case—which, in allusion to ourselves, says:—

"We are quite aware that our contemporary will find it inconvenient to answer the question we now, for the third time, put, but, notwithstanding, repeat it:—Has not the writer in the LEAGUE always insisted that Free Trade would not cause any reduction in the rentals of the landed proprietors of the country, and how does he reconcile that position with his exultation over the diminished value of the Dukes of Richmond? Will he venture to repeat this query in his next publication, and reply to it? We trow not."

Now, the "inconvenience" of answering this question is limited to the mechanical trouble of writing what we have so often written before. We have repeatedly shown that so great is the capacity of nine-tenths of the land of this country for increased production, provided the tenant has a secure tenure (that is a lease not containing injurious restrictions), the absolute control over the game, and the permanent landlord's improvements done for him which are necessary to good farming, rents will not fall under a state of natural price—Free Trade—but the contrary. On the other hand, where landlords grant no leases, make no improvements, preserve game, and "vote their tenants," rents must fall with or without Free Trade. But even should all the rent be lost in consequence of Free Trade, that would form no justification of the landowners' monopoly, for as rent is only the surplus after the repayment of all expenses of cultivation, with ordinary profits, if the fact really was, as the monopolists allege, that the Corn Law permanently raises prices some 30 or 40 per cent., it would simply prove them to be more wholesale plunderers than we have believed. The Corn Laws are dishonest contrivances for a dishonest purpose, but they have proved a fearful illustration of the truth that dishonesty, whether by an individual or a class, is, in the long run, as unprofitable as it is unjust. The difference between the Duke of Richmond's salmon fishery and the ordinary owner of land is this, that the tenant of the fishery had probably such a reasonable lease as enabled him to make the most of the property, whereas, in ordinary cases of land letting, the tenant-farmer is little more than a kind of bailiff, who gets enough to pay his rent from the consumer in times of scarcity, and from his own capital or that of his creditors in seasons of abundance.

LANDLORD CANT.

When the landlord legislators of this landlord-ridden nation stand up in their places in Parliament, and declare with unblushing front that they support this measure or oppose that because it affects their own sordid interests, their conduct is sufficiently disgraceful and disgusting; but when, having misused their legislative power to advance their own interest by the wholesale spoliation of the industrious classes, they, with cool Pecksniff-like complacency, claim to be the especial friends and protectors of the labouring many, it becomes difficult to find adequate terms in which to express contempt for such hypocrisy. These reflections arose unbidden on perusing in the last number of the *Mark-lane Express* the following attempt to foist upon its readers a solemn piece of landlord humbug, as calculated to "elicit the best feelings of human nature." The writer commences by saying that "every day's experience affords additional proof of the necessity of giving attention to the condition of the labourer," and adds:—

"We have long since, and frequently, expressed our apprehensions in respect to the social condition of our working population, daily increasing in numbers, but without a corresponding increase in the staple means of existence—employment. To find employment is a matter of primary importance, and should demand the attention of the state, not of a great nation like this, not by providing direct employment, but by endeavouring to open the channels of labour."

The truth of the propositions contained in the above passage is incontrovertible, and we read on with considerable interest, expecting suggestions for the employment of the peasantry in some sort corresponding with the preliminary flourish. We looked for some reference to the irregular employment of agricultural labourers consequent

upon the uncertain tenures on which farmers hold their farms, and the low standard of cultivation induced by yearly tenancies. We anticipated suggestions of agricultural improvements, the draining and subsoiling heavy lands, the chalking and claying light lands, and the more generous treatment of land and stock by which the employment for the farming labourers of England might be doubled at the fiat of the lords of the soil, would they only grant long and rational leases. We were, however, doomed to disappointment; for the writer having indicated his knowledge of the crying evil of our community, passed on to a second branch of the subject, saying:—

"Next to finding employment, the point of most importance is that of endeavouring to elevate the working man in the scale of humanity, by showing him that if he displays, so far as his situation will permit, the qualities which adorn man, in whatever rank or station, those whom Providence has placed in the superior grades of society will hold out the hand of fellowship to him."

"We yield to none in anxiety to 'elevate the working man,' especially the rural working man, 'in the scale of humanity;' but our readers shall judge whether we are wrong in our conclusion that the melodramatic display to which these fine sentiments—oh, there is nothing like sentiment—are intended as introductory, is not calculated to have directly the contrary effect. They shall decide whether 'the superior grades of society,' as represented by the Duke of Richmond, his compeers, and dependants at the Goodwood sheep-shearing dinner, do not, in fact, 'hold out the hand of fellowship' to the labourer in a very left-handed manner. Hear, however, what the monopolist organ says about the meeting:—

"We have been led to these remarks from having last week had the gratification of attending the meeting of the West Sussex Agricultural Association, held at Goodwood, and of which His Grace the Duke of Richmond is president. Here the landlord, the tenant, and the labourer meet and dine together in the same room. [Tremendous condescension.] Here the best feelings of human nature are elicited in the wealthy and independent, by bestowing rewards and commendation where due; in the poor and lowly, by accepting with a consciousness of deserving it the reward of integrity, industry, and good conduct."

This betrays great ignorance of "human nature," and would be excessively silly were it not intended to minister to an exceedingly sinister purpose. Does the writer really believe—can the rent-loving landocrats and monopolists who get up these farces seriously suppose—that the following is anything like a true representation of the influence of such meetings?—

"Much as the pecuniary reward is an object of importance to these poor men, we know, from what we have learnt of the system, that they esteem the permission of dining in the same room with the landowners of the neighbourhood and their own employers as a distinction and an honour which stimulates them to good conduct."

Fudge! Can anything be more absurd than to suppose that such a dinner to a few pet labourers of the Goodwood domain can efface from the minds of the peasantry the deep injuries they are hourly enduring at the hands of the landowners? If any indulge in that illusion, let them peruse the following summary of the proceedings of this meeting:—

"His Grace the Duke of Richmond presided, supported on the right by the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Hon and Rev. L. V. Harcourt, J. Baring, Esq., George Darby, Esq., M.P., J. Barton, Esq., the Venerable Archdeacon Webber; and on the left by the Earl of Chichester, Charles Scrace Dickins, Esq., the Earl of March, the Hon. John Carnegie, the Venerable Archdeacon Manning, Haaler Holist, Esq., &c. &c. A large number of the neighbouring clergy and gentry attended."

The Bishop of Chichester, in returning thanks, said:—

"I have been delighted to hear from the lips of His Grace the assurance, which I had previously entertained, that the Lord-Lieutenant and the gentlemen of this county are well disposed to second every effort made for the welfare of our poorer brethren. I assure you that that assurance went to my inmost heart. Those are the interests which I am placed here to superintend. But individual exertions will be called forth in vain, unless our lay brethren come forward to our support."

Now, the courtly prelate's language expresses somewhat of the "delight" of one who has received an unexpected pleasure, and by what is this called forth? Why, by the "assurance" that the gentlemen of the county are well disposed to second every effort made to aid the labourer! This looks very much as if the gentlemen of the county had not hitherto got much beyond good dispositions or intentions towards the poor, and we all know the proverb about "good intentions." Nor has the benevolent Bishop apparently any more tangible ground for delight than the "rules and regulations of this association." Nothing can more strongly mark the Christian frame of mind of this excellent spiritual peer than his thankfulness for "small mercies."

Next we find Archdeacon Manning approaching, though with the tenderest tread, one of the great evils under which the agricultural labouring class suffer, and which is entirely caused by the selfishness or negligence of the landowners, we mean the deficiency of cottage accommodation:—

"Next to the faithful discharge of the pastoral office, the faithful discharge of the duties of the landlord is essential to the welfare of the parish. We wish to have their assistance in personally visiting the cottagers. We can easily procure assistance, so far as the mere giving of money is concerned, but that is a very insufficient way of discharging the duty of charity, and furnishes but a slight text of it. We know very well that money may be given by hands merely as being required by public decency; it is not such a cheap thing as this that deserves the name of charity, but the personal visit to the cottager, which involves self-denial. This is the best text of charity. If they would with the pastor visit the poor at their homes, we should then be much better able to forward the improvement of the dwellings of the poor. It has been my great privilege for the last eleven years to be conversant with the poorer classes; and it is to me a subject of the greatest congratulation. You, my lord duke, I know, are well aware of the state of the poor around you. The state of the chamber has a very intimate relation to their character; and you have now pledged yourselves to promote their comfort as regards their dwellings. Some petty and trifling disturbance between the landlord and the cottager may have permitted the wind and the rain to penetrate to their fire-sides. If there be one thing more abominable than another in the eyes of Divine mercy, it is to see from the poor man more money for rent and to do less in repairs. (Cheers.) I invite you, from this day, to enter with my reverend brethren upon this important subject. Very pleasant it was to me to hear yesterday from your grace the desire that every poor man in this county should possess a stake in the hedge. I thank your grace for the sentiment. It is impossible but that every poor man should have a stake in the hedge. We are assured by an authority to which we must all defer, that

"the poor shall never cease out of the land. I am sure that I shall not be accused or suspected of wishing to give encouragement to revolutionary ideas; but I do maintain that, by the Divine ordinance, there is a propriety in the land for every poor man in every portion of what he reclaims by his labour from sterility and makes to trem with abundance. This is a subject which we cannot put away. We must make the poor man a partaker of the soil in the sense in which the Apostle says, 'The husbandman that laboureth must be the first partaker of the fruits.' This is what your grace meant yesterday, when you said that every poor man should possess a stake in the hedge. We need not look far for means."

And having thus given what may fairly be deemed, in reference to the actual state of the rural poor and their wretched dwellings, a sharp rebuke to the lords and squires, the venerable dignitary "lets them down easy" by intimating that the allotment of plots of potato ground might be "the means" of giving the labourer "a stake in the hedge."

The Duke of Richmond then said, speaking to the labourers:—

"We highly value your services. They are advantageous to us, even in a pecuniary point of view; for it is to our advantage to have good men working on our farms."

Now this, no doubt, is very ducal and condescending; but, supposing his grace had been addressing the plough-teams instead of the ploughmen, could he have used more appropriate language? This might have "elicited the best feelings" of equine nature, inasmuch it seemed to point to an extra feed of corn, but we question whether its tendency was to "elevate the working man." After referring to a recent fire—was it an incendiary one?—at which some labourers had been active, his grace said:—

"They (the labourers) well know that their interest is identical with that of the farmer and landowner; and should anything occur to put us in need of assistance, we should look with confidence to the labourers to stand by us to the last. (Loud cheers.) I am sure, when they are well treated, they will stand by us; and if we do our duty to them, they are not the men to desert us in the hour of need."

We suppose this means that they will sign petitions for dear bread (to say nothing about dear salmon and short wool), high rents, and low wages.

His grace then proposed the health of the Earl of Chichester, of whom he said:—

"The noble earl is an example to country gentlemen. He resides constantly on his estate at the other end of the county, and is in the habit of meeting his tenants and labourers. The noble earl fills the arduous and responsible office of chairman of the quarter sessions, which calls for his attendance every six weeks. We all know him well enough to believe that he feels his position to be one of great importance; for it gives confidence that justice will be duly administered. I am persuaded that the unpaid magistracy is one of our greatest bulwarks, and I hope it may never be taken from us. While he is obliged to carry out the law against transgressors, he feels it is much better to prevent crime than to punish it. He is chairman of a similar association to the present, and feels much greater pleasure in rewarding industrious labourers than in punishing offenders."

Should not his grace have added, and did he not mentally add, "unless they are poachers?" Now, as most of the "arduous duties" of the chairman of quarter sessions, and of the unpaid magistracy arise, directly and indirectly, out of the game laws, we may suggest that, as these tender-hearted noblemen and magistrates are so desirous of "preventing rather than punishing crime," they would go far to attain that object by repealing the game laws, placing pheasants and partridges in the same category as sparrows and tomits, and encouraging the destruction of those noxious vermin, hares and rabbits, as they now do that of those comparative innocents, weasels and polecats. Then they may hope to "elevate" the farming labourer.

But the richest part of the exhibition was when the Duke returned thanks:—

"I feel that at these meetings I get a great deal more credit than is due to me; for although I occupy the chair, the main credit is due to those who support this association, not only by their subscriptions, but their attendance."

How becoming is modesty in a great man! Not a few wicked persons may be found who will insinuate that his grace should have said, "I take a great deal more credit than is due to me;" and, perhaps, then, the noble president would have spoken with his accustomed frankness. However, he thought proper to add:—

"It is always with the greatest satisfaction I find myself among you, and find myself identified with the agricultural interest; this repays me for much of that abuse I get for standing by them and advocating their interests. But we cannot expect to go through the world without abuse. Whether I receive it as chairman of the board of guardians of our union, or as chairman of an agricultural society, I care not; I hope I am actuated by far higher motives than a love of popularity in the part I take."

What his grace deems a "high motive" it is not for us plebeians to say; but when he stated in the House of Lords that his objection to free trade in wool is founded on the fact that he is "a short-wool master," and that his hostility to free trade in fish was his desire to retain the exclusive right to supply the British public with "delicious small salmon," the public did not think his "motives" seemed to be precisely what men of intellect and humanity have been accustomed to call high. But, possibly, the ducal mind was contrasting the "high value in a pecuniary point of view" which he puts on the labourers' "services" and the £2000 a year lost upon the salmon fishery. If this be the true ducal standard of high and low, we can comprehend the meek spirit of martyrdom with which his grace endures the remarks, which his exertions in favour of high rents and artificial scarcity have provoked. The Rev. Mr. Harcourt afterwards said:—

"I have no hesitation in saying that it is of far greater importance to attend to the welfare of men and women than of sheep and oxen. I confess that I have no respect for fat oxen."

Though he subsequently owned a slight feeling of tenderness—possibly in compliment to the noble short-wool master—for "a sheep whose points are well developed," and concluded by stating his concurrence with the remarks of Archdeacon Manning respecting the cottages of the labourers. We are glad to find that the clergy are beginning to feel that the state of the dwellings of the rural poor touches their own characters. Let the efforts of the League receive a share of thanks for this.

THE MONOPOLIST AGITATION.

It seems the Agricultural Protection Society has found vent for its energies, which, for all the world knew,

seemed pent up in the "room in Bond-street," for one of their weekly journals tells us that—

"A meeting of the General Agricultural Protection Society was held last week, at which the Dukes of Richmond, Cleveland, and Buckingham were present. The committee was very fully attended, and a resolution was passed unanimously, 'that the Bank Charter Bill, as at present constituted, would, in the opinion of the committee, be detrimental to the agricultural interest.' This resolution would be forthwith communicated to the local associations, and we have no doubt that during the present week a strong demonstration of the sentiments of the agricultural body will be made."

Now, if these "strong demonstrations" are made in such meetings as the following, we suspect Sir Robert Peel will not regard them with much respect:—

"The public meeting of the Long Sutton Protection to Agriculture Society, convened a few days since, was attended by three gentlemen—the president, secretary, and treasurer of that association."—*Stamford Mercury*.

This is just what Lord Worsley told the Lincolnshire farmers would be the end of the "protection societies." The Duke of Cleveland seems to be active in this new "agricultural agitation;" and, probably, a large rental is no guarantee against encumbrances, but we did not know before that his grace was one of the deeply indebted.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Mr. Samuel S. Kenrick, Greenfield-lodge, Holywell," is informed that, according to the decision of Lord Kenyon, R. J. Zolpuddle, 4 T. R. 671, "the word tenement applies to every profit issuing out of land," within which definition coal mines seem to be clearly embraced; so that, as the franchise is conferred upon occupants of "lands and tenements" of £25 yearly value, it would seem that Mr. Kenrick is qualified to vote for members for the county of Flint.

"W. D." is informed that his interest is not so described as to enable the Editor to judge of the qualifications enumerated. If his interest in the London and Westminster Bank, Gas Company, and Great Western Railway Company, be merely that of a share of the profits, it is not a freehold interest, and does not confer a county vote. But if he personally hold the actual stone and lime of the bank to the value of 40s., or land on which the railway is laid, or the houses or lands of the gas company to that value, then he is, if he hold them in his own right and not merely as trustee for the companies, entitled to be registered for Middlesex. The Editor learns from W. D.'s letter that he does not occupy and pay rent out of his own pocket for any of the tenements he describes. He therefore has no vote for the city or any borough on account of his interest in them.

Joseph Sexton, Westbury, Wilts.—The question put by Mr. Sexton is one whose solution is of such general interest that an answer in the LEAGUE may be instructive to many of our readers. 1st. Before the 20th of July the claimant must pay all rates "which shall have become payable from him" prior to the 6th of April preceding. 2nd. A rate is not made until it is allowed by the justices; and 3rd. Is not payable until it is published in the parish church on the immediately preceding Sunday. (*Burn's Justice*, vide "Poor Rate.") As, therefore, although the rate was granted in the Westbury case on the 1st of April, it was not made until the 22nd, and could not have been published until the 28th, it did not become payable until after the 6th of April, and does not, therefore, require to be paid in order to qualify a claimant to be registered in that year.

"Selig Heaman" is informed, that by the 13th Geo. III., c. 21, all children, although born abroad, whose fathers, or even whose grandfathers by the father's side, were British subjects, are also British subjects, and are entitled to vote for members of Parliament.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, June 22, 1844.

The *Times* very emphatically assures its readers that the League has had no influence in stimulating its commission of inquiry into the condition of the agricultural peasantry. So that the work of inquiry be fairly, ingeniously, and efficiently pursued, we care very little how it may have originated. Thus we know, that, whatever attacks upon the new Poor-law may have been made by the *Times* before the League was in existence, it still left the public mind in a state of utter darkness as to the privations of the peasantry until the Anti-Corn-Law agitation began to penetrate into the rural districts. Up to a comparatively recent period, the boldest assertions were reiterated, both in Parliament and by the press, of the comfort enjoyed by the farm labourers, their happier lot than that of "factory slaves," and their vital interest in the continuance of the present system. A great change has manifestly taken place. If the *Times* has worked at the subject so long as it asserts, at least there can be no denial of the fact that its ancient labours were less successful than its recent efforts. That difference, also, may be possibly explained without supposing the League, either by its meetings, publications, conferences, or the speeches of its friends in Parliament, to have had any influence in its production. We leave to the *Times* the benefit of these remote possibilities, and frankly admit that the obvious and common-sense solution of the fact is not susceptible of strict mathematical demonstration.

And no matter for that, we repeat, so that the *Times* continues to drag into the light such horrible truths as its able reporter is developing in the regions of daily starvation and nightly fires. The facts of its correspondence will keep in check the sophisms of its leaders. In arguing against the League, it may tell us that the peasant's sympathies are "with hereditary power and transmitted rank," and treat us

very distant "the day on which the allegiance of the labourer to the landlord" will fail, or be exchanged for other reliance; but we have only to turn the page, and learn from the reporter the "complete severance of kindly feeling," and that, "in fact, all kind feeling between the labourers and farmers and those above them seems completely severed"—a change attested by old and "most respectable inhabitants." Such reports will not dispose the public mind to rely on large doles of workhouse charity as a remedy of the evil, or to seek it in the individual beneficence of the class who create the mischief by unjust and selfish legislation.

MR. VILLIERS'S MOTION.

The following are the terms of Mr. Villiers's motion as they stand on the Notice Book for Tuesday next, the 25th instant.

"That it appears by a recent census that the people of this country are rapidly increasing in number.

"That it is in evidence before this House that a large proportion of her Majesty's subjects are insufficiently provided with the first necessities of life.

"That, nevertheless, a Corn Law is in force, which restricts the supply of food, and thereby lessens its abundance.

"That any such restriction, having for its object to impede the free purchase of an article upon which depends the subsistence of the community, is indefensible in principle, and injurious in operation, and ought to be abolished.

"That, therefore, this House do now resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, for the purpose of considering the Act 5 Vic., cap. 4, with a view to its immediate repeal."

THE LEAGUE BAZAAR.

It will be seen by a reference to the speech of the Chairman on Wednesday evening last, at the meeting of the League in Covent-garden Theatre, that the Council has consented to postpone the holding of the Bazaar in London until January next. This determination has been formed in compliance with the wishes of most of the Ladies' Committees, both in the Metropolis and the country. The great anxiety felt by our fair friends to do adequate justice to their own feelings on such an occasion, and the apprehension lest their various engagements during the summer months should materially limit both the time and exertion necessary for such an undertaking, have been urged as the grounds for requesting a postponement of the Bazaar.

Such of our friends as have already sent in their contributions may rely upon their safe custody up to the appointed time; and we trust that no exertion will be spared in the interval on the part of those, who may have time or opportunity, for successfully promoting the good work.

REGISTER!—Mr. Cobden, in his speech after the termination of the South Lancashire election, stated that there were about 2000 persons in this division of the county who were Free Traders, and who could be easily placed on the register. Let, then, the Free Traders do their duty, and South Lancashire will be won at the next election. Nearly seven to four of the freeholders have voted for Brown, so that only a little additional exertion is needed to make the Free-Trade majority amongst them two to one, when the victory will be certain. Indeed, it would be absurd to suppose that the commercial, manufacturing, and other classes of freeholders who dwell in this district, will not be determined to be released from the bondage in which they are held by Lord Francis Egerton, Lord Stanley, and the squireen monopolists, Whig or Tory.—*Bolton Free Press.*

HOW THE CORN LAWS AFFECT PRICES.—The Corn Laws reduce the money prices both of agricultural and manufacturing produce, *the last most.* When the numbers of the manufacturing population begin to press against the limits of the food which can be furnished by the monopolists, the manufacturers will consent to give an increased quantity of goods for a given sum (as, for instance, for a guinea) as the means of purchasing corn; and hence the money price of goods will fall. But the number of guineas which will be given for a quantity of corn depends on the number necessary to make the consumers agree upon the mode in which the stock in hand shall be divided among them. Since, therefore, guineas cost more labour to the consumers, or to a great and effective portion of them, than they did before, a smaller number will make them agree on the division; and hence the money price of corn will fall too. A further consequence of which will clearly be, that a portion of guineas will go out of circulation by being restored to the uses of common life, on the ordinary principles of currency; so that, after all the rout that has been made on the danger of a free trade in corn diminishing the gold in circulation, this effect is in reality the result of the Corn Laws. This explodes the fallacy on which the agriculturists have dwelt with considerable effect, and which, in truth, was one of the very small number of good ones they had upon their side,—that, as corn has fallen, the distresses of the manufacturers have gone on increasing. It is quite true that corn has fallen. For example, between 1814 and 1826, it fell from 72s. to 57s., which is twenty-one per cent; but the wages of a weaver for weaving a given quantity of cambrics fell in the same time from 13s. to 2s. 9d., which is seventy-nine per cent. If the wages of the weaver had fallen in the same proportion as the price of corn, they would have only fallen to 10s. 3d.; but instead of that they have fallen to 2s. 9d., which is not much more than a fourth of the other. The agricultural monopolists, therefore, get the labour of the weaver for a little more than one-fourth of the substantial price they paid before, which is the mystery of the Corn Laws, and what they, of course, intend to stand out for as long as they are able. Of this general fall of prices some part may have been caused by the return to gold payments; but gold payments did not cause the wages of the weaver to fall four times more than the price of corn.—*Colonel Thompson's Exercises.*

REVIEW.

The History of Holland. By C. M. Davies. London: Parker.

We noticed the two first volumes of this work in our publication of the 6th of April, and gave our meed of praise to the deep research, sound judgment, and political sagacity displayed by the gifted and amiable lady to whom we are indebted for this important history. The third volume fully maintains the character of those which we have already noticed; and, independent of its merits, we are bound to notice it in deference to the suggestions of several correspondents, who have directed our attention to various passages in it illustrative of political philosophy and economic science. As a specimen of the political sagacity with which Mrs. Davies investigates constitutional principles, we shall extract her account of some of the causes which led to the decline of Holland.

"As in the human frame, no sooner does beauty attain its fulness, and strength its prime, than senility creeps on with stealthy and imperceptible steps—than the elastic muscles begin to grow rigid, the delicate membranes to thicken, and the nerves to lose their sensitiveness; so in the body politic, during the apparent prime and vigour of its existence, the decay has often already commenced which must terminate in its final dissolution. It seems, indeed, as though free constitutions contained within themselves some principles of this decay, from which less excellent forms of government are in a great measure exempt. Party-spirit and corruption in particular, the besetting and fatal vices of a free constitution, are in absolute governments more rarely found, and when they do exist, are comparatively less pernicious. The slaves of a despot, the serfs of an oligarchy, ignorant of aught better than their own state of social existence, hopeless and undesirous of change, are little apt to form schemes for the improvement of their condition; accustomed to unlimited obedience, they receive implicitly their political opinions from their masters, and subjects of political discussion therefore seldom arise; while the administration of public affairs is confined to few persons, and these, if they seek to distinguish themselves at all, seek to do so rather by their zeal in the service of the prince than by the introduction of novelties, or of measures which, however conducive to the improvement and happiness of the people, have a tendency to disturb or alter the existing order of things. In free constitutions, the more fully developed energies and capabilities of the people, their more numerous wants, their more extended relations, create the necessity and the desire for continual improvement, and consequently continual change. Schemes are devised, alterations proposed, many or all of which perhaps being, or supposed to be, inimical to the interests of some particular class of persons, become the subject of debate, which soon increases into contention, and is exasperated into animosity. The career of public ambition being open to all, a greater number of men of ability are produced on the political arena; and in their struggle for power and influence, each seeks to obtain it by espousing with vehemence some cherished interest, some popular opinion, of the class from whose favour and support he has the most reason to expect advancement. Hence principles and men become identified in the public mind, and parties are formed; men being induced to support one whom they might otherwise have opposed, for the sake of the principle he advocates, while others are led to espouse opinions from esteem for the person by whom they are recommended.

"In proportion as the leaders of parties thus acquire influence, they soon find, owing to the natural proneness of mankind to adopt opinions without the labour of examination, numbers ready blindly to acquiesce in any which come recommended to them by the charms of eloquence, or the weight of authority; by degrees they erect themselves into the guides and masters of the judgment of their followers; a new standard of right and wrong is set up; measures are looked upon not in regard of their intrinsic value, but of the party by whom they are proposed; and a man's public virtue is esteemed, not in proportion to his integrity and zeal for the good of his country, but for his unscrupulous adherence to his party. Accordingly, measures of vital importance to the welfare of the state are rendered abortive by the stronger party, for no other reason than that they are proposed by the weaker; or such as are utterly destructive, carried with a similar recklessness. Often, too, when pressing evils are to be remedied, the requisite measures, instead of being adopted with alacrity and unanimity, become questions of party strength, and are either thwarted altogether, or delayed till too late to produce any beneficial effect; and when imminent danger is to be averted, party debates and contentions consume the time which should be otherwise occupied, and ere either one or other has gained the desired ascendancy, the country is irretrievably ruined.

"Corruption, likewise, the ordinary and deadly poison of free states, is less rife and less dangerous in those of an absolute or monarchical constitution. A monarchical government is naturally strong in itself; simple in its action, and easily comprehended both by those who cannot, and those who will not, trouble themselves to examine and understand the more complicated machinery which a mixed or republican constitution requires, it finds the ignorant, the indolent, and the unthinking—a vast majority of mankind—amongst its advocates; it has therefore always the advantage of numbers on its side. A free government, on the contrary, habitually in the minority, is inherently weak, and hence is obliged to resort to means of corruption to gain partisans; to encourage venality in order to support itself; it has therefore a natural temptation towards this vice by which the former is unassailed. Corruption is also less mischievous in a monarchical government, inasmuch as the wealth and honours a monarch has to bestow tend chiefly to confirm his subjects in their loyalty to his person and their zeal for the support of his throne and the existing state of things; while the bribes administered in a free or republican state undermine the principles of integrity and public virtue absolutely essential to the existence of that state, and render the recipients subservient to those who may seek by these means to become its masters. All these evils we shall find exempli-

fied in the course of the later history of Holland. We shall see party-spirit overbearing the principles of genuine patriotism, perverting the judgment, nay, it would almost appear, obumbrating the intellect of public men. We shall see them, when the very existence of their constitution is threatened, neglect the measures necessary for its re-invigoration, lest their adoption should throw power into the hands of their political opponents; we shall see them absorbed in questions of petty party-strife, when the enemy was close at hand who was to put an end to the debates of all parties by the destruction of all.

"The evil of corruption will appear less glaringly to our view; the eminent heads of affairs preserving themselves wholly pure from its taint, the details of its progress—creeping through the minor branches of the state—will escape the notice of general history; but its effects, none the less certain, will be visible in the incapacity of the subordinate members of government to fill the offices into which they had introduced themselves by surreptitious means; in the disinclination manifested by all ranks of persons to undertake the duties of such as were rather onerous than profitable; in the general increase of avarice and proportionable diminution of the high sense of honour and moral rectitude formerly observable in the people; and in the indifference of the whole nation to public affairs and to its own political condition. Yet to deduce from thence that it had been better for Holland had she never possessed that freedom for which she struggled so long, would be as though one should desire the continuance of the feebleness and imbecility of childhood to avoid the trials and temptations of maturer growth; or to hasten on the period of the intellectual decay of age, in order to preserve the body from the exhaustion consequent on the action of the mind; to suspend, in fact, all the more noble and valuable functions of existence for the sake of prolonging its term. Neither is it permitted to Holland to make the choice between liberty and despotism an abstract question of political theory; the immense practical advantages that liberty has secured to her, greater, perhaps, than ever fell to the lot of any other nation, preclude her for ever from undervaluing the source from whence they were derived."

Another cause, the influence of which was most clearly shown when Holland was menaced by the tyrannical Louis XIV., and that most ungrateful of royal profligates, the English Charles II., not a little contributed to the overthrow of the Dutch power. The lesson which such events teach should ever be present to the minds of mercantile and manufacturing communities.

"Louis suffered no engine to lie idle whose power could be turned to the destruction of this devoted country; and, unhappily, he found but too many ready to serve his purpose. The neighbouring states, both great and small, and the German princes in especial, were well pleased to behold the approaching humiliation of Holland; the latter, jealous that a country not superior to them in geographical extent, and inferior in natural resources, should become entitled to rank herself with the mighty of the earth; the great sovereigns of Europe, irritated to find the lustre of their ancient dignity, and the grandeur of their empire, eclipsed by the actual wealth and power of a republic of yesterday. The pride, too, of Holland had given them offence, and it was true that she was proud. Proud, not of hosts which her conquering arm had stretched bleeding on the field of battle, nor of the lands and cities she had laid waste with fire and sword, but of her noble fleets, her mighty men-of-war, her merchant-vessels laden with treasure, peopling the ocean she kept at bay; proud of her smiling fields, where the husbandman pursued his labours in content, and enjoyed their fruits in security; of her fair cities, in whose streets crime and poverty were rare, and starvation unknown; of her peaceful dwellings, whose spotless purity seemed an emblem of the moral delicacy which reigned within; proud of her honourable name, synonymous throughout the world with industry and integrity; of her wise and just laws; of her race of hardy sons, who, when she had sent them to gather wealth and glory in all quarters of the globe, returned to her bosom with still abiding affection. Such an honest pride Holland had felt; and of such a pride it was that her rivals aimed to destroy the sources."

But, notwithstanding the formidable power of this coalition, the Dutch, while love of liberty continued a living principle, never faltered in their courage even when ruin appeared imminent.

"Amsterdam proved that the spirit of the 'Gueux' was not yet utterly extinct in Holland. Prevailing with four towns of North Holland to follow their example, the council of Amsterdam refused to send deputies to debate upon the question of granting full powers to the ambassadors, and made vigorous preparations for the defence of their city. They repaired the fortifications, and strengthened them with considerable outworks, the magistrates themselves being the first to sacrifice their magnificent country-houses in the suburbs for this purpose; they assigned to each of the regiments of burgher guards (who were 10,000 in number) a portion of the city to watch; took into their pay as soldiers all those inhabitants whom the cessation of trade would throw out of employment; stationed outposts in the Y, Amstel, Zuyderzee, and Pampus; and, cutting the dykes, laid the country to a great distance round under water. They likewise passed a resolution, that though all the rest of Holland should make terms with the conqueror, they would sustain the siege single-handed till some friendly power should afford them assistance."

The circumstances attending the murder of the brothers De Witt are related by Mrs. Davies with great graphic power and dramatic effect. Having related the arts by which John De Witt was entrapped into visiting his brother Cornelius in the prison, to which he had been committed on a false accusation, she thus continues:—

"During this time one of the judges sent for Tichelaar, and suggested to him that he should incite the people not to suffer a villain who had intended to murder the prince to go unpunished. True to his instructions, the miscreant spread among the crowd collected before the prison doors the report that the torture inflicted on Cornelius De Witt was a mere pretence, and that he had only escaped the

death he deserved because the judges favoured his crime. Then, entering the gaol, he presented himself at the window, and exclaimed to the crowd below, 'The dog and his brother are going out of prison! Now is your time; revenge yourselves on these two knaves, and then on thirty more, their accomplices!' The populace received his address with shouts and cries of 'To arms, to arms! Treason, treason!' and pressed in a still denser crowd towards the prison door. The States of Holland, immediately on information of the tumult, sent three troops of cavalry, in garrison at the Hague, for the protection of the gaol, and called out to arms six companies of burgher guards. But in the latter they only added fresh hosts to the enemies of the unfortunate captive. One company in especial, called the 'Company of the Blue Flag,' was animated with a spirit of deadly vengeance against them; its leader, Verhoef, having that morning loaded his musket with a determination either to kill the De Witts or perish in the attempt. They pressed forward towards the prison, but were driven back by the determined appearance of the cavalry, commanded by the Count de Tilly. So long as these troops remained, it was evident that the fell purpose of the rioters was impracticable. Accordingly, a report was raised that a band of peasants and sailors was coming to plunder the Hague; and two captains of the burgher guards took occasion from thence to demand of the Council of State that the soldiers should be drawn off from their station, in order to protect the houses from pillage. First a verbal order, and on Tilly's refusing obedience to such, a written one was sent, commanding him to divide his troops into four detachments, and post them upon the bridges leading into the town. 'I shall obey,' said he, as he perused the mandate, 'but it is the death-warrant of the brothers.' His anticipations were too soon realized. No sooner had he departed than the rioters were supplied by some of those mysterious agents who were actively employed throughout the whole of these transactions with wine, brandy, and other incitements to inflame their already maddening fury. Led on by Verhoef and one Van Bankhem, a sheriff of the Hague, they assailed the prison door with axes and sledge-hammers, threatening to kill all the inmates if it were not instantly opened. Terrified, or corrupted, the gaoler obeyed their behests. On gaining admittance they rushed to an upper room, where they found their victims, who had throughout the whole of the tumult maintained the greatest composure. The bailiff, reduced to a state of extreme debility by the torture, was reclining on his bed; his brother was seated near him, reading the Bible. They forced them to rise and follow them 'to the place,' as they said, 'where criminals were executed.' Having taken a tender leave of each other, they began to descend the stairs, Cornelius De Witt leaning on his brother for support. They had not advanced above two or three paces when a heavy blow on the head from behind precipitated the former to the bottom. He was then dragged a short distance towards the street, trampled under foot, and beaten to death. Meanwhile, John De Witt, after receiving a severe wound on the head with the butt-end of a musket, was brought by Verhoef, bleeding and bare-headed, before the furious multitude. One Van Soenen immediately thrust a pike into his face, while another of the miscreants shot him in the neck, exclaiming as he fell, 'There goes down the Perpetual Edict.' Raising himself on his knees, the sufferer lifted up his hands and eyes to Heaven in deep and earnest prayer. At that moment, one Verhagen struck him with his musket. Hundreds followed his example, and the cruel massacre was completed. Barbarities too dreadful for utterance or contemplation, all that phrenzied passion or brutal ferocity could suggest, were perpetrated on the bodies of these noble and virtuous citizens; nor was it till night put an end to the butchery that their friends were permitted to convey their mangled remains to a secret and obscure tomb.

Mrs. Davies assigns convincing reasons for a strong suspicion that the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III., was "consenting" to this atrocious assassination.

"The parasites of the Prince of Orange, they were, who, angry at being kept out of power by the De Witt party, and greedy of the profits and honours which had of late been shared solely by their opponents, were the inciters and fomenters of this revolting sedition. Whether or not the prince himself were guilty of a participation or cognizance of their acts, history has involved in an impenetrable veil of obscurity. But it requires more than the expressions of abhorrence with which he ever afterwards spoke of the massacre of the De Witts, to exculpate him from the imputation of, at least, the extreme of injudiciousness and imprudence; defects of which he never, before or after, betrayed the smallest symptom. At any period after the arrest of Cornelius De Witt, when the populace, fearful of his escape, constantly surrounded his prison, a proclamation from the prince would at once have sufficed to still the tumult; or had he complied with the earnest request of the States in sending some troops and a special guard for the safe-keeping of the bailiff's person, the people would have been satisfied, and the fate of the unhappy prisoner averted. Again, when the States of Holland besought him to lend his aid to discover and punish the authors of this 'detestable crime,' he replied that the number and quality of the guilty rendered all pursuit dangerous; and, shortly after, prevailed with them to grant an amnesty in the most ample terms to both principals and accessories in the murder. Nor was this all; honours and rewards awaited every one of those who had rendered themselves conspicuous in the transactions of that eventful day. But the hand of retribution was heavy on them. They found that, when the angry passions of the people had subsided, their association was shunned by all men with contempt and aversion. Verhoef was sometime after condemned for his crimes by the tribunal of Rhynland to be publicly whipped, and imprisoned for the remainder of his life; and the manes of the De Witts were avenged, when the unhappy miscreant, writhing under the lash of the executioner, heard the murmurs of the immense multitude around the scaffold applauding the justice of his sentence. Some squandering away their ill gotten wealth, sank into the grave in loathsome poverty and disease; others, unable to stop in their career of iniquity, terminated their sinful lives inured in dungeons; Tichelaar himself, during the life of the Prince of Orange, enjoyed a liberal pension 'for the services he had done the state' of which, being deprived after his death, he was reduced to beggary, and lived to an extreme old age, preserved only by alms from perishing of

starvation, and a prey to the bitterest remorse for having been, as he confessed, the cause of the murder of two innocent men."

The memory of William III. has been almost canonized by faction; but his character is examined in these pages with a fearless spirit of criticism which the hero of Glenro is not well fitted to sustain. Mrs. Davies exposes the base hypocrisy by which he deceived his wretched father-in-law, and his complicated treachery to the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth.

"William, on his side, showed no less a disposition to be on the most amicable terms with the king. The Duke of Monmouth, natural son of Charles II., had, in the last year, in consequence of the discovery of the Rye-house Plot, in which he was implicated, retired into Holland, where, during his father's life, he was entertained by the Prince of Orange with marks of peculiar esteem and regard. William now not only anticipated the king's wishes, by desiring this nobleman to quit the United Provinces, but consented, at his request, to cashier all the officers who had waited upon Monmouth during his residence in Holland.

"But it scarcely admits of a doubt that, even at this period, the prince was deceiving his unhappy father-in-law, and that, in order to try the humour of the people of England, he was privy to, if not participant in, the subsequent enterprise of the Dukes of Monmouth and Argyll against England and Scotland. Certain it is, that the former soon returned to Holland, and that both lived for a considerable time in affected privacy at Amsterdam, where they collected, without impediment, the requisite arms, ammunition, and vessels; that Monmouth kept up a frequent correspondence by letter with the prince's favourite, Bentinck; and that though he was seen in various places in Holland, and even at the Hague itself, William constantly evaded the solicitations both of the English ambassador and the States for his arrest, as well as of the other suspected parties. The Pensionary Fagel likewise contrived that the order of the States-General for the detention of the ships in which the rebels were to set sail for England, should be delayed till the time for its execution had passed away. But the assumption of the title of king by Monmouth was a step further than William either desired or expected; he therefore thought proper to disavow all knowledge of the enterprise, and readily coincided with the States in their compliance with the king's request for the loan of the three Scottish and three English regiments in their service, and even sent Bentinck to London to propose that he should take the command of the royalist army. This offer, however, the king, giving credence, probably, to the reports which were universally current, of the secret support he had afforded Monmouth, unhesitatingly rejected."

The general summary of William's character, which Mrs. Davies has subjoined to the account of his reign, though far more faithful than that which is given by the generality of English historians, is, however, on the whole, more favourable than the monarch merited. How often, indeed, does it happen that, when we come to examine the real character of the idols of party, we feel tempted to exclaim, in the indignant language of the prophet, "These be your gods, O Israel." We extract a portion of Mrs. Davies's elaborate survey of William's career; but we could easily supply circumstances which would add deeper darkness to the shadows she has, with rather too much forbearance, introduced into the portrait.

"William had to sustain a life of anxiety and fatigue, under the disadvantage of a feeble constitution of body; betrayed by his slight and attenuated frame, though in no degree by his countenance, which was clear, animated, and sparkling. His character has been so often delineated by the ablest pens, that it seems presumptuous and even superfluous to dilate upon it here; yet it may be permitted to observe that, being for the most part viewed through the medium of party affection or political prejudice, he has been as often lauded by his panegyrists for qualifications which he did not possess, as denuded by his detractors the credit of those virtues by which he was really distinguished.

"In a military point of view, he presents the singular phenomenon of a commander indebted for a high reputation solely to reverses and defeats; his peculiar constitution of mind being indeed such as to ensure for him both the reverses and the reputation. Deficient in inventive faculty, slow of comprehension, hesitating and unready, without a sufficient degree of confidence in his own opinions, and too proud to endure contradiction, or adopt the suggestions of others, he was unable immediately to perceive the skilful combinations of the great generals opposed to him, or to cope with their rapid and masterly movements; and often allowed the opportunity for action to escape, or formed his plans in ignorance of some point which, if seized, would have occasioned them to be wholly different. In the field of battle, on the other hand, the discovery of errors previously committed caused in him neither vacillation nor apprehension. Roused to animation, full of unwonted fire and energy, he was present everywhere, and exposed himself with indifference to the most imminent dangers. In the hour of defeat, which too surely arrived, his real greatness displayed itself; it was then that his dauntless spirit and unshaken firmness of soul enabled him to take advantage of all the resources that were yet available; to give his orders with the same composure and precision as if advancing to certain victory; and to convert the most disastrous rout into a safe and orderly retreat.

"Considered as a politician, his capacity for government appeared in a very different light in his native country, where he was surrounded by able and zealous ministers, and in England, where he was left to depend more upon his own resources. In Holland he had merely to express his opinions, however crude, and a Fagel, a Beverning, a Dykvelt, and a Hemsius—unquestionably the first statesmen and politicians in Europe—were ready to modify, to improve, and to render them suitable to the taste of the nation; in England, where he had few or none on whom he could depend for information and assistance, and where the slightest influence gained over him by one party excited the jealousy and animosity of the other, he

betrays an extreme deficiency in penetration, dexterity, and temper; and we can scarcely recognise in the peevish monarch, threatening constantly to abandon his kingdom, and with it the noble cause he had espoused, the steady patriot who delivered his country from the miseries of foreign conquest and domestic sedition. Placed by circumstances in the position of a restorer and defender of liberty, never was absolute monarch more fond of arbitrary power, or more impatient of even the most legitimate control.

"In Holland, where, at the time of his accession to the stadtholderate, the precarious condition of affairs rendered it necessary that unusual authority should be placed in his hands, we have seen him take advantage of it to introduce his dependents into every office of government, without regard to their ability to fill them, and to trample under foot the ancient customs and privileges, interwoven in the welfare, almost in the very existence of his country. It may, indeed, be truly affirmed, that had he left a son, or succeeded in settling the inheritance on his relative William Friso, the liberties of Holland were gone for ever. In England, his anxiety to obtain a larger share of authority than the nation was willing to grant, led him to appear ungrateful to those who had set him on the throne, and to inflict incalculable injury on his affairs, by intrusting them to ministers of the Tory party, whose maxims of government, as more favourable to royal prerogative, were more acceptable to him than those of the Whigs, but whom he never could succeed in reconciling to his person, or engage to serve him with fidelity."

Even in the days of Holland's decadence, her statesmen maintained those sound principles of economic science which had been the basis of her former prosperity, and from which England has departed at the behests of a selfish and shortsighted oligarchy, not possessing even such an amount of intelligence as would enable them to comprehend and profit by Esop's fable of the clown and the goose that laid golden eggs.

"The provinces of Guelderland, Zealand, and Friesland, having on one occasion demanded either the prohibition or the imposition of a duty on the importation of foreign corn, on the grounds that in consequence of the low price at which they were obliged to sell the corn they produced they should be unable to furnish their contingent towards the general expenses, and that the money which usually found its way into foreign countries in payment of their corn would be saved to the nation, their proposal was treated by the States as nothing less than an absurdity. The petitioners must, it was said, be in a state of the profoundest ignorance of the first principles of the government of a civilized nation; an occasional prohibition to export corn during periods of famine was indeed permissible; but in no case ought its importation to be checked; that neither in ancient nor modern history could an example of a similar unreasonable prohibition be found; but, on the contrary, the care of all wise rulers has ever been to secure an abundance of food to the people; and that to comply with the desire of the petitioners would be to establish a mischievous monopoly dishonourable to a civilized state."

The greatest blot on the history of Holland is its colonial policy, which was even worse than our own, and nearly as profligate as that which some of the American states have adopted in their dealings with the negroes and the Indians. We may quote, as an example of colonial maladministration, the massacre at Batavia, which is not yet forgotten in Java.

"The most tragical occurrence of this kind was that which happened in 1740, at Batavia, the seat of the Dutch empire in the East; where the discontent that had betrayed itself amongst the inhabitants, principally Chinese, against the government, gave rise to apprehensions that an insurrection was contemplated. Accordingly all race bonds and suspicious persons were expelled the city; but a considerable number remained in the outskirts, concerning whom information was given that they designed to surprise the town, and having massacred the Christians, to take possession of their property. This intelligence was taken as confirmation of the suspicions before entertained by the government of their secret understanding with those within the walls; and the Chinese in the town were commanded to put out their lights at sunset, and not to look out of window, much less appear in the streets. After the lapse of some time spent in mutual mistrust, the fugitives advanced in a somewhat hostile manner to within reach of the artillery of the town, whence they were soon driven by the firing of a few rounds. But their appearance had a fatal effect on the destiny of their unhappy countrymen within. On the ground that they would not have ventured on such a demonstration without some encouragement from the latter, the soldiers and armed burghers, by the command, as they said, of the governor, Adrian Valkenier, broke into the houses of the defenceless Chinese, murdered the inhabitants, and pillaged all they could lay their hands on. Amid these horrors, fires, kindled, it was affirmed, by the sufferers in their desperation, broke out in various places; and had they not been promptly extinguished, the town in a few hours would have presented nothing but a mass of ruins. As it was, the spectacle of the half-burnt houses, strewn with the dead and dying, heaped together as they had offered themselves unresistingly to slaughter, or singly as they had fought the last agonizing struggle for life, was sufficiently appalling. The pillage continued two or three days before the hand of authority was interposed to arrest it. The Chinese in the suburbs were all either massacred or forced to take flight. By degrees order was restored, and those who had fled or concealed themselves were allowed to return and resume their avocations on condition of their submission to the government; and, extraordinary as it may appear, numbers were found ready to avail themselves of the permission. The governor, Valkenier, was afterwards imprisoned."

The length of the extracts which we have made from this volume precludes the necessity of any formal comment. We earnestly commend the work to our readers as the best existing history of a country in which Englishmen must ever feel a lively interest, and as an illustration of the high range of thought to which the mind of English ladies is capable of attaining.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE PRESS.—Those who are unused to this mode of conceiving of human improvement, as spreading from secret centres to a wide circumference, and who are accustomed to the notion of civilization by external agencies, may perhaps adduce the printing-press as an instance of a vast engine of amelioration, mechanical rather than moral. It is obvious, however, that the press, with all its magic, is not a power in itself, but a mere instrument; a tool, whose influence, in kind and degree, depends altogether on the spiritual forces that wield it; which might be given to the savage without producing the smallest fruits of culture, and to a community of the vicious without producing any culture that is good. It is simply an implement for the transmission of mental effort; and it is the thought, not the machinery, that works the wonders of which we boast. Its function is to bring into contact such minds as there are; and, as in private intercourse, it depends on the character of those minds, whether it circulates the vitality of health or the contagion of disease. It is true, indeed, that in the long run the highest spirits are always the strongest too; but this is a law of nature, which human inventions did not make, and cannot alter; and the press, giving equal voice to all, leaves the proportionate influence of different orders of minds precisely where it was—widening the empire, but not redissipating of the victory.—*Rev. James Martineau.*

GOOD GOVERNMENT.—Poverty is, after all, the great badge, the never-failing badge of slavery. Bare bones and rags are the true marks of the real slave. What is the object of government? To cause men to live happily, they cannot be without a sufficiency of food and raiment. Good government means a state of things in which the main body are well fed and well clothed. It is the chief business of a government to take care that one part of the people do not cause the other part to lead miserable lives. There can be no morality, no virtue, no sincerity, no honesty, amongst a people continually suffering from want; and it is cruel in the last degree to punish such people for almost any sort of crime which is, in fact, not crime of the heart—not crime of the perpetrator, but the crime of his all-controlling necessities.—*Cobbett.*

CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—Among the principal of them was unquestionably the severity of the oppression to which all classes had been previously subjected; for the violence of the convulsion will always be proportioned to the magnitude of the burden to be thrown off; and the atrocity of the revenge will generally take its measure and its character from the atrocity of the injury to be atoned for. But, perhaps, the circumstance which more than any other modified the course of events in the revolution was the famine which prevailed at its commencement. Mr. Carlyle is, we believe, the only writer on this period who has assigned to this fact its due weight. The harvest of 1788 was a very defective one, and the consequent scarcity spread itself over the three following years; for though the ensuing crop was plentiful, the usual channels of industry and commerce had by that time become so completely disorganized, that bread was nowhere to be obtained in sufficient quantity, and the scarcity soon amounted to a famine. In the market-place the corn sacks had to be guarded by dragoons, "often more than one dragoon to each sack." The bakers' shops were beset by a famishing populace, who were obliged to stand in a long string, often reaching above a hundred yards, that each might be served in turn. Even when obtained, they complained, probably with truth, that the bread was adulterated with plaster of Paris. Many were reduced to "meal-husks and boiled grass." Finally, an ounce and a half of bread daily was the utmost that could be afforded to each individual, and onions and pulse must fill up the deficiency; nay, during the insurrection at Versailles, a horse, which had been slain in the riot, was eagerly seized upon for food. The effect of all this upon a people of singular excitability, and with whom bread is a staple article of food, may be easily conceived. It caused the populace to intermingle in a struggle which would otherwise have been fought out (with a widely-different result in all likelihood) between the aristocracy and the middle classes—the *tiers état* "Parties" (says Mr. Carlyle) "might have suppressed and smothered one another in the ordinary bloodless parliamentary way, on one condition—that France had at least been able to exist all the while. But the sovereign people has a digestive faculty, and cannot do without bread."—*Westminster Review.*

FOOD FOR THE MONOPOLISTS.—Sir Robert Peel concluded his speech on Monday night in these words:—"I state now, as I have stated before, that I consider it to be our duty to protect and maintain the great and important institutions of the country; but, at the same time, it is our duty also to propose such improvements in them as may be compatible with their maintenance and permanence, we have considered it to be desirable for the public interest to relax our system of commercial protection in many particulars, and among other articles to which this principle should be applied, we have considered it desirable that foreign sugar, the produce of free-labour, should be admitted into competition with that the produce of our colonial possessions; we have endeavoured, in the measure which we had framed for the consideration of the House, to reconcile the enforcement of this principle—a principle which, we believe, to be founded in truth and justice—with every due regard to existing interests involved in the production of that article. Now, looking at the question more immediately before the House, I repeat, as I said before, that I cannot hold out a hope of our being willing to conciliate opposition, by consenting to abandon the proposition upon this subject which we have felt it our duty to propose. We are deeply sensible of the kindness of those who have on many occasions given us their support; but I cannot ask you now to vote with us to-night upon promises or expectations which in the end may not be realized. The proposition which we made was, I think, a right and a safe one for the House to adopt; and, that being the case, we cannot consent to abandon it. Neither with respect to other articles, in which we have proposed and carried some alterations, can I say that we feel any regret for the policy which we adopted in framing those measures. THE PRINCIPLES WHICH WE THEN ACTED UPON WE CONTINUE TO PROPERLY; AND THE SAME COURSE OF GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT WHICH WE HAVE ALL ALONG ACTED UPON, WE MUST CONTINUE TO PURSUE; AND I THINK IT RIGHT TO MAKE THAT DECLARATION NOW, WHEN VERY IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES MAY RESULT FROM ITS ANNOUNCEMENT."

THE TOTAL AND IMMEDIATE REPEAL OF THE WOOL DUTY.—ITS EFFECT.—"My honourable friend (Mr. Miles), in introducing his motion, spoke of the Government as willingly sacrificing the colonial interests, and he instanced this by referring to the fact of its having reduced the duty on foreign wool; and although my hon. friend admitted that the reduction of the duty on foreign wool did not interfere with that interest, still he deemed it prudent to say that it had struck a blow at Australian produce by having diminished the duty on foreign wool. Now, I feel a satisfaction in stating to my hon. friend, that since the reduction, or rather, I should say, the abolition of the duty on foreign wool, there have taken place considerable sales of Australian wool. About three or four days since it was stated by an hon. gentleman who sits on that side of the House, that never was there a brisker sale of Australian wool; that there has been a rise in the price of Australian wool since the reduction of the duty on foreign wool, as compared with the price before the reduction; that since then the sale has been greater than ever it was known before. My hon. friend, then, cannot quote the reduction of the duty on foreign wool as being destructive of the sale of Australian wool.—*Sir R. Peel on Monday night.* [Could not the same experiment be tried with corn, coffee, sugar, timber, &c., with every probability of being attended with an equally beneficial effect?]

ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND GERMANS.—The English are the only people now-a-days that do not stand in awe of a revolution, but go on fearlessly in their own way, without troubling themselves with the apprehension of such an event. The French are a people of words; we (Germans) of thoughts; the English of action. We are better and more humane, perhaps, inasmuch as thoughts are mostly purer than actions; but in moral vigour and courage, and in self-confidence, the English far surpass us; and those are the qualities by which a nation grows to greatness. England will fall one day, but not before, like Rome, she has held the mastery of the world.—*Hahn-Hahn's Letters.*

SPIRITS OF THE AGE.—The strong Saxon spirit of George Stephenson, the "Hengist of Railways," is a spirit of the age that has written a work whereon those who ride may read glad tidings of man's rescue from the bondage and thralldom of ignorance; of his power of union with his fellows for the purpose of conquering and civilising the earth, reclaiming its swamps and morasses, and adding to its beauties. Prometheus, in the elder mythus, brought fire from heaven to earth for man's uses. George Stephenson may be the hero of some future mythus, which will tell how he harnessed fire to chariots of iron, which became swifter than the winds of heaven. Isambard Kingdom Brunel is a spirit of the age that would not be content with the work of George Stephenson, but made a yet greater work in advance of the spirit of his age, refusing to submit to the set patterns even of the great originator. David Napier, the restless planner of steam-boat after steam-boat, each swifter than the last, and the planner of the great Bristol iron steamer, are spirits of the age. Clegg, of the railway air traction—the rope of wound-off wind; Smith, of Deanston, the physician of diseased land; Liebig, the multiplier of human food by chemical science, are all spirits of the age. Marshall, of Leeds, the greatest of the "captains of industry," he who spins flax for half the world, and when profits become too large voluntarily cuts them down, and "builds another mill" to keep up his annual revenues—he who works to underwork cotton cloth, and replace it by cloth of linen—he, too, is a spirit of the age.

"Men, my brothers, men, the workers; ever reaping something new:
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do."
—*Westminster Review.*

ISLE OF MAN.—From a return moved for by Dr. Bowring, we find that, in the year 1843, there were imported into the Isle of Man from Great Britain and Ireland alone 2981 quarters of wheat, 12,658 cwt. of flour, 1672 cwt. of meal, 434 quarters of oats, 227 cwt. of potatoes, 16 head of cattle, 1120 sheep, and 6 pigs. During the same year there were exported from the Isle of Man to the United Kingdom, 7582 quarters of wheat, 22 cwt. of flour, 127 cwt. of meal, 5015 quarters of barley, 1370 quarters of oats, 117,779 cwt. of potatoes, 307 cattle, 180 sheep, and 308 pigs.

CORN LAWS.—All the grain that has been imported into the port of Sunderland this year has been in foreign vessels, except one which arrived on the 23rd ult., and that vessel belongs to some part of Wales. Shipowners of the North, do you see no benefit Free Trade would give you?—*Sunderland Herald.*

CONSUMPTION OF WOOL.—In the quarter ending 5th April, 1843, the quantity of foreign wool entered for home consumption was 4,618,887 lbs.; in the same quarter of the present year the quantity so entered was 9,697,805 lbs., and yet, notwithstanding this large increase, amounting to about 120 per cent., the English farmer is obtaining at least 25 per cent. more for his wool than he received last year.

The external features of the Cornwall mining districts are peculiar; for although occasionally we see the machinery and the rubbish of a mine in the centre of a fertile spot, sterility in general marks the surface which covers mineral treasures. Moors, enlivened only by the furze and heath, or granite hills bare of vegetation, are most commonly the scenes of mining operations. The landscape, as Nature left it, is one of desolation, but a productive mine is discovered, and the scene is changed. White-washed cottages thickly cover the soil—the transforming effects of industry; and vegetables for use, and flowers for ornament, grow in the cottage gardens. In the centre of this scene of life, the tall house, and its taller chimney, of the steam-engine, are seen employed in pumping the water from the depths of the earth—and near it another engine drawing the ores from the shafts, or perhaps the primitive horse whim, with the heavy rope twining around its wooden cage. On a near approach, life and bustle are immediately apparent. At the mouth of the shaft, men are waiting for the arrival of the *tribble* to the surface; the ore is carried off immediately to the *dressing-flours*, where young women and boys are employed in breaking up the large masses, whilst the task of selecting the pieces of ore from the matrix in which it is found is performed by children. Thus, in the Cornish mines, are 30,000 persons employed, averaging 18,472 men, 5764 women, and 5764 children.—*Athenaeum.*

BIDDING DEFIANCE TO COMPETITION.—At the monthly meeting of the Galloway Farmers' Club, the secretary said:—"If we have any determination of pursuing a vigorous, enlightened, and profitable mode of rearing and feeding, we must be up and doing, with more and more energy, in the extension of green crops—more especially now, since we have artificial and other manures of such excellence in abundance. In short, we, and every British farmer, must ever hold it to be an unalterable and golden rule, both in rearing and feeding our cattle, and in the cultivation of our farms, to produce the most at the least expense; and by so doing we will soon elevate our positions as cultivators, and bid defiance to the competition of the universe."

PROGRESS OF TRUTH.—We see that large principles are more extensively agreed upon than ever before—more manifest to all eyes, from the very absence of a hero to work them, since they are every hour showing how irresistibly they are making their own way. We see that the tale of the multitude is told as it never was told before—their health, their minds and morals, pleaded for in a tone perfectly new in the world. We see that the dreadful sins and woes of society are the results of old causes, and that our generation has the honour of being responsible for their relief, while the disgrace of their existence belongs certainly not to our time, and perhaps to none. We see that no spot of earth ever before contained such an amount of infallible resources as our country at this day; so much knowledge, so much sense, so much vigour, foresight, and benevolence, or such an amount of external means. We see the progress of amelioration, silent but sure, as the shepherd on the upland sees in the valley the advance of a gush of sunshine from between two hills. He observes what the people below are too busy to mark; how the light attains now this object and now that—how it now embellishes yonder copse, and now gilds that stream, and now glances upon the roofs of the far-off hamlet—the signs and sounds of life quickening along its course. When we remember that this is the same sun that guided the first vessel of commerce over the sea—the same by whose light Magna Charta was signed in Runnymede—that shone in the eyes of Cromwell after Naseby fight—that rose on 800,000 free blacks in the West Indies on a certain August morning—and is now shining down into the darkest recesses of the coal-mine, the prison, and the cellar—how can we doubt that darkness is to be chased away, and God's sunshine to vivify, at last, the whole of our world?—*Essays by an Invalid.*

What now, amongst the Germans, strikes every liberal lover of his country, every man who has no motive but to see the truth and spread it, especially in our own beloved country? He sees a simple and less feverish state of existence. He sees a greater portion of popular content diffused by a more equal distribution of property. He sees a less convulsive straining after the accumulation of enormous fortunes. He sees a less incessant devotion to the mere business of money-making, and consequently a less intense selfishness of spirit, a more genial and serene enjoyment of life, a more intellectual embellishment of it with music and domestic entertainment. He sees the means of existence kept by the absence of ruinous taxation, of an enormous debt recklessly and lavishly piled on the public shoulders, by the absence of restrictions on the importation of articles of food, cheap and easy of acquisition. He sees, wherever he goes, in great cities or small towns, every thing done for the public enjoyment. Public walks, beautifully planted, and carefully accommodated with seats at convenient distances for the public to rest at leisure. He sees these walks laid out wherever it be possible. Old town-walls and ramparts are converted into promenades, commanding, by their elevation, the finest prospects over town and country. The whole of city or town is encircled by them. Thus the old as well as the young can ascend from the heat and dust and hurry of the streets, and enjoy the freshest air, and the most lively and yet soothing scenes in the streets below on one hand, or gaze into the green fields and hills around. It is delightful to see on fine days the grey-headed fathers of a city thus seated on these airy walks beneath their favourite trees, and enjoying their chat together over old times; while, within a few steps of home, their eyes can still wander over those distant scenes whither their feet no longer can carry them. If there be an old castle in the suburbs of any of their towns, it is not shut up, but its gardens, and its very walls and courts and fosses, are laid out in lovely walks, and the whole place is made the favourite resort and enjoyment of the whole population. There a coffee house or casino is sure to be found; and there, beneath the summer trees, old and young, rich and poor, sit and partake of their coffee, wine, and other refreshment; while some old tower near is converted into an orchestra, and sends down the finest music for the general delight. He sees all sorts of gardens, even to the royal ones, and all sorts of estates, kept open for the public observation and passage through them; he sees the woods and forests all open to the foot and spirit of the delighted lover of nature and of solitude. He sees all public amusements and enjoyments, as theatrical and musical representations, the very highest of this kind, kept cheap and accessible to all. There are no operas there, with boxes let at £300 per annum, with seats in the pit at half-a-guinea each. Twenty-pence is the price of gentility itself; and for fivepence may be heard, and in a good place, the finest operas performed by the finest singers in the country. For fourpence may be attended the finest out-of-door concerts of Strauss or Lanner in the capital of Austria itself. He sees education kept equally cheap in school and university, kept within the reach of all, for the free use of all, and the school so systematized as to answer the various requirements of every varied class or profession. He sees the church kept cheap, and the churches open and free to one man as well as another, without pews and property, where all should be open, the common meeting-place of the common family before the common Father. He sees no church-rates imposed on stubborn and refractory consciences, but a voluntary contribution left to the voluntary attendant of divine service. He sees musical and singing societies encouraged amongst the people, where the working classes, when the labours of the day are done, can meet and enjoy a refining treat. He sees these civilizing and refining influences extended over the open-air enjoyments of the Sundays and holidays of the common people in city and country.—*German Experiences, by Wm. Howitt.*

Nobility is nothing, unless supported by good actions.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND AND WALES, AND ISLANDS IN THE BRITISH SEAS.

In the *Guardian* of Wednesday, the 29th ult., we gave, in a tabular form, the results of that branch of the enumeration of 1841, for the official census, which relates to the employments or occupations of the people in 13 counties of England; and, having previously given those for the 27 other counties, we added the totals together and gave our computed account of the summary as regards the total population of England. Since then, we have received an abstract of the official return, giving the totals, under each branch of occupation, as regards the aggregate population of "England and Wales, and the Islands in the British Seas." We present these official results in the same form as in our previous articles on this subject:—

| | Persons. |
|---|-------------------|
| Farmers, graziers, and yeomen | 252,413 |
| Agricultural labourers | 980,135 |
| Total in agricultural occupations .. | 1,232,548 |
| Trades and occupations not agricultural .. | 4,649,998 |
| Persons of independent means | 453,149 |
| Almspeople, pensioners, paupers, and beggars .. | 147,887 |
| Other persons not described | 68,020 |
| Residue of population: women and children .. | 9,459,979 |
| Total population | 16,031,781 |

We have neither time nor space at present to dwell upon all the remarkable points suggested by this official return. The principal fact to which we are desirous of directing attention, however, is worthy of all consideration as another "great fact," which we recommend to the consideration of Colonel Plunbe Tempest, Mr. Wm. Entwistle, *et id genus omne*. Out of a population of rather more than sixteen millions—being the whole population of the southern division of Great Britain and its islands—the persons engaged in agricultural occupations, whether as farmers, graziers, or yeomen, or as agricultural labourers, very little exceed 1,200,000, or only *one-thirtieth* of the whole population; while those engaged in trade, manufactures, &c., not agricultural, amount to more than 4,600,000, or about *four-thirtieths* of the whole population! To state the relative proportions of the two great classes of the employed population with more arithmetical accuracy, we may say that the persons engaged in agricultural occupations form only 7.56 per cent. of the entire population of England and Wales and the islands; while the persons engaged in trade and manufactures amount to not less than 29.25 per cent. of the whole population; about four times the number of the agriculturists! We recommend these "facts and figures" to the investigation, analysis, and (if possible) the refutation, of the monopolists' scribes, and the councils and committees of the surviving anti-league societies.

The centesimal proportions of each of the two great classes of the employed population, in these several parts of the kingdom, stand thus:—

| | Agriculturists per cent. | Trades & Manfrs. per cent. |
|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| England | 7.4 | 29.56 |
| Wales | 11.18 | 24.32 |
| Islands | 6.6 | 26.9 |
| Totals | 7.55 | 29.25 |

—*Manchester Guardian*.

FREE TRADE IN CORN, A FARMERS' QUESTION.

It must be admitted that the farmers, as a body, are still in love with the Corn Laws; and until they are out of love with them there will be a difficulty of their being repealed. Convince the farmers that these laws are no benefit to them; demonstrate to them that a prohibitory duty on imported corn would not put a farthing in their pockets; prove to them that the working agriculturists as a class would reap more benefit from a free trade in corn than any other working class in the community; and then the League's occupation is gone.

We are persuaded that these three propositions are capable of demonstration, and shall give our reasons.

There is a competition for farms all over Great Britain and Ireland. In the nature of things, this competition will every day become fiercer. Our soil does not increase, but our agricultural population does. From these causes the competition for farms flows. The competition for farms tends to raise the rent of land; and this again prevents the profits of the farmer from rising.

Now, in such a state of things, what benefit can farmers possibly reap from the Corn Laws? Grant that these laws raise the price of agricultural produce; but it does not follow, that the augmented price goes into the pocket of the farmer. The Corn Laws, by raising the price of agricultural produce, enable the farmer to pay a higher rent to the landlord. But here the matter ends.

Suppose that instead of the present sliding scale we had a prohibitory duty, as in the "good old times." Suppose that by the operation of this duty wheat, instead of selling at 56s., were to sell at 80s. a quarter. Would this be a benefit to the farmer? Would not his rent be raised just in proportion to the increased price of agricultural produce? The competition for farms would settle this point; and the tenant-at-will tenure of farms would enable landlords to take a speedy advantage of the improvement in prices.

From which our two first propositions clearly follow, viz., that the present sliding scale does not put a farthing in the pocket of the farmer; and that, so far as he is concerned, a prohibitory duty on foreign corn would be equally valueless.

But we have said that the working agriculturists as a class would reap more benefit from a free trade in corn than any other working class in the country. This is a bold proposition; but our proof is at hand.

Farmers will admit that there is a competition for farms. They know this to their cost. They cannot expect that, so long as this competition lasts, the rent of land will fall. Of course it is clearly their interest that this competition should be abated. But how is it to be abated while the agricultural population is rapidly on the increase on a limited soil? A farmer has two or three sons, grown up, we shall suppose, to his estate. How is he to find farms for them? The neighbouring farmers generally have the same number of sons. What is to be done for farms for them all? In this case, as in others, the weaker go to the wall. The richer farmer, desirous of having his sons "settled in life," makes an offer of a higher rent for the farm of a neighbour. The landlord is but a man, and he does not resist the temptation. Of

course, an old farmer and his family are turned adrift upon the world; and if not absolutely reduced to poverty, they make a desperate effort to procure another farm, by offering a rackrent. Possibly they are successful; but it is at the expense of a brother farmer, and with the prospect of poverty or bankruptcy, in consequence of the high rent they have promised to pay.

We appeal to the experience of farmers for confirmation of these remarks. Let them say whether we have overstated or overcoloured. But, independently altogether of one old farmer over-bidding another, what are farmers to do with their young fellows? Again we say, the soil does not increase, but the agricultural population does; and this is a natural source of competition for farms, which, under the present system, there is no getting quit of.

The victims of this competition might perceive that our restrictive system, including the Corn Laws, and all other monopolies, makes it still more intense. Our restrictive policy curbs and confines our manufacturing and mercantile system. Farmers, who cannot find farms for their sons, naturally endeavour to employ them in some branch or other of our manufactures. But our manufactures are already full—overcrowded—as much so as the field of agricultural industry. There is no room here for the surplus agricultural population. Of course, after searching in vain for employment and subsistence in our marts of manufacturing industry, they are forced to return to their agricultural fields, there to compete with farmers and farm-labourers—in the one case to raise the rents of farms, in the other to beat down the price of agricultural labour.

Now, let the farmers ask themselves the question,—What effect has the Corn Law upon such a state of things? Does it not limit the field of our manufacturing industry?—and by limiting this field, does it not render the competition for farms and for agricultural labour more intense? The field of agricultural industry is naturally limited; not so the field of manufactures and commerce. This field is capable of indefinite extension; and either in this field, or in foreign emigration, our rapidly-increasing population must find elbow-room. Repeal the Corn Law; abolish all other monopolies upon our commerce; open up a field of profitable enterprise and employment in our towns and villages; and the intense competition for farms and for agricultural labour will immediately be abated. Thus, and by no other means, will our farmers be relieved from their natural enemy, competition, and will be able to procure farms at less than rackrents.—*Bradford Observer*.

THE FUNDS.

| | Sat. June 15 | Mon. June 17 | Tues. June 18 | Wed. June 19 | Thurs. June 20 | Fri. June 21 |
|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| Bank Stock | 194 | 194 | 194 | 199 | 197 | 194 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. .. | 94 | 94 | 94 | 92 | 94 | — |
| 5 per Ct. Con. Ann. .. | 101 | 101 | 101 | 102 | 101 | 101 |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. .. | 101 | 101 | 101 | 102 | 101 | 101 |
| Long An. Ex. 1880 .. | — | 12 7-16 | 12 7-16 | 12 7-16 | 12 7-16 | — |
| Cons. for Opp. | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 |
| Exc. Bills, pm. | 74 0 | 74 0 | 74 0 | 73 0 | 73 0 | 74 0 |
| Ind. Bds. and 1000 .. | — | — | 90 | 93 | 93 | — |
| Ind. Stk. for Opp. .. | — | — | — | 28 | — | — |
| Belgian | 101 | — | 101 | 101 | 101 | — |
| Brazilian | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | — |
| Chilian | — | — | 103 5 | 103 5 | 103 5 | — |
| Columbian Venex. .. | 12 | — | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Danish | 88 9 | — | 88 9 | 88 9 | 88 9 | — |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. .. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Dutch 2 1/2 per Cent. .. | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 | 61 1/2 |
| Mexican, 1837 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | — |
| Portuguese, conv. .. | — | 46 7 | — | 47 | 46 7 | — |
| Buenos Ayres | 36 | 36 | 35 7 | 35 7 | 35 7 | — |
| Spanish 5 per Cent. .. | 24 1/2 | 24 1/2 | 24 1/2 | 24 1/2 | 24 1/2 | 24 1/2 |
| New do. 3 per Cent. .. | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 | 34 1/2 |
| Peruvian | 27 | — | — | 27 8 | 27 | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK LANE, Monday, June 17.—Our market was well supplied with English Wheat during last week, and there was a fair quantity fresh up from the near counties to this morning's market; the best samples were taken off at about the prices of this day week, but the trade was heavy, and some of the inferior samples remained on hand at the close of the day. There was a moderate demand for Free Foreign at last week's rates. We are now quite dependent on our foreign supplies of Barley, and prices are 1s. higher than this day week. There were rather more English Beans offering, but the quantity was still so small that last Monday's prices were obtained. A few parcels of Egyptian in bond were held at 24s. to 25s., which prices were rather higher than buyers were willing to give. The very small quantities of English Peas on sale brought 1s. more. We were well supplied with Irish Oats; fully as high prices, and in some instances a little advance was obtained, but the trade was not quite so brisk as on this day week.

S. H. LUCAS and Son.

BRITISH.

| | Per Imperial Quarter. |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Wheat Essex, Kent, & Suffolk .. | Red 55 to 60 White 58 to 64 |
| Lincolnshire & Yorkshire .. | 54 — 58 — 57 — 60 |
| Scotch | 52 — 56 — 54 — 60 |
| Irish | 50 — 52 — 52 — 55 |
| Oats, Lancashire & Yorkshire .. | Feed 22 — 24 Potatoes 21 — 23 |
| Ditto | Short 22 — 24 Potatoes 21 — 23 |
| Scotch | Feed 21 — 26 Potatoes 22 — 29 |
| Lancashire | 21 — 22 Short 22 — 24 |
| Cork | 20 — 21 — 21 — 22 |
| Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black .. | 21 — 22 |
| Siligo | 21 — 22 |
| Galway | 20 — 21 |
| Barley, Grinding | 28 to 30 Distilling 31 — 32 |
| Malt | 32 — 34 Irish 26 — 30 |
| Beans, Maragan | 52 — 54 Tick 23 — 35 |
| Harrow | 37 — 39 Small 40 — 40 |
| Old Tick | 40 — 40 |
| Peas, White | 31 to 34 Boilers 35 — 36 |
| Maple and Grey | 30 — 34 |
| Flour, Best Town-made | per sack of 280 lbs. 45 — 48 |
| Norfolk and Suffolk | 40 — 42 |

FOREIGN.

| | Per Imperial Quarter. |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Wheat, Danzig, high mixed | 55 to 63 42 to 46 |
| Rostock | 51 — 63 42 — 45 |
| Stettin | 48 — 56 40 — 43 |
| Hamburg | 48 — 56 38 — 42 |
| Odesa Polish | 48 — 53 36 — 38 |
| Barletta | 48 — 54 32 — 38 |
| Russian | 48 — 52 — — |
| Ditto | 45 — 50 — — |
| Spanish | 49 — 55 — — |
| Ditto | 52 — 56 — — |
| Barley, Grinding | 26 — 29 — — |
| Distilling | 30 — 32 — — |
| Oats, Archangel | 21 — 22 15 — 16 |
| Swedish | 22 — 23 16 — 17 |
| Dutch Potatoes | 19 — 20 — — |

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| Beans, Egyptian | 32 — 33 22 — 24 |
| Peas, White | 30 — 31 — — |
| Ditto Boilers | 32 — 34 — — |
| Flour, Canada | per barrel of 106 lbs 29 — 31 |
| United States | 30 — 32 22 — 24 |
| Danzig | 28 — 30 — — |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from June 10 to June 15, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 9951 | 623 | 3053 | 1693 | 298 |
| Scotch | 190 | 211 | 2731 | — | — |
| Irish | — | — | 21783 | — | — |
| Foreign | 1202 | 5975 | 4490 | — | 884 |

Flour, 7439 sacks, — bars.

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending June 11, 1844.

| | Qrs. | Price. | Qrs. | Price. |
|--------------|-------|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| Wheat | 5930 | 56s. 9d. | Rye | 6 30s. 0d. |
| Barley | 200 | 35s. 0d. | Beans | 1475 35s. 9d. |
| Oats | 22710 | 22s. 10d. | Peas | 533 38s. 8d. |

FRIDAY, June 21.—The supplies of English Wheat are moderate; upwards of 12,000 qrs. have arrived from abroad during the week. The trade for all descriptions remains in exactly the same state as on Monday. Barley, of which the supplies are very moderate, is taken off readily at Monday's rates. We have fair supplies of Irish Oats, and larger arrivals of Scotch than we have had for some time. The trade in all descriptions is dull; and Scotch cannot be disposed of without accepting a decline of 6d. from Monday. Beans and Peas are fully as dear. The duty on Beans fell to 8s. 6d. yesterday. Rain has fallen in most places round London, but by no means sufficient even for the present, unless it is followed up, of which there is not the least appearance.

S. H. LUCAS and Son.

Account of Corn, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 17th of June to the 21st of June, both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 8910 | — | 12930 |
| Barley | 1680 | 100 | 6610 |
| Oats | 7110 | 10090 | 2720 |

Flour, 5430 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT of the NUMBER of QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE of CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED JUNE 15, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | BARLEY. | OATS. | BEANS. |
|-----------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| | Qrs. Aver. sold. price | Qrs. Aver. sold. price | Qrs. Aver. sold. price | Qrs. Aver. sold. price |
| Weekly | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. |
| Averages | 103354 55 9 | 7550 31 10 | 41224 22 6 | 8706 36 11 |
| Aggregate | 55 7 | 31 2 | 21 5 | 34 7 |
| Duty | 17 0 | 7 0 | 6 0 | 8 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JUNE 14.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

S. WILCOCKSON, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, linendraper. BANKRUPT.

D. MACFARLANE, Berners-street, Oxford-street, wine merchant. [Crouch, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane.

A. THOMPSON, Southampton, grocer. [Newbon and Evans, Wardrobe-place, Doctors'-commons.

H. WOOD, Basinghall-street, City, woollen factor. [Dickson and Overbury, Frederick's-place, Old Jewry; Hardwick and Davidson, Weavers'-hall.

R. MUSGROVE, Birmingham, woollen draper. [Hardwick and Guest, Weavers'-hall, Basinghall-street.

T. JOHNSON, sen., W. JOHNSON, and C. MANN, Romford, Essex, bankers. [Stevens and Co., Queen-street, Cheap-side.

J. TAYLOR, Liverpool, commission merchant. [Gregory and Co., Bedford-row, Rogers and Radcliff, Liverpool.

DIVIDENDS.

July 5. C. Clack, Beech-street, Barbican, City, haberdasher.—July 5. J. C. Johnson, Lawrence Pountney-hill, Cannon-street, City, merchant.—July 9. J. Evans, J. Jones, and W. Davies, Aberystwith, Cardiganshire, bankers.—July 5. J. Freeman, Ipswich, Suffolk, woollen draper.—July 5. C. Savill, Romford, Essex, grocer.—July 5. G. McDonell, Mincing-lane, City, wine broker.—July 5. T. Harris, John-street, America-square, City, merchant.—July 5. T. E. Lubbock, Butcherhall-lane, Newgate-street, City, licensed victualler.—July 5. J. Swallow and Co., Halifax, Yorkshire, corn millers.—July 3. J. Bressley, Leeds, Yorkshire, victualler.—July 9. R. W. Appleton, Liverpool, merchant.—July 9. S. Rogers, Dale-hall, near Burslem, Staffordshire, earthenware manufacturer.—July 9. T. Worthington, Burbage, Leicestershire, hosier.—July 12. J. Clarke and Co., Leicester, bankers.—July 6. B. Hill, Birmingham, stationer.—July 19. T. Westren, Brighthelm, Devonshire, maltster.—July 5. R. Hodgson, Sunderland, Durham, tea dealer.

CERTIFICATES.

July 5. J. Battye, Kingsland, Middlesex, linendraper.—July 5. J. King, jun., Bulge-row, City, wholesale tea dealer.—July 5. W. W. Mansell, Alfred-street, Bedford-square, bill broker.—July 6. J. Gibbins, High-street, Marylebone, carpenter.—July 6. E. Holmes, King-street, Cheapside, City, warehouseman.

SCOTCH SEQUESTERATIONS.

R. BOWER, Meathie, near Forfar, farmer.—A. MERCER, merchant.

TUESDAY, JUNE 18.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

F. H. WARD, Arbour-terrace, Commercial-road, tallow chandler. BANKRUPT.

J. HOLLAND, Buxted, Sussex, draper. [Lofty and Potter, King-street, Cheapside.

T. LEAVER, Great Coxwell, Berkshire, baker. [Clarke and Co., Lincoln's inn-fields; Haines, Faringdon, Berks.

W. E. DRAY, Heathfield, Sussex, grocer. [Lofty and Potter, King-street, Cheapside.

H. and J. PEACOCK, Stockton-upon-Tees, Durham, grocers. [Harie, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Chisholme and Co., Lincoln's inn-fields.

DIVIDENDS.

July 9. J. Battye, Courtney-terrace, Kingsland, linendraper.—July 5. R. Stevens, New-cut, Lambeth, dealer in china.—July 9. R. Mason and W. R. Scott, Leeds, booksellers.—July 11. W. Bromley, Gray's-inn-square, Gray's-inn, scrivener.—July 11. J. Andrews, Threadneedle-street, City, stock broker.—July 11. T. Andrew, Little Earl-street, Seven-dials, victualler.—July 11. J. Carruthers, Mitchells, Kent, distiller.—July 12. J. Bressley, Leeds, victualler.—July 12. J. Gibson, Kilton, Lincolnshire, grocer.—July 12. T. Bradley and W. Bradley, Leeds, ironmongers.—July 12. J. Barraclough, Bradford, Yorkshire, timber merchant.—Aug. 7. R. H. Walsh, Aldermanbury, City, warehouseman.—July 9. J. Burgess, Manchester, bookseller.—July 2. E. Hilton and N. Walsh, Over Darwen, Lancashire, paper makers.—July 10. J. Hellewell, Salford, Lancashire, dyer.

CERTIFICATES.

July 9. F. W. Palmer, Mincing-lane, City, colonial broker.—July 9. J. J. Syer, Bridge-street, Blackfriars, undertaker.—July 9. A. Rabbett and S. Fuller, Gutter-lane, Cheapside, warehousemen.

SCOTCH SEQUESTERATIONS.

J. BRYSON, Drumcrosshall, Linlithgow, grazier.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 40.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 29, 1844.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND, £100,000.

All subscribers of £1 and upwards to the ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUND FUND, will be entitled to, and receive a copy, weekly, of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the Offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND, are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country, the importance of transmitting their copies of the LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

REGISTER, REGISTER, REGISTER!

The Free-Traders qualified to vote must everywhere prepare to enrol themselves and their friends on the register for the NEXT year.

To entitle a voter to be registered, he must have occupied during the twelve months previous to the 31st of July, premises of the value of £10 a year. He must have been rated for twelve months to the relief of the poor.

He must have paid, on or before the 20th of July, all poor-rates and assessed taxes due to the 6th of April preceding.

Further information and directions will be furnished on application, personally or by letter, to the Local Registration Societies; to Mr. Sidney Smith, 68, Cheapside, London; or to Mr. Hickin, League Offices, Newall's Buildings, Manchester.

For the convenience of individuals whose avocations render it difficult for them to call at the Registration Office, 68, Cheapside, during business hours, arrangements have been made by which attendance will be given every evening at that office until eight o'clock, to fill up and serve claims, and to supply every information relative to Parliamentary registration for counties, cities, and boroughs.

THE LATE DEBATE.

The number of members of the House of Commons who voted with Mr. Villiers on Wednesday night, was 124; being one less than last year. In the majority, 328 voted, being fifty-three less than last year. An analysis of the division-lists will throw some light upon the question, how far the memorials of the constituencies have operated towards this reduction, by one-fifth, of the Parliamentary strength of Monopoly. Fifty votes is no small number to have neutralized in twelve months. And this result has been produced under circumstances affording strong inducement to the Protectionists for the most impressive demonstration of their power which it was possible for them to make. It was their part, if they could, to lay the question to rest by an overwhelming majority. They should have shown, and would, had the means been within their reach, that the League was farther than ever from its object. They have only exhibited its advance—neutrality is half conversion: the next step will become comparatively easy. We must make allowances for them, and look for their complete accession next year; another detachment then taking up the position which they now occupy of neutrals and absentees. Two such operations will transfer the majority to the Free-Trade side; without making any allowance for other influences than those now at present operating. Nor is this all. Twenty-nine friends of our cause who voted last year were absent on the late occasion. As the motion last year went the full length of total repeal, and there have been no symptoms of desertion, we reckon these votes as still constituting a portion of our Parliamentary strength; and, if we combine with these the eleven members who are known to have paired, it gives our strength in the House at 164. It must also be considered that 28 members

voted with us now, though they did not in 1843. They are an addition not less real for the total on the division being kept down by about an equal number of absentees. Amongst these also it may happen that an observant eye will find traces of the good result of memorializing by the constituencies. Perhaps we may thank the electoral remonstrants for at least a moiety. Here is encouragement to work on.

Not that our continued protest against taxation upon food requires such encouragement. Testimony against injustice is ever to be borne, whatever the aspect of events. We are not leagued on policy, but for principle. Had there been a majority of 400 against us, instead of 200; or had the majority increased by 50 instead of being diminished by 50; we should still not "bate one jot of heart or hope," but gird ourselves afresh for the conflict which now can never end but in the destruction of a vicious and miserable system.

In the debate, Sir Robert Peel diligently paid court to his semi-alienated friends. He was more sweet than sugar upon them. He stood up like Pecksniff baring his bosom for Martin's blow, in defence of old Chuzzlewit. "I, Sir, defend protection to agriculture!" He took the "burdens of the land" on the shoulders of his own logic; when Mr. Bright made them press rather heavily. It was a grand performance; and, though, as he said, he had had his benefit previously, yet like a prudent player, he was calculating on making a house for his next benefit. Yet there were passages in his speech that threw a strange and dreary colour upon the affected lightness with which he treated the discussion.

Sir Robert Peel speaks of "privations," as, in his fear "inseparable from the artificial state of society in a great manufacturing country." But why is a manufacturing country in an "artificial state?" There is no inherent tendency in enterprise and industry to produce either artificiality or privation? It is the interference with them that does both. To be a manufacturing country is evidently the natural position and destiny of England. Providence has marked it out for that purpose, both by its natural products and the character of its inhabitants: return towards the natural state, and how largely must the privations be abated. Legislation keeps up a struggle to make the country more agricultural than it would be, left to itself. It makes the evils, affectedly lamented; and then treats them as inevitable. For Sir Robert Peel has nothing to suggest: he simply objects. The victims of privation are left in hopelessness. The people must suffer, for legislation is artificial. That is the moral.

Sir Robert's colleague, Mr. Gladstone, "granted that high price of bread was a great public misfortune." The argument in which he introduces this concession supposes it to apply to the agricultural labourer, as well as the manufacturing. He contends that distress cannot cause incendiarism, for that bread is cheaper now than it was in 1839, 1840, 1841, when there were no fires. What, then, we demand, becomes of the argument of himself and his colleague, and the whole body of Protectionists, that Corn Laws, whose essential object is artificial enhancement of price, are a benefit to the farm-labourer? How will Mr. Gladstone get out of this dilemma? How will he deny that, so far as Corn Laws operate at all, they are a "public misfortune?" That public misfortune, be it remembered, inflicted by the Legislature for the private gain of a class, and aggravating the artificiality of society from which Sir Robert Peel deems privations inseparable.

For the first time, the subject of revenue has been pressed into the service of the Corn Laws. The average duty paid on foreign corn has, it appears, been regularly and rapidly rising from the passing of the present law. Before that, it had only averaged 5s. 3d. per quarter. In 1842, it was 8s. 9d.; in 1843, it was 14s.; and this year 160,000 quarters of wheat have been entered for home consumption at 17s. per quarter. All this falls doubly, at least, upon the consumer. The practical operation is that of a closer partnership than has hitherto existed between Government and Monopoly. "The devil and the king divide the prize." They share in the profits of the "privations" and "great public misfortune" which they create. How long is this to last? How long is every appeal to be dismissed with the ostentatiously exhibited weariness of listening to a twice-told tale?

In addition to those advocates of our cause on whose exertions we ever rely, and who so ably fulfilled every expectation, the service best contributed, in the debate, was from Lord Howick. He put the question in its plainest light. He showed how thoroughly the Corn Laws are a rent-job. He asserted man's right to the fruits of his labour. He

brought home the charge upon the landowners, which, in other mouths, is treated as a calumny. "If the labourer at Sheffield could exchange the produce of his year's labour for 30 quarters of foreign corn, and they prohibited him from having any but English, of which he could only procure 20 quarters, he would ask whether they were not distinctly robbing that man of one-third of his labour?" Certainly they are; and they declare they will continue to do so, as long as they can.

How long that will be, must depend on the constituencies. It is their business to make themselves represented. Is Liverpool content to throw its entire weight into the scale of Monopoly? Has Bristol only a "half-faced fellowship" for Free-Trade? Bolton, Brighton, and Norwich;—are they all perfectly satisfied to be of the Janus genus? Where were the two Portsmouth members? Where Mr. Beckett of Leeds? And have we gained a fair stand-up, single-handed fight in London, to be outvoted by two to one, to say nothing of the absentee, who might have trimmed the balance? These and similar cases are for the electors to rectify with those anticipatory warnings by which "coming events cast their shadows before." The commercial constituencies must first do themselves justice. They cannot set about it too soon, or too vigorously. Memorializing has proved to be no bad thing; a better thing is—Registration.

THE LEAGUE, AND THE DIVISIONS ON THE SUGAR QUESTION.

The recent divisions on the sugar question have given rise to much discussion, not only in the public journals, but in private society; and while some have confined themselves to an examination of the principles involved, others have preferred to adopt as a test the supposed interests of party, the indulgence of passion, or the gratification of prejudice. We have before stated that Free-Traders, as such, are bound to regard nothing but the principles involved in the question; the conventional rules of party, and the very loose morality which they inculcate, have ever proved the shield of corruption and abuse in England; there has been Whig monopoly as well as Tory monopoly, and both have been found equally adverse to national justice and national prosperity. The question really in issue was, whether the proposal of Sir Robert Peel or that of Mr. Miles made the nearer practical approximation to the sound principles of Free Trade; and that question was solved by Mr. Miles himself, who proposed his amendment on the express ground that the Ministerial measure did not accord a sufficient amount of protection to the West India monopoly. Stripped of all technical artifices, his proposal was designed to increase the amount of protection given to colonial sugars; and we cannot comprehend how such a proposal could be consistently supported by those who denounce all protection as unjust, and all monopoly as injurious.

But we are told that, according to the rules of party-morality, this general principle should have been set aside for a purpose of temporary expediency, and that Mr. Miles should have been supported in order to place the Ministry in a minority, and force Sir Robert Peel to a resignation; it being inferred that the Free-Traders might possibly have gained some unexplained advantage in the future scramble for office. Now, we feel convinced that even on this low ground of expediency, setting aside all considerations of principle, the conduct of those Free-Traders who supported Sir Robert Peel was not only the most just, but the most prudent course that could be adopted under the circumstances. It is obvious that a majority against Sir Robert Peel could only be obtained by a coalition of parties; let us then inquire with whom the Free-Traders would have to coalesce? It is only necessary to glance at the list of Mr. Miles's supporters, and we shall find that it includes the names of the most bigoted and rancorous monopolists in the empire, the desperate adherents to the old system of corn and sugar ascendancy, such as it existed in the most palmy days of the rotten boroughs,—men who have forgotten nothing and learned nothing, for whom the stream of time has flowed in vain,—whose professed principles are the revival of ancient abuse and the restoration of corrupt influence. What principle do Free-Traders hold in common with such men? None whatever. Such a union would, therefore, have been an unprincipled coalition, and English history has been written in vain if it has not taught the lesson that every unprincipled coalition has been fraught with serious injury to the nation. This has ever been the besetting sin of the Whigs, and this has been the reason why Whigs

statesmen have rarely been able to win public confidence in the honesty or consistency of their policy. Mr. Fox's memorable coalition with Lord North, whom he had so often described as something worse than an incarnate demon, threw back the cause of Reform in England for more than half a century, and enabled the oligarchy to plunge England into a war with France, the consequences of which will be felt for many succeeding generations. In the debate on the Treaty of Commerce with France, February 12th, 1787, we find Mr. Fox deliberately advocating the exclusion of French produce from English markets, on the ground that the French were our "natural enemies," and that, consequently, any close commercial or political connexion between the two countries should be avoided. This temporary adoption of the cry of prejudice rendered all Mr. Fox's subsequent opposition to the French war utterly unavailing; and the temporary adoption of the cry for protection by the Whig leaders in the late debate would have compelled them to take an attitude hostile to Free Trade, had they returned to office. Lord John Russell's late coalition with Lord Ashley, whose measures he had denounced with supercilious contempt while he held the seals of office, was another example of the danger of paltering with principle for real or imaginary party gain; and should he ever return to power he will find that he has prepared for himself a series of entanglements from which he cannot escape without loss of character. To go no farther than the condition of the present Cabinet: every man sees that the partial encouragement given to such discreditable exhibitions as Lord Sandon's wooden bible, and the figure of a woman in scarlet robes, paraded through London, together with the tacit acquiescence in the cry of "No Popery," the calumnies against the Irish priesthood, the appeals to national prejudice against the Irish people, and the more than implied acquiescence in the monopolist clamours against the Whig measures of 1841, have been the source of the greatest difficulties which Sir Robert Peel has had to encounter in his present administration. It is notoriously a proverb, that the Peel Opposition is beating the Peel Ministry. With such examples before them, of the evils that arise from unprincipled coalitions, the Free-Traders would have shown themselves incapable of profiting by the lessons of history or experience had they entered into union with the bigots of monopoly merely to produce the confusion of a Ministerial crisis.

The leaders of the Whigs have indeed on two recent occasions consorted with the extreme bigots of the opposite side for the purpose of obtaining a triumph over Ministers; but have they by so doing advanced their moral influence in the country? On the contrary, they placed themselves in a position where victory would have been their ruin and defeat their only means of salvation. Had they broken up the Government on Lord Ashley's motion they must have gone to the country pledged to impose restrictions on industry; had they succeeded on Mr. Miles's motion they would have appeared before the constituencies equally pledged to maintain restrictions on commerce. It is said that the League on the late occasion saved Sir Robert Peel's Ministry from dissolution; but with greater truth it may be averred that the Free-Traders who supported Sir Robert Peel saved the rest of the Liberal party from coming before the country with the millstone of West India monopoly round their necks, and with their votes for increased protection to the sugar oligarchy labelled on their foreheads. But with the consequences of these votes to the Whig party or any other party the Free-Traders have nothing to do; they have asserted their principles, as they have declared that they would do, irrespective of party consideration; they have paltered with no pledge, they have parleyed with no monopoly, they have abandoned no profession, they have adhered to plain simple truth, refusing all compromise with falsehood. When the day of reckoning comes, as come it assuredly will, they have no debts of dishonour to pay by conceding national interests, either in whole or in part, as a price for the support of faction.

It must be confessed that the amendment was so artfully worded by Mr. Miles, or more probably by some hidden juggler behind the curtain, that it was well calculated to ensnare the unwary; and Mr. Cobden has confessed that, at the first blush, he was inclined to give it his support. We must, therefore, not be understood as in the slightest degree blaming any of those staunch Free-Traders who were induced to give their votes to Mr. Miles. We believe that they misapprehended the real question at issue, and we know that the question was designedly put in the form most likely to mislead. The difference between them and the Free-Traders that supported Sir Robert Peel was not respecting any principle, but respecting the form in which a principle was stated. They have taken this view of the matter, and, therefore, we have nothing at issue between us. Our argument is directed, not against them, but against those persons who condemn the votes given by our friends on mere party grounds, and who consequently find it convenient to omit all consideration of the

principles involved. To those who object on the score of principle, we have replied by arguments deduced from principle; and to those who censure on the ground of party, we are now making our reply on their own chosen basis of party expediency.

The condition of Ireland has been set forth as a reason why the mere ejection of the Ministry ought to have been the paramount consideration in giving votes on the sugar question. This is the argument of passion, which, however honest, is not always very reasonable. It is possible that a new Ministry might have put an end to the equally absurd and mischievous farce of the state trials, but it is also possible that Ireland may not have been a gainer by any transfer of Ministerial power. Mr. O'Connell's first prosecution was a Whig measure, and neither Ireland nor England has forgotten the Coercion Act. In the debate on Mr. Ward's motion, the mere Whigs showed little inclination to deal wisely and liberally with the chief grievances of Ireland; and the majority on that occasion was decisive as to the fate of remedial measures for Irish grievances in the present Parliament. But, without dwelling on these considerations, we should rather at once state that there is no earthly connexion between the imprisonment of Mr. O'Connell and the question of the sugar duties. To us it appears that the most probable result of a Ministerial crisis would have been the restoration of Sir Robert Peel to office with greater power than he possessed before; and that, in the interval of confusion, the appeal to the House of Lords on the writ of error, to which we look with some confidence, would have been delayed, or perhaps adjourned to another session.

Some papers, but more especially the *Sunday Times*, have measured the conduct of the Free-Traders by the standard of mere vulgar prejudice. According to such writers, the mere fact of supporting Sir Robert Peel, even when he was right, justifies the application of the whole vocabulary of coarse vituperation to those who adhere to sound principle wherever they find it. Their conduct reminds us of the story of two aldermen of Cork, in the days of the ascendancy: at a corporation dinner, when the wine had circulated for some time, one said to the other, "Well, I hate those Papists, Bob, but I cannot tell why;" to which his worthy compeer replied, "I hate them too, Ned, and for the very same reason." Now, it is quite true that Free-Traders have no particular reason for loving Sir Robert Peel; we need not refer to circumstances still fresh in the public memory, and not likely to fall soon into oblivion, for the purpose of proving that the leaders of the Free-Trade party can have no feelings of personal favour towards Sir Robert Peel,—his odious attempt to fix an odious imputation on one of the most prominent of the Free-Traders cannot easily be forgotten,—and still less reason have they for any political attachment to a Minister the whole course of whose tortuous policy is in direct opposition to the principles which he recognises, and the faith which he maintains. No man can doubt that, if personal feelings were allowed to have sway, that the Free-Traders would far more readily join with those leaders who sit on their own side, and with whom on many important questions they have sentiments in common, than lend their aid to a monopolist Minister. Were Lord John Russell in office, and assailed like Sir Robert Peel by a bigoted section of his adherents for a concession to the principles of Free Trade, the League would have given him unhesitating support; but they cannot follow when he chooses to ally himself with the band of ultra-monopolists.

It is fair, also, to take into consideration the circumstances which placed the existence of the Peel Administration in jeopardy. Had the Premier left the West India monopoly intact in its grossness and oppression, he would have found no revolt in the rear of his camp, no insurrection among his followers, no monopolists ready to join the Whigs, or any others in resistance to his measures. His crime was his approximation to honesty, and the Free-Traders are blamed for not punishing his approach to sound principle. If such reasoning be correct, the leaders of the Whigs deserve infinitely more blame for not having joined Sir Robert Inglis and his party in 1829, and broken up the Peel Ministry of that day on the question of Catholic emancipation. All the world knows that they claimed no small credit to themselves for not having done so; but then they had not recently tasted the sweets of office, which are found to be an excellent anodyne for inconvenient scruples. We do not attack any section of the Liberal party for having consorted with Miles and monopoly, because, as we have already said, the amendment was designedly so framed as to admit of a wide latitude of interpretation, and thus hide the real point in issue; for the same reason we are not disposed to complain of those who, from obvious misapprehension, have taken the trouble of lecturing us on the score of principle; with such persons a very brief explanation will be sufficient to set us right. But we are now dealing with those who censure us because, to serve the doubtful expediency of party, we refused a coalition with that section of the House of Commons most bigoted to

monopoly, most interested in the maintenance of unjust restrictions, and most perverse in the perpetuation of every abuse; but we must say that their anger against those who refused to compromise themselves and their principles by such a junction is exceedingly like the indignation of the fox who lost his tail, and then scolded his brethren for refusing to part with such an appendage.

The cause of Free Trade has gained much during the debate; its principles have not only been recognised but defended by the main body of the Ministerial phalanx; the extreme monopolists have found themselves utterly powerless save when aided by the party to which they have been most strongly opposed. With the morality which gave or accepted such aid we have nothing to do; our code of ethics is not framed for the service of political party; our rules of judgment are the invariable standards of truth and falsehood, which cannot be varied for any purposes of temporary expediency. But while we pronounce no censure on others, we rejoice that our friends have fulfilled the pledge which they gave to the public, that they would ever support principle irrespective of party; and our approbation of their conduct is not a little increased by the circumstances of difficulty under which they were called upon to fulfil the pledge.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION 1844.

Twentieth Week, ending Saturday, June 29.

Mr. VILLIERS brought on, this week, his annual motion for the total and immediate REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS. It was commenced on Tuesday, and terminated on Wednesday; the debate, on each night, extending considerably into each morning. There were also peculiar circumstances attending the discussion, which marks it out from all other previous debates on the Corn Law, and by which the division has been rendered a very signal and instructive indication of the progress of public opinion. It is important to note these peculiarities, in order that the true character of the debate and the division may be clearly seen.

First, the motion of Mr. VILLIERS was, in itself, a very rigid Test. Hitherto the advocates of a Fixed Duty have had some pretext for supporting Mr. Villiers. His motion has generally been, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee, in order to consider the propriety of repealing the existing Corn Law. Now, Fixed-Duty men could support such a proposition. Their argument was, usually, Let us go into Committee; we condemn the Sliding Scale; and having voted its abrogation, we can see what we can substitute in its place. But no pretext of this kind was afforded by the proposition made during the past week. Mr. Villiers proposed certain resolutions affirming certain facts; and no man could consistently vote for them who was not an enemy, on principle, to all Protection, and prepared to carry the immediate as well as the total repeal of the Corn Laws. To be sure, two or three members declared their intention of voting for the motion of Mr. Villiers, because, though friendly to a Fixed Duty, they preferred Total Repeal to the maintenance of the existing law. Even Lord HOWICK, clear, emphatic, and decided as he always is on the great principles of FREE TRADE, avowed this motive. His speech on Tuesday night evinced grasp of the subject, appreciation of its importance, and boldness in application; yet he indicated in it, as he has done before, that he was friendly to the imposition of a moderate Fixed Duty, and only supported the motion of Mr. Villiers as a far better alternative to that of supporting the sliding scale. With these exceptions, however, the division on the motion must be regarded as indicating purely, without the intervention of adventitious circumstances, the strength of the TOTAL-REPEAL party in the House of Commons. Sir Robert Peel admitted that the motion was an honest one; that it had been framed so as to exclude all chance or pretext for fishing for stray votes; and viewing it, therefore, as a rigid Test, it marks out those members of the House who support Free Trade on principle.

The Test itself would have repelled support from all who were not rigid Free-Traders; but there were other circumstances which had the effect of narrowing the circle of the supporters of the motion. We need not here revive the question of whether those members of the House who are connected with the Anti-Corn-Law League were right or wrong in their conduct on the sugar duties, with the exception of noticing that the extremest of those who censure them only impute error of judgment, but do not venture to impugn motives. But the Whig party were grievously offended; and their displeasure was marked, first, by Lord John Russell, on Tuesday night, speaking against the motion of Mr. Villiers; and, secondly, on Wednesday, by the absence of all the leading Whig members from that front Opposition bench which they usually occupy, and which continued conspicuously empty, until at a late hour it was filled up by members who are not considered as having a conventional right to sit there. Of this absence Sir Robert Peel took occasion to make use, in order to excite a laugh; and this was only one of the many evasions which characterised a speech in which the whole question was evaded, with the exception of the allegation that there were circumstances which determined him to maintain the existing law and the existing rate of protection.

With these explanatory remarks we shall proceed to describe the debate itself.

The motion was to the following purport:—

"Mr. Charles Villiers.—That this House do resolve itself into a Committee, for the purpose of considering the following Resolutions:—

"That it appears by a recent Census that the people of this Country are rapidly increasing in number.

"That it is in evidence before this House that a large proportion of her Majesty's subjects are insufficiently provided with the first necessities of life.

"That, nevertheless, a Corn Law is in force which restricts the supply of food, and thereby lessens its abundance.

"That any such restriction having for its object to impede the free purchase of an article upon which depends the subsistence of the community, is indefensible in principle, injurious in operation, and ought to be abolished.

"That it is therefore expedient that the Act 5 and 6 Vic., c. 14, shall be repealed forthwith."

In support of the motion, Mr. Villiers made a speech of no less than three hours and a half—a great effort, considering the delicate state of his health. Its points may be thus indicated:—

1. Continued discussion inspires Hope; the protection societies were but an exhibition that theirs was a losing, while that of the Anti-Corn-Law League was essentially a gaining cause; and public opinion will ultimately carry that which is based on Truth and Justice.

2. All the arguments adduced in support of the Corn Law had been sifted, and found wanting; the most plausible of them all, that of "independence of foreigners," had turned out the most foolish, inasmuch as returns showed our habitual dependence on foreigners for the bread we eat; and, while the Corn Law was unequivocally injurious to commerce, the interest of the farmer and the agricultural labourer in it had been shown to be an utter fallacy.

3. Not only were the farmers in continual distress under this Corn Law, but the agricultural labouring population were lower in the scale of civilization than almost any other class of human beings. On this fact, incendiary Fires shed an awful light.

4. The allegations of land being thrown out of cultivation, and labourers out of employment, were disproved by the minute calculations of such men as Earl Dufferin, who, combining science with practice, showed that land would pay rent, and therefore be cultivated, under any pressure from foreign competition. While they were talking about the danger of displacing agricultural labour, no less than 360,000 agricultural labourers had passed into and been absorbed in the manufacturing districts.

5. The people of this country were admitted to toil too long and to have too little to eat; they were better off with a good than with a bad harvest; yet there was no difference in principle whether food was rendered scarce by a bad harvest, or by limiting the supply from other countries.

6. A copious exhibition of STATISTICS, showed that abundance or scarcity in the supply of the essential food of the people had an intimate connexion between the increase or the diminution of

Pauperism Crime
Poor Rates Disease
Emigration

Deficient Nourishment .. Increase of Typhus Fever.

WAR PRICES AND RENT
being the parents of

Want, Disease, Crime, and Death.

7. The united cry of the more enlightened agriculturists was—IMPROVEMENT: yet, if there were truth in protection principles, Improvement ought to be as injurious as Importation. Nor, while Protection remained, would Improvement be so carried out as to develop all the resources of the soil, with security to the farmer, comfort to the labourer, and benefit to all, including even the mistaken landlord himself.

This index will enable the reader to appreciate the points of the following speech:—

Mr. VILLIERS rose and said:—Sir, the purpose of the motion of which I have given notice is once again to bring under the consideration of this House the claim, so just and important in itself, which is made on the part of the community at large, that the trade in the first necessary of life, now restricted by an act of this House, should, in future, be unfettered and set wholly free; and I can most truly say that, such is the importance which I attach to this claim, that if I could persuade myself that the manner with which it was presented to the House could in any way affect its success, that I would not again have become the instrument for bringing it forward. This, however, Sir, is notoriously not the case. I have upon two occasions brought the question before this Parliament, and have been supported by members with the greatest ability, who have left nothing unsaid that could be urged in its favour; and they have done so in vain. It may then perhaps be asked, upon what grounds it is that I now renew the appeal. Sir, I think I may take credit for not having adopted this course without consideration, and that I should not have hastily decided upon a course which was more likely to injure than advance the cause. Had those who are united with me in opinion on this subject remained silent upon it during this session, our opponents would not have been slow to infer that, either from their overwhelming influence or their persuasive eloquence, we had been induced to fly from the field, or that we were satisfied with the former decisions of this House. A notion certainly more foreign to the fact could not be imagined. But I think the public might have concurred in this view had we remained silent, considering the novel attitude which the country gentlemen have assumed on this question during the past year. Those gentlemen have lately deemed it expedient, for the purpose of maintaining this law and influencing opinion, to descend into the field of public agitation; and they have appealed to the same tribunal to which that body who, in self-defence, are now leagued together to oppose the Corn Law have found it necessary to appeal. The meetings of those gentlemen appear to have been somewhat select, and they seem to me rather to have agitated themselves, than to have succeeded in awakening much sympathy for their cause ("Hear," and a laugh), yet, inasmuch as their professions appear somewhat large in print, and as there has been no lack of confidence evinced, perhaps, on the other side, it would have been curious if, when both met together on this common ground, there had been no opportunity of meeting in argument face to face on this subject. The public expected such an opportunity of judging fairly between the contending parties as to which have the

right on their side. But, Sir, I see little reason for despair, and much ground for hope, in the continued discussion of this question; for I am unable to explain on any other ground than that of a conviction of the substantial justice of our cause why the Government have not allowed any session, nay, why they do not allow any month of any session, to pass without abandoning some portion of the ground on which the system to which we are opposed is based. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I do not say this from any idle purpose to make mischief between the two sections of the opposite party, because I feel no respect for the blindness or boldness on the part of those of the opposite side of the House who are not ready to defer to that greater experience and greater ability possessed by the Government, in saying how far and the time when it is necessary to abandon any portion of that which they are neither able to keep nor entitled to possess. It seems to me that we are deriving all the advantage from discussion which a cause based on truth and justice is likely to secure. We are gradually gaining ground in public opinion, whilst those who are opposed to us are rapidly losing ground. ("Hear, hear, hear.") Public opinion, fortunately, possesses great influence in this country, and discussion exercises considerable influence in forming that opinion; and so much deference is due to it, that any law or institution which is assailed must be defended on public grounds. ("Hear.") The difficulty with hon. gentlemen opposite in arguing this question was, that they were unable to defend the law on its real ground, and it was inconvenient to assign any other; for as soon as it was attempted to place it upon any public ground, that instantly became the subject of the closest inquiry: it was sifted and tested in every way to examine if the plea was hollow or true; and there was no one ground which he had heard since he came into that House that had not now been thus thoroughly examined, and as completely exposed. ("Hear.") He was curious, therefore, to hear what fresh ground was to be alleged this time. The ground upon which it was placed when first introduced was the most plausible, before it was tested by experience, when it proved to be the most foolish on which it could stand—which was, that it was dangerous for this country to be dependent for its supply of food on other countries, and that, therefore, the landowners should be protected from competition. It was assumed that we might depend upon other countries for our revenue, for the material of manufactures, and for the means of employment to millions of our people, whereby they should obtain bread, but not dependent upon them for the bread itself. ("Hear.") That was the plea set forth for the enactment of the law—one which, at the time, all thinking men derided, and which has since become contemptible by the failure of the experiment. The returns laid before the House during the last twenty years, showed that since the law was passed we had been dependent on other countries for large supplies of corn, and in the last five years to the amount of 17,000,000 quarters of corn ("hear"); and that too a supply not raised with a view to this country, but obtained under circumstances the most disadvantageous to us. ("Hear, hear, hear.") During the thirteen years of the duration of the law passed in 1828, there was imported from foreign countries no less than 30,000,000 quarters of grain actually necessary for the consumption of the people of this country. The advocates for monopoly in the home market would hardly then allege a sufficiency of home supply as an excuse—at least, he would not expect such an excuse from any man having regard for his character and truth. Whether this soil would or could not produce enough to support the people of Great Britain, he could not pretend to say; but the fact stood upon record, that it had not produced enough, and that we had been obliged to import 30,000,000 quarters of grain from foreign countries. He had considered what were the other excuses urged in support of this law, and having listened with attention to them all, he must say that they had been every one shown to be futile and totally insufficient. ("Hear.") He had heard from honourable gentlemen opposite, on previous occasions, when the subject was discussed, that those connected with the ownership of lands had no interest in their continuance, but they supported the Corn Laws because those who were dependent on them (the landowners) had all their interest involved in their continuance. It was now, however, ascertained beyond a doubt, that neither the farmer, nor the farmer's labourer, nor any other class in the community, derived any benefit from these laws except the landowners themselves. ("Hear," from the Opposition.) No member of any agricultural county would to-night, he thought, venture to urge this flimsy pretext, so demonstrably untrue, as a reason for the continuance of the Corn Laws; no honourable member would here stand up and say, I can prove that the farmers or their labourers benefit by this law. ("Cries of "Hear, hear.") The interest of these classes in these laws had been fully and fairly inquired into by those leagued together for the purpose, and so far from the Corn Laws being of any service to them, nothing appeared to be more identified with the permanent interest of both the farmer and the agricultural labourer than their total repeal. Every person is now familiar with the fact that the distress of no class had been more prominently or more frequently obtruded upon the public than that of the farmers. He (Mr. Villiers) would undertake to bring before the bar of that House, or before a committee, such a body of evidence as would leave no doubt that, for the last thirty years, the farmers had been, of all men, the most embarrassed, and that their distress had been more obtruded upon the attention of this House than those of any other class of persons. In fact, it is now matter of notoriety that they had derived no benefit from the Corn Laws. ("Hear.") The farmer had been duped and deceived by the promise of Parliament as to the effects of these laws. ("Hear, hear.") The landlords had told him that they would ensure him a certain price for his corn; and what had been the result? Why, that he had been deluded into the payment of higher rent. The same had occurred with regard to all the exemptions that had been procured for the farmer in the payment of taxes, there was not a landlord in the House who did not know that they contributed only to swell the rent of the landowner. ("Hear, hear, hear.") The members of that House dare not call a single farmer before them, and ask him whether what they had done in his behalf, as they said, had been at all to his benefit? Whatever relief they had procured for the farmer through Parliament had been for the advantage alone of landowners. ("Hear, hear, hear.") He would venture to say that not an honourable member in that House would repeat again to-night that the Corn Laws were enacted for

the benefit of the farmers. He defied honourable members to repeat that the law was upheld for such purpose. The farmers were not only the most distressed class in the whole community, but they held their lands under circumstances the most disadvantageous for the purpose of agriculture. The assertion that these laws were for the benefit of the labourer was equally absurd and unfounded. No one would now venture to say that it was to the advantage of the labourer that the prices of food should be kept up, and that high prices ensured high wages. There was a volume before them, produced by the labours of a commission of the Crown, which effectually disproved that assertion. No man in the face of that volume could rise and say that these laws were for the advantage of the labourers. Their mouths were closed by the evidence of their own commission. This was an authority which they did not venture to dispute. That evidence proved that no one could be lower in the scale of civilization than the agricultural labourer; so much so, indeed, as almost to place him out of its pale. Scarcely a day passed but the papers were full of accounts of what were called the crimes of the labouring classes, which were, in fact, only the results of their necessitous condition. The honourable member for Stockport had asked for inquiry upon this subject; he had made a motion to that effect, but the landowners in this House could not to assent to it; they felt that they dared not call upon a single farmer or labourer to give evidence with respect to their condition, and their experience of the operation of these laws. The motion of his honourable friend was a perfectly fair one, and one quite in point; but the landowners were afraid to call upon their own tenants, and to ask them whether, in their opinion, the Corn Laws did not chiefly operate to raise their rents; and upon the poor labourers, to say whether their case was not made more desperate by high prices. Sure he was that the landowners would not bring forward either farmers or labourers to speak of their experience of the operation of these laws. He saw in the *Times* newspaper a statement, that in some parts of the country, where there had been once a great deal of disaffection, wherever the farmer allowed the labourer an opportunity of procuring provisions cheap, thus virtually repealing the Corn Laws, they became better affected, and property was safe. He would ask the landowners to answer this question, how it was that the labourer was always found to be contented and well affected when prices were low, but that they were always disaffected, and the property of the country endangered, when prices were high? He asked the hon. member for Knaresborough, who had thought it decent to give notice of an amendment on the present occasion, to meet and answer this point. ("Hear.") He would read a public letter, yet unanswered, addressed to the county of Bucks, one of the most purely agricultural districts in the country, by a baronet and a magistrate of that county, Sir Harry Verney, no member of the Anti-Corn-Law League. The honourable baronet writes as follows:—

"My friends, it is with pain that I contemplate the condition of the agricultural classes, especially of the agricultural labourer. See his damp, unwholesome, ill-ventilated, crowded cottage—ride through a village, where groups of men are standing about, unable to obtain work. Remark the downcast look of a man, as honest and upright as the most honest and upright amongst us, who has gone round from farm to farm and cannot obtain labour; follow him home to his family, and see him enter his cottage, where his wife and hungry children await his return, hoping that he may have obtained employment and food: but he has failed. The charity of a farmer, or the kindness of those who divide with each other the widow's mite, of some neighbour less poor only than himself, supports the family for a few days, until the order of admission to the workhouse is obtained. There are few, I hope I may say no, deaths from want in our agricultural districts; every poor family that has a crust or a dish of potatoes will divide it with their poorer neighbour who has none; in every village there are farmers and farmers' wives ready to assist a starving family. But are there no diseases brought on by poor living? No constitutions impaired by unwholesome and insufficient diet, want of clothing, and bad dwellings? Are not the minds as well as the bodies of our peasantry often enfeebled by their sufferings, and unfitted for the very exertions that would better their condition? You know as well as I do the reply to such questions." This was the letter of a baronet of Buckinghamshire—one who had property in the county; and such was his description of the state of the labourer after thirty years of protection. He would now read the evidence of a farmer who had spoken at a public meeting in the county of Gloucester (Mr. Josiah Hunt, of Almondsbury, a practical tenant-farmer of great experience); and in proceeding to do so he would notice the reference of an hon. member to the subject of the poor laws:—"He (Mr. Hunt) believed that with Free Trade the cultivation of the land would be improved—the produce of the land would be increased—the independence of the tenant secured, and his prosperity greatly augmented. He could fully bear out what Mr. Cobden had said about the agricultural labourers—their wages were miserably low, and yet the farmers could not pay more. In his own parish hundreds of families lived on 7s. per week—their fare was worse than that of the pauper—whole families of grown up children slept in one room, to the total disregard of the decencies of life, and to the total destruction of feelings of propriety and morality. It had been said the land had to bear peculiar burdens; but it should also be said the farmers had peculiar exemptions; and if the farmers' windows were untaxed, and his riding horse and his dogs free of duty, it was not to benefit him, but that he might be able to pay higher rent to his landlord. He cordially seconded the resolution, believing that a repeal of the Corn Laws would improve the prospects of the tenant-farmer, and promote the physical, moral, and social condition of the labourer." What did the honourable member suppose was the average weekly cost of supporting a man, with his wife and six children, in the workhouse in the county? He would find that it was 17s. 6d., whilst the wages of a labourer it appeared were only 7s. a week. The working labourer, therefore, was very far worse off than the pauper, and almost forced into the workhouse in self-defence. The farmer to whom he had referred said farther, that he, had long been opposed to the Corn Laws—and that he was fully convinced that they were no benefit but an injury to the tenants: they were designed to raise rents, and to place the tenantry

subservient to the political domination of the landlord—and that if he needed anything to fortify his opinion on the Corn Law, it was the fact of the best practical agriculturists in the kingdom entertaining the same views on the subject: the whole system, he declared, was not to benefit the farmer, but to raise the landlord's rent. Let the hon. gentleman opposite stand forward and avow himself the friend of the landowners, if he pleased—let him truckle to the dominant class in the state, if he thought it convenient or proper to do so; but before he stood forward in such a cause as the friend of the poor labourer, he would call upon him to answer the statements which he had just read to the House. (Hear, hear.) These statements, along with a host of others to the like effect, fully bore out his (Mr. Villiers's) position, that neither the farmer nor the labourer were interested in the continuance of these laws; and it was but justice to add that it was to the exertions of the Anti-Corn-Law League that the disclosure of these important truths were owing. After these disclosures he did not believe that the defenders of these laws would attempt to reassert any of these arguments which had thus been exploded; and he was at a loss to anticipate the grounds on which honourable gentlemen opposite would attempt to oppose the present motion. (Hear, hear.) The right honourable the Secretary for the Board of Trade, who did not like to repeat all the foolish things which were said by his supporters, had, when this subject was last discussed, started an argument of his own, which he (Mr. Villiers) must confess he did not think much wiser than those of his colleagues. The right honourable gentleman said that he would not urge any objection upon the ground of any danger of our not obtaining a sufficient supply of corn from abroad when wanted, as he believed that the market in corn would be regulated pretty much upon the same principles as that of any other commodity. But the objection which the right honourable gentleman threw out was, that the influx of foreign corn and the consequent depression of price, would throw out of employ a good deal of agricultural labour. From what had fallen in the course of the debate, the landowners in this House did not appear to entertain a very high notion of the right honourable gentleman's agricultural knowledge. (Hear.) An honourable member for Sussex, indeed, seemed to imply that the right hon. gentleman was so ignorant of these matters as not to know an ox from a plough. (A laugh.) With respect to the notion of the repeal of the Corn Laws displacing agricultural labour, the right hon. gentleman gave the House none of the data upon which that fancy was founded. He supposed, of course, that the right hon. gentleman calculated upon agricultural labour being displaced, as the consequence of certain lands being thrown out of cultivation. Now, looking at what had been said by agriculturists themselves, he was at a loss to understand that the necessary consequence of a reduction of prices would be to throw any considerable quantity of land out of cultivation. The fact, he believed, was that, if a little science and economy were applied to the cultivation of the land, a low price might pay the labour of cultivation, and yield a good profit. A nobleman, distinguished for his knowledge of agriculture, Lord Ducie, declared publicly that all apprehension upon this score was a fallacy, and that without paying rent they could produce wheat on almost any land at lower prices than those quoted at any foreign port. (Hear.) Now, it was obvious that, before land could be thrown out of cultivation, it must have given up paying rent; and before it ceased to support the labourer, it must go to waste. The right hon. gentleman ought to have shown at what prices land could not be cultivated with a prospect of profit; and he would have to show that it would not be worth the mere application of industry required for cultivation, before he declared that the lowering of prices in the market would be followed by the displacement of labour. He (Mr. Villiers) thought it probable that the right hon. gentleman would not repeat this argument again to-night. Since he had formerly used it, he had possibly read what had been said by men who knew something about the subject, and he had doubtless profited by it. But there was another argument which the right hon. gentleman had since advanced; it was to this effect:—that we should be careful how far we risked the reduction of rent, lest owners of land should themselves become farmers. The right hon. gentleman was afraid that the farmers themselves would be ousted from their tenancies, and the landowners, by cultivating their own land, become useful members of society. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) Now, he did not think that the right hon. gentleman need labour under any very serious apprehension on this score. He did not think that the firstborn of the land would be very likely to take to a very industrious and laborious pursuit as long as they could be more agreeably employed in doing nothing. Let him not be alarmed—let him rest satisfied that, during his time, at least, those who were born to inherit the land would continue to be trained up in idleness as they had heretofore been (a laugh), and be chiefly qualified for consuming the fortunes they possessed (Hear, hear, hear.) But whilst the right hon. gentleman was dreading the displacement of agricultural labourers, let him reflect upon the alternative of injuring trade, which would result in the displacement of a considerable number of manufacturing labourers. It appeared that in ten years upwards of 360,000 agricultural labourers had gone from their villages to the manufacturing districts as a means of living. Did not the right hon. gentleman perceive that, by the returning of any considerable portion of that number to the agricultural districts in consequence of the want of employment in manufactures, there would be just as great a displacement of agricultural labour as he apprehended would result from the introduction of foreign corn, and the consequent lowering of prices. (Hear, hear.) But the landowners themselves were now convinced that increased production and low prices did not displace labour; on the contrary, they went to their farmers and told them that the principle to go upon was, by the application of more labour, and increased skill and new improvements, to produce the largest possible quantity of corn, and at the lowest possible price. And if this argument against low prices was good, it was just as much so against improvement as against Free Trade: increased supply and reduced price was the result of both. They could not increase the productiveness of the land without the effect of the additional quantity being felt in the market; and the right hon. gentleman reasoned from the effect of low prices that land would go out of cultivation. Another argument had been used as showing the necessity of great caution in any change—which was

the numerical importance of the agricultural classes in the scale of society. But a document had recently appeared—namely, an analysis of the late census—which gave some information on this matter. It appeared from these calculations that the agricultural classes, about whom so much had been written, and of whom it had been said that they constituted seven-ninths of the whole population of the country, were only seven per cent. and a little more of our population. (Hear, hear, hear.) And with what show of right or justice would it be pretended to exclude the whole mass of the people of this country from their natural right to buy their food as abundantly and as cheaply as they could, out of regard to the supposed exclusive interests of such a fraction of the community? (Hear.) On those who contended for the continuance of the Corn Laws lay the onus of showing that they were the means of giving the most abundant supply of food to the people. That was the question—whether that was the effect of those laws or not; and if they failed to prove the affirmative of that proposition, then he (Mr. Villiers) would say that the maintenance of the Corn Laws was the maintenance of tyranny, and the cause of enormous evil; for he stood there not on the part of this or that interest, either manufacturing or otherwise, but on the part of the people at large, to assert that it was their right, and for their unquestionable advantage, and for the good of the whole country, that they should procure and have access to their food as cheaply, as abundantly, as conveniently as by means of capital, commerce, industry, or any other human contrivance they could possibly possess themselves of. (Cheers.) Do the Corn Laws affect that? It ought to be proved surely if it is so, for most truly did Lord Grenville say, that imperative, indeed, should be the necessity that justifies any tampering with the means of the people's subsistence, and that to confine ourselves to our own soil appeared to mar the provision which Heaven, by varying the climes and seasons of the earth, had relieved any nation like our own from exclusive dependence on itself. (Hear, hear.) To legislate for limiting the sources of supply was, in point of fact, to encourage scarcity. It was most unwise to confer upon any body of men who were irresponsible, and whose interests might conflict with the interest of the great majority of the people, the right to enact laws for regulating the supply of food. (Hear, hear.) It was giving them complete power over the people. He who determines the amount of food, could make slaves of the people; and they could not too quickly direct the attention of the country to the immense importance of food being abundant, and to the influence of the Corn Law on that object. The time was most convenient,—their information never had been greater. Never had their experience been more complete, as to the effect of more or less food upon the moral as well as physical condition of the people—never had they approached the subject at a moment more calm or free from excitement—never had there been a period in all respects so adapted from the knowledge of the past to legislate for the future. (Hear, hear.) There were, moreover, now, some honourable gentlemen in that House who occupied themselves much in the praiseworthy endeavour to discover the cause of the bad physical condition of the people, and who, overlooking all pecuniary and selfish considerations, were anxious, as they said, to legislate at once on the principles of humanity, in order to raise the condition of their fellow-men. He would invite those honourable gentlemen, then, to go into the question of what was the chief cause of the misery and sufferings of the great mass of the labouring people. He asked them to investigate the cause of that severe and pressing competition which compelled the people to toil too long, to work too hard; which limited their food, and deprived them of the power of educating their children; which compelled them to neglect the domestic duties of life, and sunk them in the scale of civilization. He heard from them that people were made slaves by circumstances. He asked them, then, to examine the circumstances that caused this evil, with a view to remove them. (Hear, hear, hear.) He asked those honourable gentlemen who were actuated by those philanthropic motives, whether that competition which led to all these lamentable results was not influenced by the want of food? (Hear, hear.) Could there be any doubt upon this point? The truth of the proposition was admitted by honourable gentlemen opposite themselves in some cases. They always were anxious for a good harvest; they prayed for it in their churches; and why? Because a good harvest rendered food more plentiful. (Hear, hear.) Those honourable gentlemen had certain associations in their minds as to the effects of a good or a bad harvest, and amongst them was that, with a good harvest, the people had more work; that they were improved in their condition, and were not liable to those extreme sufferings which a bad harvest, and the consequent scarcity of food and high prices, entailed upon them. Then why quarrel with those who sought to obtain the same results which they looked forward to as the consequences of an abundant harvest by other means—by the freedom of trade? (Cheers.) The object of both parties is the same (continued the hon. gentleman), and your desire for good harvests and ours for Free Trade proceed from the same motive. (Hear.) When you pray for good harvests, we do not wish to accuse you of a wish to decrease wages and to benefit yourselves only; then give us credit for being actuated in our attempts to increase the supply of food by other means—the same motives as yourselves, that of benefiting the condition of the people. (Hear.) Could there be any difference in point of fact, whether food was rendered scarce to the people by a bad harvest, or by limiting the supply from other countries? Apply this principle of the sliding scale to a single town—barricade London with a sliding scale, and make Grosvenor-square grow corn for the whole town. What would be the effect? If the people increased and the food did not, in proportion, would not prices rise and competition for food increase? Would not wages be reduced, and the people be compelled to work harder for less money and less food (hear)? and would it not be said of those who refused to admit corn from without, for the purpose of keeping up the rents of the square, that they were guilty of the grossest selfishness and the grossest injustice? (Hear.) And where was the difference whether the principle was applied to a single town or to a whole kingdom? The population of the country was increasing rapidly; and the produce of our own soil, it was notorious, was not keeping pace with that increase; and yet they refused to admit supplies from foreign countries. Let in food from

abroad, and they would find customers enough in the people to purchase it. If they had no fears from the admission of foreign corn, why not let it in? If they had fears of the consequence of such a change, on what did they rest? Could they deny that it was best that the people should get their food too cheaply, and that that blessing would be too widely diffused; and could that be justified on any principle of justice or humanity (cheers)? and what would they say of any man who, being a party to this injustice, who supported this system for the interest of his order, should go forth to sympathise with its victims, and get credit for seeking to heal the wounds he had inflicted. (Cheers.) Would they not charge him with the grossest ignorance or the grossest hypocrisy? (Cheers.) This was a question which did not affect the operatives of the mill and factory alone, but the whole working population. They had no excuse for not looking at its effects. They had lately forced upon them the means of judging of the effect of years of scarcity and of plenty upon the moral and physical condition of the people. Within ten years they had had four years of scarcity and four years of plenty. From 1832 to 1836 was one continued period of abundance; from 1838 to 1842 was a period of scarcity. He would measure the comparative effects of scarcity and abundance by figures, he found that, in the four years of abundance, from 1832 to 1836, the price of wheat had averaged 46s. a quarter, and in the four years of scarcity the average price had been 66s., a difference of 20s. a quarter in the price of wheat. But what were the sacrifices which the people had been called on to make during these dear years? One of the first consequences of the period of scarcity was that the people were able to consume less, though they had to pay more, while, at the period of abundance, they had to pay less, and consumed more. That had been the case in the years he had referred to. The difference of consumption was supposed to be one-tenth more when food was cheap than when it was dear. The average consumption of wheat in this country was calculated at sixteen millions of quarters. In cheap years there would be an addition of one-tenth to that amount, making the consumption of wheat in those years seventeen millions of quarters, and in dear years they must subtract one-tenth from the average, leaving the consumption in years of scarcity at fourteen millions. Now, for the seventeen millions of quarters the people paid £149,000,000, and for the fourteen millions £184,000,000. Mr. McCulloch stated that £195,000,000 was the annual value of agricultural produce of this country, and the increase in price in the four dear years over the four cheap years was one-sixth on all produce, besides corn. These calculations were based upon returns made to that House and the contract prices at Greenwich Hospital, and he believed their correctness would not be disputed. The people of this country were thus called upon to pay 33 millions a year more for their food in cheap years than in dear years, while the amount of that food was diminished in the proportion he had stated. This was one of the effects of scarcity, and this of itself was sufficient to occasion stagnation of trade and depression of prices. Then we were always compelled at first to make a sacrifice by exporting bullion to procure the necessary supplies from abroad, to the prejudice and derangement of all the monetary affairs of the country, which, by limiting credit, tending still further to depress prices, lower profits, and create that which was called over-production or glut of our markets. There were some of the consequences of an insufficient supply of corn in this country, and from the same cause resulted an increase of pauperism and poor-rates, and increase of crime and emigration. If this were disputed, he would refer to authorities which connected those effects with this cause alone, and showed that, as the cause was removed the effects disappeared. He would first call the attention of the House to the several remedies which had been proposed by the Government, and recognised by all the leading members of the House as efficient for the purpose of removing those evils, and as showing their opinion that all the sufferings and misfortunes of the people resulted from a deficient supply of food. In 1811, eighteen months after the period of scarcity and depression to which he had alluded, her Majesty, in the speech from the Throne, referred to the deficient supply of food, and the consequent sufferings of the people, and recommended remedial measures to the consideration of Parliament; and what was the remedy which the Ministry of that day—those who were responsible for the good order and welfare of the country—proposed? The then Government came forward, and said they had no remedy to propose but an alteration in those laws which restricted the supply and enhanced the price of the great necessities of life. In 1838 the deficiency began; and in 1841, at the beginning of the year, Ministers came forward, and said they had nothing else to propose to relieve the distresses to which her Majesty had called the attention of Parliament than an alteration in the duties upon the import of corn and sugar. (Hear.) And his noble friend the member for London (Lord J. Russell) expressed his regret that the people of this country were in a worse condition than the negroes of the West Indies—that they were subject to greater privations, and that the great mass of the labouring population were fast falling into a state of pauperism, and becoming recipients of public relief; and the noble lord referred to this condition of the people in introducing a measure to relieve their distresses by altering the corn and sugar duties, and those other laws which tended to enhance the price of food to the people. They well knew the fate of that proposition. They knew the results to the Government who had brought it forward. (Hear.) And what was it? Those who were interested in keeping up the price of corn united and combined together, and ejected the Ministry. But did that cause the distress to subside? What was done in the year following? Her Majesty, in opening the Parliament, again referred to the sufferings and privations of the people, and said, "I have observed, with deep regret the continued distress in the manufacturing districts of the country." The sufferings and privations which have resulted from it have been borne with exemplary patience and fortitude; and the mover of the address in that House said, that "six months ago the House had heard statements made of the awful distress under which that part of the country with which he was connected was then suffering. He regretted to say that that distress was now frightfully aggravated. He would refer to the returns of workhouses to show that applications for relief were greatly increasing, and were, in many instances, made by persons who had been formerly in a state of comparative prosperity. He would refer to the charity

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and visiting societies, to prove that many were now applicants to that charity for relief who had, not long ago, been themselves dispensers of charity. He regretted to be obliged to state that, in his opinion, pauperism was advancing in this country. They then found the Archbishop of Canterbury writing a letter to the clergy, exhorting the ministers of every parish to promote subscriptions amongst their parishioners for the relief of the distress which existed. But at last what happened? Why, the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government came down to Parliament, and told them that taxes upon the necessities of life had exceeded their limits, and, as a means of relieving the sufferings of the people, they must reduce the cost of living; and by the tariff which the right hon. baronet introduced and carried, he admitted that the cost of living in this country had been inordinately high. (Hear.) This, however, was not enough; the right hon. baronet at last felt that he was obliged to alter the Corn Laws; and that measure he declared was for the purpose of relieving the general distress. Those Corn Laws which the honourable member for Knarborough (Mr. Ferrand) looked upon as essential to the protection of industry, the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government had himself altered, alleging as his reason that, as it was absolutely necessary that the price of food to the people should be reduced, those laws, the tendency of which was to keep up prices, must be altered. At last, however, they found the Queen congratulating the country on its improved condition—but when was this? When the harvest had been ascertained to be good, and when supplies from abroad had been introduced, and when the food of the people was to be cheap and abundant. And when was it that the Secretary of State announced to the country that he was happy to say that the rate of mortality had diminished? It was in 1813, when food was more plentiful, and importation had increased. (Hear.) Great God! the rate of mortality was diminished! Then the people had been actually dying of want, starving to death, for that was what the admission of the right hon. gentleman amounted to. (Hear, hear.) The suffering of the people did not depend upon surmise; they had, unfortunately, official evidence of it, to which he was anxious to call the attention of the House. In the first place, he would refer to the increase of pauperism; and he found that, in 1837, the rates levied in England and Wales for the relief of the poor amounted to £4,044,741; and, in 1813, they amounted to £5,200,000. The number of paupers chargeable upon the rates, when the period of distress commenced, was 1,000,000; and when the Minister announced that there were indications of the distress having subsided, the number was 1,500,000. What was the number of able-bodied adult paupers at the same period, unable to obtain employment, and depending upon the poor-rates for relief? At the period when the distress commenced, the number was under 200,000, that was in 1836; and in 1812 the number was 407,570. Then, observe in particular places the increase in the amount expended in relieving the poor in dear years as compared with cheap years? He found that the amount expended—

| | In 1836. | In 1841. | Increase. |
|--------------------|----------|----------|---------------|
| At Stockport | £7,628 | £7,121 | 134 per cent. |
| Manchester | 25,669 | 38,938 | 52 " |
| Bolton | 1,558 | 6,268 | 304 " |
| Oldham | 3,968 | 7,682 | 139 " |
| Huddersley | 2,040 | 4,210 | 97 " |
| Sheffield | 11,401 | 23,800 | 109 " |

Throughout the manufacturing districts there was great increase, but it was not confined to these districts. The increase was hardly less in the agricultural districts. In the 15 chief agricultural counties he found the increase in the amount of poor-rates between 1836 and 1842 was 21 per cent., while in the 12 principal manufacturing counties the increase had been 30½ per cent. This surely was sufficient to show the injurious effect of high prices of food on the labouring population. (Hear, hear.) Then what was the effect upon the revenue? This he was aware was a large subject, but none was more deserving of the attention of the House and the country; and although he felt himself inadequate to go into it fully, he trusted some honourable gentleman, more competent than himself, would draw the attention of the House to it; for if there was anything that was operated upon more directly than others by the scarcity of food, it was the state of the revenue; and as that question excited, he found, more interest in the minds of some persons than the suffering and privations of the working classes, it was on that ground an important matter for consideration. He would refer to the state of the excise revenue as affording more especially a striking evidence of national distress. It appeared from the Parliamentary returns, printed the 30th of May, 1842, that the augmentation of the taxes made in 1810 was estimated to yield £781,000 to the excise, whereas it only yielded an increase of £58,170 that year, and in the year following there was an actual decrease of £182,747. In the year ended October 10, 1842, the net revenue from excise was £733,448 less than in the year ended October 10, 1841. Such was the state of things in the fourth year of the deficient supply of food. Then what was the effect of scarcity on the moral condition of the people? What was the increase of crime in periods of scarcity, as compared with periods of abundance? In 1834 the number of commitments in England and Wales had been 22,451; in 1836, a year of low prices and plenty, the number was 20,000, showing a decrease of 2000. In 1813 the number had increased, under the influence of scarcity and high prices, to 31,000, being an increase over the year of low prices of 11,000. He now came to the effect of dear years and limited supplies in increasing emigration. From 1832 to 1837 the average number of emigrants had been 70,000, that was in cheap years. In 1841, under the influence of high prices, the number was 116,000, and in 1842 it had increased to 128,000. In 1838, the bankruptcies were 800; in 1842, 1500. This was the experience they had of the effect of scarcity and high prices on the condition of the country; and he asserted again, that there was no one instance to the contrary, that when food was abundant and cheap the working population, both in the manufacturing and agricultural districts, were better off than when food was scarce and prices were higher. He might quote an authority upon this point, to whom, perhaps, the House would be inclined to look with respect. He alluded to the late Lord Liverpool. In 1822 the proprietors of land and the agricultural labourers came to Parliament, complaining of distress, and begging for relief; and in that year, when

the price of corn was exceedingly low, that noble lord, speaking in reply to the Earl of Stanhope in the House of Lords, said, "When the noble earl (Earl Stanhope) says that the low prices incident to the distress which agriculture suffers benefit no man, I answer, that, although I sincerely wish the distress did not exist, I cannot be blind to the fact that they certainly do benefit a great majority of the people. (Hear, hear.) Do they not benefit those who were, during the war, the principal and almost the only sufferers? In all large towns they have occasioned considerable benefit by the fall of the poor-rates. I have been at some trouble, my lords, to ascertain the real state of the case, and can pledge myself to the accuracy of this statement. In this metropolis, in which your lordships are now sitting, never were the lower orders of the people in a better condition than they are at the present moment." This was at the beginning of a year in which the agriculturists were clamouring for a rise of prices and scarcity in food, and complaining of distress as the consequence of abundance and plenty; and this was the time when, according to Lord Liverpool, the working classes generally were never in a better condition. (Hear, hear, hear.) What, then, was the opinion of Mr. Tooke upon the same point. That gentleman, in writing of the period from 1819 to 1822, said, "That the great mass of the community was greatly benefited by the transition from dearth to abundance, there is not, there cannot be, any reasonable doubt. What but the privations and sufferings of the great bulk of the community led to the popular discontent and commotions which prevailed, and were with difficulty repressed, in the great dearths at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, and again in 1812, in 1817, and 1819?—dearths which, after their natural cessation, these legislators would, as far as in them lay, have artificially perpetuated; while, on the other hand, the contented state of the working classes in 1821 and 1822, and not to mention the great increase of the revenue in those years, attests the comparative well being of the bulk of the community in periods of what those who are interested in high prices and high rents are pleased to characterise as agricultural distress." There had been committees on agricultural distress, appointed by the House of Commons in the cheap year of 1833; and Mr. Tooke, remarking on the evidence, said:—"There is one point which the whole tenor of the evidence before the committee of 1833 tended to establish beyond doubt, and that is, the improved condition of the agricultural labourer: the fact is thus noticed in the Report:—'Amidst the numerous difficulties to which the agriculture of this country is exposed, and amidst the distress which unhappily exists, it is a consolation to your committee to find that the general condition of the agricultural labourer in full employment is better now than at any former period, his money wages giving him a greater command over the necessities and conveniences of life.'" He (Mr. Villiers) would now proceed to draw the attention of the House to the effects and consequences of scarcity on the health and life of the people; and he was induced to go further into details upon this part of the subject than he should else do, as he felt that the House could not resist testimony in this case which had been relied upon on another question—he meant the authorities which had been quoted on the Factory Bill; and which were here cited for their opinion that nothing tended so much to shorten life and injure the health of the people as a scarcity or a constantly varying price of corn, which meant, in fact, a varying amount of food. If he remembered rightly, the noble lord (Lord Ashley) had alluded to the authority of Dr. Hawkins and M. Villermé. The former of those authorities had stated the opinion of himself as well as that of Villermé and Quételet in the following passage:—"The price of corn has a most remarkable influence on the movements of population and of disease. We have not a sufficient number of data to enable us to estimate the exact amount of its influence, but we shall assuredly not be mistaken in classing it among the most energetic causes which press upon the operations of life. This influence extends not only upon deaths but upon births. It affects, also, the number of marriages, of diseases, and even of crimes." It was the opinion, then, of these eminent medical writers, that upon the supply of food depended, in a great measure, the physical welfare of the people. In Milne's life annuity table it was stated that that which was the case in England with respect to the influence of food on disease, held equally true with respect to other nations. A table was then given "exhibiting the number of deaths, the proportionate mortality, and the character of the crop of each year in Sweden and Finland from 1750 to 1803, which shows that throughout this whole series of fifty-three years there is not one exception to the rule, that every increase in the scarcity of food is accompanied by a correspondent increase in the mortality of the people. In every year following a scanty or failing crop, the number of deaths was increased, in some instances to a most appalling amount; for instance, in 1760, after an abundant harvest, 60,323 persons died; in the next three years the crop was 'middling,' 'scanty,' and a 'failure,' and the deaths rose from 63,188, to 74,931, and after the failing harvest to 85,093; from 1770 to 1773, the deaths rose from 69,895 to 117,509, from the same cause—a failing crop. And not only is every failure of the crop marked by a rise in mortality, but conversely there is no marked increase of mortality throughout the whole series of fifty-three years, that is not preceded by a falling off in the crop." The hon. gentleman continued: "The evidence on this subject was more uniform than on almost any matter of medical science. All authorities were agreed that upon the greater or smaller supply of food depended the greater or smaller degree of mortality. Taking the returns furnished by the Manchester Dispensary, and comparing six dear with six cheap years, he found that 196 persons had annually died in the dear more than in the cheap years. From extensive returns obtained from sick clubs in various parts of the country, from Blackburn, Stockport, Maidstone, the Potteries, and many other places, it appeared that during the six cheaper years the mortality among the members was 3 per cent.; during the dearer years 4 per cent., being an increase from dear food and bad trade of 25 per cent. There was an important work lately published, entitled "An address to the Clergy of the Established Church of England, on the Effects of a Scarcity of Food, showing the tendency of Starvation to engender Epidemic Disease." It was there shown, by quotations from reports of physicians, writing at the time on purposes quite independent of any agitation, that each of the three remarkable famines by which this country has been

visited, those of 1810, 1798, and 1810, were quickly followed by epidemic fever; and this fever was attributed by the medical men of the respective times to want, as its principal cause. The evidence of Dr. Fitzgerald, as to a late epidemic in that part of Ireland where he practised (Clonmel), showed that in his opinion the primary cause of the disease was insufficiency of food. He said, "Let me take this opportunity of guarding myself against misapprehension. It is by no means my intention to affirm that epidemic typhus always owes its origin to deficient and deteriorated food, and to that cause alone. I fully admit the influence of contagion, dirt, cold, damp, insufficient clothing, want of employment, depression of spirits, and the other causes of the disease alleged by physicians; but I would observe, that these causes must in this climate coexist with scarcity, and some of them, at least, be occasioned by it. They may be more or less obviated by the particular circumstances of the country at the moment, and hence the pestilence will be found more or less general; but the great truth which I have laid before you will remain unaffected, that typhus fever is the inseparable companion of great and continued scarcity after bad harvests." Take evidence from another country. There was a most important report by Dr. Alison, in which it was stated that 23,000 persons existed in Edinburgh in an entirely destitute state, and completely dependent upon casual charity. He said:—"As the botanist can tell the quality of the soil from the flowers that spontaneously arise upon it, the physician knows the state of a people from the epidemics that mow it down. It is not asserted that destitution is a cause adequate to the production of fever (although in some circumstances I believe it may become such), nor that it is the sole cause of its extension. What we are sure of is, that it is a cause of the rapid diffusion of contagious fever, and one of such peculiar power and efficacy that its existence may always be presumed when we see fever prevailing in a large community to an unusual extent. The manner in which deficient nourishment, want of employment, and privations of all kinds, favour the diffusion of fever, may be matter of dispute; but that they have that effect in a much greater degree than any cause external to the human body itself, is a fact confirmed by the experience of all physicians who have seen much of the disease." Then, again, there was the evidence of Dr. Grattan, in Ireland, whom he found writing as follows:—"Next to contagion, I consider a distressed state of the general population of any particular district the most common and extensive source of typhoid fever. The present epidemic (that of Ireland in 1818) is principally to be referred to the miserable condition of the poorer classes in this kingdom; and so long as their state shall continue unimproved, so long fever will prevail, probably not to its present extent, but certainly to an extent sufficient to render it at all times a national affliction." He had lately applied to a medical gentleman, practising in a populous district of London, Dr. Hunter, of Bloomsbury, whose experience quite confirmed all the information he had received upon the point. This gentleman wrote as follows:—"An extensive practice for more than twenty years, almost in the very focus of typhus localities, has given me an opportunity of seeing that disease in all its various degrees of malignity. There are numerous predisposing causes, such as impure air, crowded neighbourhoods, want of cleanliness, and so on; but all these sink into insignificance and unimportance when compared with the great monster predisposing agent—I mean a scarcity of nutritious food; and it may be said, if other causes have slain their thousands, this alone has slain its tens of thousands. My experience justifies and warrants me in affirming that, where the people have insufficient nourishment, there typhus fever manifests itself with all the horrors of a depopulating plague. Witness Ireland. No sooner does a year of scarcity appear but this fell destroyer of the human race shows itself, carrying off thousands; and this affirmation will, I am sure, be confirmed by any medical practitioner who has had the misfortune to see, as I have, whole families carried to their weary bourne by this scourge of the human family, brought into existence and activity by the physical wants of the people. I happened to know a family of nine persons, seven of whom died in one short month, and all by the fell destroyer, typhus, and this too in an agricultural district, where the air was as pure as the morning breath of heaven, and where contagion was impossible, as the farmhouses were at a considerable distance from each other. But in the same district, where the families had sufficient food, and of a good quality, fever was wholly unknown." He had a great amount of evidence of the same kind, relating to France, Belgium, and Germany. All medical men seemed to come to the unanimous conclusion that the well-being of the people varied with the quantity of food with which they were supplied. (Hear.) Now, he might be asked, what all this had to do with the Corn Laws. They would say that these laws were intended to protect native industry, and keep up the supply of food—at least something of the sort was implied in the amendment of the honourable member for Knarborough. But what was really the purpose of the Corn Laws? If it was not to produce scarcity, he wished to know what its purpose was? He wished to know why the opposite intention had never been avowed? He wished to know if any person who had spoken in defence of the Corn Laws had ever said or implied anything other than that scarcity was their end and object? If their object was to produce plenty, why were those who maintained these laws dissatisfied whenever there was abundance in the country? How was it that when the people were well fed and well off, that it was precisely that moment at which the agriculturists came forward with complaints? (Hear, hear.) They had evidence to show that it was always the case that, when the people were in a comparatively comfortable state, the complaints of the agriculturists were loudest. If plenty was the object of the law, why, at that moment its supporters should be most satisfied. (Hear, hear.) If plenty, he repeated, had been the object of the law, how did he find that it had continually been a question as to how prices could be most effectually raised. And what did they find stated in every agricultural committee, but that the great evil had been the excess of produce, and that, in order to remedy the evil, they had been sowing and raising less. (Hear.) In 1836, when, as he had stated, the people were well off—when they were well employed—when poor rates were diminishing and crime was diminishing—the agriculturists were asking what could be done to remedy such a state of things? (Loud cheers.) In 1833 and 1836, when, by the evidence of all competent

persons, the condition of the people was comfortable, the agriculturists, both in this House and the other, were asking how they could best diminish the supply of food, and raise the prices accordingly. (Hear, hear.) If the purpose of the Corn Law was to prevent scarcity and secure abundance, how came such a state of things about? (Hear.) How came it that when the law was first introduced no one had any idea that it would produce plenty? How was it that those who introduced and defended the law, never did so on any other grounds than its tendency to produce scarcity?—that scarcity which I have shown produces want, disease, crime, and death. (Hear.) He asked how it was, if the law had not that tendency, that those who had been most prominent in their opposition to it had always charged its supporters with wishing for and aiming at the production of scarcity? On what grounds did Lord Grenville rest his opposition to the law, but on those that it would produce scarcity and uncertainty in the supply of food? He saw that these were the objects of the law, and the views of its framers. There was one member of the House—a most distinguished person—the respected father of the Prime Minister—who also protested against the law, and stigmatised it as cruel and oppressive towards the people. "Those," said that eminent man, "who had profited by the war prices, were the landowners. They have reaped a rich harvest from the misfortunes of the people, and they now propose the Corn Law to keep up war prices, to perpetuate national misfortune. He told them that they were about to perpetuate the effects of war by acts of legislation; that the effect of war, owing to the interruption of commerce which it occasioned, was high prices; and that the object of the Corn Law was to perpetuate these prices. But while he said this, he warned the landowners that they would eventually themselves be the sufferers by their selfish legislation. They would raise rivals in manufacture, and bring fresh burdens on the country; and, although by the enactment of a Corn Law they hoped to promote their own interests, they would in the end be most cruelly deceived." These were the words of Sir Robert Peel, and they had been most fully verified. How came the popular opposition to the Corn Laws at the time of their introduction, if it was conceived that their object was any other than to produce scarcity. What was the cause of the riots in this town at that period? (Cheers.) Did the people think then that the promoters of the Corn Laws wished to improve their condition, or to bring about a time of abundance? If the agriculturists could defend their measure, why did they not then use argument instead of artillery? (Hear.) They used no argument—they used cannon. (Hear, hear.) They mowed the people down with powder and shot; it was the only answer they could offer them. (Hear, hear, hear.) Could they gather either from what had been said and done in more recent times, that any other result than that of scarcity was aimed at by the Corn Laws? (Hear, hear, hear.) Two years ago the honourable gentleman the member for Somersetshire was objecting to the tariff proposed in the midst of great national distress, and for the purpose of relieving that distress by lowering prices; that honourable member, representing as he did the agricultural interest, the interest supporting the Corn Laws, objected to the tariff, not because it would diminish the supply of food, but because he apprehended that it would have the effect of increasing it. The honourable gentleman read a statement which he considered to be entitled to the utmost confidence, to the effect that, if we were to open up the trade with the United States, that there could be no doubt but that there would ensue a most extensive traffic; that food would be poured into the country, and that manufactured produce would be exported out of it to as great an extent; and that the effect would be the lowering of price on articles of general consumption. Thus the honourable gentleman looked upon as a great evil. The honourable gentleman now shook his head; but his speech was recorded in Hansard, and to be found in the library; and in that speech he regarded the tariff as a means of making food cheap, and said that it was upon that ground on which he opposed it. (Hear, hear, hear.) Were they, then, in the face of such facts to be told that the Corn Laws had plenty and cheapness in view? He had lately taken the trouble of looking at speeches made at the meetings of protection societies, and, after having read them, he had not been able to find that any of the speakers at those meetings wished to increase the supply of food. Indeed, at one of these assemblies, met in the county of Surrey, a gentleman, a great proprietor, present, with more candour, if not with more wisdom, than the greater number of his brethren, confessed frankly and broadly that they were met to advance their own interests, and to render food dear. (Hear, hear.) To render food dear, he acknowledged, was their interest, and therefore they met together to concert how they could best accomplish that end. If, he continued, any resolution should be proposed which did not take that view of the case, he had an amendment in his pocket which he should propose, and which embodied his opinions. Now, at this meeting were present many of the great landed proprietors in Surrey. It was a meeting of the nobility, gentry, and clergy; and, although it was quite true that in any meeting there might be found some wild man—some enthusiast, whose views were not generally shared by those present—yet, on the occasion to which he was alluding, not a syllable was uttered with the view of contradicting opinions so candidly and boldly put forward. (Hear.) Therefore it went forth to the world that the meeting had no purpose but that of promoting their own interests, and that these interests were to make food dear. (Hear.) Certainly, then, if this had been the original object of the law, it was still adhered to. When they heard of settlements and mortgages, and that the objections of landowners to the repeal of the Corn Laws was that the prices which these laws enabled them to obtain for their produce enabled them to provide for the interest of these mortgages, how could they come to any other conclusion than that the effect of the laws was to diminish quantity, in order to raise prices? He should not be satisfied that such was not the case until some county member got up and said that his object was to lower the prices of produce as much as possible, in order to make food as accessible to the public as they could, and to derive as little advantage as possible from its sale for themselves. (Cheers.) But the honourable member for Berkshire (Mr. Pusey) might perhaps say that protection was necessary for the development and advance of agriculture. Now, he begged to ask, what was it which the experience of the last thirty years of protection showed? What was the present state

of agriculture? Had its advance satisfied the wishes of the supporters of protection, or did they promise any better result for the future? He did not know for what reason—but perhaps from fears of an impending change in the system of protection—there had lately been a great bustle among agricultural societies. (Hear, hear.) A good deal had been said and a good deal promised. In looking over the reports of these agricultural meetings, what struck him most forcibly was the universal admission on the part of people of all stations, of all ranks, that nothing could be more deplorable or more imperfect than the present condition of agriculture. (Hear, hear.) They all said that these were not the times when they could stand with crossed arms, that the state of their respective localities was shameful, that something must be done, that they could not afford to follow the example of their forefathers. This was the sort of confession which they heard on every side. (Hear.) There was the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government, and the noble lord the member for North Lancashire, who took it into their heads to deliver lectures upon the state of agriculture in their respective neighbourhoods. The right honourable baronet attended a Tamworth dinner last autumn. The right honourable baronet began by stating that they had met there not for the protection but for the promotion of agriculture. (Hear.) This was really an important distinction, and one not to be forgotten. (Hear, hear.) Well, he went on to say, "It becomes us seriously to consider what we can do to promote agriculture. It is impossible to travel ten miles in this district without seeing that mere reliance on personal experience will not ensure success as a farmer." But at these meetings, after the disease had been adverted to, the cure was generally indicated. At the Tamworth dinner the right hon. baronet, after having pointed out the defective state of agriculture in his neighbourhood, was followed by Dr. Buckland, who said that he never saw such a deplorable state of things as was presented by the farming about Tamworth, and mentioned that he saw more thistles in one field there than he believed grew in the whole of Lincolnshire. (A laugh.) The right hon. baronet then went on to advert to some of the modes by which this state of things could be improved. He said, "On a late occasion, in a neighbouring city, I took an opportunity of saying something about leases. I said then that the habit of this county was adverse to the practice of granting leases, but still, that if any tenants of mine felt that their position would be raised, their confidence in the security of their tenure increased—were they to apply to me for an extension of the terms now generally granted, in order to have additional security as to the application of their capital—I said, then, that I should be disposed to give to any such application my favourable consideration. (Cheers.) I remain of the same opinion. I repeat the same declaration in presence of many who occupy my land." He then pointed to another grievance much felt by the farmer—the ravages of game. With respect to hares, the right hon. baronet informed his auditory that, "I will forego the gratification of mere sport; and if any tenant informs me that the hares upon his farm are so numerous that they are doing him serious damage, I shall at once give orders for their immediate destruction to that extent that shall satisfy him that he can in future sustain no loss in that way." This was all very well, and a very good example to set; but he asked the right hon. baronet whether he supposed that either in Warwickshire or in Staffordshire any hares had been killed, or leases granted at the request of farmers since, and in consequence of his Tamworth speech? (Cheers and laughter.) Then, in the same autumn, the noble lord the member for North Lancashire paid an agricultural visit to his own county, and he told the people there what improvements he and his family had effected upon their land. "Every month," said the noble lord, "that passed over his head convinced him that, so far from having done all that could be done, they had only made a beginning, and were only doing that which it was their bounden duty, but still more their abundant interest, to do." But why is this discovery made only now? He feared the League was at the bottom of this cry; that something must be done. (Hear, hear, hear.) Were the League to relax its efforts or to give them up, how much would be heard about improvements in agriculture, or about liberal offers from landlords to kill all the hares and rabbits upon their estates? (Laughter.) But his lordship went on to allude to tiling and draining. "Over and over again he had heard from tenants that their land had been doubled in value by draining and tiling with slate soles, which had a great advantage over tile soles, being lighter and less liable to break in the carriage. They would tell him, perhaps, that these were very expensive operations, and that the farmer could not conduct those operations." To which the meeting vociferously responded, "Hear, hear, hear!" And what said his lordship? Why, precisely what the Free-Traders have been saying for years:—"Well, perhaps they could not, unless they had perfect confidence in their landlords, or unless they had the security of a long lease." (Loud, repeated, and marked applause, the object being apparently to elicit something further on the subject of leases from his lordship.) But nothing was elicited, for his lordship went on as follows (a laugh):—"There were many other topics which he might press upon their attention, but this was the main maxim. This was no time for the farmer to stand with his hands behind his back, going on half asleep, just as his father and his grandfather had gone before him." But at all these meetings there seemed to have been some practical man ready to comment on the advice given by the landlords, and on this occasion the practical man was a Mr. Neilson. Let the House attend to his observations. They were as follows:—"His lordship has said, a material improvement in the agriculture of the county had been seen; and, as far as his (Mr. Neilson's) observations went, these improvements had principally taken place on farms where the landlord had come forward with a liberal hand; and he did not hesitate to say that, with some exceptions, the landlords were more deserving of blame for the want of improvement than the tenants themselves. Look at the state of the land when the tenant first got possession of it. Look also at the terms on which it was let to him. (Hear, hear.) They asked rent without legalized terms of possession, or they had a lease abounding in clauses for the protection of the landlord, but none for the tenant. In many instances these were totally restrictive of cultivation; tying them down from ploughing a certain part of their land, or restricting their cultivation to one-ninth of fresh land each year. These terms were not likely to induce a farmer to expend his money on property

not his own. Far be it from him to make any depreciatory remarks on that noble system of mutual confidence which enabled estates to be handed down from generation to generation of tenants under the same family; but looking at the uncertainty of human affairs, and the fluctuations of property, this was not a general system—one under which a man was justified, with a proper consideration of his family, in expending his money. Seven years were not a sufficient time to enable a man to repay the outlay of improvement, without doing injustice to the land during the latter period of his lease. (Loud applause.) Give him a long lease, and he would freely stretch out his hand, with a certainty of getting it back again." Upon the subject of leases they had the opinion of Sir Harry Verney, expressed at a meeting of the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire Agricultural Association. The honourable baronet stated, after alluding to the generally defective state of farming, that "there is a remedy, and one which, aided by your landlords, it is in your power to adopt, viz., an improved system of farming. This would at once afford employment to the labourers, and the money which you now expend in poor-rates for the maintenance of their families would render them industrious and happy, and would yield to you a profitable return. In order to carry out such a system, you would require your farm-buildings to be adapted to increased produce from your land. You ought to have well-arranged farm-yards, with the needful barns, and cow-houses and stables, and with cesspools, into which all your cattle-sheds and yards should drain. You ought to have encouragement and assistance in effecting certain improvements, such as draining, &c.; and, having obtained these things, which it is as much your landlord's interest as his duty to provide, you ought to have the assurance of such permanency of tenure as will enable you to reap the fruit of any capital that you may embark in the cultivation of the soil." The hon. baronet went on to say that "one of the essentials to the prosperous pursuit of agriculture was a good farm-yard, and he would boldly state what he believed to be another—they all stated their opinions freely, and his opinion was, that unless they got leases (cheers), long leases (renewed cheers), agriculture would never prosper in England as it ought to do." At the same dinner—that of the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire Agricultural Association—he found the editor of the *Mark-lane Express* approving of these opinions of Sir Harry Verney, and stating that "he was happy to be present at this meeting, and to hear such sound observations from those who must give the start in agricultural improvements—the landlords. (Cheers.) He felt confident that if the capital invested in United States and other stocks were invested in that best of securities—farming, they might bid defiance to the world." At the same dinner, the hon. member for Bridgewater spoke thus:—"The more I see of and practise agriculture, the more firmly am I convinced that the whole unemployed labour of the country could, under a better system of husbandry, be advantageously put into operation; and, moreover, that the Corn Laws have been one of the principal causes of the present system of bad farming and consequent pauperism. Nothing short of their entire removal will ever induce the average farmer to rely upon anything else than the Legislature for the payment of his rent, his belief being that all rent is paid by corn, and nothing else than corn, and that the Legislature can, by enacting Corn Laws, create a price which will make his rent easy. The day of their (the Corn Laws) entire abolition ought to be a day of jubilee and rejoicing to every man interested in land." The farmers' clubs and agricultural societies all seemed impressed with the idea that the cultivation of the soil should proceed in a more efficient manner, but that the conditions under which land was occupied precluded it. Colonel Powell, at the Herefordshire Agricultural Society, who was described as "a friend of the farmers, a friend of the landlords, a friend of the peasants, and a friend of man" (a laugh), said, "I can see no prospect of any benefit till rents become more equalized with, and parallel to, the value of the produce of the land. (Cheers.) Many meetings connected with agriculture have of late taken place, and various plans at these meetings have been adduced to meet the pressure of the times; but, gentlemen, although good in themselves, they do not hit upon the right remedy. One says, drain, drain! You are all to be drained. (Laughter.) Another tells you to keep up your orchards—nothing equal to Herefordshire orchards. Others say guano. This new manure will produce such immense crops that you yourselves will not fail to receive the bulk; this will be a remedy for all evils. Another says, if you are eaten up with hares and rabbits I will have them all killed—by-the-by, a proposition not to be entirely despised. (Hear, hear.) This will be quite sufficient—nothing more is wanted. There is only one thing that can be done to alter your position at the present time: it must come to this, that rents must be adjusted to the prices of the produce, and leases must be granted. (Prolonged cheers.) Again, "there must be fresh rents and corn rents. Draining, manuring, &c., are subjects worthy to be attended to, certainly; but these, if we may judge from the tone of the addresses that have taken place at some of our meetings lately held, are to be a specific remedy. There is a new dictionary just published, which contains a vast number of words—many new ones—and a most excellent work it is, and some critics speak most highly of it; but it has an omission of one little word—one little word is left out—that word, gentlemen, is 'rent.' To some this is a most perplexing little word, and to many it proves so; at all meetings that take place the speakers use excessive caution about repeating this little word, and I observe, invariably, the word 'rent' rarely comes out—this bolus (laughter), gentlemen, they cannot articulate, much less digest." Colonel Powell thus concludes his able and honest speech:—"I say, gentlemen, that one thing only can benefit us so as to do us any lasting good, that is, fresh rents, corn rents, long leases. These form a just and equitable guide between landlord and tenant. The farmer would then know what to depend upon. This would be only fair between man and man." The gallant colonel sat down amidst loud and long applause. Again, Sir R. Pigott, at a recent meeting of the Worcestershire Agricultural Association, as chairman said:—"It is through the medium of such societies as these, and these alone, that we can hope to throw off the weight that oppresses us, and promote the regeneration of agriculture." He said:—"I trust there is no one so blind in this way as not to see that a sort of public interdict has gone forth against the return of high prices throughout the world, and apart from all political influences—though no doubt it is very agreeable to us to

be able to talk over those days when sowing and gathering were mere mechanical operations, and when the profits were sufficient to cover any deficiency either of produce, industry, or skill—depend upon it those days will never return.

Mr. Collis, at the same meeting:—The president has said that the landlord would be glad to meet the wishes of the tenant; but, at the same time, I do think that if the tenant had a more fixed tenure in the land (here the speaker was interrupted by the cheers of the farmers), the landlord would get as good rents—better perhaps—and more regularly paid; and that it would be to his advantage, as well as to the advantage of the tenant. (Loud cheers.) There is no other means of accounting for the prosperity of the Scotch farmer, except that he has a better tenure than we have. (Cheers.) I read with great pleasure a speech of Lord Hatherton, in which he said that light and poor lands were not only better cultivated where the tenant had got a lease, but the tenant was able to pay much higher for them. (Cheers.) We must also recollect the very able paper by Earl Spencer on Lord Leicestershire's farm—very light soil, which has been reclaimed, but which now grows excellent crops. It is quite impossible a tenant can do this unless he has a fixed tenure (loud cheering), because, whatever may be his faith in his landlord, circumstances over which he has no control might occur—the tenant himself might die as well as the landlord, and then his family would not have any return for the money which he had spent upon the soil. (Cheers.) Besides, great advantage must arise to the landlord as well as the tenant, because the land would be very much benefited, and thus become more valuable. I lately read a speech of the Earl of Stair, in Worcester—and I find the farmers there are framing it—in which he says he will grant his tenants leases on certain terms; the tenant is to lay out money as well as the landlord; and the only advantage to the tenant—and a great one it is—will be, that he is to have a lease. He had many more documents of the same kind, all proving that agriculture was behind-hand, that it ought to be improved, and that the circumstances under which land was now held prevented that improvement. He had particularly adverted to this, because he expected to find some member rising on the other side, and saying that, by chemical processes and other improvements, the deficiency of past times was likely to be supplied. Now, he had pointed to those meetings for the purpose of showing that sacrifices were required on the part of the landlords which were not likely to be made. The fact was, there was required from the landlord a sacrifice of both power and pleasure. First they were asked to convert tenants-at-will into tenants under lease; and he need not tell honourable members what a sacrifice that was. Instead of having men driven to the hustings as serfs, they would have men exercising an independent judgment on the choice of their representatives. It could not be denied that, ever since the passing of the Reform Bill, the custom of giving leases had rather discontinued, and the practice of taking tenants-at-will had become more general. There was not the least likelihood then of tenants getting leases. The fact was, the competition for land made landlords comparatively safe. He had seen lately fifty-six applications for one farm in the county of Hereford. Under such circumstances, did any man think landlords would not look for the highest possible price? Then they were secure of their rent, for being the legislators, they had so stringent a law of distress that they could immediately command it. He said further, the proprietors of land were generally but tenants for life, as the occupiers were holders at will, and they had, therefore, but a slight motive to lay out much money for the improvement of their land. From the nature of our law of settlement, in nine cases out of ten, when our hereditary proprietors came to an age to look to the improvement of their estates, they found themselves in a position for saving rather than spending money, and, being sure their properties would go to their eldest sons, they felt bound to make provision for their youngest children. (Hear.) This was not his observation, but that of those who had turned their attention to the circumstances essential to the improvement of agriculture. Was it likely, again, that the landlords would sacrifice the patronage and pleasure conveyed in their power over game? Nothing harassed or perplexed the farmer more. The game destroyed his crops, without any allowance being made him. When we read the quantity of game killed at a battue of a landholder, was it to be expected he should forego such a source of pleasure? The fact was, we could never induce the landlords to make the sacrifices required by the interests of the community, until he saw it would be for his advantage to have the greatest amount of produce at the lowest price. When that time came then would he be induced to seek out men of capital and skill and to confer on them a lease. Under such a system he should hope to see landlords seeking out farmers who would well farm the land, and at once giving them leases at any rent they agreed to pay. He should like to see landlords competing for tenants, instead of fifty tenants competing for one landlord. (Hear.) He was bound to admit, from inquiries he had made, that there was now as great reluctance on the part of some farmers to accept leases as of landlords to grant them. But why? From the uncertainty of the present state of things. They had been severally promised 80s., 61s., and 56s. a quarter for their corn. They got 41s. instead of 61s., and 46s. instead of 56s. The farmer saw there was no assurance for his price, and he could not say what influence would be exercised on price by the Legislature. And he ventured to say that no intelligent farmer would say he could suffer as much by Free Trade, and the certainty of his position, as he now did by remaining tenant-at-will, and being promised a protection it was impossible to realize. (Cheers.) Now, he had established these positions—that the supply of food had been deficient, that great inconvenience had resulted, and that the protective system had led to the cultivation of land in a most slovenly manner, and that we had no hope of a sufficient supply from that quarter (hear, hear, hear); that the people were suffering from want, and were increasing in number. When they found such a state of things, were they not bound to consider if they could be averted in future? Was it possible? Why, he asked, should they distrust the effect of commerce, influenced by competition, for the supply of food? We relied on the system of men acting on their own interests, and discovering the wants of the community in every other case; and what reason was there for mistrusting it in this? The right honourable gentleman at the head of the Government told us we might rely on it in all cases, except

as to the issue of money. If any mistrust was honestly felt, why not call the merchant and ship-owner to their bar, and ask them if a more abundant and plentiful supply of corn could not be ensured under the ordinary operations of commerce, than was provided under the present system? Did any man believe that any but one answer would be returned? He hoped he should not hear again the foolish things enounced in former debates. For instance, no one, he hoped, would inform them that nothing but bullion could pay for wheat. This would not be said after our having received 17,000,000 quarters of corn within the last five years, and paid for them in manufactures. After the prediction that it would all disappear, there was never so much bullion in the country. And though our general exports had fallen off, those to the corn-growing countries had increased. He should quote an extract from the *Economist* newspaper, had a very able article on this subject:—

| | 1837. | 1842. |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Exports to continental corn countries | £11,581,342 | £16,860,416 |
| Ditto to all other countries | 41,787,330 | 30,520,607 |
| | £53,368,672 | £47,381,023 |

Now, as to the objections to his motion, on the ground of its being extreme, he did not know who they were in that House who had a right so to designate it. Was it those who said they would stand by the existing law and not abandon one iota of protection? (Cheers.) If he proposed a more moderate measure, had he any chance of conciliating those who constituted the majority of that House? And who held that language? (Hear, hear.) If he proposed what was called a moderate fixed duty, would not the change be opposed as strenuously as that he now submitted? Would not "vested interests" be disturbed, and the rights of protection infringed as much by a 5s. duty as that which he proposed? What was constantly avowed in private by gentlemen opposite was, that they did not care for protection, but to prevent a regular trade in corn. (Cheers.) Whenever they could bring their minds to the conclusion that they had no right to exclusive advantages, they would be as much in favour of Free Trade as of a fixed duty. But while they had the opposite idea, they would determine the kind and amount of protection that suited them (hear, hear, hear); but he could refer to authority in favour of making the changes directly. The right honourable President of the Board of Trade said, the other night, that commercial changes should be effected at once and completely. Nothing could be more wise. Everybody knew that commerce adapted itself to circumstances, and to keep great questions of trade in suspense was the way to contract commercial enterprise, a measure precisely in point was the duties on wool which were just totally repealed. The right honourable gentleman at the head of the Government informed the House that the sudden transition from restriction to freedom improved the prices in the market. In looking back to the period when the trade between England and Ireland was opened, he found all the arguments used now relied on then. "Cheapness of labour," "peculiar burdens," "existing interests," the things now urged against free trade with the globe, were dwelt on in arguing against a free trade with Ireland. And what was the result? A great importation of wheat took place for the first seven or eight years, the price of wheat rising the whole time, and from that time to this much benefit had accrued to both countries. (Hear, hear.) Such appeals for protection are not listened to when they are not backed by important interests. Take the beer duties. He knew no stronger instance of capital being invested on the faith of the existing law, and the interest in question being made to yield to public good, or what was thought to be so. No consideration whatever was shown for their appeals for protection. He did not blame Government for that, because, when general interests were in question, private interests should be prepared to yield. With respect to the exportation of machinery, it was plausibly argued that a great advantage was conferred on the foreigners, who were thus made rivals on unequal terms. The interest affected was weak, and the change was effected at once. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. GLADSTONE: The change was eighteen years in progress.

Mr. VILLIERS: Well, the changes as to the Corn Laws were going on for thirty years. (Hear, hear.) There had been seven alterations in the law, and one undeviating struggle made against it. (Cheers.) Take turnpike trusts, again. People vested their money in them on the faith that there would be no change without notice. But the paramount interest of the public required the change in favour of the mode of travelling by rail, and it was made immediately. But a more important change was effected within the last few years—he alluded to the poor law. He thought the analogy good in this case, because he believed the old poor law to be prejudicial to the poor themselves. But many of them did not think so. Their expectations were raised under it; their conduct influenced by it; their characters formed by it, and many of their domestic relations determined by it; and if ever there was a case in which the feelings of the people should have been considered in preference to an enlightened view of their interest, it was this. There was a sudden introduction of a somewhat rigid system, in utter disregard of the feelings of the people. ("Hear," from Mr. Borthwick.) He asked the honourable member, who had such sensitive feelings on this point, for whom he meant to vote to-night?

Mr. BORTHWICK: For the poor.

Mr. VILLIERS: The hon. gentleman was going to vote against this motion, and would no doubt be influenced by the old arguments as to existing interests, peculiar burdens, and the necessity of consulting the peculiar feelings of those affected. (Hear.) They should not have changed the old poor law, till they had changed the Corn Law. (Hear, hear.) The hon. member for Evesham could not go back to the old poor law, and yet was about to support the present Corn Law. He swelled the fortunes of the rich, but left the wages of labour undisturbed. The hon. gentleman could not do anything more offensive to a dominant class, as he (Mr. Villiers) well knew, than to assail this law, and, if the hon. gentleman wished to conciliate their favour, he could not take a more direct course than to uphold this act, and to run down every man who opposed it. (Hear, hear.) The same arguments as those he had been combating were held on the slave trade, though that was a system condemned from the beginning by all good men. When Mr. Pitt was told he should make no change on account of the existing interests of the planters, he said, "I do not under-

stand complimenting away the lives of so many human beings. I do not understand the principle on which a few individuals are to be complimented, and their minds set at rest, at the expense and total sacrifice of the interest, the security, the happiness, of a whole quarter of the world, which, from our foul practices, has, for a vast length of time, been a scene of misery and horror. I say, because I feel, that every hour you continue this trade, you are guilty of an offence beyond your power to atone for; and, by your indulgence to the planters, thousands of human beings are to be miserable for ever. I feel its infamy so heavily, I am so clearly convinced of its impolicy, that I am ashamed I have not been able to prevail upon the House to abandon it altogether at an instant—to pronounce with one voice, "immediate and total abolition." There is no excuse for us, seeing this infernal traffic as we do. It is the very death of justice to utter a syllable in support of it. Sir, I know I state this subject with warmth. I feel it is impossible for me not to do so; or, if it were, I should detest myself for the exercise of moderation." Now, considering the misery which had been produced by those laws, the irreparable injury they had inflicted on commerce, and the millions they had for ever morally and physically ruined, he for one could not, for the sake of conciliating a few great men, abandon a great principle, which had for its object a great public advantage, and the removal from the people an enormous wrong. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. FERRAND, after descending on a variety of topics (all urged in his old tone, his old manner, accompanied with his old stories, unredeemed by a spark of novelty, and his whole conduct manifesting that fools are not always taught by experience), moved an amendment, the terms of which were a copy, or rather parody, of the motion of Mr. Villiers, with the variation that machinery, not the Corn Law, was the cause of distress, and protection and encouragement to native industry its cure. This amendment found with difficulty a seconder; in answer to the repeated call of the SPEAKER, "Who seconds this amendment?" Mr. Borthwick slowly and reluctantly raised his hat; but as it was scouted on both sides, scarcely even alluded to, and finally withdrawn, we shall take no farther notice of it.

Captain BRIDGES lauded the landed aristocracy, whose hospitality at home and courage abroad were conspicuous in peace and war. The Protection Societies should take the title of Anti-Tamworth or Anti-Peel Associations; and the Anti-Corn-Law League, by its interference with constituencies with which it had no concern, only prolonged a contest which was one merely of time. He condemned all these associations as mischievous; but, acting on principle, he should vote as hitherto, with Mr. Villiers, and in repudiation of the sliding scale.

Mr. GLADSTONE said it would be his duty to meet the motion of Mr. Villiers with a direct negative; and he hoped, therefore, that Mr. Ferrand would not place his amendment in the way of a direct "ay" or "no," on a subject of so much importance as the Corn Laws. He was not an advocate of extreme protection, but confidence in the stability of a law was essential to the complete working of a measure which, so far as it has been tested by the experience of two peculiar and unusual years, has realized the most sanguine expectations. In 1812 they had spent eighteen nights in fair, hard discussion on the Corn Laws; they could not renew it every year; and he claimed something like stability for the decision of Parliament. Sir Robert Peel was accused of having promised a particular price to the farmer for his grain. He had done no such thing, he had merely indicated that it would be desirable, if it were possible, to keep the price between 54s. and 58s.; and in the three seasons from 1842 to 1844 these limits were not exceeded, and the minimum, during the last year, had not been reached. Even Mr. Villiers was obliged to confess that, under this Corn Law, a foreign trade was maintained, not so extensive or so steady as he might desire, but sufficiently so for the supporters of the measure, which, in addition to its other merits, had realized a revenue, during the present year, of so much as 17s. the quarter. The existing law had obviated the objections which applied to its predecessor. The motion was directed, not so much against it as against the whole protective system sanctioned by the policy of the country; and there was, therefore, but one course for Parliament to adopt, in putting a check to an agitation mischievous in its effects, by creating an impression of the instability of a law which ought to be considered as a settlement of the question.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL found himself, like Sir Robert Peel a few evenings ago, in "no very enviable position." He was not prepared, either to say that the Corn Laws should be at once abolished, or that the existing law should be maintained. There were inherent vices in the present system, which indicated its premature decay; and when Mr. GLADSTONE appealed to the two last years, he merely proved that the present Government, instead of being wiser, had only enjoyed much better weather than their predecessors. Would the existing Corn Law stand two successive bad harvests? It violated the commercial principle; while a fixed duty—whatever might be its amount, six, eight, or ten shillings—enabled the merchant to make his calculations with certainty. But he apprehended that a sudden repeal of the Corn Laws would cause panic, affect the employment of capital in agriculture, and lead to a greater importation than was consistent either with the profits of the importing merchant, or the security of the home cultivator. The only portion of the proposition of the Anti-Corn-Law League which had the slightest claim to originality was the immediate abolition; all their other arguments had been anticipated by the masters of the science, Adam Smith, Ricardo, or such statesmen as Mr. Huskisson or Lord Grenville, who, however, guarded their views by great caution as to the mode of arriving at their accomplishment. He regretted that he could take no part in the present motion, and heartily wished that some compromise could be effected which might have the effect of subduing agitation; if trade and commerce flourished, the landed interest need not be afraid of decay. The better way would be to revise the whole system of our protective duties, instead of dealing in perpetual harangues against the Corn Law, the maintenance of which was more desired by the farmers than by the landlords themselves. But he could see no end to agitation so long as the Government were determined to maintain the existing law.

Mr. MILLS commiserated the position of Lord John

Russell, thanked Mr. Gladstone for his straightforward, honest speech, and called on the country gentlemen to listen to no compromise at all. The Anti-League was merely a defensive, the Anti-Corn-Law League an aggressive, association, whose interference, however, at elections had proved anything but a successful experiment. The working population were well aware that the object of the League was to cheapen bread in order to lower wages—a conclusion which none of their speeches, pamphlets, or papers attempted to meet; while the prices at which foreign grain can be imported showed that utter ruin awaited the farmer if free importation were immediately permitted. He adduced a statement, signed by three practical farmers, contradicting Lord Ducie's statement as to the expense of growing wheat on the Cotswold Hills, and denied, through the medium of figures, that the Corn Laws constituted a landlord's question.

Vicount Howick then rose and said:—Sir, I am afraid it is rather a late hour of the night to rise and address the House; but as I believe we are all most anxious that the debate should finish to-morrow, at all events—(cries of "To-night, to-night")—I should be sorry to press; yet I hope the House will permit me, though it is rather late, to take this opportunity of expressing the sentiments which I entertain upon this most important subject. Sir, I agree with the opinion which has been expressed by my noble friend, that this question has not been brought before the House in a convenient shape. I wish my honourable friend the member for Wolverhampton had taken the regular parliamentary course, to have moved for a committee of the whole House on the Corn Laws, and not embodied in the motion to be put from the Chair the resolutions he intended afterwards to move. But, Sir, though this may, I think, be an inconvenient course, still I have no hesitation whatever in giving the motion my support. I do so partly because, as the honourable member who has just sat down has stated, that it is now reduced to the question between the existing laws and the repeal of them; and when the matter came to that point I have never concealed my opinion in favour of the repeal of the existing law. Her Majesty's Government, I think, have done no good service to the landed interest in bringing the question to that issue; they have, I believe, rendered compromise impossible; at all events, until they think proper to propose some accommodation, it will be in vain to urge it from this side of the House. As we are therefore driven to select between the two extreme propositions, I have no hesitation in choosing the repeal of the existing law. (Cheers.) Often as we have discussed this question, I think that in the present year we discuss it under circumstances which give it some degree of novelty and considerable importance. We have just been told by an honourable member, who represents a great agricultural county, that he admits the wages of agricultural labourers to be much too low. With respect to labourers in manufacturing, we had a similar admission not long ago from her Majesty's Government. We were told in the debate on the Factory Bill that they did not dispute the fact that the proposed reduction in the number of hours for young children and females was of itself highly desirable; but they stated that the country was not in a situation to bear so great a reduction of its productive power. They said the loss must fall either upon profits or upon wages; and that both profits and wages were so low that they could not, even for so important an object, consent to further reduction. Now, Sir, having therefore the fact before us that wages are universally low at the present time in this country, and profits equally depressed,—that is, that both the great branches of productive industry are at this moment suffering very greatly, and that industry is inadequately rewarded,—it seems to me there is no question which so imperatively demands the attentive consideration of the House as—What are the causes of this unhappy condition of the country? It is a state of things to which we must all feel it is most important to put an end; and I am prepared to rest my support of the present motion expressly on this single ground,—that the present inadequate reward of industry, the low rate of wages and of profits, is to be traced directly to the operation of the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear.) Other restrictions on commerce, no doubt, contribute to the same effect; but this inadequate reward of industry is mainly the result of the existing Corn Laws. I do not mean to consider that law in any other aspect. I mean to confine my observations strictly to this point, and to endeavour to show that this low rate of wages and profits is the direct effect of our system of protective legislation. Now, Sir, in attempting to establish that proposition, I would in the first place, ask you, to what else can you attribute the fact? The fact itself is not denied; it is admitted on both sides of the House: we all feel that it is the great evil of our present social state. I ask you, to what is it you attribute it, if not, as I do, to the Corn Laws? Can you tell me that English capitalists and labourers receive little because they produce little,—that industry is ill rewarded in this country because it is unproductive? No man can say so with truth. The energy and spirit of British capitalists, whether among farmers, manufacturers, or merchants, are at least equal to that of their competitors in any other part of the world; the perseverance, skill, and industry of British labourers have long been proverbial, and their skill in production is great in proportion. Sir, in manufacturing we all know this to be the case,—we all know that their science has made the gigantic power of steam subservient to our use, and has so greatly increased the improvements in machinery that it has added to the productiveness of human industry in bringing forth materials—cloth and a vast number of other articles of human use—almost beyond calculation; it has even augmented the power of human industry in all these things to such a degree that some gentlemen have actually come forward and told its machinery is an evil. The hon. member for Knarborough has moved an amendment which goes up on this principle, that it is the real calamity of the poorer classes that a great part of the articles which they consume are produced with great facility. (Laughter.) Why, I wonder the hon. gentleman did not, to be perfectly consistent, recommend us to go back to the happy simple state of the aborigines of Australia, who are not dressed by the assistance of any description of machinery. But I believe that no principle could be devised sufficiently simple for the hon. gentleman. I never expected that any one would have brought forward a motion of this kind in this House, still less that it would have been seconded, as we know it was, by the hon. member opposite. I leave it to the House and the country to determine whether those two gentlemen are not extra-

ordinary specimens of legislative wisdom. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) It is not, then, from any deficiency of productive power that industry is ill rewarded in this country. I have shown you that in manufactures there has been a great increase, but in agriculture it has not been so to the same extent. Nevertheless, in that there has also been a very great increase of production, notwithstanding the handsome crop of thistles which my honourable friend described as growing in the neighbourhood of Tamworth. (Laughter.) There is no question that British agriculture is very greatly advancing. The inquiries which have of late years been made into this subject, up to a very recent period, clearly prove that not only the total quantity of produce raised in this country is greatly augmented, but that the amount, in proportion to the number of labourers employed, is also increased; that each individual labourer, looking to the increase of his industry, the improved rate of crops, the improvement of implements now used, and the general improvement and increase of skill in agriculture,—there can, I say, be no doubt that each labourer now engaged in agricultural produce grows a great deal more human food than any labourer so engaged even so recently as the beginning of this century; that, if you refer back to a longer period, it will be seen that each agricultural labourer produces now at least two or three times as much as he did in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But if industry be thus productive in all its branches, if it is so successful in producing clothing and food and those articles by the exportation of which imported produce is paid for from labour; if labour is thus successful in producing all these things, I want to know why does the labourer receive a smaller share of them than formerly? If he produces more food, clothing, and all those articles which contribute to human comfort, I want to know why he has less of them for himself than he had formerly? A description was given a few nights ago by the honourable member for Stockport of the condition of the Dorsetshire peasantry; the accuracy of that description has not been brought into question. The hon. member who has just sat down has admitted that the agricultural population are in a deplorable condition in that part of the country. Why, I ask, are these men, whose labour is thus so efficient, compelled to part with it for so small a portion of the fruits of their own industry, while at the same time the masters who employ them are equally badly off, and profits are as low as wages? The fact that profits are low in this country is beyond all contradiction; the test of that is in the present price of your funds. We know that money is unprecedentedly low; that the interest of money forms an unflinching clue to the general rate of profits, as well as to the scale of wages; and you are conscious that they are both low. How do you account for that startling fact? You cannot say it is taxation that causes it—because, within the last twenty-five years, taxes to a very large amount have been repealed; and there has been a proportionate improvement in the condition of your labourers and capitalists. I think it would not be difficult to show that this country, in proportion to its wealth, is not heavily taxed, as compared with other countries. They do not doubt have the same objectionable taxes, and some even at a higher rate than we have: still, looking at our revenue at home, I am bound to say that I think taxation is not the cause which presses so heavily on the productive industry of the country. I do not think it is taxation that affords any explanation of that fact. I say there is one way of accounting for it, and one way only; and it is this,—the territory of England is limited in proportion to the people who occupy it; that limitation of territory enabled the natural monopoly of landowners of the soil to demand from those who cultivate it a payment in the shape of rent, to be deducted from the gross produce before it comes to be divided between the farmer and the labourer. I have shown you that the gross produce is larger now in proportion to the number of labourers employed; and you have the fact admitted that the cause why the two great classes engaged in the production of industry—the capitalist on the one hand and the labourer on the other—both receive so small a share of its produce, is simply because they are obliged to pay so large an amount of rent from what they produce before they divide the remainder: the growing and rapidly increasing number of farms, and increasing competition for land, causing higher and higher rents to be paid, there is consequently a progressive diminution of the share of the gross produce of the soil which is to be divided between the labourer and the capitalist. I say this can alone account for the low rate of profits in this country. In the first instance, with respect to agricultural profits and wages—persons engaged in every other description of manufacture must give, directly or indirectly, a great part of the fruits of their industry in exchange for food: thus the price of agricultural produce regulates the price of every other description of commodity; and as the rate of profits and of wages in various businesses can never very greatly differ in particular employments at the same time in the same country, there is a tendency towards equality—though I do not say actual equality—but still a tendency towards equality. This low rate of profits and wages in agriculture necessarily causes a low rate of profits and wages in manufactures and commerce also; and it has thus been the limitation of your territory, in proportion to your population,—it is, then, the monopoly of land which exists which is the direct cause of that low rate of profits and wages of which I complain. (Cheers.) Now, Sir, that I am right in this view of the subject, I think, conclusively proved by this simple fact, that whenever land is more abundant in proportion to the population, then both profits and wages are high. Look, for instance, at our own colonies—Canada and Australia. In both these places wages and profits are high; yet in Canada labour is far less efficient in production than in this country. Compare the amount of labour employed by the people of Canada, in the back woods, with the same amount of labour which is employed here in supplying the peasantry of this country. It will be found to be infinitely greater. The Canadian requires all the clothes he wears, and everything requisite for the supply of his necessities, to be brought from a vast distance, and to be carried sometimes through trackless forests; and at last the goods reach him at a very great expense of labour. The same may be said with respect to the corn which he raises: it has to be carried over bad roads a distance one or two days' journey, there to be ground and brought back. On the other hand, the English labourer has everything close to his door and at his hand. He has the best of roads, in addition to railways, canals, steam-mills, and every con-

venience; and the goods are delivered at his house at a very inconsiderable expenditure of labour, compared with that which is requisite in Canada. It is evident, then, that the wants of the one class are supplied at an infinitely smaller proportion of labour than the other. Yet the Canadian labourer has not only higher money wages than the English labourer, but a greater amount of all the necessaries and comforts of life: he has more food and clothing, a better habitation, and in every respect superior accommodation to that which is possessed by our labourers at home. Now, to what is this circumstance owing? Why, simply to the fact that in Canada there is so great an amount of land in proportion to the population, that the whole of its produce is divided between the labourer and the capitalist who employs him. There is also a large field for the employment of capital and labour; while in this country there is a restricted field for employment and capital. When you have a restricted field for capital and labour, you have as a necessary consequence low wages and small profits; and, on the other hand, when you have a large field, you have high wages and great profits. Experience is uniform upon this point; wherever the same circumstances occur, the same results follow; whether you look to New Zealand or elsewhere, as long as security can be maintained, where there is a large supply and abundance of land in proportion to the population, there the people have plenty of work and high wages, and the capitalist has good profits. Now, Sir, I have laid before you principles clear and elementary. ("Hear, hear," from Col. Sibthorp.) I have no doubt the gallant member for Lincoln, who cheers me, is thoroughly conversant with these points of which I have been speaking, and therefore the House will understand that it is not for his edification that I have referred to them. (Laughter.) I have been compelled to go into these truths, elementary and plain as they are, because they lie at the very root of the matter before us. If you admit that wages and profits are low, because the soil is limited in proportion to the population, it follows of necessity that, if the extent of land could be increased, and a large additional quantity made available for the purposes of the population, the effect would be at once to raise wages and profits; part of the labour and capital now employed on our existing territory would be drawn off; competition would be diminished, and the labourer and capitalist would be able to retain a larger proportion of the fruits of their industry. I think no one hardly could deny that such would be the result; and if so, I wish to ask you in what does the difference consist between what happens in this case if you allow the labourer and capitalist to obtain food—not directly from land, but indirectly by exchange from other countries? In each case you equally diminish the stringency of the existing monopoly, which keeps down wages and profits. If, for instance, 10,000 or 100,000 labourers, in proportion to the amount of capital, could obtain employment upon a large tract of land abroad, and, thereby, suddenly escape from the country, you must all perceive that that circumstance would diminish the present competition for land, by drawing off a certain number of men of capital from it, and would also increase the supply of food in the country. But is it not attended with exactly the same result if these 10,000 or 100,000 labourers, with the same amount of capital, were employed in producing cloths or tools which they can exchange for corn or flour obtained from Poland or America? Would not that have exactly the same effect as what we have been describing, in diminishing the force of the existing monopoly? It is obvious that the effect would be precisely similar, and, indeed, in every respect the same: it must be exactly the same in the one case as in the other. If this, Sir, is a correct view of the subject, does it not follow that it is most unjust to prohibit that exchange? If, as I have ventured to argue, it would be the same thing whether these people cultivate the same land or produce the same supply of food, by the manufacture of articles taken in exchange for food, is it not most unjust to prohibit that exchange? (Cheers.) The honourable member who has just sat down has distinctly admitted that that exchange might take place. The whole argument of those who support the Corn Law rests upon this—that there would be too great a facility for obtaining land if the exchange we propose were to take place. It does, Sir, appear to me that it is a most monstrous injustice that you should prohibit the poor man from making the most of his labour and turning it to the best account in his power. I say it is a peculiarly monstrous injustice if the right hon. baronet opposite, with the right hon. baronet whom I now see sitting near him, and who upon the late debate on the factory bill, enlarged at such length and with so much eloquence upon the sacred right which every man had to the produce of his own labour—that being the most sacred estate which a man could possess—and the injustice of interference by law with the enjoyment of that estate, should, notwithstanding, support a Corn Law. But, Sir, do you not interfere with the enjoyment of that estate? If a Sheffield cutler, or a Manchester spinner, can exchange the produce of his year's labour for thirty quarters of foreign corn, and you prohibit him from doing so, and compel him to give it for British corn of which he can only obtain twenty quarters, I ask you whether you are not distinctly robbing that poor man of one-third of his labour. (Cheers.) Can there be a clearer case? Of course I do not assume that these are the actual proportions; they may be much less, or considerably more; I believe they would be found to be less; but, whatever the proportion is in which that man can exchange the produce of his labour for a greater quantity of foreign corn than you permit him to receive of British corn, I say in that very proportion you deprive him of the fruits of his honest industry in order to give it away to another. Sir, this is a proposition which I wish to bring broadly before you: I say you take from that man that which he is morally entitled to, and give it to those who have no earthly claim to it. Let it be remembered that this is not a taxation for the benefit of the state. All classes—the highest as well as the lowest—are interested in maintaining the power and necessary machinery of government by taxes, so long as they are duly apportioned and involve no sort of injustice. But this is no tax imposed for the benefit of the state, but for the purpose of raising money. The right honourable gentleman opposite has totally disclaimed the Corn Law as an instrument of revenue. Its supporters say it is for "protection;" but what those gentlemen call protection is to deprive every other class of the community of that power which nature intended them to possess, of exchanging the produce of their labour with those who will give them the most in return for it. What you call protection

in shutting out of the market those who would give a man whatever he most wants in return for what he produces, and compels those men, in order to obtain food, to go to the dearest market. Thus, when you come to translate it into common sense and plain language, what is the real meaning of that which you call protection? I say that this involves a very great injustice. I believe there is no doubt that in all fully peopled countries there is a tendency in profit and wages gradually to fall. I believe that to be inevitable. It is palliated in a great degree by the increase and efficiency of labour; by those machines of which the hon. member for Knarborough has so bad an opinion; but still it is the opinion in all densely peopled countries, that wages and profits gradually fall. But if you allow food to be imported from abroad that tendency is checked. I do not say that this, or any possible importation, can prevent a very considerable fall of wages and profits; but I am persuaded that it would so far check it that it would be felt as a private evil, and not experienced as a general calamity by the great body of the community: that it is the means appointed by Providence for making the extensive unoccupied territories of the world available for the welfare and benefit of the population of old and settled countries. Is it, then, just to interfere with that process? Have you a right to step in by law, and—not, as I say again, for the purpose of revenue, but for the benefit of a particular class—place a difficulty in the way of the importation of food into this country? Sir, I ask you whether it is even just or wise for your own sakes to do this? I wish that I could press upon your minds as it ought to affect them, the case of the productive classes of this country at the present moment. I wish that I could enforce upon you, half so strongly as I feel, the sacred duty incumbent on us of losing no time in endeavouring to improve the condition of the working classes. (Hear, hear.) The acknowledgment has been general on both sides of the House that they are in the deepest suffering, and we have only to look around us to be sure that such is the case. With respect to the capitalist we can see a thousand symptoms of the unhappy consequences of the present state of things. It is obvious that there is too low a rate of profit and too large an amount of capital required to enable a tradesman to obtain a living. On the other hand it is perfectly clear that the consequence of a low rate of profit, which I think I have shown you is a consequence of this restriction on importation of food, is to throw more and more of all the trade and business of the country into the hands of great capitalists, to the utter ruin of all humbler men. It is to increase that tendency of which we see so much in the present day—to the creation of overgrown establishments, founded on the ruin of hundreds of families, rendering more and more marked that broad distinction of society into the few very rich, and the great mass very poor, which the right hon. baronet opposite, in introducing his property tax, justly described as one of the great social evils of the present day. Sir, you allow this system to extend and increase that evil day. That is the cause of the universal complaints of the young men in the middling and upper classes of society of the difficulty in establishing themselves in life, and of the overcrowding of every profession. Restriction in trade is obviously the cause of this; because, as I have said, it is a symptom which you never see in those countries in which the land offers employment, and where capital is not restricted. Sir, if we turn to the case of the labouring classes, the misery is still worse. We have had before us a description of the agricultural population—the miserable state of the great body of those who till our land.

Colonel SIBTHORP.—No, no.

Viscount HOWICK.—That is another illustration of my argument. Both the gallant member and myself have the good fortune to come from counties where the population are comparatively well off: that is in Lincolnshire, and the north of England. There they do not witness those distressing scenes which we see in other parts; and it is undoubtedly true that in the north of England the agricultural population are comparatively well off. But in the southern counties of England it is universally admitted that nothing can be more deplorable. In Dorsetshire, for instance, a meeting was held only a day or two ago to see if they could devise means for the improvement of the condition of the people. Well, sir, you find symptoms of this distress in other quarters. We have had brought under our notice, not long ago, the miserable condition of the sempstresses in London: why, these are all different symptoms of one and the same evil; they are all proofs of the overcrowded population—a population pressing against each other for the means of subsistence which you allow them—a population which, in their increased competition for the means of livelihood, are driven to labour for the lowest amount of remuneration that can be given to them. Now, sir, how are you to improve their situation, except by adopting the means which we propose to you? Some gentlemen, I know, have suggested a large and extensive emigration. Her Majesty's Government do not agree with that, and so far, certainly, I concur with them, that though I think my hon. and learned friend the member for Liskeard is perfectly right in his views of colonisation, though I think that large and extensive colonisation would be the greatest blessing given to this country, although I believe that we have the greatest right to complain, after the promise of last year, that the members of her Majesty's Government fell so miserably and lamentably short of the expectation which they held out to us on this subject, still I am bound to say that colonisation, even on the largest scale, could not effect by itself any great improvement in the condition of the great body of the population: I believe that would be altogether impossible. But, sir, if you cannot by those or any other means effect your object of raising the people at home to an equality with their fellow-creatures who are enabled to emigrate, as would be the case with these sempstresses and distressed labourers in Dorsetshire, for the moment they can make up their minds to break the ties which bind them to their native land and emigrate, they immediately find their situation altered, and instead of competing with each other for a miserable subsistence, they find that the competition is for their services amongst those who are anxious to obtain them; but, if you cannot raise your population at home to an equality of prosperity with those who are content to emigrate, I say that you can at least do this,—forbear, by artificial restrictions, to aggravate their condition, and refrain from imposing restraints upon the introduction of food into this country. You can thus give a new value to labour by diminishing the amount of competition, and render it more valuable in the market and enable the labourer to command higher wages in re-

turn for his services. I say this you can do; the poor ask it of you, and it is all they require from you—a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. They have a right to ask it—you have it in your power to give it them, by simply consenting to do that act of justice, of relieving them from the artificial restraints which now prevent them from turning their labours to the best account. Any other remedy you may attempt I am persuaded will be ineffectual. Some gentlemen tell us of the Poor Law. Why, sir, it seems to me that charity, whether voluntary or enforced by law, never, in a wholesome state of society, can be depended upon for the livelihood of the great body of the population: even if it were possible, it would be destructive of their moral character, happiness, and comfort. I can conceive nothing more degraded than the state of the agricultural peasantry in the south of England a few years ago, before the attempt at improving the law was made. Relief is absolutely necessary to meet special cases, such as sickness, accident, and deep distress—these are fit subjects for relief; but charity is altogether powerless in affording the ordinary means of livelihood to the great body of the population. There are other gentlemen who say it is all the fault of those greedy people who grind down wages. Why, as my hon. friend the member for Stockport most justly stated, when remarking on the low wages of Dorsetshire, this is not the fault of the farmer—low wages are not caused by him—or of the manufacturer. ("Hear, hear," from the Ministerial benches.) Wages are governed by causes over which they have no control; by the operation of the demand and supply of labour. A voluntary agreement to raise wages cannot answer the purpose. Artificial plans for raising wages, and all these things, in the end, are sure to fail; sooner or later the thing will find its level, and wages will of necessity be regulated by the proportion between the supply and the demand for labour. You can, therefore, only improve the condition of the working people by increasing the demand for labour, making their industry more valuable, and enabling them to obtain their due reward, not as a boon or favour—because upon those terms I say it is not fit to have it—but as a right which they have the power of enforcing. It is in this manner that you should obtain for them high wages. I say you have the power, if you choose to exercise it, of giving them this relief. You may take off those restrictions which every man in his heart is conscious are utterly inconsistent with those principles which even the right hon. gentlemen opposite so stoutly maintain in what they call the "abstract." We all know that these restrictions are totally incompatible with those great principles which the right hon. baronet opposite invariably takes credit to himself for maintaining: he must know that, it is so inconsistent. If he supports these restrictions at all on a special case for some imaginary advantage, which I for one am entirely unable to understand, I ask him how he can reconcile himself to do that, how he can justify it to his own sense of duty, unless he can suggest some other means of raising the condition of the great body of the population of this country. Sir, I tell you to beware how you persevere in this system, because, though the honourable member who has just sat down treated with some degree of derision the notion that this was a question of rent, and that the interest of the peasantry and the farmer were not at stake in it; although he treated that statement with contempt, I for one tell him my firm conviction, that this is a question of rent and nothing but rent. I state this undoubted impression of my mind as one who wishes well to the landed interest, and cannot do otherwise, because my prosperity is completely involved in theirs. (Hear.) I am persuaded that, if they would look fairly into this matter, they would find that even upon the narrowest ground of self-interest, we who are concerned in the welfare of the land ought to put an end to these restrictive laws. If we look back at the history of the last thirty years during which we have had these Corn Laws, what do we see but a continued succession of disappointed hopes of agricultural prosperity, and a perpetual recurrence of seasons of the greatest distress among the farmers. I am persuaded, Sir, that our own real interest requires the alteration of these laws; but whatever may be our interest, I am satisfied it is our most solemn duty immediately to abandon their maintenance. (Hear, hear, hear.) I think that it is as demonstrable as any proposition in arithmetic, that the continuance of these enactments will still further depress the general condition of the people. I ask, whether for the highest imaginable benefit we are justified in keeping down the people? We know, Sir, upon Divine authority, that there is a malediction pronounced upon those who withhold from the labourer his hire; it is my firm conviction that the guilt is as great of those who, as legislators, are parties to the maintenance of this law, and who know its effects, as that of any private individual extortioner who deprives the labourer of his hire. (Cheers.) Sir, I for one will not take any share of the awful responsibility attached to the continuance of this system, and I caution you to beware of your prolonging this obstinate perseverance in evil too far. All experience proves that, if justice is too long withheld, something much beyond justice is in the end extorted. I think there are significant symptoms that we are not very distant from that end. (Hear, hear.) It is true you are all-powerful in this House, and that you have a majority in the constituencies of the kingdom ("hear, hear," from Colonel Sibthorp), by whom you have been returned; but I for one, as a friend of our existing political institutions—as one who would view with the greatest dread and alarm any speedy and violent disturbance of the present distribution of political power—call upon you to beware how you press this power much further, because the foundation upon which our institutions rest is sapped when the persuasion shall once become general, that those in whose hands political power is now placed pervert that power for their own benefit to the injury of others (hear, hear): when once that persuasion gets possession of the mind of the great body of the people the days of our existing institutions are numbered.

Colonel SIBTHORP: When it does.

Viscount HOWICK: The gallant colonel says, when it does: I tell him that that persuasion is very fast gaining ground.

Colonel SIBTHORP: No, no.

Viscount HOWICK: You say "No," but, if you were skilful to read the signs of the times, I think you would give a very different answer. (Cheers.) Let me ask you to look at the symptoms around you of the universal prevalence of Chartism. (Laughter from Col. Sibthorp.) You have taunted gentlemen connected with what is

called the Anti-Corn-Law League, with not venturing to meet public discussion in the manufacturing districts. From what does this arise? Do you think it arises from an attachment of the population to your Corn Laws? If you do, you are much mistaken. It arises from this—that that population are deeply dissatisfied with the existing institutions. (Hear, hear.) They believe that, if the Corn Laws continue, the middle classes will join with them in overthrowing those institutions; and therefore they do not wish to alter your Corn Law until they can change with it the existing distribution of political power. I ask any man who is conversant with the actual state of the manufacturing districts, whether they are not now ashamed of those Chartist disturbances that took place at Free-Trade meetings. Do not suppose this feeling of Chartism arises from a theoretical dislike of your form of government, or anxiety to succeed in political power. It is no such thing. It is a practical sense of privation and of physical suffering. It is what they call themselves "a knife-and-fork question," which lurks at the bottom of this dissatisfaction. (Hear.) They feel their condition to be a miserable one, and they refer the misery which they endure to what they call "class legislation." These, I think, are words which are constantly in their mouths; and I say they are right in so referring it. You cannot hope to remove this impression from their minds; do not suppose that you can convince them that their sufferings are not owing to what they call class legislation, you cannot so persuade them, for this simple reason, that in the main they are right. It is perfectly true, and it is to our shame that a great majority of them are very imperfectly educated, and mistake very often the nature of the laws which we have made. Very often the remedies they ask for would only aggravate the evils which they are suffering. In the main they are right; I believe God did not so constitute the world that with a proper form of government, and with sound legislation, honest industry should be unable to obtain a fair and just reward. (Hear, hear.) I said before that "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work" is the right of the labouring class—they feel it to be so, it is a conclusion to which they have come instinctively, independent of reason: and till they get that, they will be persuaded that there is something wrong in your legislation. I say they will be rightly so persuaded; their conviction is a sound one, and you can only cure them of the conviction, by doing that which will really improve their condition. You can only reconcile them to your instructions by rendering their condition better. Sir, I dread a great and sudden change in the distribution of political power, because, in the present state of ignorance on the part of the population, I fear they would mistake the cause of their suffering, and do infinite mischief to themselves and others, before they were convinced of their error; but, if this condition of the manufacturing population is such as to excite the anxiety of those who take any deep view of the situation of this country, I do not think the condition of the agricultural population much better. Reference has already been made in the course of this debate to the prevalence of incendiarism. To what cause is that to be attributed? Why, even the right honourable gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was not prepared to deny that distress was one very great cause of the extension of this crime. Sir, I am persuaded that such is the cause. That distress has been referred to the existence of the Poor Laws. It seems to me that that is a mode of explaining it which is altogether unsatisfactory, for this simple reason, that, four or five years before the alteration of the Poor Laws, precisely similar outrages were even more prevalent than they are at present, and they arose then, as I believe they do now, from discontent produced by intolerable distress. In the agricultural population, at all events, you will not say that this distress arises from anything about grievances or from anything else but the actual pressure of distress. It is true this distress does not manifest itself in that part of the country to which the gallant colonel belongs, nor in some other districts. I say that the change in the Poor Laws altogether fails to explain the cause of this distress, because the same symptoms were perceptible before that alteration took place. But, beyond that, we have lately seen in the newspapers some extraordinary and interesting letters upon the subject of these outrages. I do not concur in the view of the writer of them; but, at the same time, it is impossible to deny that he is a person of considerable acuteness and industry in searching into the facts which he is appointed to investigate. It appears to me that the fact which he has pointed out, and the abuses which he has mentioned as exciting to violence, have had a considerable effect in producing these fires—namely, the perversion of the new Poor Law and the re-establishment of some of the abuses which existed under the old plan. Because, what is it we are told has happened? Why, that there is an attempt made in that county to revive a practice which, previous to 1831, was common, of paying agricultural labourers, not according to the value of their fair labour, but according to what the overseers and persons who administered the Poor Law conceived to be their wants. Usually the wages of single men were reduced by the board of guardians, who administered the law as it had been in olden times. They are at their old tricks again, trying to screw the labourers up by the instrumentality of the new Poor Law, as they formerly did by means of the old. The wages of single men are assessed at what these parochial officers think absolutely necessary for their subsistence. This is a perversion of the present Poor Law, which the commissioners—whose power ought to be used as much for the protection of the poor as the rate-payer—may most advantageously interfere to check; and I hope they will; but the House must observe this remarkable fact, that this abuse, which I say is a revival of the old Poor Law under the amended system, is directly owing to the Corn Laws. The cause is, as I believe, directly owing to the Corn Law; because it can be traced, according to the statements which are made, immediately to the over-competition for land to which they have been subject, and the stringent monopoly of the landowners. Sir, that competition, we are told, drives farmers in these districts to offer rents which, in fact, they have not the ability to pay; so that they are working, not for themselves, but others. Hence arises the temptation to these abuses, and power to practise them, because, if you were to increase the value of labour, labourers would be enabled to command high wages, to which they are entitled; at the same time the farmer would not be driven to offer such exorbitant rent for the land, nor have the same competition, and endeavour to beat down labour. Therefore this dis-

ness, I think, is traceable directly to your Corn Law, and this law further contributes to that distress in this manner—I say it is at this moment the main obstacle to agricultural improvement. Sir, as a person knowing something—I do not pretend to know much—I am happy to behold that in our county we do not follow exactly in the course of the agriculturists in the southern counties, but we adopt a plan which the agriculturists of other counties would do well to copy. I say I do know this, that the present law is a great obstacle to agricultural improvement; it is one of the causes of the indisposition to take leases which at present exist. The right honourable gentleman the President of the Board of Trade distinctly told us that such was the case; because what was his argument? He said this distress in Suffolk, this incendiarism, arose very much from the reluctance of persons to embark capital in land from the want of stability in the existing law. I concur with the Right Hon. President of the Board of Trade, I agree with him that the instability of the law is the main obstacle. I observe that the moment you have altered your law, when you have put it upon a permanent footing, the right hon. gentleman says there is no permanent footing except total repeal. If so, I say by all means let us have total repeal. That fear of foreign competition, which now acts as a discouragement to improvement and enterprise, immediately will change its effect, and it will act, on the contrary, as the strongest possible spur to improvement and stimulus to exertion, so as to enable them to meet with success the foreign competition. Therefore it is this law, directly, which is the cause of the distress which now exists. Sir, I beg pardon of the House for trespassing so long. I feel that by the Suffolk case I have been led further into the case of the agricultural population than I had intended. I will only revert for a single moment, before I sit down, to an argument I was endeavouring to force. I will ask you, when such is the temper and disposition of men's minds—I mean of the great body of the people in large divisions of the agricultural parts of the country, and most manufacturing districts—when such is the temper of the body of the people, I ask you, is it safe or prudent to defer seriously attempting a remedy? The hon. member for Dorsetshire is not in his place now. I know his high and honourable mind, and also the hon. members who voted with him on the Factory Bill. I hope my hon. friend will never allow it to be said that, having adopted a measure with reference to others, he refused to allow the application of the same when his own interests were concerned, but shrunk from the experiment. (Hear.) That noble lord admitted to me, frankly and fairly, that the statement of the hon. member for Stockport with reference to the Dorsetshire peasantry was not overcharged. (Hear.) Let him persevere in the noble task he has set himself, with reference to bettering the condition of the working classes, and join us in getting rid of these artificial restrictions. The right hon. gentleman the President of the Board of Trade shrank from even attempting to defend this law, on any sound principle of commerce. Let him be assured that when he is in combination with a system which restricts food from the population he must be in error. He cannot be acting imprudently if he reverts to a system which Providence clearly meant to be the system of the world—by which the abundance of one country might be brought in aid of the scarcity of another; and if he joins with us in refusing to tolerate any longer a system by which the great body of the people are pressed with intense competition for the means of subsistence, in maintaining artificial laws, of which it is acknowledged that the object is to prevent the introducing of food into this country for the maintenance of the people. (Cheers.)

On the conclusion of Lord Howick's speech, the debate was adjourned.

SECOND NIGHT'S DEBATE.

We sincerely regret our inability to give the entire speeches spoken in the course of the two nights' debate. So far from wishing to suppress a single word uttered in defence of the Corn Laws, we would rather that every monopolist speech were placed alongside every Free-Trade one, were it only to exhibit the sheer imbecility of the reasons adduced in defence of protection. But this our limits positively forbid; and we must therefore content ourselves with an impartial, though an abbreviated, summary.

The debate, on Wednesday, was resumed by

Mr. STAFFORD O'BRIEN, who read copious extracts from speeches, newspaper articles, pamphlets, &c., in order to give an historical view of the proceedings of the Anti-Corn-Law League, whose conduct and operations he ridiculed and condemned. It seems he had been at enormous pains to get up this undigested mass of scraps, cut out with the scissors, probably thinking that, as Mr. Villiers had gone largely into statistics against the Corn Law, he had only to collect extracts from the speeches of its opponents to prove the reverse! His tedious speech of two hours might be put in this *stily-gistic* way:—There is a Corn-Law, and there is an Anti-Corn-Law League. But the Anti-Corn-Law League has existed for six years, made great exertions, many speeches, and collected much money, in order to enlighten the country. Therefore the Corn Law is "holy, and just, and good."

Captain LAYARD, when in China, had condemned the practice of crippling the female foot, but was told that the old women who made a living by it prevented the abolition of the practice. There, for the benefit of a class, the women were put on short steps; here, for the benefit of another class, we put the people on short commons. He amused the House by observations on Mr. Disraeli, and by relating his pleasure on having seen Sir Robert Peel relaxing himself at the opera, witnessing the ballet of "Ondine," the "shadow-dance" in which he compared to Free Trade sitting before the mental vision of the Premier. The motion of Mr. Villiers had his support.

Colonel RUSHTON spoke shortly on the condition of the agricultural peasantry of Suffolk, which was much better than had been represented, and to which the incendiary fires had been wrongly attributed.

Lord RENDLESHAM reminded the House that there were two parties to the letting of a farm, and that the landlord, like the manufacturer, could only command the market price. In his part of the country—and he believed that it was general—three rents were calculated on: one for the landlord; a second for the farmer, to recom-

pense his outlay of capital; and a third was appropriated to the labourer, being spent in the shape of wages. But repeal the Corn Laws, reduce the price of grain to the continental level, and the farmer would be unable to compete with his lighter-taxed foreign rival, while wages, regulated by the price of provisions, would fall. He hoped that Sir Robert Peel would boldly avow his determination to maintain that system of protection which this country had so long enjoyed.

Mr. WARD said—Sir, I have no intention of troubling the House at any length on this subject; my opinions in reference to it are so well known that it would be almost useless to do so. But the noble lord has given a fair challenge to every man at all acquainted with the agricultural interest. (Hear, hear.) In the first place, I think we ought to express our obligations to the noble lord for having brought this debate back to something like reasonable grounds. (Hear, hear.) To spend two hours in reviewing everything which has been said and done by the Anti-Corn-Law League—which has been done to-night—I cannot but regard as a mode of evading the question, a waste of the time which ought to be devoted to it if we mean to enter upon it honestly, and a diverting of public attention from that which should be the main topic of discussion, namely, the hearing of the Corn Laws on the public interest. (Hear, hear.) If the hon. member for Northamptonshire had said twelve months ago, "We regard this Anti-Corn-Law League as an unconstitutional body,"—why, that would have been some excuse for the attack which he has entered into; but for a gentleman who occupies at this moment the honourable situation of President of the Publishing Committee of the Pro-Corn-Law Association to come forward and pass in review the acts of a body whose conduct that association is copying in the minutest particular—(cries of "No, no,")—except in that most important particular, the great talent which the League has brought to bear on this question (hear, hear, hear)—this does appear to me a most extraordinary course. I must say that anything so perfectly milk-and-water as the publications which have been issued by the Pro-Corn-Law League—anything presenting a greater contrast, in point of ability, to those of some of the members of the Anti-Corn-Law League—I cannot possibly conceive. But, I say, the hon. member threw away his ground before he occupied it this evening; and he is now following, with others, the proceedings of those very persons whom he holds up to censure. (Hear, hear.) Now, we are indebted to the noble lord opposite for having brought this question to the real point at issue; and if I could believe with him that there was a sort of sliding scale established between the price of corn and wages—if I could believe that, when wheat is at 80s., a farmer pays double the amount of wages that he does when it is at 40s.—I should admit then that there was some force in his argument. But have we heard of anything but a miserable abatement of 5 or 10 per cent. returned to the tenant; while, as the noble lord himself says, the value of his produce has fallen in many instances from 80s., which the law promised, to 43s. and even to 36s.? (Hear, hear.) The complaint which we make against this law is, that there is nothing like certainty for anybody; that you take your land upon a supposition which Parliament holds out, but which Parliament has never yet had, and never will have, the power of realizing. (Hear.) Parliament promised, in 1815, 80s. a quarter, and in six months afterwards the price was 46s. (Hear, hear.) The right hon. baronet himself promised last year a minimum of 56s. (No, no.) Well, he gave a virtual promise, and it was so understood by the country, and so received by all his adherents. (Hear, hear.) There is not a man amongst them who does not value his land on the supposition that he may realize 56s. a quarter for corn, and who does not tell his tenants so at his rent-dinner, "Why, it is the hope held out to us by the head of her Majesty's Government." (Hear.) It will not do, therefore, for the right honourable baronet to come here and say that he has never promised anything of the kind. I say it was believed everywhere throughout the country, and it is upon the faith of it that every arrangement has been made since the Corn Laws were changed. (Hear, hear.) Well, now, the noble lord complains that so much is said out of this House about the poor man, and that so little is done for him. God knows that is true enough; and I should—if I had the happiness of seeing any of them present, but they are all shrinking from this discussion—I should recal those gentlemen who were filled so recently with sympathy for the poor, and who expressed such hopes of making this House a benefactor to the working population of the country, to the sentiments which they uttered in recent debates when indulging in a cheap humanity at other persons' expense. (Cheers.) Why are they not here to-night? (Hear, hear.) Why is there not a man amongst them who is ready to say, "I am willing to incur some little risk, to expose myself to something like a chance of the lowering of the value of my land, to benefit those classes whose claim upon us is so fairly urged? Where is the noble lord the member for Dorsetshire? (Hear, hear.) Where is the whole of that Young England party who are so active here? (Laughter.) Why, there sits the solitary representative of it (pointing to Mr. Peter Borthwick), who had the peculiar distinction of being the only man in this House who ventured to second the resolutions brought forward by his honourable friend. And really I must do that honourable gentleman the justice to say, that I never saw a man dragged more reluctantly into any affair of this kind in my life. (Laughter.) It is most creditable to the House to find that, in the whole course of this debate, not the slightest allusion has been made to the amendment of the honourable member for Knaresborough, except that made by the right hon. gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, who pledged himself distinctly to prove, whenever that was moved as a substantive proposition, that for any one man in this country who could be shown to have lost employment, or to have been injured, by the operation of machinery, he would produce 100 families who were living in comparative comfort by it. (Hear.) Now, I think this is a very creditable position for the House to have taken on this question. (Hear, hear.) But as to all those gentlemen of whom we heard so much in the factory debates—who, while dealing with other people's property, held such large language about the interests of the working classes, and the absolute necessity of rescuing them from the state of degradation and distress into which they have fallen—what is become of them? (Cheers.) Are they all grown sober, like the hon. member for Nottinghamshire? (Laughter.) Have they all had time to become ashamed of their own po-

sition? That is the only construction which we can put upon their conduct. (Hear.) I ventured to say in the late debates, that while I had the unpleasant duty to perform of opposing a measure which was decidedly popular with the working classes—which held out to them a hope of relief that I thought could never be realized—I was prepared to support any measure which would contribute effectually to an amended condition of the working classes. But, with respect to those gentlemen who, having been defeated in their own project, do not dare to discuss this question of the Corn Laws—who, having failed in enforcing their own crude theories as to diminishing the duration of labour in this country, do not dare to meddle with the great question of the people's food—why, I must say I can conceive nothing more unhappy, I had almost said more contemptible (hear, hear), than the position which they will henceforward occupy in public opinion. (Hear, hear.) Now, the noble lord says that the rate of wages is always regulated by the price of corn. Really that proposition is so utterly untenable that it is surprising that any one could be found to state it in an assembly of thinking men. What is the difference in his own county between the rate of wages in 1836 and in 1843?

Lord RENDLESHAM: Between 1836 and 1843 there is a difference of about 2s. a week.

Mr. WARD: I venture to say that no corresponding rise whatever has taken place in the agricultural counties in the dear years above the cheap years. In many counties the rate of wages now is lower than it was five years ago, absolutely lower (hear): it is not, I am aware, the fault of the farmers; I do not say that they are responsible for it. (Hear.) They do not regulate the rate of wages; but there are more people out of employment—more people pressing on them for work—and the consequence is, that there is less money to be divided amongst them. (Hear.) I do not here allude to that peculiar custom which seems to prevail in the county of Suffolk, and against which, as a supporter of the new poor law, I beg to enter my protest—a custom subjoining or superadding another test to the test created by the poor law to qualify a man for receiving relief out of the rates. (Hear.) When I voted for that law, I considered that the sole condition upon which relief was to be administered henceforward, was his submission to the workhouse test; that if a man were so depressed by circumstances as to give up the hope of supporting himself independently, and were to apply to the workhouse for relief, that was a sufficient test. I appeal to the right hon. baronet whether that was not the general feeling of the House in 1832. (Hear.) Yet, such is the additional stringency given to this law by the board of guardians in Suffolk, that they require an actual certificate from the ratepayers of the district that the man cannot find work amongst them before they will admit him into the union workhouse. (No, no.) The practice is almost general there at the present moment. They actually require in many of the Suffolk unions a certificate from every farmer in the parish that they have no work to give the applicant, before they will grant him any relief. What is the consequence? The poor man becomes the slave of others. When a young man goes round to look for work, a farmer may say to him, "I will give you work at 4s. or 5s. a week; I will not give you 7s. or 8s. which you ought to have;" and then, if he refuses to accept the offer, he is not able to obtain his certificate, enabling him to obtain relief at the workhouse. If that practice is general in Suffolk, I think it accounts very much for the lamentable state of things in that county. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, the noble lord said that this Corn Law is not detrimental to commerce. Now, that is another of those daring assertions which I cannot make out, and which you only make in this House because it is a packed jury. (Hear, hear.) You are sitting amongst a number of persons who applaud all these extraordinary allegations when they come from one of their own clique, from one of the party who have a pecuniary interest in this question, and who have a monopoly of power; I admit your power, though I altogether deny your justice. It is one of those allegations which no person would venture to make except in this House, which is just the last place where it ought to be made. Everything which has been done as regards our commercial relations with foreign countries; the correspondence of the noble lord with Prussia, published recently; everything, in fact, shows the practical difficulty which every Government has when it attempts to extend commerce, and finds that the Corn Laws stand in the way of every rational proposition for extending the field of our commercial enterprise. (Hear, hear.) Why, there is not a man in this House who, if he could get rid of the supposition that the Corn Laws are essential to his interest, would not join with us on the subject of Free Trade. (Hear, hear.) It would be his own interest to do so, clearly and distinctly his interest. What interest has he in paying double the proper price for sugar? Why, he consents to it because the sugar protection recalls to his mind the protection of corn. He stands by the West Indians on the supposition that the West Indians will stand by him; and so you go on, link by link, till the whole community is injured by a combination of interests in commercial matters, which ought never to have been heard of in a British Parliament. You ought to look more at the general interest of all classes. You have no business to begin at home. You have no business to lay down your abstract principles, as the right hon. gentleman the President of the Board of Trade did last night, telling us that he regarded dear bread as the greatest of public calamities, while in the same breath—almost in the same sentence—he added, that he looked upon the admission of 160,000 quarters of corn, during the first six months of the present year, at a duty of 17s. a quarter, as a proof of the admirable working of the present Corn Law. (Hear, hear.) The right hon. gentleman's practice is all of a piece with his theory. The right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government lays down abstract principles in the most satisfactory manner. We should be too happy to have the right hon. baronet as our leader if he would only do half what he proposes to do (hear); if he would only work out one tithe of his own theory he would be the leading man in this country in the application of Free-Trade principles. (Hear.) I would prefer him ten thousand times over to my noble friend the member for the city of London; because there he (Lord J. Russell) stands, with a sort of dogged pertinacity, the type, in this House, of a fixed duty which no one wants. (Laughter.) He says to our opponents, "Whenever you quarrel with the right hon. baronet—whenever you have a lover's quarrel with him, like that which you had the other day, which I am sorry

that you so soon made up—whenever you come to that position, here is a fixed duty, I adhere to the great principle of a fixed duty; I do not see why it should be, mind—we will talk about that when it comes to the point—but I adhere to the principle of a fixed duty. The right hon. baronet adheres to no principle at all; but here am I the representative of the principle of a fixed duty, and, when you want to come to a compromise on this subject, you will find me a very convenient person." (Laughter.) Now, I do not say that if the worst comes to the worst, a fixed duty would not be preferable to the sliding scale; but if the right hon. baronet would only give me some hope that a day would come when he would really set about parting company with the drag-chains that hang around him on that side of the House, and set about working out one small portion of those large and extensive theories which he has had the merit of putting before the country, no man in this House would be more glad to follow him than I should. The right hon. baronet makes a good case even out of a very bad one; and if, besides putting forth good principles, he would combine them with practice, no man would have a greater satisfaction in following him as a leader. I saw with great regret that the right hon. baronet displayed an inclination to make a high bid for an accommodation with the gentlemen who sit round him; or at least with the hon. members for Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Winchester. There was a most marked and significant cheer given by the right hon. baronet, when those hon. members said, "We are disposed now to depend on the Government; we did not depend on them much before, it is true; but still, after the manly and straightforward speech of the right hon. gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (not remarkable, by the way, for straightforwardness in his speeches), we are disposed to rely on the new compact entered into with the Government." One hon. member said he really relied upon the right hon. baronet; he would not be put off by the invidious hint thrown out by the hon. member for Manchester; he said, "I really believe that the right hon. baronet intends to give this law a full and fair trial." Well, the right honourable baronet (Sir Robert Peel) cheered this most vociferously; he actually got excited on the subject (laughter); he cheered what was said in a manner which I did not expect—having seldom seen the right honourable baronet manifest much interest in what passed in this House—so important did he consider this patched up accommodation with a large body of his supporters, that he put himself out of his ordinary equable course in this House to cheer most vociferously the appeal which was made to him. Now, I wish to ask the right hon. baronet what he considers a fair trial: is it one, two, three, four, or ten years? (Hear, hear.) You must expect great vicissitudes. Why, I very much doubt whether we should yesterday have had the pleasure of hearing the speech of the President of the Board of Trade had it not been for that timely shower which came to resuscitate the hopes of the agriculturists. (Laughter.) But what, I ask, is a fair trial of this indefensible system? How are we to meet bad harvests, I want to know, for one, two, or three years? How long is this country to endure suffering and misery before the right hon. baronet will be placed in such a position as to be able, with a decent regard to consistency and to past professions, to part company with his followers, and say to them, very amicably, "You really do not know your own interests; I am a better judge of them than yourselves; and you may take my word for it that the time is come when it is absolutely impossible any longer to resist the demand for a change in these laws." Now, I know that we have to labour under the greatest possible disadvantage in arguing with gentlemen who never listen to anything but great practical grievances. When I pointed out last year that 10,000 persons had been actually thrown as paupers upon the parish of Sheffield, who were all earning good wages three years previously; when I said that the Corn Law was consigning them to irremediable poverty, while Manchester, Paisley, Stockport, and other towns were sending forth their remonstrances against the same law; and when the right hon. baronet acknowledged that the greatest possible evils under which the people of this country suffered were those which arose from a period of commercial depression, he could not bear the idea of that distress; it affected him, I believe, as much as any one. Honourable gentlemen were not then disposed to take the same strong ground. (Hear, hear.) They then saw that such a course might be attended with serious dangers; they saw that the aristocracy of this country had much at stake independently of the Corn Laws, that many other things would remain after those laws were repealed; under the idea that there is now some hope of keeping down popular discontent, they are assuming quite a different tone. (Hear, hear.) I repeat, therefore, that we are arguing under the greatest possible disadvantage, but still I come back to the same point. I ask the right hon. baronet what he means by a fair trial of this law? I ask him whether England, the greatest commercial country in the world, is to be governed by a principle which depends on the weather-glass—by a scale which rises and falls with the barometer at a particular season of the year? (Cheers.) I ask him whether the food of the people is to be made the subject of the most unprincipled competition amongst the landlords, without any advantage to one single class, while the system is, in a great measure, repudiated by the tenantry of the country. (Cries of "No, no," from the Ministerial benches.) You say not. Now, I distinctly meet you on that ground. (Hear, hear.) I say that in every step which has been taken by the Pro-Corn-Law League the landlords are the persons who have put their shoulders to the wheel. (Hear, hear.) The landlords are the persons who have coerced the tenantry; and the landlords have paid every shilling of expense which has been incurred. There has not been a subscription in any part of the country which, *bona fide*, has not been headed by landlords. In the first association which was formed, Mr. Tower, of Essex, had the honour of putting down his name for £50. We all know the sort of machinery which carried the last election. In every one of the counties the squirearchy and the church were found in holy alliance for the protection of agriculture. (Hear.) As many letters have been written by landlords to their tenants to induce them to take part in these meetings as were written to induce them to take the part they did in the last election. Never was there anything so bolstered up and so factitious as the whole appearance of Pro-Corn Law enthusiasm. (Hear.) I am perfectly certain that, if at this moment there were, from any overruling circumstances, a change of opinion in this House;

if gentlemen were to say to their tenants, "We are prepared to meet you on fair terms; you have not the interest which you fancy you have in these laws; and we are quite prepared to enter upon the question of leases with you, with a view to an alteration; we are quite prepared to provide against that confusion;" for I will not mince the matter: I know there must be confusion for a certain period (hear);—"we are quite willing to assist you for two or three years after your protection is withdrawn, and we will then let you hold your land on terms which will be advantageous to all parties." I venture to say that there is not a tenant-farmer in this country who would not gladly close with his landlord on such terms. I say, then, that the question being one in the settlement of which not merely the landlords but the whole population of this country have a direct interest, and one which has so close a connexion with the discontent of large classes of the community, it would be a much wiser, a much more honourable, a much more straightforward, and a much more profitable course for hon. gentlemen opposite to look at this question manfully, instead of staying off the evil hour, as they will do to-night, by a large majority of votes, without convincing any human being that they have one single argument in their justification. (Cheers.)

Sir JOHN TROLLOPE vindicated the protection societies, and made a short speech in defence of the Corn Laws.

Mr. MILNER GIBSON said:—Sir, I think that, in going into an investigation of the mode in which these two societies have been formed, viz., the society for maintaining the Corn Laws, and the society for abolishing the Corn Laws, we have been led from the real question, which is—what is the benefit supposed to be conferred upon the community by the Corn Laws? (Hear, hear.) The Corn Laws are a direct interference with the freedom of trade, the freedom of industry, and the freedom which a man may fairly claim to exercise; and it is incumbent on those who defend this interference to prove to the community the advantages conferred upon it by restriction. (Hear, hear.) An hon. gentleman opposite, in reply to my hon. friend, said, he was quite mistaken as to the origin of the Pro-Corn-Law Society. He said the tenants were the originators of that society. Now, coming from an agricultural county myself, I know how easy it is to give a hint to the steward, that the tenants are expected at a meeting on some particular day, on behalf of the interests of agriculture. (Hear, hear.) To tell me that this society originated with the farming tenants, is to tell me what all the experiences of my earliest childhood convince me is not the case. And, Sir, with regard to the agricultural labourer—I want to know who it is that represents the agricultural labourer in these agricultural societies. (Hear, hear.) I know that when the originators of the Pro-Corn-Law League Society first met in London, with his Grace the Duke Richmond at their head, there were some persons present to represent the tenants; but it is remarkable that no one appeared to represent the agricultural labourer. There was not one single person deputed by the agricultural labourers to come to that association when it was first formed, and say that the agricultural labourers were in favour of maintaining scarcity as being for their advantage. (Hear, hear.) Well, Sir, there was another statement of my hon. friend the member for Sheffield, which was flatly denied by the hon. member for Lincolnshire. The hon. member for Lincolnshire says, that the declarations of the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government have had no effect on the value of land, and have had no effect on the bargains between landlord and tenant. Why, was there ever such an assertion made before? I, myself, saw in the London papers the other day advertisements for the sale of estates by Mr. George Robins, in which he distinctly stated, as one of the grounds why agriculturists must come forward and give a large sum for these estates, that the right hon. gentleman had declared that the Corn Law of 1811 was a final and irrevocable settlement of this great question. (Laughter.) Why, when we see these things in the public papers, put forward by an eminent auctioneer (laughter), who wants to sell an estate (laughter)—does an eminent auctioneer want to get less for an estate than it is worth? (laughter)—does he not want to get the largest amount which he can possibly obtain? Well, then, I regret to hear these statements, disparaging the importance of her Majesty's Government and the right hon. gentleman; and I must confess that I have observed on this side of the House a disposition amongst gentlemen opposite to put forced interpretations upon the statements of the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government with a view of spreading unfounded reports. (Hear, hear.) I have observed a studied attempt of this kind. Now, Sir, I do not say this for one moment with any desire of fomenting those unhappy divisions which prevail on the Conservative benches. (Hear, hear.) I do not say it with that view, but I say it as a friend of the English farmer. (Hear, hear.) My own interests, and the interests of those with whom I am connected, are all bound up with the agricultural class, and there is no class which I desire to see flourish so much as the agricultural tenantry. Heaven forbid, then, that I should in any place whatever, either in this House or elsewhere, say one syllable disparaging the individual characters of men because they happen to be farmers. (Hear, hear.) But, Sir, I complain of this attempt to misinterpret the right hon. gentleman's statements, because I do feel a great interest in the occupying tenantry of the country. For what is the fact? You are teaching them that the Corn-Law protection is permanent; you are teaching them that the right hon. gentleman has said in this House what he has never said, and what he will not say, viz., that he contemplates the permanence of protection to agriculture, or of the present Corn Laws, or of any other Corn Law. All he has said is, that at the present moment he does not contemplate a change; that he has no measure now to submit. That is a very different thing, however, from the right honourable gentleman getting up and saying that he contemplates the permanent maintenance of the protective principle; and for gentlemen to put that interpretation on his words, and thus to strengthen the error into which the agricultural tenantry have fallen—viz., that it is better to rely upon what Parliament can do for them than to rely upon what their own enterprise and their own industry can do for them—I say that, when gentlemen strengthen that fatal error, they are not acting as the true friends of the farmer; they are not promoting the real and permanent interests of the landed proprietors. But are they in any way advancing the true welfare of the

community? (Hear, hear.) Sir, we have also heard a great deal about incendiaryism. The hon. member for Lincolnshire read us a letter upon what the farmers of Suffolk ought to do. He has attributed incendiaryism to distress. And what did he go on to say? He said that the farmer must pay them better wages, and that individuals must do this, that, and the other; by those very expressions showing that he has taken a completely erroneous view of the whole question of wages, and of the contract between the employer and the labourer. (Hear, hear.) Why, people cannot pay what wages they please. It is not in the power of individuals to regulate wages. There may be a state of distress in this country produced by your laws and your systems over which landlords, farmers, and labourers have no control whatever. (Hear, hear.) You may have placed it out of the power of the farmers in particular counties to employ labourers. It is my belief that you have. It is my belief that there is a redundant population; it is my belief that there is a pressure upon the means of subsistence, that men who are competing with one another for work will hire themselves for the smallest possible wages which will enable them to live. Therefore do not let us talk of what individuals can do, but let us consider whether there are not some causes arising from our legislation which produces this discontent and this distress in the country, which apparently has within itself all the resources of happiness and prosperity. It is, indeed, remarkable that incendiaryism should prevail in these three particular counties, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, because these three counties are the very counties of all others in the United Kingdom where protection is supposed to be the most effective for good. (Hear, hear.) These are grain-growing districts to a great extent; they are districts in which you principally grow wheat and barley, which, under the Corn Law, receive so large an amount of protection; and they are districts also in which you have all those means and appliances in the greatest abundance, which you frequently tell us are essential to the morality and good conduct of the population. Why, Sir, there are no counties in England in which the clergy so abound as in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; so much so that it is the practice of friends of mine, when they have met a person with whose occupation they have not been acquainted, dressed in the garb of a gentleman, to conclude at once that he is a clergyman—to such an extent does this class abound. Yet, notwithstanding the means and appliances for good which exist in these counties, you have there a system of the most awful crime—for what crime can be more awful and more appalling than incendiaryism. And, Sir, I have undertaken, and I trust I shall soon have it in my power, to move for a committee to inquire into the state of the poor in those counties, in order that we may know what are the causes of this incendiaryism. (Hear, hear.) I must say we have a right to ask the right hon. gentleman the Home Secretary, that we should be allowed to live in peace without danger of our property being burnt or our lives endangered. I utterly repel those insinuations which have been thrown out, I must say, in a manner unworthy of him, by the President of the Board of Trade, that this incendiaryism must be the result of agitation against the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I say that that insinuation is unworthy of the right hon. gentleman. (Hear, hear.) I defy him to produce the smallest atom of proof that any incentive to crime has been thrown out in those counties by any of the advocates of freedom of trade. I should think it unworthy of myself if I had attributed to the society for maintaining a scarcity any such effect (hear, hear), although that society has agitated those counties far more than the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Hear, hear.) For one placard which the Anti-Corn-Law League has stuck on the gable-ends of houses, the society for maintaining a high price of corn has circulated, I venture to say, six or even ten; but at the same time, although you have been agitating the country—although you have been telling the labourers and the farmers that the interest of the community depends on the high price of corn—I should be ashamed of myself if I could insinuate for one moment that its members had incited any person to set fire to property, with a view of promoting their own ends. It might, indeed, be said that the agitation of the Pro-Corn-Law League Society had induced persons to destroy corn, with a view of promoting their own interest; because your doctrine is, that the less corn there is in the country the more the labourer will get; that the less the whole the greater the parts. That is the doctrine which we have heard explained by the noble lord the member for East Suffolk, because he says the dearer corn is, and the less there is of it in the country, the more the labourer will get for his share. (Hear, hear, hear.) A labourer of distribution must be strange, indeed, if such be the result of scarcity. Whatever may be the rate of wages produced by the alterations in the price of provisions, I will venture to assert, without fear of denial, that in no case will you find that, during the cheap year, the wages of the labourer have not given him a greater command over the necessities and comforts of life than he had in the dear year. Be the wages what they may, you will find on the whole that in the cheap year he has more of the comforts and necessities of life, and especially a larger quantity of bread, than in the dear year. This, Sir, I believe to be the fact. But the right hon. gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, in his speech last night, seemed to think that my hon. friend the member for Wolverhampton was not entitled to come forward and ask for an explanation of the grounds on which protection is based; that he was not entitled to ask from year to year the reason why you interfere with the Corn Law. He said that if we would refer back to "Hansard's Debates," and look back to speeches which had been made at various times in Parliament and in other places, we should find that it had been frequently and clearly explained what were the advantages of protection, and that it was unreasonable in the hon. gentleman to ask him (the President of the Board of Trade) again to go through the various advantages conferred upon the community by interfering with the corn trade. Now, I confess I have read a good deal on this subject, but amongst all the speeches which have been made I cannot find one in which these advantages and benefits are clearly set forth. The right hon. gentleman and others say that we are visionary theorists—that we are schemers, and that we are not entitled, without proving the disadvantages of the Corn Laws, to come forward and call upon the Government to show its advantages. Now, I take a completely different view of this question. I say that the right hon. gentleman at the head of the

Government, and those who maintain the Corn Laws, are visionary schemers. You interfere with what is the natural course of things. You come forward with a subtle and refined scheme of what is called an ascending and descending scale of graduated duties, for regulating the importation of foreign corn, and you say that it is a beautiful and ingeniously-contrived plan for making mankind happy, and trade and agriculture prosper. Now, Sir, I have no confidence in this subtle and refined scheme. I do not agree in the extreme opinions which the right hon. gentleman holds as to the results which he can produce in the state of society by this ingenious device. I prefer trusting to a plan based on common sense; I prefer relying upon the natural course of events—on the operation of men's interests, on their actions rather than upon the operation of this beautifully-contrived, but, as I think, visionary scheme, which the right hon. gentleman supports, but which I hope will not be very long maintained in this country. Now, I say, that the right hon. gentleman is the man of extreme opinions. (Hear, hear.) He holds extreme opinions of a device and mere scheme; and when we look around we do not find that those evils which the scheme is designed to prevent, exist. Well, then, the noble lord the member for the city of London has extreme opinions in favour of what may be accomplished by a moderate fixed duty. Now, I do not think that society will be made happy; I do not think that trade will flourish; I do not think that agriculture will be improved; I do not think that society at large will be advanced in social welfare, by this scheme of a moderate fixed duty. (Hear.) I will prefer, instead of them, to allow men to follow their own interest in their own way; to buy where they can buy cheapest, and to sell where they can sell dearest; taking it for granted that Providence has intended that that course, and by that course alone, society should flourish, and mankind become happy and prosperous. That, Sir, is the view which I take of this question, and I must, therefore, altogether repudiate the notion, that hon. gentlemen on this side, who come forward and ask for a total repeal of the Corn Laws, are visionary schemers—nothing of the kind. (Cheers.) It is you who are visionary schemers. You interfere with the natural freedom of industry to which men are entitled; you do not prevent misery, you do not prevent distress, you do not prevent great fluctuations in the price of corn, and we have a right, therefore, to call upon you to desist from interfering; and, if you do not desist from interfering, we have a right to call upon you to explain clearly and definitely what are the advantages which you profess to confer upon society by those subtle schemes of yours; and if you fail to prove the advantages, I say we are entitled to demand of you the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. Now, with regard to the particular class with whom I am connected by representation in this House, I mean the manufacturers of Manchester, I want to know,—as you tell me that the Corn Law, in some way or other, benefits all classes of society,—I want to know how it benefits them. (Hear, hear.) I want to know what is the advantage which is conferred upon the export manufacturer of this country by the impediments which you throw in the way of his operations. You say that he gets an advantage of some kind by the sale of his goods in the home market; that, I believe, is the argument. (Hear, hear.) But I want to know whether, when a buyer goes from a town in Norfolk—I will take, for instance, the town of Norwich—to buy a bale of cotton goods in Manchester for the purpose of retailing them in Norfolk—I want to know whether he will give any more for that bale of cotton goods than a buyer would give who bought those cotton goods for the purpose of selling them in America. There is the hon. member for Dorsetshire: I have no doubt that he buys cotton goods, or at least that his tenants or labourers do in the neighbouring village. I want to know whether, when a party in that village goes to Manchester to buy cotton goods, he will give more for them than a person who wishes to sell them in New York; and if he will not, I want to know what is the advantage which the Corn Law gives to the manufacturer over what it is called the foreign trade. (An hon. member: "Oh, oh.") Unless the hon. member will give more for the goods, I really cannot see what peculiar advantage the manufacturer gains. If he can prove that I am wrong, I shall be happy to admit it; but I cannot see what advantage you give the manufacturer over another person if you do not give him more for his goods. (Hear, hear.) But then reverse the case. You expect that the Manchester manufacturer should give you a great deal more for your wheat than the New York dealer in wheat would charge. (Hear, hear.) You will not give him one farthing more for his bale of Manchester goods. No; you know full well, though you profess not to know it, that, inasmuch as these goods are exported to all parts of the world, the foreign price governs the home price. You get them, therefore, at the same price as the foreigner gets them, and you take from the manufacturer a great deal more for your wheat than the foreigner would sell his wheat for. Why, this appears to me to be a very odd sort of reciprocity, or home trade, or whatever it may be called (hear, hear); indeed, I think it has been well described by the noble lord the member for Sunderland as no better than robbery. (Hear, hear.) I say that when a manufacturer works up cotton into cotton goods it is his own property, and no one else has any right to interfere with it. I will take a piece of cotton goods belonging to a Manchester manufacturer, and I defy the hon. member for Dorsetshire to show that he ever had any property either in the raw material, in the capital which purchased it, in the persons who worked it, or in the machinery which was used in the production of the article? (Hear, hear.) I want to know, then, if he has not a particle of property in the matter, how he can reconcile it to himself to say, "I am entitled, because I am a proprietor of land, to prevent the manufacturer from exchanging his cotton goods in the foreign market for that produce which the country most needs?" Can it be said for one moment that the landed proprietors of this country, because they are proprietors, have any property in the industry of other men? Can it be said that they have any right, as landed proprietors, to interfere with that property? The manufacturers and the working classes now come to the House very much in the same position as Catholics and Dissenters did in former times. (Hear, hear.) They come to this House complaining of disabilities; they say, "We are persons living by our energies, by our talents, and by our capital; we are not owners of land; we live by commercial exchanges. Trade is a legitimate and proper calling, and one which is within our reach—it is a branch of business that we can follow. But

you have laws—not for the public service, not for the public revenue, not for state necessity, but for the advantage of a particular class—which prevent our following these pursuits and this business which Providence has placed within our reach." Now, I ask any gentleman in this House what is the plea which you can possibly set up for interfering with this freedom of exchange on the part of your fellow-subjects? They are Englishmen, owing allegiance to your Sovereign, paying your taxes, obeying your laws, and demanding as their right the true protection of your laws, namely, that their property should not be interfered with. Their property consists also in freedom of trade. They do not wish to interfere with your estates; all they ask is that you should be satisfied with your estates. You bought, you inherited, you possessed the estates; but you never bought, you never inherited, you never possessed the right to tax other men because you held those estates. You are entitled to the full possession, the tranquil possession, of the property which you hold; but you must give up what is not your own, and what you now hold simply by virtue of the political power which you possess in this country, enabling you to take a portion of the earnings of the labouring classes in this country—a large slice from the loaf of the poorest subject in her Majesty's dominions. That is the matter of fact as connected with this question (hear, hear); and I call upon the right hon. gentleman (Sir R. Peel), and I call upon the Paymaster of the Forces (Sir E. Knatchbull), after their long experience, and by the repeated arguments on both sides of the question which they have heard in former Parliaments as well as in the present—I call upon them, once for all, to come forward and say what is the ground upon which the landed proprietors of this country claim for themselves, as a matter of justice, the right of interfering with the freedom of industry. (Hear, hear.) It is a fair question. I well recollect reading at the University of Cambridge, in the works of Dr. Paley, that every restraint was, *per se*, an evil; and that it was incumbent upon those who maintained such restraint, and upon those who imposed it, to prove its advantage, to prove distinctly and to demonstration, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that a manifest advantage was conferred upon society by such restraint; and he said it was not incumbent upon those who suffered from the restraint, even to prove its disadvantage. Therefore, I am now appealing to you in strict conformity with those principles which I have been taught in one of your universities. I have been taught by Dr. Paley, to ask you—the Legislature, to ask you—the governing power, when there is a restraint which is complained of,—I have been taught by Dr. Paley's philosophy to demand as my right, that the advantage of that restraint should be clearly and explicitly stated; and I have been taught also by that philosophy, that, unless the advantage is clearly and explicitly stated, I am entitled to demand the immediate cessation of that restraint. (Hear, hear.) Now, Sir, we have been told that it is an extreme course, the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. But I am prepared to say, after a full consideration, that with reference even to the vested interests of those who have hitherto been protected, the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws is the best mode of settling the question. (Hear, hear.) In the first place, any other mode of settling the question must still leave something to be done—it must still leave some uncertainty and doubt. No settlement short of that can satisfy the commercial and manufacturing classes, whose rights you have so unjustly interfered with. (Hear, hear.) And, when we come to vested interests, we must consider what is the nature of that possession which has entitled you to plead vested interests. It must be remembered that it has all along been an adverse possession. No time creates an interest where possession has all along been adverse. (Hear, hear.) Was the possession of this Corn Law ever acquiesced in by the commercial and manufacturing classes? Why, at the time when you passed the Corn Law, what was the character of this House? It was a boroughmongering Parliament, it was a Parliament of landowners alone. What was then the qualification for a seat in this House? The possession of land. (Hear, hear.) A man could not take his seat in this House—he could not have a voice in this House—unless he was in the receipt of £600 a year from land. (A voice, "Three.") Were the large manufacturing towns represented when you passed your Corn Laws? (Hear, hear.) Were any means taken to ascertain that there was acquiescence on the part of that large portion of her Majesty's subjects in this interference with the freedom of industry? On the contrary: you passed your laws, and you have always maintained them under a protest. You were told at the time you passed them—you continued to be told throughout their existence—that when other parties had obtained power in the Legislature, they would repeal those laws; so far were they from being acquiesced in. (Hear, hear.) I say then, Sir, that it was an adverse possession, and you cannot therefore plead that time has given you a title. I ask you what consideration was shown for the vested interests of the manufacturing class at the close of the late war, when you passed the Corn Law? Let the hon. member for Dorsetshire consider this. What did Lord Liverpool say? He said that the object of passing the Corn Law, at the close of the war, was that of preventing the settlement between landlord and tenant, which would take place in consequence of the peace. He said in his speech that there were many who demanded inquiry—there were many who asked for delay—there were many who thought it would be better that the country should settle down into this new state of things quietly, without any attempt on the part of the Legislature to alter the position of any new class. But were the demands and entreaties of these different persons attended to? (Hear, hear.) No; you proceeded at once, without inquiry, knowing that you were interfering most materially with the manufactures and trade of the country. I say you proceeded at once to pass this law, simply because you were unwilling that rents should fall from the prices at which they had been during the war, and that there should be that new settlement between landlord and tenant which was expected as the consequence of peace. (Hear, hear.) Well, now, what is this vested interest? You, who so disregard the interests of others, were you not aware, at the close of the war, that the manufacturers of this country would have to contend with the manufacturers of other countries, in a way that they had not had to contend with them during the continuance of the war? (Hear, hear.) Were you not aware that the establishment of peace in the different countries of Europe would cause the manufacturers of those countries to commence new works, and that foreigners would necessarily come

into competition with the manufacturers of this country? But did you regard their interest for one moment? No, you at once said, "Rent, rent, rent, that is our point; we will sacrifice all interests to rent, and, having power in the Legislature, we will pass this Corn Law with a view of preventing that settlement between landlord and tenant which we all know must, without that law, be the consequence of peace." This, I believe, is not an exaggerated statement of what took place at that period; and that has been the view taken, as far as I am able to judge from reading its history, in all subsequent changes made in the Corn Law. (Hear, hear.) You have never consulted the interest of any other portion of the community; you have never regarded any entreaties for inquiry; you have never passed any other Corn Law except with the view of keeping up your rents. (Oh, oh.) I conscientiously believe that that is the case. When you talk of abuse, let me tell you that these are plain facts. The most eminent writers have taken the same view of your conduct. It is not the Anti-Corn-Law League merely which says these things; it is not only men who are supposed to be political agitators, violent party spirits, and so on, who utter these expressions; the same view has been taken by men of the highest authority and the keenest judgment; by poets, by philosophers, by men in almost every station of society. I will venture to say that, in all the abuse of the Anti-Corn-Law League, you will not find any abuse equal to that of one of the most eminent poets who have written in the British language, himself one of the landed class. (Hear, hear.) What does he say of your conduct at the close of the war? He says you were

"The last to bid the cry of warfare cease,
The first to make a malady of peace;
For what were all these country patriots born?
To hunt and vote, and raise the price of corn?"

What does he go on to say with regard to the war itself? This language is more violent than any used by the Anti-Corn-Law League; and it is the language of one of the most eminent poets in this country, a man whose works are circulated in all parts of the world. What does he say with regard to your conduct—I mean the conduct of the landed proprietors—during the war? I do not say that his words are true, I only quote them to show that the Anti-Corn-Law League are not the only persons who have used strong language with regard to the landed proprietors of this country:—

"Safe in their barns, these Sabine tillers sent
Their brethren out to battle—why? for rent!
Year after year they voted cent. per cent.,
Blood, sweat, and tear, wrung millions—why? for rent!
They roared, they dined, they drank, they swore they meant
To die for England—why then live? for rent!
The peace has made one general discontent,
Of these high-market patriots, war was rent!
Their love of country, millions all mispent,
How reconcile? by re-conquering rent.
And will they not repay the treasures lent?"

That refers to the idea which prevailed that landlords had actually some scheme of avoiding the payment of the national debt:—

"No, down with everything, but up with rent!
Their good, ill, health, wealth, joy, or discontent,
Being, end, aim, religion—rent! rent! rent!"

This noble poet does not even exclude the Church itself from joining with you in this crusade against society for the purpose of keeping up rent, because they, be it remarked, bore an interest in tithes:—

"So Mother Church, while all religion writhes
Like Niobe, weeps o'er her offspring—Tithes!"

Now, I know that many excellent men are supporters of the Corn Laws (hear, hear); and undoubtedly there may be numbers amongst the class who support protection who sincerely believe that it is a benefit to the country. I only quote these words to show the position in which you then stood in the estimation of men of high intellect and high talent, who, from their position, were capable of judging of the real motives with which you proposed the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear.) Sir, for one I confess it appears to me that, notwithstanding what may be said about the advance and retrogression of different societies, the time is coming when the community will no longer submit to this gross tyranny on the part of the landed proprietors with reference to the Corn Law. (Hear, hear, hear.) And when it is urged that manufacturers and traders have protection, I reply that in all the petitions which I have had the honour of presenting to this House from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and from other parties representing the manufacturing portion of the community, it has been stated that they wish for the total abolition of all protecting duties on manufactures, as well as of all protecting duties on corn. (Hear, hear.) I refer especially to the petition of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, which denies altogether the doctrine of protection, and demands of you freedom of industry for all classes of her Majesty's subjects. (Cheers.) I should not feel that warmth in the subject which I now do if this were not the case. Still, the wrong which you inflict on the community could not be made right by the circumstance that there were other wrongs inflicted upon it; it stands there still to be judged by itself. If you favour some particular branch of industry in which there is no monopolised agent employed, all that you do thus is to raise the price of the commodity to the consumer. But you do not increase profits, or the wages of the person employed, and for this simple reason, that manufactures being open, whilst there is capital in the country, there will be persons ready to embark in them when they find that a particular manufacture produces a higher amount than any other branch of industry. I believe that one object which many propose to themselves by maintaining the Corn Laws is, to secure what has been called by the honourable member for Shrewsbury the predominance or ascendancy of the landed interest, and that the motives of their supporters are rather political than pecuniary. They fear, that if unrestricted freedom is given for the exertion of the energy, enterprise, and capital which are ready to be employed in this country, an equalizing and democratic tendency will be imparted to society, and that they may not be allowed to sit longer in the halls of the Legislature, and enact such laws as accord with their own feelings and interests only. What does the Duke of Wellington, who does not say what he does not mean, assert to be the object of the Corn Laws? The maintenance of the landed aristocracy in their present social position in this country. The right hon. gentleman the Paymaster of the Forces made a similar declaration not long ago. (Hear, hear.) When

the right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel) comes down to the House, and reads tables of corn imported, and manufactured goods exported, I assert that it savours of the same spirit. It seems to say, "You have so much trade; are you not satisfied? See what we have permitted you to have in reward for your exertions and industry." The real question is as to the amount of trade which these laws have prevented; not what the manufacturers now enjoy, but what they might enjoy under a free trade. (Hear, hear.) Then the noble lord the member for North Lancashire got up a scene yesterday evening, about a petition from the landowners, manufacturers, and farmers of North Lancashire, with 16,000 signatures.

Lord STANLEY: No, no.

Mr. GIBSON: Were they farmers or manufacturers?

Lord STANLEY: There were half the manufacturers of Preston and Blackburn.

Mr. GIBSON: There might be, but I want to know what proportion of the whole 16,000 were manufacturers. I very much doubt, if these persons had known that the petition was for the maintenance of the graduated scale, whether they would have signed the petition. If the noble lord was so confident that protection would benefit the manufacturers, I wish the noble lord, as member for North Lancashire, would rise in his place, and say that he was convinced he conferred a great benefit on his constituents by supporting the right hon. gentleman's Corn Law. Will the noble lord undertake to rise in his place and say that that was his conscientious belief?

Lord STANLEY: Yes, I say so.

Mr. GIBSON: Upon the manufacturers?

Lord STANLEY: I represent agriculturists and manufacturers, and I believe I am conferring a benefit on the manufacturers by doing so. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. GIBSON: I hope the noble lord does not suppose that they will be contented with that explanation. ("Hear, hear," from the Opposition.) I should like to hear from the noble lord the grounds on which he thought so. (Cheers and laughter.) Hon. members may laugh if they please, but the noble lord did state the grounds once. Why? That they might be enabled to keep groves and gardeners. (Cheers.) Considering the position held by the noble lord in this House, we have heard very little from him as to the effect of the Corn Law upon the trading and manufacturing interest. It is true that he did once frighten the agriculturists by his description of Tamboff; but he has never satisfied the manufacturers that the keeping out of corn is for their benefit. I think some are treating this question in a way which amounts to little short of insult. When gentlemen get up, they do not speak to the question. (Hear, hear.) Honourable gentlemen on the Ministerial side are responsible in this matter, for they can alter the law, whilst the Opposition cannot. The right hon. baronet is their leader, because they cannot form an administration out of the Central Society for the Protection of Agriculture. (A laugh, and a voice, "Can you form one of the League?") The right hon. baronet is nearer to the League than he is to the Central Society for the Protection of Agriculture, for he has acknowledged the principles of the former to be right in the abstract, and has professed his belief that they must eventually prevail. The right hon. baronet is responsible for the Corn Law; he imposed it, and he ought to give a distinct explanation of the benefit which it has conferred upon my constituents. The right hon. baronet cannot legislate for a portion only of the community. (Cheers.)

Mr. BANKES dwelt upon the opposite side of the question, denying that the agricultural labourers of Dorsetshire were so badly off as they had been described, and somewhat discursively supporting the protective system.

Mr. HUTT would support the motion of Mr. Villiers, though preferring a moderate fixed duty to total repeal.

At the conclusion of Mr. Hutt's speech there were loud and general cries for Mr. Cobden.

Mr. COBDEN then rose and said:—Sir, it is not my intention to follow the example which has been set by hon. gentlemen opposite [the member for Northamptonshire and other hon. members who followed him], in making this a question merely of the conduct or character of the Anti-Corn-Law League or that of their opponents the Anti-League; but I shall confine myself to the consideration of the influence of the Corn Laws upon the country, and to that alone. (Hear.) If it were not a very trite and familiar illustration of the nature of the expedient which has been resorted to by hon. gentlemen opposite, I should say that their conduct reminds me of the course pursued by a certain defendant, who, having a very bad case, put a brief into the hands of a barrister endorsed in the following manner: "No case; please to abuse the plaintiff's attorney." ("Hear," and laughter.) Hon. gentlemen opposite perceiving they have "no case," find it much more convenient to attack the Anti-Corn-Law League than to attempt any defence of the Corn Law. They are the defendants upon this occasion; the Corn Law is upon its trial, and there is but one way in which it can be tried, and that is by looking to its effect upon the nation at large; and ascertaining not merely whether farmers and farm-labourers have been better off since or worse than before its enactment, whether landlords have been richer or poorer, although these may be very important questions; but the point to decide is, whether the Corn Laws have tended to promote national prosperity. (Hear.) I have never seen more than two modes by which it has been attempted to place the Corn Law upon national grounds. The one is, that it forms part of a general system of protection. I believe the honourable gentleman opposite, who is sitting upon the second bench, uses the phrase "protection to native industry in all its branches." The second alleged reason by which the Corn Law is attempted to be supported on public grounds is, that you cannot keep up your national taxation, and pay the interest of the heavy debt which this country has incurred, without this system of protection. Let us look at the first argument—the allegation of the Corn Law being a part of a system of protection to native industry in all its branches. Is this really the fact? If it be so, I will at once give up my argument. If you can show that you have applied a system of protection to all classes, or if you prove to me that you can do so, then I will give up my opposition to your Corn Law. But have you, in fact, done what you state? Have you protected the exporting manufacturer of this country? An honourable gentleman opposite has referred to an instance, as he states, where a candidate for the Presidency of America went about with banners, upon which were inscribed the motto, "Protection to native industry!" But is he not aware that there are parties in that country situated

precisely as our manufacturers are here? They are extensive exporters of cotton, and can have no protection to the produce of their soil. What has been the effect in America of the cry, "Protection to native industry." Why, it has produced precisely the same discord, the same "dangerous combinations" of men there to abolish the system of class legislation as that of which you have complained so much in England. Nay, South Carolina carried on its opposition to the tariff-law to such an extent, that you will remember it issued its act of nullification, threatening that it would separate itself from the rest of the Union. Go again to France, and inquire what has been the effect of your system there. In that country the owners of the soil are most extensively engaged as growers of wine; where is the system of protection to native industry in all its branches which the wine-grower of that country possesses? "No," they say, "our prices are fixed by the markets of the world; you cannot protect us in the sale of our wines, and yet you tax us, and impose a duty upon us for the benefit of a few manufacturers; and then raise the same cry as that adopted by the people of Carolina—'Let us have different zones in this country, and let us have different sets of tariffs, suitable to the productions of each zone.' That is the reason why discord raged, and is still continuing, in America and France, and will rage everywhere where a system of class legislation prevails. It is this evil which is at the bottom of the opposition you are now encountering in this country. It is not the League, but your injustice which is the cause of it. If no League had been formed before for the removal of this great grievance, it is a proof of the want of intelligence and public spirit at that time in that portion of the community who, I believe, were then deeply suffering under this system, but had not the spirit to rise and resent it. And I would ask, how you suppose you will put down this opposition. Is it by calling names, and saying that the League is "an aggressive body?" We say that your law is an "aggressive" law, and we demand that it shall be abolished, because it is bad; show us that the Corn Law is just, and we will dissolve the Anti-Corn-Law League forthwith; but, unless you can prove that, do not deceive yourselves by the supposition—do not delude yourselves by imagining that such a display as we have had to-night—such a childish exhibition, I might say, as you have shown—will have any effect in producing a dissolution of the League. You talk of "protection to native industry in all its branches." I will bring this question home to you, and ask you to show me how you can protect the labourer of this country. I have brought this subject before you on a previous occasion; I will bring it before you again; and depend upon it no vague declaration shall serve you in this case. I demand that you now state explicitly how you can protect the labourer of this country, and what is the nature of the protection you propose to furnish him with. I will meet you on the ground of the poor law in connexion with this question, but you shall not by this means evade the discussion of the real point. We have had many attempts made wholly to get rid of the question at issue, but you shall not succeed in doing so: the matter shall be brought before the country and the House, and the working classes of England shall thoroughly understand the gross imposition which has been practised upon them. With regard to the national revenue, we are told that, without a protecting duty on corn, we cannot pay the taxation of this country. I heard a remark of this kind drop from a gentleman sitting just before me here, who spoke with all the apparent gravity of a man thoroughly convinced that what he was saying was unanswerable. The hon. gentleman said, "You cannot meet the national taxation without a protective duty on corn." Indeed! Then, if we are to be taxed to pay the taxes of the corn-grower, who is to be taxed and pay the taxation of the manufacturers, I should like to know? (Hear.) The hon. member for Dorsetshire has had the candour to admit that he does not pay more for the manufactures which he consumes than the foreign merchant who has to take his goods to a distant market of the world; therefore he cannot protect the manufacturer in that foreign market. I ask you by what process you intend to assist the manufacturers in paying their taxes, seeing that you, the landed interest, are possessed of this Corn Law which enables you to pay them. I have heard hon. gentlemen say, unless you have a high range of prices in this country it is impossible you can meet the taxation. Well, now, does anybody suppose that the Corn Law keeps up the price of anything but corn? You want a high range of prices, you tell me, to pay the national taxation; have you not admitted that manufactures are sold as cheap here as those which are exported to the most remote part of the globe? Yet, out of those unprotected prices for their commodities, taxation is to be paid; and I want to know why you cannot pay your taxation by an unprotected trade in corn as well as we do by our unprotected trade in manufactures? There is a great fundamental fallacy lurking under this argument, that protecting duties tend to keep up the prices generally in this country. The protecting duty on corn has been already demonstrated by the noble lord the member for Sunderland, who has put the question so well that he really has left nothing to say upon the subject. He has shown that these protecting duties lower both profits and wages; and how in the world are those duties to assist the community at large in paying the interest of the national debt? This is an argument, let me remind you, which applies not merely to manufactures and agriculture—for I wish to draw this question out of the mere scramble between manufacturers and landowners. You are losing sight of the community at large—the great bulk of the people—who are neither manufacturers nor landlords, farmers or farm-labourers—I mean the vast body of the population, who, when they come to see the fallacies of your arguments about taxation and general protection, will be the arbiters of this question; they will step in and enable those who stand forth prominently now, because they meet with this impediment to their claim, to resist the aggression to which they have been so long subjected—the great body of the middle classes, from whom they get their income—the proprietors of house-property in towns, the owners of the debt itself—these, I say, are the men who will step in and assist us to put down this great iniquity, when they are convinced of the fallacy which lurks under the fear that this Corn Law enables them to pay the national creditor. I want to know how this system of protection affects the great body of the people who are neither manufacturers, farmers, nor landlords? Why, if you raise the price of your corn, you do not profess to requite them in any way for the taxes which you impose on their food. They are neither farmers,

farm-labourers, nor landlords: if you tax them for the purpose of paying your debts and taxes, you make them pay their own taxation and yours too. I verily believe that hon. gentlemen, proprietors of land, have a confused notion in their heads, and seem to think that the "national debt" means *private debt*, and they mistake that debt for their own individual mortgages. Sir, I have one or two facts to show the way in which high prices of corn have operated on the revenue of this country. I want that to be understood by the people at large; and also by the Government of this country. I have looked through the list of the prices of corn ever since your famous Corn Law of 1815 was passed. It is a very remarkable fact that the price of corn is just a barometer of the state of your taxation; that your revenue declines just as your corn rises in price; and the revenue flows over just as the value of corn falls: so much so, that it is a perfect barometer as to the state of the revenue. Now, I will take the first four years, from 1815 to 1820, during which period the average price of wheat was 81s. 4d., and the farmers and landlords were glorying in scarcity and high prices. What was the effect upon the revenue at that time? Why, there was an annual taxation of £2,400,000, additional, imposed upon the country for the necessities of the state. The next four years the average price of wheat was 54s. 6d., being more than 25s. a quarter less than in the previous period; then came "unparalleled agricultural distress," and yet you had taxes repealed during those four years to the amount of £8,100,000. I come to the next period of an exceedingly low price of corn, and that was in 1833, 1834, 1835, and 1836, when the average price for those four years was 46s. 9d.: lower than it had been for forty years, taxes were repealed during those four years to the amount of £4,500,000 per annum. I now come to the late period of dear years, from 1838 to 1842, during which five years the average price of wheat was 64s. 7d. a quarter, being higher than it had been for twenty years previous. During that five years you had, first of all, 5 per cent. additional imposed on your general taxes, and 10 per cent. on your assessed taxes that fell short; and then you had an income-tax, a tax on coal and other taxes; and the whole amount of additional taxation then laid upon the shoulders of the people of this country during the above five years was eight millions sterling per annum. Thus the revenue of this country—at a time when the rent was rising, when the landowners were laying on extra rents, and when, if we may believe you, farmers were in a state of prosperity—was in a state of depression. Now, during the last year, and up to the present time, when the price of corn has been rather lower, we have again had a season of the remission of taxation; and if prices continue low, you may possibly get rid of the income-tax, and have as good a revenue as before. I want to ask the right hon. baronet, who I presume will favour the House with his opinion on this question, where is the difficulty in carrying out the principle of Free Trade in everything? I wish to state most honestly and emphatically that I stand here as an advocate for *Free Trade in everything*; and if you will go into committee on the subject of corn, and the rules of the House will permit me to add the repeal of the duties upon every other article that is protected, I will undertake to move its insertion. (Hear, hear.) The noble lord the member for the city of London expressed some surprise that we did not bring forward a Free-Trade motion—that we dealt with *corn only*. You will recollect that the right hon. baronet at the head of her Majesty's Government told us that it has always been customary to deal with corn differently from every other article. Unfortunately, to our sorrow, we know that to be true; and it is because corn has been dealt with differently from every other article that we have established an Anti-Corn-Law League, attacking the Corn Law only, knowing well that, when we can abolish that enactment, hon. gentlemen opposite will save us the trouble of labouring to procure the repeal of all other monopolies. I say that I am for Free Trade in everything. The right hon. baronet may meet us now, as he once did before, by saying, "This is a very revolutionary proposal of yours." (Ironical cheers from the Ministerial benches.) I hear hon. gentlemen opposite cheering, which shows that there are a great many of them labouring under that hallucination. I wish to show that you can adopt Free Trade in everything, and that there are no national obstacles to its being carried out immediately. I want to prove to you that, barring your own class interest as landlords, farmers, or farm-labourers, there is no national impediment to your carrying out the principle of Free Trade to-morrow. The noble lord the member for Newark (Lord J. Manners) laughs, and throws back his head; I am glad to see that laugh, because it is expressive of incredulity. I know, if he has voted for the Corn Laws, it is because he believed he had national grounds for doing so. I cannot believe him sincere in his professions of humanity if he upholds a Corn Law merely for class interest. I want to show him that you might carry out Free Trade in everything, and that, instead of its being a detriment, it would be a benefit to the revenue. What is the carrying out of Free Trade? Not the removal of all custom-houses, as some have stated is our object. I have heard of honourable gentlemen writing to their constituents, and addressing them personally, saying that we want to abolish all custom-houses. I saw in the *Times* newspaper—an assumed great authority—in a leading article, that such had been my doctrine; but nothing can be more ridiculous and absurd than such a charge. Free Trade does not mean the abolition of custom-house duties, but merely the taking off imposts which are at present levied only for the purpose of protection. How much do those duties amount to? What is the sum which they yield to the revenue? The whole of the duties paid last year, which may be called protective duties, amounted to £2,500,000. That sum includes your taxes upon corn, timber, silk, and every other item that can by incidence be called a protective duty. Now, I am an advocate for removing the whole of those protective duties; but do not let honourable gentlemen connected with the soil think that we are shielding ourselves now under this Corn-Law question, and that we have nothing more in view besides corn in the list of protective duties which we seek to abolish. They will find that, out of this £2,500,000 paid in protective duties, upwards of £2,000,000 consists of taxes paid on articles that are the growth of, or that come from beneath, the soil of this country. The whole of the duties paid on foreign manufactures do not amount to £300,000 per annum. (Hear, hear.) As it is a very late hour of the night, I will not trouble the House with many figures; but I want to show what these customs

his Government will be overthrown, as was the Government he succeeded by the bad harvests we have lately suffered from. I do not wish this law to be repealed in times of excitement, nor do I wish its destruction to be achieved as a great party victory; I would rather it were for ever established by the unanimous verdict of the honest and intelligent classes of the country. We should regard it as a question of great national interest, not as one affecting our own profits or property; we should legislate upon it in such a manner that, laying our hands upon our hearts, we may say that we have dealt with it on great and just principles, with an honest regard to the common good, and not merely with regard to the claims of a particular interest. (Loud cheers.)

Colonel SIBTHORP taunted the League, of course. Mr. VILLIERS, in reply, spoke with great animation, in the midst of a turbulent House. Sir Robert Peel will not soon forget the way in which he alluded to some of the arguments of the supporters of the Corn Law, amongst whom great uncertainty had prevailed as to what would be the character of Sir Robert Peel's speech—whether the Prime Minister would again wander amongst the clouds of Free Trade, or endeavour to unite his party by a similar policy to that of 1839, when he declared his determination to adhere to monopoly. They were gratified; but they could no more depend on the speech of 1844 than on that of 1839—events might compel him once more to abandon his party and his professions, for the distress that led to a new tariff and Corn Law would occur again. They listened to long statements about people working too long, but refused those which showed the consequences of their being fed too little.

The House went to a division, when there appeared—
— For the motion 124
— Against it 328

Majority 204

FOR MR. VILLIERS'S MOTION.

Alderson, Henry A.
Aldrich, William
Armstrong, Sir Andrew
Barnard, Alexander
Barclay, David
Barnard, Edward George
Berkeley, Hn. Capt. (Glo'at. C.)
Berkeley, Hn. Hy. F. (Bristol)
Bernal, Captain (Weymouth)
Blake, Mark (Mayo Co.)
Bouverie, Hon. Edw. Pleydell
Browning, Dr.
Bright, John
Britherton, Joseph
Brooke, R. Dillon (Mayo Co.)
Brydges, Edward (Staffordshire)
Buckley, William
Burgess, R. Hon. George Stevens
Chapman, Benj. (W. Mth.)
Childers, John Walbanke
Clar, Sir William
Cave, Edward Bolton (Hereford)
Cobden, Richard
Cobden, Sir Thomas Edward
Collett, John (Athlone)
Collins, William
Craig, William Gibson
Dalmeny, Lord
Dashwood, George H.
Deane, John
Deane, R. Hon. C. T.
Dunham, Viscount
Dunham, George
Dunham, Viscount
Duncombe, Thomas (Pinebury)
Dundas, Frederick (Orkney)
Dundas, David (Sutherlandsh.)
Dundas, Hn. J. C. (Richmond)
Eaton, Sir John
Ellis, R. Hon. Ed. (Coventry)
Ellis, Wynn (Leicester)
Elphinstone, Howard
Ewart, William
Feldens, John (Oldham)
Ferguson, Colonel (Kirkcaldy)
Fitzoy, Lord Charles
Fitzwilliam, Hon. G. Wentworth
Forster, Matthew
Gibson, Thomas
Granger, Thomas Colpitts
Grey, R. Hon. Sir George
Grosvenor, Lord Robert
Guest, Sir John
Hall, Sir Benjamin
Hastie, Archibald
Hares, Benjamin
Hastie, William G.
Hindley, Charles
Hindley, Robert
Horsman, Edward
Hosack, Viscount
Humphreys, Mr. Alderman
Tellers—Mr. Villiers and Mr. Milner Gibson.

AGAINST MR. VILLIERS'S MOTION.

Acland, Sir T. Dike (D. Vnsh.)
Acland, T. Dike (Somersetsh.)
Acland, Captain
Acland, Colonel
Acland, Viscount
Adderley, Charles Bowyer
Ainsworth, Peter (Bolton)
Ainsworth, Viscount
Ainsworth, Peter
Ainsworth, Edmund
Ainsworth, Hon. Hugh
Ainsworth, Robert
Ainsworth, Captain Mervyn
Ainsworth, George
Ainsworth and Surrey, Earl of
Ainsworth, Lord
Ainsworth, William
Ainsworth, Hon. William
Ainsworth, Joseph (Worcester)
Ainsworth, Joseph (Hereford)
Ainsworth, Colonel (Horton)
Ainsworth, James Maitland
Ainsworth, George
Ainsworth, Hon. W. B. (Thetford)
Ainsworth, Thomas (Huntingdon)
Ainsworth, John
Ainsworth, Viscount
Ainsworth, Thomas B. M.
Ainsworth, Thomas
Ainsworth, John
Ainsworth, Lord George
Ainsworth, Major
Ainsworth, Hon. G. F. (Glo'at.)
Ainsworth, J. Ireland
Ainsworth, William Seymour
Ainsworth, Marquis of
Ainsworth, Wm. Hy. (Rochester)

Colville, Charles Robert
Compton, Henry Combe
Copeland, Mr. Alderman
Corry, R. Hon. Henry
Courtney, Lord
Cresswell, Baker
Cripps, William
Curtis, Herbert Barrett
Damer, Hon. Colonel
Darby, George
Davies, David A. Saunders
Dawson, Hon. William Henry
Denison, William J. (Surrey)
Denison, R. Beckett (York.)
Dick, Quintin
Dickinson, Francis Henry
Disraeli, Benjamin
Dodd, George
Douglas, Sir Howard (Liverpool)
Douglas, Sir Chas. E. (Warw.)
Douglas, Jas. D. S. (Rochester)
Douro, Marquis of
Dowdall, William
Drummond, Henry Home
Duff, James
Dugdale, William Stratford
Duncombe, Hn. A. (East Retf.)
Duncombe, Hn. O. (York, N.R.)
Du Pre, C. George
East, James Butler
Eastnor, Viscount
Eaton, Richard Jefferson
Egerton, Wm. Tatton
Egerton, Sir Philip
Eliot, Lord
Evelyn, Viscount
Fawcett, William
Fawcett, Richard
Fawcett, T. G. Bucknall
Farnham, Edward Basil
Fellows, Edward
Fennell, Wm. Bus. (Knarethb.)
Fisher, Sir Edmund
Fitzmaurice, Hon. William
Fitzroy, Hon. Henry
Flower, Sir James
Forester, Hon. George C. W.
Forman, Thomas Seaton
Fox, Sackville Lane (Ipswich)
Fremantle, R. Hn. Sir Thos.
French, Fitzstephen
Fuller, Augustus Elliott
Gaskill, Jas. Milnes
Gladstone, R. Hon. Wm. E.
Gladstone, Captain (Ipswich)
Gordon, Hon. Captain
Gore, Montague (Barnstaple)
Gore, W. Ormsby (Salop)
Gore, Wm. R. Ormsby (Sligo)
Goulburn, R. Hon. Henry
Graham, R. Hon. Sir James
Granby, Marquis of
Greene, Thomas
Grimsditch, Thomas
Grimston, Viscount
Grogan, Edward
Hall, Sir Henry
Hallyburton, Ld. J. F. Gordon
Hamilton, J. Huns (Dublin Co.)
Hamilton, Lord Claud
Hammer, Sir John
Harcourt, George Granville
Hardy, John
Harris, Hon. Captain
Heathcote, G. J. (Austlands)
Heathcote, Sir Wm (Hants)
Heneage, G. H. Walker (Dev.)
Heneage, Edward (Grimsbury)
Henley, Joseph Warner
Henker, Lord
Herbert, Lord Sidney
Herve, Lord Alfred
Hillsborough, Earl of
Hodgson, Fred. (Barnstaple)
Hodgson, Richard (Berwick)
Hogg, James Weir
Homes, Hon. W. A. Court
Hope, Hon. C. (Linlithgow)
Hope, Alexander (Madstone)
Hop, Geo. Wm. (Southamp.)
Hornby, John
Hoskins, Kedgwin
Hotham, Lord
Houldsworth, Thomas
Howard, Lord (Shaftesbury)
Howard, Philip Hen. (Carlisle)
Howard, Hon. Hen. (Cricklade)
Hussey, Ambrose (Salisbury)
Hussey, Thomas (Lynce Regie)
Ingestre, Viscount
Inch, Sir Robert Harry
Irish, Samuel
James, Sir Walter C. (Hull)
Jermyn, Karl
Jocelyn, Viscount
Johnstone, Sir John (Scarb'ro.)
Joliffe, Sir Wm. G. Hyton
Jones, Captain (Londonderry)
Kemble, Henry
Ker, David Stewart
Kirk, Peter
Knatchbull, R. Hon. Sir Ed.
Knight, Henry Galy (Notts.)
Knight, Fred. Wynn (Worc.)
Knightley, Sir Charles
Law, Hon. Charles Ewan
Lawson, Andrew
Lefroy, Anthony
Lemon, Sir Charles
Lennox, Lord Arthur
Leslie, Charles Powell
Lincoln, Earl of
Lincoln, Hugh Hamilton
Lockhart, William
Long, Walter
Lopes, Sir Ralph
Tellers—Mr. Young and Mr. Henry Baring.

PAIRS.

FOR.
Mr. R. Scott
Col. Gore Langton
Mr. Hume
Mr. P. M. Stewart
Mr. Bell
Mr. Vernon Smith
Mr. Christie
Mr. Matheson
Mr. Bell
Mr. Jervis
Mr. Balke Currie
Number of members who voted with Mr. Villiers on the present division, who did not vote in 1843, 28.

AGAINST.
Mr. Goulson
Mr. Wm. Feilden
Mr. Seymour
Mr. Brownrigg
Mr. Beckett
Lord Mahon
Mr. Mackinnon
Mr. Irving
Mr. Gregory
Col. W. J. Round
Number of members who, from accidental circumstances, were absent on this division, who voted with Mr. Villiers in 1843, 39.

We shall give a complete analysis of the division next week.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FREEHOLD VOTES—DISSENTING MINISTERS.

SIR,—Could I trouble you to inform me if it would be worth while to make a claim to vote on the following qualification. I am a Dissenting minister, chosen for life, and receiving the proceeds of the chapel, which is freehold property; beside the above, I occupy and have the produce of a piece of freehold ground adjoining the chapel, for which, up to two years since, £2 per annum were paid rent. The trustees of the chapel have purchased the above piece of ground, and secured it for the minister for the time being.

My impression is that, if I could not sustain my claim as minister and a trustee of the chapel, I could for the plot of ground referred to. I shall be glad to have any advice on the subject you may deem important.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
W. T.

P.S. Since writing the above, it has occurred to me whether it would not be worth while for the Council of the League to publish a legal opinion in reference to the claims of Dissenting ministers, and forward to them. There are little short of 2000 in our denomination (the Independent), and, perhaps, another 1000 among the Baptists, most of whom, I should judge, would go with you in reference to the abolition of the Corn Laws. The "Congregational Calendar," published by Jackson and Walford, St. Paul's Churchyard, would give you the addresses of all, or nearly so, of our ministers.

[The Rev. W. T. has offered a suggestion which is so useful, that we have called the attention of the Council to it. There is no doubt that W. T., and all Dissenting ministers whose endowment and office are of like investiture, has a county vote. "If lands or tenements be held subject to a trust directing the rents and profits, or a sufficient portion of them, to be paid to a party so designated in the instrument creating the trust as to be capable of being distinctly ascertained (as to the person officiating as minister at such a chapel, or to the schoolmaster teaching at such a school, &c.), such person being appointed either for life or for any uncertain period which may endure for life, will be entitled to vote as a freeholder, customary tenant, or leaseholder, according to the nature of the estate held in trust."—MANNING, Jurist, vol. 2, p. 459.]

PROPOSED FREE-TRADE CLUB.

By the following circular which we have received, we are happy to observe that what has always appeared to us a very desirable object is about to be realized. Free-Trade principles have made such rapid progress of late, throughout every part of the country, and among every class of politicians and avocations, that a central metropolitan medium of association has been much wanted; and, from what has recently been apparent, it is not unlikely will be more than ever necessary. The leading enlightened politicians of the Liberal party in Parliament and in the country have given these principles, especially of late years, their earnest attention, and among them are to be found many of the most accomplished political economists and Free-Traders. The speeches of such men as Lord Montagu, Lord Clarendon, Lord Howick, and Mr. Labouchere, are, in themselves, the most perfect specimens of commercial legislative enunciations to be met with in the English language; but, while we say thus much, it has often been made too plain that many of their professed followers have imbibed but little either of their knowledge or their principles on these important topics: topics on which every successful political movement in this country must be based for many years to come. We hear with great pleasure that the list is rapidly filling up with applications, both in town and from the country:—

"Several of the most influential friends of Free Trade have long felt it desirable that some means should be devised for bringing into closer and more immediate contact all those who are interested in procuring the emancipation of British capital and industry from the unwelcome restrictions which have been placed upon their productive powers. They are aware that many distinguished advocates of commercial freedom are spread over the country at great distances from each other, and are anxious to have opportunities of intercommunication, both for the purpose of explaining the evils produced by monopoly in their several professions and localities, and for concerting the means of more effectually bringing their grievances before the Legislature and the country. They therefore propose to establish a Free-Trade Club, which shall supply, at moderate charges, all the usual accommodations of a club, and, in addition, afford the subscribers the advantage of a library of reference, comprising the best works on social and economic science, all the statistical documents connected with the external and internal condition, not only of Great Britain, but of all the foreign states with which we have political or trading relations, and the various documents issued by both Houses of Parliament. The want of such a library of reference has been long felt by every one interested in the cause of Free Trade; the collection of it is obviously beyond the means and opportunities of many individuals, but is clearly within the reach of an association such as that which is now proposed.

"As this club is about to be formed for a specific purpose, it must be well understood that no gentleman is eligible as a member who is not opposed to all protective and differential duties. To this principle he will be pledged by his application to be admitted as a member.

"The following are the names of the gentlemen composing the present committee:—The Earl of Radnor, the Earl Ducie, Lord Charles Fitzroy, M.P., the Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P., John Lewis Ricardo, Esq., M.P., Thomas Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P., Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., and James Wilson, Esq.

"As the object of this club is to associate as many Free-Traders as possible, without reference to the profit of any person or party, the entrance and annual subscription will be fixed at as low a rate as is compatible with securing the comfort and convenience of the members.

"Office, No. 12, Parliament-street."—Economist.

A fine specimen of the celebrated "mummy" wheat is growing fast to maturity in the gardens of Sir Hugh Dillon Massey, Bart., Doonass. The seed was found in one of the Egyptian catacombs, and its produce is superior to any other known, yielding nearly double the number of grains in the ordinary head of wheat.—Belfast Paper.

THE PROVINCIAL PRESS AND THE SUGAR QUESTION.

We have taken some pains to ascertain the opinions of the leading Liberal journals throughout the empire on the recent divisions on the sugar question, and, out of more than a hundred which have come under our cognizance, we have not found ten disapproving of the course pursued by those Free-Traders who supported Sir Robert Peel against Mr. Miles. It is a gratifying proof of the progress of sound opinion to find principle so generally preferred to party and its passions; and the ability with which the several writers have supported their views affords such gratifying evidence of the vast amount of talent engaged in the provincial press that, though greatly pressed for room, we must present our readers with a few extracts, selecting not so much the best as those of most manageable length:—

To ordinary spectators, we repeat, the question bore the aspect of a mere difference of 4s. in the reduction of duties on British and foreign sugars, in which the increase of consumption rendered it probable that the revenue would not be damaged by the one more than by the other, while the West Indian interest would decidedly be benefited. This was a specious bait both to the Whigs, and to a considerable number of the Tories who did not understand the details. It seemed so fair and ingenious in Mr. Miles to invent a measure which should benefit the consumers of this country, give a lift to the West Indians, keep up the principle of protection, and fill the Exchequer so much better than the Government plan, that the innocent public might be pardoned for wondering that, instead of adopting it, when a majority of the House carried it against him, Sir Robert Peel flew into a passion and threatened to resign. But what in reality did this cunning manoeuvre mean? The hon. member for Bristol, one of those Corinthian capitalists of the sugar-hoghead aristocracy, who are equally alarmed for the stability of the constitution, when either sugar duties are touched or droves of foreign oxen invade us, and certainly one of the last men to be suspected of making bonk fide Free-Trade motions, proposed that, instead of the relative duties on British plantation and foreign free-labour sugars being 24s. and 34s., they should be 20s. and 30s. This was the main feature of his proposal. There was, however, a more modest but much more cherished one, to the effect that, with respect to a particular description of sugar, there should be a protecting duty of 14s. This latter clause the mover endeavoured to keep in a more unobtrusive place than its real importance warranted, in the hope, perhaps, that the ignorance of the House respecting the varieties of clayed sugars, and the able mystifications of Mr. John Gladstone's letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would favour him so far as to enable him, by a side wind, to smuggle it through. Its effect would have been to exclude the most costly descriptions of foreign sugar, and virtually to retain the home monopoly to the West Indians, by merely changing the form of the manufactured import. This was the trap laid to catch the Free-Traders, and, at the same time, to cripple Sir Robert Peel. The motive that inspired it was evidently this,—the West Indians, looking upon themselves as ruined, any how, and abandoned by the Ministry of their own choice, laid their heads together to have their revenge, by blowing up his Government, at the same time taking their chance of jockeying through their 14s. protective clause in the *mélée*. It was a motion well suited to catch all the insubordinate grumblers of the Tory party, consisting of the "Young Englanders," the bigoted Corn-Law squires, who have their grudges to pay off, and the Whigs; and, had matters proceeded in the way in which the mover had a right to anticipate, it would have effected its desired end. But the result has showed to Mr. Miles that no reliance can be placed on his battalion, who are as ready to leave him in the lurch to-day as they were to desert from their former leader yesterday. They have shown their teeth, but dared not bite; and, like well-whipped hounds, have retreated into their kennel at the voice of the huntsman.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

The reasons which the Opposition leaders assigned for supporting Mr. Miles were, that the lower rate of duty would be a relief to the consumer, and also, by increasing the consumption to the producer,—that they totally disapproved of the Government principle of distinguishing between sugar the produce of free labour and of slave labour,—and that the different duties proposed by Mr. Miles on raw and clayed sugars were fair, as the two articles were of very different value. To this, Mr. Bouverie, Mr. Milner Gibson, and others, replied that the intention of Mr. Miles, beyond all possible doubt, was to get a higher "protection" for colonial sugar than the plan of the Government gave them,—that the planters believed the amendment to give a higher "protection,"—that that increased "protection" to the planter, must necessarily be at the expense of the consumer,—that the effect of the amendment would be to establish, not only for the present year, but permanently, a difference of 14s. per cwt. between the duty on foreign and colonial sugars,—and that this would be to take 4s. per cwt. more either out of the pockets of the consumer or out of the public revenue, and to put it into the pockets of the planters. We think this view is sound. It appears to us that, so far the comparative rates of duty are concerned, the Government plan is the better, as being less protective, and a nearer approximation to Free Trade. True, Mr. Miles proposed a lower absolute duty for this year; but the all-important point in the eyes of the planters is, the relative amounts of the two duties,—the proportion between them, which decides the amount of protection to the planters. Government admitted its intention to make a great reduction of the sugar duties next year, if the income-tax should not be repealed, but keeping the same proportion as now proposed between the duties on foreign and colonial; and the planters, anticipating this, wish to have the duty on foreign sugar as high as possible, and that on colonial sugar as low as possible. This is the motive of Mr. Miles's motion; and if he and the planters are right in their expectations, then the body of the Whigs have fallen in the trap set for them, and have voted for a higher discriminating duty than was proposed by the Government. Such is our view. We think Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Cobden right, and Mr. Labouchere and Lord John Russell wrong. Of course our approbation does not extend

to the Government plan of excluding the sugars of Brazil and Cuba.—*Leeds Mercury*.

So far as the interests of the public are concerned, there appeared to us but extremely small difference between the Government proposition respecting the sugar duties and that of Mr. Miles, on which it was defeated. While the former provided a duty of 34s. on free-labour foreign sugar, and 24s. on West India, the latter proposed 34s. on free-labour foreign of the better sort, 30s. on the more common, and 20s. on West India. This seemed to some a better plan, because it apparently reduced the duty 4s. But the fact is, two-thirds of the sugar consumed in this country is that of the better sort, on which the 34s. was proposed; so that the plan of the hon. member would have established for the most part a protective duty of 14s. in favour of West India produce, instead of 10s. as proposed by Government; and the 4s. apparent reduction would, therefore, go into the pockets, not of the consumers, but of the West India planters, and injure, at the same time, the revenue. For this reason we are inclined to think that those Free-Traders who opposed Mr. Miles's motion acted perfectly consistently, although, at the same time, we cannot wonder that the apparent reduction of 4s. in the duty should have presented an irresistible attraction to those of their colleagues who did not do so. On a cursory glance, it certainly did seem somewhat strange that some of our anti-monopolist friends should have voted one way, and others directly the reverse; but the cause is very clear when the adverse propositions are examined. Both plans are improvements on the old system of the sugar duties; and both, therefore, evidence of the gradual progress in high quarters of the Free-Trade cause.—*Doner Chronicle*.

Thirteen Liberals voted with Ministers on Monday evening. These men have been "considered supporters of Free Trade;" and here they deserted their cause. This is the insinuation thrown out. Now, in our mind, they are the men who have done themselves honour, in this case, as the true supporters of Free-Trade principles. Richard Cobden, the intrepid and powerful advocate of commercial freedom, a deserter of the cause! He has done himself high honour by the course he has taken. He voted, not factiously, but upon principle; and he stood aloof from associating himself with the bigots and monopolists, when they were struggling for *mora protection*. We feel satisfied that he will only stand the higher for this conduct; and, if we are to form any judgment from what we have been able to collect of the public opinion, we feel convinced that the true state of the case is pretty well appreciated, and that the intelligent and sober-thinking Liberal classes do not sympathize with the unseemly combination of Liberals and West India monopolists on this occasion. Mr. Cobden and the League are attacked, however, in the worst spirit, in an article which we copy from the *Morning Chronicle*. We are told that Mr. Cobden threw his "ample regis" over "the sliding scale;" and that he and the few other Liberals who voted as he did "have slipped in between the chances of Lord Spencer and no duties upon corn," and "the chances of Lord John Russell and moderate fixed duties," or, at least, of a reconstructed Cabinet, "on principles far more favourable to Free Trade than is at present the case." So, according to this authority, Mr. Cobden should have voted wrong, in order to turn out Sir Robert Peel. The morality of this style of reasoning is not at all doubtful; and the absurdity of the conclusion is apparent. Only think of the extravagant notion, that Lord John Russell or Lord Spencer could take office upon the strength of a solitary majority, composed of Liberals and West India monopolists! Then, as to "Lord Spencer, and no duties upon corn," the notion is more extravagant. Greatly should we rejoice if Lord Spencer were in office, with a "no-duties" majority at his back; but, that the yearnings of party should cause the *Chronicle* to overlook the actual state of affairs, and imagine that, if the Liberals, aided by sixty monopolists, would force Sir R. Peel to retire, the leader of a minority could take his place, seems extraordinary. Lord Palmerston sufficiently exposed the folly of such an expectation.—*Northern Whig*.

In dealing with the sugar taxes, Sir R. Peel very properly proposed to reduce the prohibitory tax, imposed for the sole benefit of a few hundred persons. But though abolishing the prohibitory tax, he still retained a double tax; first the Government tax of 24s. the cwt. on West India sugar, and next a further tax of 10s. on other sugars, for the benefit of the West India landholders, by keeping up the price of their sugars. This second tax, these once slave-holding men of the sugar hoghead, who got twenty millions from a servile Parliament for their human cattle—this bonus of 10s. from the people—the cornorant interest deemed too little; and though, as we have said, the most profligate supporters of the most profligate Ministries, yet the moment their monstrous monopoly was touched they rebel against the Minister, and seek to make the 10s. additional duty 14s., by reducing the tax on their own sugar, leaving the tax on foreign sugar as before; that is to say, they would have their sugar taxed 20s., and the foreign sugar 34s.; so that foreign sugar could not be consumed till the price of it had been raised 14s. per cwt. above its value in the market, which, as it must be obvious, is making every hundred weight of West India sugar cost 14s. beyond its value, over and above the Government tax.—*Oxford Chronicle*.

The real question is, whether the proposed reduction of duty on colonial sugar would have occasioned any reduction in the price of sugar. Believing that it would not; that it would have been all pocketed by the colonial interest; and that £700,000 a year would have been lost to the revenue, to be made up either by fresh taxes, or by the continuance of others that might be repealed, we rejoice that Mr. Cobden and his friends have, in the face of the whole country, and in the most impressive manner, given proof that they regard the expression of principle as infinitely superior to all party considerations.—*Manchester Times*.

The *Morning Chronicle* of Wednesday contained a genuine Whiggish article. The Whigs are doubtless mortified that Mr. Cobden and other Free-Traders did not vote with them on Monday; but, notwithstanding any mortification which the Whigs may experience, the Free-Traders will pursue their own course, and, in despite of all opposition, will accomplish their object. Mr. Entwistle on Monday stated that he voted against Government on the previous Friday because less protection was afforded to the West Indian interest by their measure than what the member for Bristol proposed to give; and because such was the real state of the case, Mr. Cobden

voted with Sir R. Peel. In principle, as it appears to us, Mr. Cobden was right. But, says the *Morning Chronicle*, the League possibly stood betwixt Lord Spencer and a total repeal—betwixt Lord J. Russell and a fixed duty. That the League will always stand betwixt Lord J. Russell and a fixed duty is certain; that it stood betwixt Lord Spencer and a total repeal is mere sledge, as the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* well knows. If principle were not to guide members as it ought and will guide the Free-Trade ones; if only the result of a vote is to be looked at, why, then, we at once say the Free-Traders had not the smallest inducement to assist in overturning the present Ministry. It is certain the Free-Traders are not now prepared for an election; after one other registration they may be so, but certainly after two; and to turn out Sir R. Peel at the present time would not be of the slightest service to the cause. On the contrary, we feel tolerably certain that he is the man, who, with the least popular commotion and coroneted opposition, will abolish the Corn Laws and all other monopolies. But whether this be the case or not, no cajolery or taunts of the Whigs will cause the League—composed as it is either directly or indirectly of such a large proportion, probably a majority of the electors, certainly of the inhabitants of the principal towns of the empire—to abate one jot of its claims.

With men not bound by party, but determined to act in accordance with the dictates of their consciences and the conclusions to which they arrive, such a division on the part of the Free-Traders was, under such circumstances, sure to occur; but what shall we say of the Whigs? As one man they were united in favour of Mr. Miles's amendment. The question with them was purely a party one. To mortify Sir R. Peel and to damage his Government was, we believe, their sole object. If this were not the case, the same division of opinion would have been observable amongst them as well as amongst the Free-Traders. Sir R. Peel, we are disposed to think, is a better Free-Trader than the Whigs, and certainly has done, and is doing, a great deal to bring it about; whilst Lord John Russell appears now as if he were not unwilling to ride into office on the shoulders of the fierce monopolists. Sliding scale or nothing, is Sir Robert Peel's motto; and, as every move he makes is in the direction of Free Trade, it must be becoming evident to the most obtuse of the monopolists that, if he continues in office and the pressure from without increases, he will be the instrument by which the extinction of monopoly will be accomplished. Hence arise the hopes of Lord John Russell; he flatters himself that, sooner than lose everything, the monopolists will accept him and his fixed and differential duties. There is but one course for the Free-Traders to pursue, if they wish to win, and that is, to make their object no party affair, but to be ready to support the man and the party who will give the people entire freedom of trade.—*Bolton Free Press*.

We cannot blame Mr. Cobden for the course adopted by him on these divisions—it was mainly and honest; and however glad we should be to find the truckling, expediency-loving, time-serving, and unprincipled Ministry shivered to pieces by the all-potent energy of public opinion as exercised through the people's representatives, we yet value too highly the principles of justice and truth to desire the attainment of this result by any but the fairest and most legitimate means. We trust that those who have any apprehensions that the Free-Trade leaders seek any purely party or political object in the present great national movement, will have those apprehensions removed by the division-lists this week. The Free-Traders have nobly vindicated their principles, although by doing so they have saved the Ministry from a second defeat, and the resignation which must inevitably have followed.—*Sunderland Herald*.

The Government proposition appears to many equally liberal with the amendment of Mr. Miles, as tending to discourage slavery at least in its direct and ostensible operation, as creating a less differential duty, and as pointing towards Free Trade, although by no means going so far as desirable in that direction. On the other hand, the amendment proposes a larger reduction of the duty, the benefit being, it is calculated, at the rate of one penny per pound to the consumer of sugar, while on the Government plan it would only amount to one halfpenny. But the difference would constitute a bonus to the West Indian proprietors who have already received twenty millions of the public money, and the deficiency in the revenue would be made up by additional imposts, or by the retention of the income-tax. We are inclined, then, to think with Mr. Gibson, that the amendment was "a trap set up by the West Indians for the Free-Traders." If so, most of them have fallen into it.—*Kent Herald*.

The *Morning Chronicle*, and the other thick-and-thin supporters of Lord John Russell and the Whig leaders,—who hope to form the first Government after Sir Robert Peel shall be turned out—have expended much of their indignation against Mr. Cobden and the other chiefs of the League, because, from their having honestly voted for the Premier's proposal regarding the sugar duties—as being, in their estimation, a nearer approximation to Free-Trade principles than the counter-proposal of the West-India proprietors, made through one of their own number, Mr. Miles—the Tory Government were saved from a defeat which, in all probability, would have terminated in their retirement from office, and thus have opened up to the Whigs a prospect of once more having the loaves and fishes to distribute among their hungry followers. The bitterness of the *Morning Chronicle* against the League is boundless; and we have no doubt that the lesser lights of the old Whig party throughout the provinces will follow in its wake, and try to conceal the real merits of the question, in order to defend the conduct of Lord John Russell and his friends. But that Mr. Cobden and the other leaders of the League—in supporting Sir Robert Peel's proposal, as against that of Mr. Miles—acted in strict conformity with Free-Trade principles, there can be no room for doubt. It follows, as a necessary consequence, that Lord John Russell and the Whig leaders—in uniting, as they did with Mr. Miles and the section of rabid high Tories who complained of Sir Robert Peel's measure as being too liberal, and who brought forward and supported the counter-proposition avowedly on the ground that it would afford more protection to the West Indian interest—acted in utter inconsistency with Free-Trade principles, and in opposition to the best interests of the public.

It is plain that, in these circumstances, nearly all the free-labour sugar would be imported as "clayed," and

would therefore pay the 14s. duty; and hence that the West India monopoly would be kept up, and this country injured to a much greater extent by the proposal of Mr. Miles than by that of Sir Robert Peel. We rejoice that the leaders of the League have had the penetration to discover the trick attempted to be played off on them for selfish and party purposes; and that they have had the moral courage to denounce the insidious proposal. It will raise them higher than ever in the estimation of the country, when the question is properly understood.—*Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle*.

Although some of the Liberals were caught in Mr. Miles's cunning trap, we rejoice to think that Mr. Cobden and the principal leaders of the Free-Trade movement were not lured into a false step by the bait offered to them. They saw through and rejected it. They might have broken up the Government; for if their votes had been given against Ministers on Monday night, the majority would have been against Government, and resignation, according to Sir Robert Peel's threat, must have followed.—*Carlisle Journal*.

THE PREMIER AND HIS PARTY.—Since our last Mr. P. W. S. Miles, M.P. for this city, has signalled himself by coming forward in the character of soft-sugar champion, and has done battle gallantly in defence of wronged and injured "white clays." The hon. gentleman was quite at home amongst the hogsheads, and astonished the House by the amount of erudition he displayed respecting brown, muscovado, clayed, China, Java, and Manilla sweets. Mr. Miles and his family are, as is pretty well known, in the West-India sugar line: the hon. gentleman thought that Government did not give him protection sufficient, so he threw down his gauntlet and determined to have a tilt with the Premier. For a young knight he certainly did not acquit himself amiss. The cause of quarrel afforded another illustration of the saying, that "there is nothing like leather." Mr. Miles is a Conservative of the first water—"devotedly attached to our glorious constitution," and "all that sort of thing;" but, in the present instance, Mr. Miles had to choose between Conservatism and the price of sugar—between Peel and his own pocket. Mr. Philip Miles did not hesitate for a moment, but, taking "No. 1" for his motto, he laid his lance in rest and nearly upset his own leader! * * *

It must not, however, be supposed that Mr. Miles found himself in the lobby with the Liberals in consequence of any change of "principles." No; it was altogether an affair of the pocket. He proposed a 4s. per cwt. less duty than the Minister, but reserved 4s. extra differential duty for his own benefit. The thing, in a trade point of view, had been very well managed at the West-India House, and almost upset the Minister, who was merely saved by the votes of Mr. Cobden and his friends!—*Bristol Mercury*.

In another article at foot, we have attempted to give our readers a clear and definite statement of the question as it now stands; and, in order to do so the more effectually, we have availed ourselves of the assistance of our very able and well-informed contemporary, the *Economist*, from whose pages we have transferred some detailed figure statements, that present the subject in an explicit and tangible form. Those who are disposed to blame that section of the Liberal party who voted with Government on this question, have only to study the facts and figures there detailed, and they will find in them ample reason for the course pursued by the members alluded to. Had the bearings of the relative propositions been as clearly and definitely mastered by the House before the debate, as they have since become, we may venture to assert that, whatever might have been the party result, the division-list would have presented a totally different aspect, as far as the relative arrangement of names is concerned.—*Sussex Advertiser*.

AGRICULTURE.

A CRY FROM THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

The most remarkable Anti-Corn-Law meeting which has yet occurred took place last week at Lyneham Green, in a remote village of the rich pasture vale of North Wiltshire. It was attended by ONE THOUSAND MEN, chiefly farm-labourers, who, having heard and spoken of their grievances and sufferings with a temper and in a tone that the agricultural and landed classes in general would do well to imitate, unanimously passed resolutions to the effect that "an immediate and total repeal of the Corn Laws is necessary to prevent the farmers, tradesmen, and labourers from sinking into a state of ruin," and agreed to a petition to Parliament "for the removal of all restrictions from trade and commerce." The meeting then separated with three cheers for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and—as a just tribute to political integrity in high station—with three cheers for LORD RADNOR!! Now, that a number of agricultural labourers should meet and pass such resolutions as these, is alone sufficient to form an epoch in the Free-Trade movement; but when our readers learn the character and peculiarities of the district, and the population where this most significant "FACT" happened, they will agree with us in regarding it as a premonitory symptom of the speedy abolition of the landlords' monopoly. Lyneham is situated in the heart of the dairy district of North Wilts, where nineteen-twentieths of the land all around consist of permanent pasture, applied to the production of cheese, and to fattening cattle. There has been little or no improvement effected in the agriculture of the neighbourhood beyond the original one of laying the land into enclosures. The value of the land, which is considerable, consists entirely in its natural fertility. Though there are a few farmers of capital, such occupiers form the exception, and the majority of the tenants, as in most rich dairy districts, are needy men. Though the district is, upon the whole, thinly peopled, its rural labourers are more than equal to the average employment for agricultural labour, and, as a neces-

sary consequence, wages are always low. Notwithstanding the natural fertility of the soil, the farmers are in an extraordinary degree dependent upon the seasons; for their land being all, or nearly all pasture, and undrained, their ditches unscoured, and their summer "make" of cheese being usually mortgaged to a greater or less extent for the purpose of meeting their Lady-day's rent, they are compelled, whenever their prospects become precarious from too much wet or too much dry weather, as their first and last resource to lessen their not previously superabundant employment of labour. They can neither keep back any of their produce in an abundant year, to countervail, by an increased price, their diminished production in such a season as the present; nor can they afford to incur any extra expense for the purpose of remedying the deficiencies of the year's produce. They are almost to a man yearly tenants, and they conduct their business with the slovenliness and the anxiety to grasp at immediate returns usual with farmers who may be here to-day and gone to-morrow. They apply neither skill nor outlay in the improvement of their stock—a field of agricultural improvement they might cultivate with much profit—and they persist with dogged pertinacity in a system of inferior husbandry by which some of their fathers or themselves made money during the high prices of the war.

Lyneham itself belongs almost exclusively to Mr. Walker Heneage, one of the monopolist members for Devises, who, without being a tyrannical landlord, is meddling and fussy, grants no leases, and prefers the cap-in-hand farmer to the independent capitalist. It need scarcely be said that in such a locality the position of the farming labourer is one of extreme dependence. Knowing as we do the district, we could well understand the distress of the labourers in the North Wilts Vale; but when we read of a Free-Trade meeting of agricultural labourers on "LYNEHAM GREEN," we rubbed our eyes and said, "Is this true?" and being satisfied as to the fact, we ejaculated with heartfelt joy, "then the end of monopoly draweth nigh!!" The pressure upon our space, caused by the report of the debate upon Mr. Villiers's motion in the House of Commons, compels us to postpone until next week an abstract of the proceedings at the LYNEHAM GREEN LABOURERS' MEETING, which we have prepared; but we give the following passages from the remarks of the *Wiltshire Independent* thereon, which the editor justly designates "an important meeting:"—

"It was an important meeting, and that in the best sense of the word; not, it is true, from any special pomp or circumstances attending it; but because it was a spontaneous exhibition, on the part of the purely industrious classes, of the grievances under which they labour, and of the remedy which they believe might be successfully applied. It is an important fact that 1000 men, chiefly farm-labourers, should congregate together in a thinly-peopled district, and in the face of such a tempest as that of last Tuesday evening, to discuss their sinking condition; and it is a fact which, if properly viewed, will be considered important by people in stations far above any of those who were present on this occasion. Until very lately, persons circumstanced like those who met on Lyneham Green would never have even dreamed of getting up a public meeting to talk over their woes and their wants; but as hunger is said to break through stone walls, so will it drive men to break through those trammels which hitherto kept them back, save at the bidding of those who have looked upon them as their property, to be used for any purpose most congenial to their tastes or wishes. Oh! that is an important meeting at which common farm-labourers and little tradesmen get up in their round frocks and soiled jackets, and publish the fact that potatoes and salt are the only food which their miserable earnings will afford them; at which, out of hundreds of men living in a fertile district, only one labourer could claim the distinction of receiving 8s. a week; 7s. 6d., and even less, being the wages of the remainder,—and these amounts, too, being subject to deductions for lost time, from rain and other casualties, by those who at such rates were fortunate enough to be employed at all.

"We have now before us a list containing the names of eighteen men, living in one parish, with wives, in family varying in number from one to seven, each family averaging six individuals, and whose wages amount in no case to above 7s., but which descend as low as 5s. a week. Where such destitution exists, meetings of the distressed to tell their griefs, and to compare notes, are important. Such meetings will increase. We trust their importance will not be overlooked."

SOUTHPORT.—On the 17th and 18th inst. Mr. Murray, of Manchester, delivered two lectures, in the Assembly-room, Southport, "On the Evils of Corn and other Monopolies." The lectures commenced at half-past seven o'clock each evening. The lectures were listened to with great attention, and the room was nearly filled on both occasions. On Tuesday evening the Rev. George Greatbach, Independent minister, and W. Naisby, Esq., of Belle View Castle (late of Bolton), were on the platform. At the close of the lecture on Monday night Mr. Murray announced that he had just received a letter, enclosing a flash note drawn on the Bank of Economy, value £100. He then stated that he would on the following night read and show the note to the meeting; but on the Tuesday the writer sent an apology, requesting Mr. Murray to return him the foolish note, in lieu of which he sent a sovereign for the Anti-Corn-Law League Fund of £100,000.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

FREE TRADE IN AMERICA.—At Washington, on the 1st inst., in Senate, Mr. McDuffie's tariff resolution, pronouncing the present rate of duties unjust and oppressive, was taken up and rejected—ayes 18, nays 25.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, June 26, 1844.

N.B. As the subscription list is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

| | |
|---|----------|
| J. Bagshaw, 17, Gloucester-place, Portman-square | £10 10 0 |
| Arthur Anderson, Norwood, Surrey | 10 0 0 |
| Centurion | 1 1 0 |
| H. L. | 0 10 0 |
| A few Workmen in Mr. Busfield's chair manufactory, Union-street, Borough, per Henry Busfield | 0 10 0 |
| Joseph French, 18, Norton Folgate | 1 1 0 |
| Mrs. French, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Joseph George Sidney French, do. | 0 5 0 |
| W. P. King, 1, Spring-terrace, Wandsworth-road | 0 2 6 |
| Wm. Dell, Thatched House, Lower-road, Islington | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Redman, Lilly Hall, Hebdon-bridge, per James Gaukroger, jun. | 0 5 0 |
| Wm. Marshall, New-road, Bottom, Hebdon-bridge, per do. | 0 5 0 |
| Crawford Burditt, Belvedere, Tunbridge Wells | 1 1 0 |
| Edwin Yates, woolstapler, Ross | 0 2 6 |
| George Price, Widemarsh-street | 0 2 0 |
| A Free-Trader, per J. O. Harrison | 0 5 0 |
| Thomas Maule, Bye-street | 0 2 6 |
| James Vaughan, do. | 0 1 0 |
| J. O. Harrison, do. (2nd subscription) | 0 5 0 |
| Mrs. Harrison, do. | 0 1 0 |
| Thomas Prichard, Friars | 0 1 0 |
| F. Edwin, Petersfield | 0 2 6 |
| James A. Page, Plymouth | 1 1 0 |
| Captain Gilchrist, St. N., Honiton, per the Rev. Wm. Wright | 1 0 0 |
| William Walenn, 62, Lodge-road, Regent's-park (additional subscription) | 1 1 0 |
| James Englefield, Albion Cottage, Stoke Newington-road | 1 0 0 |
| C. Mash, Wenam-street, Norwich | 0 10 0 |
| Thos. Beardsall, 10, Spring-gardens, Manch. | 1 0 0 |
| J. Anthony jun., Manchester | 1 0 0 |
| J. Parkin, East View, Pisgah, Sheffield | 1 0 0 |
| June and July subscription from the frequenters of Prosser's Barley-mow Brewery, King's-place, Commercial-road East | 1 0 0 |
| An Unexpected Payment, per S. S. | 1 0 0 |
| Small subscriptions | 1 14 0 |
| Benjamin Wood, Esq., M.P., 24, Great George-street, Westminster | 21 0 0 |
| Harris and Son, Winchester-house, Southwark-bridge-road | 5 5 0 |
| George Scovell, 8, Chester-st., Grosvenor-pl. | 5 0 0 |
| Emanuel Cooper, 50, Castle-street (2nd sub.) | 3 10 0 |
| J. Sterry and Son, 150, High-street | 3 3 0 |
| R. Brook, 20, Bridge-street | 2 2 0 |
| W. Crosby, 1 and 2, Queen-street, Southwark-bridge-road | 2 2 0 |
| K. Hennell, do. do. | 2 2 0 |
| W. Bourne, 109, Blackman-street | 2 2 0 |
| Charles Gray, 7, New Park-street | 2 0 0 |
| William Bradley, 1, Great Guildford-street | 2 0 0 |
| Edward Walmale, 138, Union-street | 2 0 0 |
| Luke Embleton, 40, New Park-street | 2 0 0 |
| T. May, Southwark-bridge-road | 1 1 0 |
| M. Maynard, 93, High-street | 1 1 0 |
| H. Sturmy, 8, Wellington-street | 1 1 0 |
| J. Berke, 1, Blackman-street | 1 1 0 |
| Dr. Evans, Stone's end | 1 1 0 |
| Apsley Pellatt, Holland-street | 1 1 0 |
| John Bell, 54, Union-street | 1 1 0 |
| William Mayhew, 128, do. | 1 1 0 |
| Mrs. Elizabeth Parrott, 130, do. | 1 1 0 |
| H. A. Tomkins, 85, High-street | 1 1 0 |
| G. Pike, 92, High-street | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Phillips, 84, Blackman-street | 1 1 0 |
| William Bevas, stone mason, Borough-road | 1 1 0 |
| W. Cooper and Co., Stone's end | 1 1 0 |
| Thomas Lawes, Canal-bridge, Old Kent-road | 1 1 0 |
| J. Askew, 110, Blackman-street | 1 1 0 |
| H. R. Wilcocke, 61, London-road | 1 1 0 |
| Mrs. Wilcocke, do. | 0 10 0 |
| Miss E. Wilcocke, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Miss J. Wilcocke, do. | 0 5 0 |
| F. Pike, 77, High-street | 1 0 0 |
| Clarke and Son, Southwark-bridge-road | 1 0 0 |
| G. Turner, 111, High-street | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Pocock, sen., Southwark-bridge-road | 1 0 0 |
| J. and E. Heath, Bridge-house-place | 1 0 0 |
| G. Mansell, 3, King-street | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. Mansell, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Master Mansell, do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. T. Barker, St. Saviour's Dock | 1 0 0 |
| James Newton, 48, Bankside | 1 0 0 |
| W. C. Woodley, 48, Holland-street | 1 0 0 |
| A. Rowling, Bridge-street | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Baugh, Southwark-square | 1 0 0 |
| J. Busfield, 139, Union-street | 1 0 0 |
| Wm. Manger, 60, do. | 1 0 0 |
| J. Bowler, Southwark-bridge-road | 1 0 0 |
| G. McCabe, 57, Union-street | 1 0 0 |
| George Howe, 16, Bridge-street | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Stephens, 151, Union-street | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Kemp, 47 and 48, Castle-street | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Cowper, 144, High-street | 1 0 0 |
| Alfred Brewer, 10, Surrey-place | 1 0 0 |
| Henry Napoleon Brewer, Surrey-square | 1 0 0 |
| James Drewett, Spur Inn-yard | 1 0 0 |
| Berni and Mellard, 56 & 57, St. Guildford-st. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Martin, 1, Hartley-place, Old Kent rd. | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Best, 16, Newington-causeway | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Edgcomb, 17, do. | 1 0 0 |
| T. G. Porock, 18, do. | 1 0 0 |
| Thomas Sprague, 4, College hill, Thames-street | 1 0 0 |
| Robert Tiffin, 73, High-street | 1 0 0 |
| Mr. Tring, High-street | 1 0 0 |
| William Rusby, Pond-yard, Bankside | 1 0 0 |
| George Dent, 55, Blackman-street | 1 0 0 |
| George Prince, 50, Holland-street | 0 10 0 |
| W. and H. Cooper, 50, Castle-street | 0 10 0 |
| Samuel Blackley, 50, do. | 0 10 0 |
| William Solomon, 147, Union-street | 0 10 0 |
| Henry Williams, 53, do. | 0 10 0 |
| J. B. Kitchener, 73, Great Suffolk-street | 0 10 0 |
| James Ware, 102, Union-street | 0 10 0 |
| William Smith, 238, High-street | 0 10 0 |
| J. W. Holland, 183, Union-street | 0 10 0 |
| Joseph Howell, 8, Bridge-street | 0 10 0 |
| John Glover, St. George's road | 0 10 0 |
| Robert Downes, 50, Great Guildford-street | 0 10 0 |
| John Jefferies, Grove, Great Guildford-street | 0 10 0 |
| A. Friend | 0 10 0 |
| Joseph E. Newsom, 57, High-street | 0 5 0 |
| William Lee, 79, High-street | 0 5 0 |
| T. E. B., 254, High-street | 0 5 0 |
| E. G., Clink-street | 0 5 0 |
| Tyler and Co., 80, Union-street | 0 5 0 |
| James Sheppard, 122, do. | 0 5 0 |
| Henry Tatnell, 12, Southwark-bridge-road | 0 5 0 |

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| John Dwyer, 24, Little Guildford-street .. | 20 | 5 | 0 |
| William Dowling, 65, Great Guildford-street .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Torkington, 93, Great Guildford-st. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Rowe, 142, Union-street .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Connor, 153, High-street .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Robt. H. Shaw, 2, Cornbury-pl., Old Kent-rd. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Warren and Spencer, 7, Commercial-place, Old Kent-road .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Dale, 173, Union-street .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Meek, 41, Holland-street .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. O. Clarke, 189, Union-street .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| George Davis, Brown Bear, Bridge-street .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Henry Lough, 7, Kent-place, Old Kent-road .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| T. H. Duprey, 11, Nelson place, Old Kent-road .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Richard Shaw, 201, High-street .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| George William Dean, 169, High-street .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Bradley, 16, Darlington-place .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Woods .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Edgcombe .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Castle, 17, St. Margaret's-court .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Tobey, 41, High-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Nash, 27, King-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| E. J. Winkley, 6, Park-street, Borough Market .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Bernard, 8, Red Lion-street, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Edward Mages, 3, Red Lion-street, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| C. Parke, 14, Three Crown-square .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| T. Crown, 147, Union-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Peach, 11, Church-street, St. Saviour's .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Peter Hudlip, Magdalen-street, Bermondsey .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mrs. Hester Keith, 37, Stony-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Mayhew, 1, Bankside .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Michael Kelley, 30, Bankside .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Jay, ex-Hevenson, 45, Bankside .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Caytain, 27, Great Guildford-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| W. T. Ineson, 79, Union-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George Holdstock, 4, Bridge-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Clark, 67, Castle-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George English, 27, Castle-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Waller, 4, Bridge-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Steel, 13, Union-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John McDonald, 168, Union-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Edward Valloni, 153, Union-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| J. and H. Apperlone, 89, Union-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| T. J. Crampton, 2, Southwark-square .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| N. Whitley, 60, Great Guildford-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Barney, 127, Great Guildford-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| George McDermott, 5, Red Lion-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Mr. Preston, 141, Union-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Jennings, 24, Kent-street .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| T. W. Russ, 1, Ethian-place, Kent-road .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| A. G. Tipton, 8, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Wm. Stevenson, 12, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Hicks, 8, Pitt's-place, Old Kent-road .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William E. Pearson, 5, Fecrick-place, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Henry Wood, 2, Surrey-place, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Powell, 3, Dover-place, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Robert Lloyd, 3, Kent-place, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Subscriptions under 2s. 6d. .. | 0 | 12 | 0 |

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| Mrs. John Walker, Belle Vue, Bury, Lancashire .. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| John Russell Walker, do. .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Charles Walker, do. .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Samuel Walker, do. .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Wm. Wyld, Shuttleworth Mill, near do. .. | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| Power Loom Weavers, do. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Z., Southport, per John Murray .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| W. and J. McLaren, Bridge-street, Dunfermline, N.B. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Peter McLaren, Chalmers-street, do. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| D. Wilson, Elgin-street, do. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| James Johnston, Limekilns, do. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robt. Thompson, draper, Bridge-st., do. .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| David Cooke, tailor, do. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| George Thompson, Chalmers-street, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Rev. Mr. Young, 2nd sub. of 10s., do. .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. Mr. John Law, 2nd sub. of 10s., do. .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| James Marshall, do. .. | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Robert Beveridge, do. .. | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Small subscriptions from a number of weavers in Town green, do. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| James Walwork, Chorley .. | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| John Hodgkinson, do. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Wm. Lawrence, do. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Barton Smith, do. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Walwork, do. .. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Couper, Whittles-le-Wood, near Chorley .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| R. Nightingale, do. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thos. Piddock, Market-place, Hanley, Staffordshire .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph Wright, do. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Fenley, 79, Church-street, Manchester .. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Small subscriptions and balance from Otley, York-shire .. | 27 | 5 | 0 |
| J. Smith, York-street, Wrexham, N.W. .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Small subscriptions, do. .. | 0 | 2 | 0 |

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| John McKittrick .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Rev. H. Moore .. | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Rogers .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. Renwick .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| William Dabbin .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| David McKean .. | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| John Campbell .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Ball .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| John Kerr .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James M. Bivenny .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Nathaniel Taylor .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Rev. Mr. M. Lea .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Rev. Mr. Mathern .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Wallace .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Henry Rice .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| James Jeffery .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William M. Kee .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| William Wallace .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Subscriptions under 2s. 6d. each .. | 2 | 5 | 5 |
| A. B. Hayward, 50, Bol 1-street .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Franks .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Gelyn Gweddol Hob gormes, per Owen .. | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Williams 32, Plumbe-street .. | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Subscriptions under 2s. 6d. each .. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| John Knight .. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Allcock .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Luke Vinnice .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| John Cooper, Crown Inn, Blue Bog .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Woolmen at S. Thornhill and Sons, 7th Reunt. .. | 0 | 16 | 0 |
| Joseph Wattho, Brickkiln street .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend to Free Trade, No. 3 .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| A Friend, No. 6 .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| C. B. M., Queen-street .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| M. Wood, New Inn .. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| F. Snaithwood, Pottenhall-road .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| D. T. Sheridan, Gnosall, near Stafford .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |

FOOD DESTROYED BY THE CORN LAWS.—By a return made to the House of Commons about five years ago, it appears that, since the enactment of the sliding scale of 1828, 2130 quarters of wheat, 63 quarters of barley, 783 quarters of oats, 4 quarters of rye, 23 quarters of peas, 38 quarters of beans, 43 quarters of Indian corn, and 26 cwt. of flour, have been abandoned in bond (after having lain on hand, spoiling, till they were not worth the cost of keeping), and destroyed—thrown into the Thames—under the inspection of the proper officers.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

THE USUAL MEETING of the LEAGUE will be held in COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE, on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, the 3rd July.

GEORGE WILSON, Esq., will take the Chair at HALF-PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK precisely.

The Meeting will be addressed by the Hon. Charles Villiers, M.P.; Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; and John Bright, Esq., M.P.

Cards of admission may be had on application at the Offices of the League, on Monday and Tuesday, between the hours of eleven and four o'clock.

Applications for Private Boxes to be made personally or by letter on Monday.

The cards of registered Members will admit, as heretofore, to Pit and Galleries.—DOORS TO BE OPENED AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

In consequence of the length of our Free-Trade Mirror this week, we have enlarged our present Number to Sixty Columns.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order, to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, June 29, 1844.

After several positive assurances, repeated at regular intervals, that the League was demolished and defunct, our sage contemporary, the *Morning Herald*, has again discerned "the downfall of the League" in the division of Wednesday evening. The downfall of the dead is a new phenomenon in the world. To a better reasoner, these repeated semblances of death, leaving all alive as ever, might have suggested the idea, if not of absolute immortality, yet of such vital tenacity as will defy the *Herald's* sinister auguries. We have shown elsewhere that Wednesday's "downfall" was a very considerable advance on the division of last year; and had it been otherwise, had there been a declining of Parliamentary strength, this would have furnished little ground of satisfaction or security to monopoly. The worth of the debate in the House chiefly consists in its being an indication of the resolution which is formed out of doors. "Perseverance," says the *Herald*, "is a slow coach." It is a sure one: and the struggle against it is, from the nature of the case, a losing game. So long as it continues, the landowners subject themselves to the inevitable evil and loss of a state of uncertainty. There cannot be confidence in the agricultural body. They walk on quicksands. They sit on gunpowder. Peel's promises are but broken reeds to them. They are cloud-watchers, who cannot reap. There is nothing certain in their prospect but uncertainty; and, were they wise, they would screw up their minds at once to removing the obstacles to that lasting settlement and quietude which agriculture requires above all other occupations.

An odd question is put by our contemporary to himself, and he favours himself with an answer as odd:—

"Why is the principle of protection now as popular generally as a few years ago it was generally odious? Because it has been narrowed to its proper sphere—because now men see nothing protected which ought not for the common good to be protected, and because, too, they feel that all classes share in the beneficial results of that just and moderate protection which each receives. This is the true solution of the downfall of the League: they can no longer avail themselves of the exaggerated folly of high nominal protections, which were endured as long as they were tolerated, only because they were never available."

The *Herald* has clearer eyes for the past than for the present. It now sees that, not long ago, the principle of protection "was generally odious;" so we used to say, but the *Herald* then denied the fact. It decides that protection had extended beyond "its proper sphere;" but at that time it abused not only those who opposed it altogether, but belaboured as vigorously whoever desired to contract the sphere of protection. The old law presents itself now as an "exaggerated folly," having been, up to the submission of the Duke of Buckingham to Sir Robert Peel, the very perfection of reason and justice. If the *Herald* was so grossly deceived, so purblind to plain truths and plainer facts, only four years ago, whence its right to assume a present infallibility? May it not be looking through the same spectacles, and making the same blunders? As its experience confirms our views of the past, it had better trust our reports of the present than its own. Our grandmother's sight fails; she should rely on younger eyes. Her memory, as happens to aged people, is good as to former things, but faithless to events of yesterday.

The general popularity of "protection!" The common conviction that all classes profit by the existence of monopolies! The merchant by his limited markets, the artisan by the diminished worth of his wages, the labourer by his rags and starvation, and the farmer by his burning ricks! Every mon-

key, by having his own platter filched from, while he filches from his neighbour's, and all have their food spilt or spoiled in the scuffle! To such eyes, we would rather that the League should appear dead than alive, and the cause of Free Trade retrograding than advancing. Their delusions are a testimony to the truth.

No; the monopolists are not elate. They feel that these continual victories will not do. The destruction of the League ceases to be satisfactory when it has to come round once a fortnight. And not very sanguine can those hopes be which have no better basis than the assumed "general popularity" of Protection.

Our adversaries have won a victory in their own House, and they are as little elated by their success as we are cast down by defeat. There was not a rational man among the 328 who constituted the majority that did not feel an inward conviction of his vote having decided nothing beyond the existence of Peel's sliding scale for another season. There was not on either side of the House a single individual who was not convinced that the question was left in a greater state of uncertainty than ever, and that the Premier had only refused to venture in the lottery of legislation to encounter the greater hazards of the lottery of circumstances. To this uncertainty was mainly owing the extraordinary change which has come over the language and bearing of the country gentlemen in the House of Commons: six years ago they took their stand as the only body in the country that had the slightest claim to the special care of the Legislature, and they stated their pretensions with all the self-complacency of conscious strength; now they confess that they hold their protection merely on the sufferance, and at the discretion of a Minister, and that they have utterly abandoned all reliance upon themselves. "The whole of their success," says their great organ the *Morning Post*, in one of the most lugubrious articles which has yet appeared on the subject, "amounts to a renewed confidence that their situation is not likely to become worse for the present, so far as the Corn Laws are concerned." But are there no ominous signs of a dark futurity? Sir Robert Peel's speech was in substance an echo of that which he delivered in 1839; it was marked by the same vagueness which seemed to say everything, and absolutely said nothing; it paid the same homage to the soundness of Free-Trade principles in the abstract, and exhibited the same shuffling with circumstances as an excuse for not applying them in the concrete; it was marked by the same astuteness as a clever debater, and the same absence of the large and extensive views which belong to the wise statesman. The Tariff was the moral of the speech in 1839, and this recollection made the stoutest monopolist dread that the repetition of this speech might be followed by a repetition of its application.

Twice during this session the existence of Sir Robert Peel's Ministry has been menaced with immediate destruction, and twice there appeared a probability that Lord John Russell would be invited to form a new Cabinet. His lordship's opinions are, therefore, of no little importance in estimating the security which monopoly has gained, and we find him declaring that the sliding scale is so iniquitous and injurious that its removal must be the first duty of a new Minister. During the debate both the Premier and the Vice-President of the Board of Trade took credit to themselves mainly for the reductions they have made in the amount of monopolies, and thus we have it confessed on all sides that no new Ministry can be formed and no present Minister hold office without continued progress in the direction of Free Trade.

Mr. Villiers's reply was still more ominous to the monopolists; in nervous language which sunk deep into the minds of all who heard him, he informed the majority, which bribery and intimidation had arrayed against the cause of truth and justice, that their numerical superiority would avail nothing outside the doors of their House and beyond the exigencies of the present division. Every monopolist felt that the declaration of the numbers would merely herald a renewed struggle; the conviction of the rottenness of their cause was urged most forcibly on the protectionists at the moment that the voices of the tellers were about to make the announcement of their delusive strength.

A majority in the present House of Commons was of course not expected by the League; but they have gained what is scarcely less valuable—a hostile majority tacitly confessing that it maintains abuses which cannot be defended;—and a hostile Cabinet declaring that its legislation is merely provisional, and that it depends upon contingencies which no man can calculate. For the future the length of duration assigned to the Corn Law must be sought neither in the calculations of the politician, nor in the exigencies of the nation, but in the doubtful predictions of Murphy's Almanac.

GAME LAWS.—The Court of Justiciary, by a majority of one, have, by an appeal from the Justices of Lanarkshire, held that a tenant is not liable in the penalty of the day trespass act for taking game on his own farm.

REVIEW.

Contributions to the Eclectic Review by John Foster.
London, Ward and Co.

Although these contributions to periodical literature are not marked by the logical acuteness of Jeffrey, the gorgeous eloquence of Macaulay, or the varied learning of Taylor, they do not the less deserve to be collected and preserved in a permanent form, as examples of honest and earnest criticism, written in a tone of generous feeling and with a high moral purpose. Although the "Eclectic Review" has been almost from its commencement the recognised organ of a peculiar body, it has very rarely exhibited anything of the narrowness of a sectarian spirit: both in the range of its subjects and the temper of its discussions it has displayed a liberal comprehensiveness, which none but those who have had experience in the management of party periodicals can fully appreciate. Mr. Foster was pre-eminently remarkable for supporting his opinions in the temper of a philosopher rather than of a partisan: he narrowed his principles by no sectarian views, but always gave them the full extent and range of general humanity. Some may complain that he fixed too high his standard of excellence, and more will object to the extreme strictness of his rules of morality; but, whatever may be the opinion formed of his weights and measures, there are none who can doubt that his application of them was honest and invariable. There is no part of these volumes so replete with sound instruction as the articles devoted to the character and writings of the celebrated C. J. Fox. In admiration of his principles as a statesman and his powers as an orator, Mr. Foster yielded to none of the most enthusiastic admirers of the great Whig leader; but he could not tolerate the indiscriminate adulation of vices as well as virtues; he could not allow talents however splendid to be pleaded in excuse for private profligacy, nor the mere chance of substituting a Whig Ministry for a Tory to be received as a justification of an unprincipled coalition. The remarks made on the little influence which this English Demosthenes really exercised over the mind of the English public deserve to be impressed deeply on the heads and hearts of those who aim at taking a lead in political affairs:—

"As to his immense display of talent on the wide ground of general politics, on the theory of true freedom and popular rights; on the great and increasing influence of the crown; on the corruption and reform of public institutions; on severe investigation of public expenditure; on the national vigilance proper to be exercised over the conduct of Government; and on the right of any nation to change, when it judges necessary, both the persons and the form of its government;—we have observed with the deepest mortification, times without number, the very slight and transient effect on the public mind of a more argumentative and luminous eloquence, than probably we are ever again to see irradiating those subjects, and urging their importance. Both principles and practices, tending toward arbitrary power and national degradation, were progressively gaining ground during the much greater part of the time that he was assailing them with fire and sword; and the people, notwithstanding it was their own cause that he was maintaining by this persevering warfare, though they were amused indeed with his exploits, could hardly be induced to regard him otherwise than as a capital prize-fighter, and scarcely thanked him for the fortitude and energy which he devoted to their service. He was allowed to be a most admirable man for a leader of opposition, but not a mortal could be persuaded to regard that opposition, even in his hands, as bearing any resemblance to that which we have been accustomed to ascribe to Cato, an opposition of which pure virtue was the motive, and all corruptions whatever the object. If the very same things which were said of Fox had been advanced by the person whose imaginary character we have sketched in the preceding pages, they would have become the oracles of the people from Berwick to Land's End; corrupters and intriguers would have felt an impression of awe when he rose to speak; no political doctors or nostrums could have cured their nerves of a strange vibration at the sound of his words, a vibration very apt to reach into their consciences or their fears; there would have been something mysterious and appalling in his voice, a sound as if a multitude of voices articulated in one; and though his countenance should have looked as candid and friendly as Fox's did, these gentlemen would have been sometimes subject to certain fretful peevish lapses of imagination, much like those in which *Macbeth* saw the apparition of *Banquo*, and would have involuntarily apostrophised him as the dreaded agent of detection and retribution. They would have felt themselves in the presence of their master, for they would have been taught to recognise, in this one man, the most real representative of the people, whose will would generally be soon declared as substantially identical with his opinions.

"How then did it come to pass, that Fox had no such influence on the national mind or on the Government? The answer is perfectly obvious, and it forms a very serious admonition to all patriots who really wish to promote the welfare of the people, by an opposition to corruptions of the state. The talents, and the long and animated exertions, of the most eloquent of all our countrymen failed, plainly because the people placed no confidence in his virtue, or, in other words, because they would never be persuaded to attribute virtue to his character."

The principles for which Mr. Foster contends are so important at all times, but more especially at the present juncture of affairs, that we must make room for their more complete exposition, though the length of the extract trenches inconveniently on our space:—

"Public men and oppositionists may inveigh against abuses, and parade in patriotism, as long as they please; they will find that even one manifest vice will preclude all public confidence in their principles, and therefore render futile the strongest exertions of talent; a slight flaw, in otherwise the best tempered blade of Toledo, will soon expose the baffled wight that wields it to either the scorn or pity of the spectators, and to the victorious arm of his antagonist. It has possibly been said, that a man may maintain nice principles of integrity in the prosecution of public affairs, though his conscience and practice are very defective in matters of private morality. But this would never be believed, even if it were true: the universal conviction of mankind rejects it when it is attempted, in practical cases, to be made the foundation of confidence. So far is this from being believed, that even a conspicuous and complete reformation of private morals, if it be but recent, is still an unsatisfactory security for public virtue; and a very long probation of personal character is indispensable, as a kind of quarantine for a man once deeply contaminated to undergo, in order to engage any real confidence in the integrity of his public conduct; nor can he ever engage it in the same degree, as if an uniform and resolute virtue had marked his private conduct from the beginning. But, even if it were admitted that all the virtues of the statesman might flourish in spite of the vices of the man, it would have been of no use, as an argument for confidence in the integrity of Fox's principles as a statesman, after the indelible stigma which they received in the famous coalition with Lord North. In what degree that portion of the people that approved Fox's political opinions really confided in his integrity as a firm and consistent statesman, was strongly brought to the proof at the time of his appointment as one of the principals of the late administration. His admirers in general expressed their expectations in terms of great reserve; they rather wished, than absolutely dared to believe, that it was impossible he should not prefer a fidelity to those great principles and plans of extensive reform which he had so strenuously inculcated, to any office or associates in office that should require the sacrifice of those plans, and that he would not surely have taken a high official station, without some stipulations for carrying them, at least partially, into effect. But they recollected the tenor of his life; and though they were somewhat disappointed, and deeply grieved, to find him at his very entrance on office proposing and defending one of the rankest abuses, and afterwards invariably keeping the peace with the grand total of abuses, in both the domestic and the Indian government, they did, at least many of them, confess, that they had always trembled for the consequence of bringing to such an ordeal a political integrity which, while they had sometimes for a moment almost half believed in it, they had always been obliged to refer to some far different principle from a firm personal morality, supported by a religious conscience.

"We have remarked on the slight hold which our great orator had on the mind of the nation at large; it was mortifying also to observe how little ascendancy his prodigious powers maintained over the minds of senators and ministers. It was irksome to witness that air of easy indifference with which his most poignant reproaches were listened to; that readiness of reply to his nervous representations of the calamities or injustice of war; the carelessness often manifested while he was depicting the distresses of the people; and the impudent gaiety and sprightliness with which arrant corruption could show, and defend, and applaud itself in his presence. It is not for us to pretend to judge of what materials ministers and senators are composed; but we did often think, that if eloquence of such intensity, and so directed, had been corroborated in its impetus by the authoritative force which severe virtue can give to the stroke of talent, some of them would have been repressed into a very different kind of feeling and manners from those which we had the mortification to behold: we did think that, a man thus armed at once with the spear and the scie, might have caused it to be felt, by stress of dire compulsion, 'How awful goodness is.'

"On the whole, we shall always regard Fox as a memorable and mournful example of a gigantic agent, at once determined to labour for the public, and dooming himself to labour almost in vain. Our estimate of his talents precludes all hope or fear of any second example of such powerful labours, or of such humiliating failure of effect. We wish the greatest genius on earth, whoever he may be, might write an inscription for our eminent statesman's monument, to express, in the most strenuous of all possible modes of thought and phrase, the truth and the warning, that no man will ever be accepted to serve mankind in the highest departments of utility, without an eminence of virtue that can sustain him in the noble defiance, Which of you convicts me of sin?"

In his review of a book, which by the way he greatly overrates,—Macdiarmid's "British Statesmen,"—Mr. Foster happily demolishes the fallacy that less rigid rules of morality should be applied to persons in public than in private life:—

"On the ground of morality in the abstract, separately from any consideration of the effect of his representations, the biographer of statesmen is bound to a very strict application of the rules of justice, since these men constitute, or at least belong to, the uppermost class of the inhabitants of the earth. They have stronger inducements arising from situation, than other men, to be solicitous for the rectitude of their conduct; their station has the utmost advantage for commanding the assistance of whatever illumination a country contains; they see on the large scale the effect of all the grand principles of action; they make laws for the rest of mankind, and they direct the execution of justice. If the eternal laws of morality are to be applied with a soft and lenient hand in the trial and judgment of such an order of men, it will not be worth while to apply them at all to the subordinate classes of mankind; as a morality that exacts but little where the means and the responsibility are the greatest, would betray itself to contempt by pretending to sit in solemn judgment on the humbler subjects of its authority. The laws of morality should operate, like those of nature, in the most palpable manner on the largest substances.

"Another reason for the rigid administration of justice to the characters of men that have been high in the state, is to secure the utility of history, or rather to preserve it from becoming to the last degree immoral and noxious. For since history is almost entirely occupied with the

actions of this class of men, and for the much greater part with their vices and their crimes, and the calamitous consequences, it is easy to see that a softened mode of awarding justice to these characters will turn the whole force of history to the effect of depraving our moral principles, by partially conciliating both our feelings and judgments to those hateful courses of action, of which we are already very much too tolerant in consequence of being from our childhood familiarised to the view of them, in every account of the past and present state of the world. And in this way we are inclined to think that history has actually been, on the whole, the enemy of morality. Its readers will have too light an impression of the atrocity of great crimes and great criminals. Great crimes constitute so large a proportion of the historian's materials for constructing splendid exhibitions, that if he does not insensibly become almost partial to them, as a general does to a band of the most cruel savages whose ferocity he has repeatedly employed to obtain his victories, his hatred admits at least a certain softening of literary interest; and in many a glowing description of enormous wickedness, we fancy we see the hand of the painter or poet rather than the moral censor. Artful combinations of odious circumstances, epithets to aggravate each indignant line, eloquence of execration, are possibly not spared; but we still find ourselves rather invited as spectators of a splendid tragedy, than summoned as jurors in a solemn court of justice. The diminution or modification, in the historian's mind, of the abhorrence of crimes, in consequence of the benefit which he derives from them as striking materials for his work, aids the operation of any other cause which may tend to render him indulgent to the actor of them. And often the great criminal has had some one virtue, or at least some very showy faults, adapted, in the historian's view, to relieve and even extenuate the account of his wickedness: he might have munificence, a love of letters, a very lofty kind of ambition, or what a lax morality would term a liberal love of pleasure; at any rate he probably had talents, and this is perhaps, after all, the most seductive of the distinctions by which a bad man can dazzle our judgments. The historian, besides, acquires a kind of partiality for an eminent actor in the times and transactions which he describes, from even the circumstance of being, in imagination, so long in his company. In prosecuting his work, he returns to this person each morning, for weeks, months, or even years; the interest of the literary labour consists in following this person through the whole train of his proceedings; the disposition for quarrelling with him gradually subsides; the odious moral features are familiarised to the view; while perhaps the conviction of his great attainments, and the wonder at his achievements, are progressively augmented; extenuations suggest themselves, and occasionally even partial claims of applause; the writer becomes a kind of participator in the activity and importance of the transactions, while he is clear of all the guilt; and thus by degrees the rigour of justice is forgotten, and flagrant iniquity is exhibited with so little prominence of turpitude, that it depends very much on the moral state of the reader's own mind whether he shall regard it with indulgence or detestation. We shall not wonder at the bad morality of history, if we combine this view of the injurious effect of the historian's studies on his mind, with the consideration that the eminent historians of antiquity were pagans, and the most distinguished ones of modern times very near the moral level of paganism, by means of their irreligion."

That skill in moral anatomy which enables a critic to seize the formative elements of character as distinguished from the indifferent or the accidental, was possessed in a very eminent degree by Mr. Foster; we have already seen it rather painfully exemplified in his moral estimate of Fox, and we therefore give a more pleasing illustration of his powers in the delineation of Franklin:—

"In a general moral estimate of his qualities, insincerity would seem to find very little place. His principles appear to have borne a striking correspondence, in simplicity, directness, and decision, to the character of his understanding. Credit may be given him for having, through life, very rarely prosecuted any purpose which he did not deliberately approve; and his manner of prosecution was distinguished, as far as appears, by a plain honesty in the choice of means, by a contempt of artifice and petty devices, by a calm inflexibility, and by a greater confidence of success than is usually combined with so clear and extended a foresight of the difficulties; but indeed that foresight of the difficulties might justify his confidence of the adaptation of his measures for encountering them.

"He appears to have possessed an almost invincible self-command, which bore him through all the negotiations, strifes with ignorance, obtrusiveness, duplicity, and opposing interest, and through tiresome delays and untoward incidents, with a sustained firmness, which preserved to him in all cases the most advantageous exercise of his faculties, and with a prudence of deportment beyond the attainment of the most disciplined adepts in mere political intrigue and court practice. He was capable, indeed, of feeling an intense indignation, which comes out in full expression in some of the letters relating to the character of the English Government, as displayed in its policy toward America. This bitter detestation is the most unreservedly disclosed in some of his confidential correspondence with David Hartley, an English member of Parliament, a personal friend of Franklin, a constant advocate, to a measured extent, of the Americans, and a sort of self-offered, clandestine, but tacitly-recognised medium for a kind of understanding, at some critical periods, between the English Government and Dr. Franklin, without costing the ministers the condescension of official intercourse and inquiry. These vituperative passages have a corrosive energy, by virtue of force of mind and of justice, which perfectly precludes all appearance of littleness and mere temper in the indignation. It is the dignified character of Cato or Aristides. And if a manifestation of it in similar terms ever took place in personal conference with such men as were its objects, it must have appeared anything rather than an ungoverned irritability; nor would it have been possible to despise the indignant tone in which contempt was mingled with anger, as far as the two sentiments are compatible. Believing that the men who provoked these caustic sentences did for the most part deserve them, we

confess we have read them with that sort of pleasure which is felt in seeing justice made to strike, by vindictive power of mind, on the characters of men whose stations defend their persons and fortunes from the most direct modes of retribution.

"When, at length, all was accomplished that, with long and earnest expostulation, he had predicted, and been ridiculed for predicting, to the English statesmen, as the certain consequence of persisting in their infatuated course, we find no rancorous recollection, no language of extravagant triumph at the splendid result, nor of excessive self-complacency in the retrospect of his own important share in conducting the great undertaking to such a consummation. His feelings do not seem to have been elated above the pitch of a calm satisfaction at having materially contributed to the success of a righteous cause—a success in which he was convinced he saw not simply the vindication of American rights, but the prospect of unlimited benefit to mankind.

"And here it may be remarked, that his predominant passion appears to have been a love of the useful. The useful was to him the *summum bonum*, the supreme fair, the sublime and beautiful, which it may not perhaps be extravagant to believe he was in quest of every week for half a century, in whatever place, or study, or practical undertaking. No department was too plain or humble for him to occupy himself in for this purpose; and in affairs of the most ambitious order this was still systematically his object. Whether in directing the constructing of chimneys or of constitutions, lecturing on the saving of candles or on the economy of national revenues, he was still intent on the same end, the question always being how to obtain the most of solid tangible advantage by the plainest and easiest means. There has rarely been a mortal, of high intelligence and flattering fame, on whom the pomps of life were so powerless. On him were completely thrown away the oratorical and poetical heroics about glory, of which heroics it was enough that he easily perceived the intention or effect to be, to explode all sober truth and substantial good, and to impel men, at the very beat of the matter, through some career of vanity, but commonly through mischief, slaughter, and devastation, in mad pursuit of what amounts at last, if attained, to some certain quantity of noise, and empty show, and intoxicated transient elation. He was so far an admirable spirit for acting the Mentor to a young republic. It will not be his fault if the citizens of America shall ever become so servile to European example as to think a multitude of supernumerary places, enormous salaries, and a factitious economy of society, a necessary security or decoration of that political liberty which they enjoy in pre-eminence above every nation on earth. In these letters of their patriarch and philosopher, they will be amply warned, by repeated and emphatical representations, of the desperate mischief of a political system in which the public resources shall be expended in a way to give the Government both the interest and the means to corrupt the people."

In literary criticism Mr. Foster was not quite so successful as in his appreciation of character: he refused to grant poetic licenses, and was too ready to take the poet's sentiments of fiction for the realities of opinion. Into the wide field of discussion which an examination of this question would open we have not space to enter, and we admire Mr. Foster too much on the higher principles of philosophy and eternal truth to dwell on the minor points of difference which arise in his criticisms of fiction. The present collection is worthy of his fame, and will, we trust, be a permanent and recognised memorial of his services to periodical literature. There are principles enunciated in these papers of value too enduring to be easily lost, and, to use the language of Grattan—"The words of the prophet will not die with the holy man, but will survive his generation."

LEAGUE MEETING AT COVENT-GARDEN.—The following portion of Mr. Fox's speech did not appear in full in our impression of last week—"I have often in this place addressed earnest recommendations to those who assemble here, that they should exert themselves in such ways as their circumstances allow for the furtherance of our cause; that they should pay attention, for instance, to the registration, and do whatever they can to get those who are entitled to vote, and who are friends of our objects, to place themselves in a position for the exercise of their political rights. That they should exert themselves in canvassing, and by the distribution of tracts and conversation spread abroad the knowledge of our principles, and the conviction of their truth. I trust that, as I have been indulged in giving such recommendations to you, the great body of Free-Traders who assemble here, I may also be excused if I venture one word of advice to those who may be regarded as the representatives of this great cause in the House of Commons. For myself, at least, I may say that it would gratify my feelings to see them acting more in concert than they appear to have done upon a recent occasion. (Hear.) If they are but few in number there is the more need of their studying how they can most efficiently co-operate. If the question be one not involving principle, why, then, there is nothing to sacrifice on any part in their combination; and if it be, there can be little doubt that no very long consultation would bring them to the same state of mind as to any great application of the principles of Free Trade. At a time when governments are endangered, and ministries are restored by majorities of twenties and twenty-tens, it is time for the tens and the dozens to look about them, and consider where their weight will be best disposed, and to throw that weight untriedly in one quarter for the common good and advantage of the great cause we advocate. (Cheers.) Most honourably, and with the strictest integrity, I have no doubt, they all acted; but when I see that among some twelve members of the House, who have either occupied that chair or addressed you from these boards, there were no less than three different modes of action adopted—indeed, I might say, five altogether, reckoning the voting in one case, and abstaining in another—I think it is clear that the power which to-night so ably elucidated the subject of differential duties might have led—or they might have influenced each other—to a united mode of action, which would

have had its effect both upon Parliament and the country. I question none of their motives, most assuredly, having the firmest confidence in them; nor do I doubt the conduct of any of these gentlemen, but merely the wisdom of such diversity of conduct; with this exception, indeed, that seeing in certain quarters that it is broadly asserted that the League has kept Sir Robert Peel in office, when otherwise he must have forfeited his position, I wish to say for myself, as a member of the League, that I am no party to anything which should tend to prolong for one week, or a single day, a Government which rules Ireland by what is called the judicious distribution of troops; which has made the Post-office of England a great spy-shop; which engages in a vain conflict against those who endeavour to catch the substance of monopoly under the forms of liberalism, and itself merely trying to smuggle a little liberalism, in the shape of monopoly; a Government of subterfuges—a Ministry which has made war with meetings of the people in Ireland, condemning their greatness, which was itself evidence of the great oppression to be redressed; a Government which, I believe, is ready, if it dared, to wage a similar warfare here against the best right of the people, as it does already sympathize within certain boundaries in the monopoly warfare against the first claim of the people to the bread which they earn by their labour." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

THE FUNDS.

| | SAT. June 22 | MON. June 24 | TUES. June 25 | WED. June 26 | THURS. June 27 | FRI. June 28 |
|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Bank Stock..... | 197½ | 199½ | 198½ | 199½ | — | — |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ | 98½ | 99½ | — |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann. | Shut. | — | — | — | — | — |
| 3 per Ct. Red. Ann. | 102½ | 102½ | 102½ | 101½ | 102 | — |
| 3 per Ct. Con. Ann. | Shut. | — | — | — | — | — |
| Long An. Ex. 1860 | 12½ | 12½ | 12½ | 12½ | 12½ | — |
| Cons. for Opp. | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ | 98½ |
| Exo. Bills, 4½ p. | 73 3 | 72 3 | 72 3 | 71 3 | 72 3 | — |
| Ind. Bds. and 1000 | 91 3 | 91 3 | 91 3 | 91 | 91 | — |
| Ind. Bds. for Opp. | — | — | 255 | — | — | — |
| Belgian..... | 101½ | 104½ | 101 | 103½ | 104½ | — |
| Brassian..... | 82 | 82½ | — | 81½ | 82 | — |
| Chilian..... | 104½ | 103 3 | 105 | 103 3 | 103 3 | — |
| Colomb. Venes. | 138 | 138 | 138 | 138 | 138 | 138 |
| Danish..... | 89 | 89 | 89 | 89 9 | 89 9 | — |
| Dutch 5 per Cent. | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ |
| Dutch 2½ per Ct. | 62 | 62½ | 61½ | 61½ | 62½ | 62½ |
| Mexican, 1837 .. | 84½ | 84½ | 84½ | 84½ | 84½ | 84½ |
| Portuguese, conv. | 47½ | 47½ | 46½ | 46½ | 47½ | — |
| Buenos Ayres.... | 35 7 | 35 7 | 35 6 | 35 6 | 35 7 | — |
| Spanish 5 per Ct. | 35½ | 35½ | 35½ | 35 | 35½ | 35½ |
| New do. 3 per Ct. | 35½ | 35½ | 34½ | 34½ | 35½ | 34½ |
| Peruvian..... | 27 8 | 26½ | — | 27 8 | 27½ | — |

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MARK-LANE, Monday, June 24.—There was a short supply of Essex Wheat this morning, but there was a fair quantity from Kent; the former was taken off at the same prices as on this day week, but the latter was not all sold at the close of the market, though offered on rather lower terms. There was rather a slow demand for Foreign at former rates. What Barley was offering was chiefly Foreign in granary; it was held at high rates, in consequence of which the transactions in it were limited. The high prices which have been obtained of late for English Beans brought a rather larger supply from Essex and Kent, and sellers were obliged to submit to a decline of 1s. to effect sales. The prospect of a low duty causes the holders of Egyptian Beans to hold at high rates, and there has been in consequence but little passing in this article. No alteration in Peas. There was a liberal supply of Scotch and Irish Oats, and a few samples of English, both White and Black, but of these the quantity was very trifling, and high prices were readily obtained for them. The quantity of Scotch on sale was larger than it has been for some time, and the price having lately been held in high proportion to other kinds, a decline of 6d. to 1s. per quarter had to be acceded to. There was a fair sale of Irish in small quantities at about last Monday's prices.

S. H. LUCAS and SON.

BRITISH.

| | | Per Imperial Quarter. | |
|--|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Wheat Essex, Kent, & Suffolk . . . | Red | 55 to 60 | White 58 to 64 |
| Lincolnshire & Yorkshire . . . | | 54 — 58 | 57 — 60 |
| Scotch | | 52 — 56 | 54 — 60 |
| Irish | | 50 — 52 | 52 — 55 |
| Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire . . . | | | Feed 21 — 23 |
| Ditto | Ditto | Short 22 — 24 | Polands 23 — 26 |
| Scotch | | Feed 24 — 26 | Potato 27 — 29 |
| Limerick | | 21 — 22 | Short 22 — 24 |
| Cork | | 20 — 21 | 21 — 22 |
| Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black . . . | | | 20 — 21 |
| Silgo | | | 21 — 22 |
| Galway | | | 20 — 21 |
| Barley, Grinding | 28 to 30 | | Distilling 30 — 32 |
| Malt | 32 — 34 | | Irish 26 — 30 |
| Beans, Mazagan | — 32 | | Tick 23 — 35 |
| Harrow | 37 — 39 | | Small 40 |
| Old Tick | | | — 40 |
| Peas, White | 31 to 34 | | Boilers 35 — 36 |
| Maple and Grey | | | 30 — 34 |
| Flour, Best Town-made | per sack of 280 lbs. | | 45 — 48 |
| Norfolk and Suffolk | — | | 40 — 42 |

FOREIGN.

| FOREIGN. | | Per Imperial Quarter | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------|
| Wheat, Danzig, high mixed | | 55 to 63 | 42 to 46 |
| — Rostock | | 51 — 63 | 42 — 45 |
| — Stettin | | 48 — 56 | 40 — 43 |
| — Hamburg | | 48 — 56 | 38 — 42 |
| — Odessa Polish | | 48 — 53 | 36 — 38 |
| — Barletta | | 48 — 54 | 32 — 38 |
| — Russian | soft | 48 — 52 | — — |
| — Ditto | hard | 45 — 50 | — — |
| — Spanish | Red | 49 — 55 | — — |
| — Ditto | White | 52 — 56 | — — |
| Barley, Grinding | | 26 — 29 | — — |
| — Distilling | | 30 — 32 | — — |
| Oats, Archangel | | 21 — 22 | 15 — 16 |
| — Swedish | | 22 — 23 | 16 — 17 |
| — Dutch Potatoes | | — — | 19 — 20 |
| Beans, Egyptian | | 32 — 33 | 22 — 23 |
| Peas, White | | 30 — 34 | — — |
| — Ditto Boilers | | 32 — 35 | — — |
| Flour, Canada | per barrel of 196 lbs | 29 — 31 | — — |
| — United States .. | — | 30 — 32 | 22 — 24 |
| — Danzig | — | 28 — 30 | — — |

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from June 17 to June 22, 1844, both days inclusive.

| | Wheat. | Barley. | Oats. | Beans. | Peas. |
|---------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| English | 6768 | 851 | 1309 | 1577 | 213 |
| Scotch | — | — | 6089 | — | 19 |
| Irish | — | 102 | 18849 | — | — |
| Foreign | 14992 | 6615 | 4972 | 1024 | 50 |

Flour, 6788 sacks, 1852 bars.

| | Qrs. | Price. | Qrs. | Price. |
|--------------|-------|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| Wheat | 5015 | 55s. 10d. | Rye | 141 35s. 1d. |
| Barley | 1190 | 33s. 2d. | Beans | 1385 36s. 7d. |
| Oats | 35935 | 22s. 11d. | Peas | 476 36s. 5d. |

FRIDAY, June 28.—With fair supplies of English Wheat since Monday, the trade is very dull both for English and

Foreign. The arrivals of Barley from abroad are only moderate, yet sellers are compelled to give way a little in price to effect sales. The arrivals of Oats are not large either from Scotland, Ireland, or abroad, but altogether the quantity is more than equal to the demand. Owing to the favourable change which has taken place in the weather, there is less disposition to buy, and to effect sales rather lower prices must be accepted. There is less disposition to press sales of Irish Oats than of Scotch or Foreign, owing to the latter having less time to discharge from the ship. The duty on Beans fell to 7s. 6d. yesterday, but there was no inquiry for Beans in Bond. Free Beans are dull sale at Monday's prices. Peas are fully as dear. S. H. LUCAS and SON.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 24th of June to the 28th of June, both inclusive.

| | English. | Irish. | Foreign. |
|--------------|----------|--------|----------|
| Wheat | 4730 | — | 8500 |
| Barley | 610 | 130 | 3470 |
| Oats | 6050 | 12360 | 6300 |

Flour, 5140 sacks.

A WEEKLY REPORT OF THE NUMBER OF QUARTERS, and the AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN and GRAIN, sold in the several Counties of England and Wales (comprising the Two Hundred and Ninety Towns named in the Act of the 5th Vic., cap. 14), which governs Duty.

WEEK ENDED JUNE 25, 1844.

| | WHEAT. | | BARLEY. | | OATS. | | BEANS. | |
|----------------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | Qrs. sold. | Aver price | Qrs. sold. | Aver price | Qrs. sold. | Aver price | Qrs. sold. | Aver price |
| Weekly Averages.. | 5598 | s. d. 56 7 | 1389 | s. d. 33 11 | 21053 | s. d. 23 2 | 1709 | s. d. 35 8 |
| Aggregate Averages.. | .. | 55 8 | .. | 31 4 | .. | 21 10 | .. | 35 5 |
| Duty..... | .. | 17 0 | .. | 7 0 | .. | 6 0 | .. | 7 6 |

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JUNE 21.

BANKRUPTS.

G. STENT, Pleasant-place, Camberwell, builder. [Parker and Co., Gray's Inn.]
J. SMITH, Southampton, corn merchant. [Pownall and Cross, Staple Inn; Royle and Co., Lymington, Hants.]
W. MOWBRAY, Wheatthamstead, Hertfordshire, butcher. [Sharpe and Field, Bedford row.]
M. SWEETLAND, John-street, Fitzroy-square, baker. [Shearman and Slater, Great Tower-street.]
J. TUCKER, Sutton-street, Commercial-road East, ship owner. [Maples, Pearse, Stevens, and Maples, Frederick's-place, Old Jewry.]
G. CRAVEN, Wakefield, maltster. [Scott and Tabourdin, Lincoln's Inn-fields; Taylor and Westmoreland, Wakefield.]
G. HARWOOD, Chester, draper. [Abbott, Charlotte-street, Bedford-square; Littledale and Bardswell, Liverpool; Bennet, Manchester.]
E. HERON, Hart-pool, Durham, butcher. [Poole, Hartlepool; Mitton, Southampton-buildings.]

DIVIDENDS.

July 9. J. L. Heathorn, Abchurch-lane, shipowner—July 12. J. West, High-street, Shoreditch, grocer—July 12. J. Gale, sen., and J. Gale, jun., Love-lane, Shadwell, ropemakers—July 12. C. Chambers, Peterborough, Northamptonshire, liquor merchant—July 12. N. Beard, Beech-street, Barbican, leather seller—July 12. J. Milner, Brook-street, New-road, engine manufacturer—July 12. S. Skinner, Greenham, Berkshire, brewer—July 12. H. Davis, Bristol, scrivener—July 24. T. Spink, Hillam, Yorkshire, farmer—July 15. T. Todd, Manchester, dealer in cotton goods—July 16. J. Nall, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, grocer—July 16. S. Danks, Wednesbury, Staffordshire, screw manufacturer—July 11. J. Southern, Birmingham, grocer.

CERTIFICATES.

July 12. K. H. Knight, Chichester, victualler—July 12. J. Diment and J. Grimes, Bristol, plasterers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

J. RUSSEL, Leith, trader and builder.

TUESDAY, JUNE 25.

CROWN-OFFICE, JUNE 22.

MEMBER RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

Borough of Enniskillen.—The Honourable Henry Arthur Cole, of Florence-court, in the county of Fermanagh, in the room of the Honourable Arthur Henry Cole, who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.

DECLARATION OF INSOLVENCY.

S. SOUTHEY, South-street, Finsbury-market, cabinet and furniture manufacturer.

BANKRUPTS.

W. R. READ, Winchester-street, King's-cross, builder. [Buchanan and Granger, Basinghall street.]
J. HODGE, Abchurch-lane, City, licensed victualler. [Vawdrey, Granville place, Granville-square.]
J. F. WOOD, Oxford, surgeon. [Pownall and Cross, Staple Inn; Walsh and Dayman, Oxford.]
C. F. OPPENHEIM, George-street, Minorities, shipowner. [Spyer, Broad-street-buildings, City.]
R. HODGSON, Bishop Auckland, Durham, mercer. [Mawson, Manchester; Crain, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Johnson, Son, and Wetherall Temple.]
Z. BOND, Manchester, brickmaker. [Johnson, Son, and Wetherall, Temple; Blair, Manchester.]
S. ASKHAM, Bradford, Yorkshire, commission agent. [Hawkins and Co., New Bowell-court; Ridehalgh, Bradford.]
T. ASHLEY, Lyonshall, Hertfordshire, builder. [Heath, Warwick; Bodenham, Kingston; Smith, Birmingham.]
T. WOLFENDEN and J. PRESTWICH, Olham, Lancashire, cotton spinners. [Potter, Manchester; Johnson, Son, and Wetherall, Temple.]
J. HOWARTH, Rochdale, Lancashire, woollen manufacturer. [Hunt, Rochdale; Cragg and Jeyes, Harpur-street, Red Lion-square.]

DIVIDENDS.

July 17. F. W. Palmer, Mincing-lane, colonial broker—July 17. G. Butcher, Holborn-hill, china dealer—July 17. A. A. Newman, High-street, Whitechapel, saddler—July 19. W. W. Davies, Bristol, iron master—July 16. G. Muir, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper—July 16. R. Allinson, Whitehaven, Cumberland, ironmonger—July 18. T. Booth and B. Bayle, Sheffield, iron masters—July 16. J. Garred, Eiland, Yorkshire, cloth dresser—July 16. D. Nicholson, Liverpool, hatter—July 17. D. Dakeyne and T. Wanklyn, Manchester, flax spinners—July 17. T. Wrigley, Halifax, Yorkshire, silk waste spinner—July 16. W. Marston, Manchester, yarn merchant—July 17. B. Smith, Tipton, Staffordshire, grocer—July 17. T. Cooke, Leicester, glove manufacturer—July 24. J. W. Howell, Birmingham, bookseller.

CERTIFICATES.

July 17. J. Dowle, Chepstow, Monmouthshire wine and spirit merchant—July 15. M. and R. Ramsay, Scotswood, Northumberland, paper manufacturers—July 16. G. Muir, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper—July 16. J. Messenger, Longcroft, Cumberland, farmer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

J. M'CALLUM, Glasgow, auctioneer—J. STUART, Rosshead, Perthshire, farmer—J. FRASER, Edinburgh, mason—A. NISBET, Edinburgh, wright.

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